

**PLAY THE WHITE MAN
THE THEATRE OF RACIALISED
PERFORMANCES AND NARRATIVES IN
SOCCER COACHING AND MANAGEMENT**

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In the memory of my brother Martin Shaw King, who died preaching the spirit and insights of an Afrocentric and who refused to be enslaved to the control of whiteness. His energy lives on in the Martin Shaw King Trust that inspired and supported this project. I especially would like to thank my mother, Mrytle May King, who personifies this statement from Malcolm X:

‘To educate the man is to educate an individual, to educate the woman is to educate and liberate a nation.

ABSTRACT

Play the white man is a metaphor used in this research to explore the pressures placed on black people to 'act white' to be accepted. In the context of sport and, in relation to this study of soccer culture, 'play the white man' has symbolic meaning as it names the types of whiteness that black players face as they retire from the game and seek positions as coaches and managers. The focus of this research is on the strategies that black players use to deal with the cultural pressures they face in being excluded from the privileges held by white men who colonise the institutional settings of coaching and management. To look more closely at how these institutions operate I have used the concepts of 'racialised performance' and 'racialised narrative' as a model to illustrate how racism is featured in the forms of whiteness that contribute towards institutional racism. My aim has been to demonstrate that the way people inside this system perceive issues of race and racism - which I refer to as race cognisance - leads to totally different outcomes for black and white people in soccer. 'Play the white man' then becomes a conceptual tool to link the individual experiences and practices of black and white men to a more considered approach to an understanding of the operation of institutional racism inside football.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	2
Abstract	3
Contents	4
Chapter One	
Playing the race game in soccer	8
1.1 Sport, race, culture and ethnicity	11
Pathologising the black athlete in soccer	
1.2 Experiences of racialised exclusion in the institutions of sport	24
1.3 Theories of race connecting to race barriers in soccer	27
1.4 Understanding Institutional racism in coaching and management	30
1.5 Racialised performances and narratives as frameworks for looking at the institutions of Coaching and Management	35
1.6 Conclusion	42
Chapter Two	
The Politics and ethics of research into racism in Football	45
2.1 The method and researcher in action	49
• A quantitative survey of race representation in soccer coaching, management and administration	49
• Accessing racialised exclusion through the analysis of talk	54
• Longitudinal semi structured interviews	57

• Participant observation	59
2.2 Themes from the Research: Centring the personal and the ethical	62
• Talking to white men and exposing racism	65
• Over identifying and protecting black players in the research	74
2.3 Conclusion	77

Part One

Chapter Three

The impact of black players experiences in the English game in the 1980s	80
3.1 The significance of black players in English soccer in the 1980s	83
• The black families fears of a career in English soccer	87
3.2 The echoes of slavery in the football field The 'field nigger' and the 'house nigger'	91
3.3 Racism and the interface with white players	96
3.4 The 'chip on the shoulder' and the hidden nature of racism	100
3.5 They think it's all over: facing new racism and exclusions	106
3.6 Conclusion	109

Chapter Four

Racialised performance, coaching qualifications and the myth of equality	112
4.1 Formations of whiteness in the coaching field	115
4.2 Performing in the field. Performing to new white male figures	119
4.3 The classroom setting of new whiteness	133

4.4 Cheers, the bar of whiteness	138
4.5 Conclusion	142

Chapter Five

‘Colouring opportunity’: race, players narratives and the transition into coaching and management	146
--	------------

5.1 Narratives of the white players	150
--	------------

- **Meritocracy and Hard work** 150
- **Self-assurance and networking** 153
- **Pragmatism in the system** 157

5.2 Narratives of the black players.	160
---	------------

- **Trust, fate and the disillusioned** 160
- **Using white networks and patronage** 164
- **Waiting for the white man’s permission** 168

5.3 Conclusion	173
-----------------------	------------

Chapter six

The recolouring of Narrative: Getting and staying in the System	178
--	------------

6.1 The changing narratives of the white players	180
---	------------

- **Realising the importance of self** 180
- **Mentoring through closed white male networks** 184
- **White men adjusting to white men** 188

6.2 The Changing narratives of the black players	191
---	------------

- **Outsiders and the increasingly disappointed** 191
- **Facing the manipulation of white male networks and nepotism** 195
- **Inverting whiteness, and being ahead of the game** 197

6.3 Conclusion	202
-----------------------	------------

Part Two

Chapter seven

I am black but I just want to be a manager: The public and private lives of black managers	207
7.1 Donning a white mask in management	210
7.2 The private worlds of black managers	218
7.3 Conclusion	230

Chapter eight

Acts of whiteness colonialising the institutions of soccer	236
8.1 White denial and power evasiveness in talk	240
8.2 Embodied and unconscious performances of white men	247
8.3 Race cognisance and white male guilt	252
8.4 Fatalism, whiteness and institutional displacement	259
8.5 Conclusion	264

The conclusion

Play the black man Connecting individuals to institutional racism in Football	268
• Restating the Pain - Those who know it feel it Situating the diverse lives of the social actors	273
• Encountering racism in action	279
• New definitions of racism in the institutions of soccer	284
Appendix	290
Bibliography	301

CHAPTER ONE

Playing the race game in soccer

“You know when I was at Wolves as a young player I was known throughout the area as the first black player to get into the team. It was a time when people thought we couldn’t tackle, we couldn’t play in the cold - and then came along big, bad Darren Smith. During training one day the ball went out of play and nobody wanted to get it. And then one of the white players looks at another of the white players and laughs, saying ‘Go on Darren, ‘play the white man’ (Darren Smith 1997).

The above quotation from Darren Smith captures in microcosm the focus of my research. Darren played soccer at the highest level and he was a member of the first generation of black players to become established within English football. Here in this training session his white peer reveals something very profound about the terms in which black players are accepted in the professional game. The white player urges him to ‘play the white man,’ to act like he would act, to be reasonable, to go and pick the ball up out of the mud. But this white player also - perhaps unwittingly - reveals that Darren is being invited to play the game according to implicitly racialised rules. It is telling that this piece of racist vernacular is expressed as a ‘joke.’ It is often within humour that a culture reveals its deepest secrets (Basso 1979). What is displayed here is the whiteness that colonises the definition of football culture’s core values. In order for Darren - or any other black player - to belong and to fit in within the culture of professional soccer he has to ‘play the white man.’

This one moment sums up a key argument that I want to develop within the thesis, namely, that implicit forms of racialised culture govern and affect the terms in which black people enter the world of professional soccer. My key concern is to uncover and name a whiteness - as a structure of action - that is performed by white men and how this affects people like Darren who have now come to the end of their playing careers and are considering making the next step into coaching and management.

I want to return to the notion of 'playing the white man' throughout the thesis because it can be viewed as a metaphor for the way racism operates within the world of soccer. I want to use this notion as a means to illustrate and analyse the pressures placed on black players in their relationships with white individuals inside the industry. My key focus is on the transition that ex-players like Darren are trying to make i.e. from being a player to becoming a coach or manager. I aim to examine how Darren's experiences and other black players who emerged in the 1980s and retired in the late 1990s, are affected by the acts of white men who control the institutions of coaching and management.

The experiences recounted here by Darren are resonant with T.K. Utchay's (1933) prescient analysis of the culture of white colonialists in Africa. He described their behaviour through the notion of 'whitemanning.' This he defined in the following way:

'Whitemanning' is a type of technical term used to describe one of the strangest actions in existence. It is the name for a practice introduced by the white man, by which one white man thinks himself superior to another, not for any reason such as academic qualifications or financial means, but simply because he has a white skin. It is employed to describe the conduct of certain Africans who slavishly imitate the white man and go about despising other black men for reasons they do not know, simply

because the white man does so' (T.K. Utchay, 1933:42).

What Utchay draws attention to here that whiteness is a *performance*. Beyond this he suggests that it is a performance that affects people on both sides of the colour line albeit in very different ways. My argument in this research is that whiteness is a particular type of racialised performance that has colonised the institutions of soccer. Here whiteness represents a complicated range of acts and narratives that are adopted and reproduced by white men, that in turn have implications for the forms of integration that confront black players and managers inside the game. In this way whiteness influences the strategies that black players have to adopt in order to survive and manage their relationships as they finish their playing careers and consider their future in professional soccer.

Darren's comment shows how black player's experiences in this sphere mirror the pressures and expectations that white men place on them. The key aim of this thesis is to examine how these implicit expectations and rules connect to questions of racism and exclusion inside the institutions of soccer. Darren's experiences point to the way black players have to respond to racist comments as part of the expectation of being a black footballer. My key concern is how to develop a critical understanding of the barriers faced by black players as they aspire to become coaches and managers.

This introductory chapter is divided into five parts. In the first section, I argue that the sociology of soccer has pathologised the black soccer player and failed to address, adequately, issues of racial exclusion inside the game. This leads in to the second section that focuses on racial exclusions in the institutions of sport. I argue that the importance

of examining how individual and institutional forms of racism operate in the spheres of coaching and management has largely been ignored within the existing literature on racism in football. In the third section of the chapter I review relevant theoretical debates concerning sport, imperialism and race. This in turn leads to the fourth section where I review the literature concerning the issue of institutional racism, focusing particularly on the Macpherson Report (1999). The final part of the chapter will explore how racialisation and whiteness operates within embodied social action and are present within patterns of discourse and forms of talk. I will connect Frantz Fanon's (1967) approach to identity and race with Erving Goffman's (1956) ideas about social action, performance and dramaturgy to develop a theoretical framework for what I refer to as 'racialised performances.'

In addition, I will discuss the usefulness of narrative analysis in understanding the ways in which talk and personal narrative is racialised. This will provide a means in the thesis to examine the ways black and white players understand and respond to racism in their lives as they progress from being a player to becoming a coach or a manager. Before doing this, I turn first to the way black athletes have been represented within the sociology of sport.

1.1 Sport, race, culture and ethnicity

Pathologising the black athlete in soccer

The accounts given of the experiences of black sportsmen in sociology have largely resulted in a pathological image of the black athlete. For example, the work of Cashmore

(1982,1990) presents a negative idea type of black family life in which black families in Britain are unsupportive, which leads to black children being culturally disadvantaged. The school and sport systems then compensate for the limitations of black family life as revealed in this quotation.

It is tempting to see the source of black kids' sporting involvement and success as the family. A rough-hewn psychological explanation would hold that, because second generation Caribbeans and Africans in the UK are raised in single-parent families, in almost every case the parent being the mother, the children pass into an emotional void at the ages of 13 or 14 and seek out father figures in the shape of sports coaches with whom they form compensatory attachments. (Cashmore,1982:79).

Cashmore portrays the black family as hardworking, lacking a positive male identity, and neglecting the psychological needs of young black children in the context of English society. He essentialises the black family as having a 'deviant' cultural pathology. Whilst he diagnoses sport as a central life interest, where black men find meaningful identity. He does not analyse the diversity of black family life as described in the work of Davidson (1998) and Sewell (1997). Both revealed how racism in British society, influences the construction of black families in the school system as maladjusted and in the sport as seeking escapism.

Sargeant (1982) and Carrington and Wood (1982) follow a similar deficit model of black family life to that of Cashmore (1982). Both make comparative studies of black and white pupils and their relationship to school and sport. They conclude that for black children sporting achievement compensates for academic failure, resulting from racism

within the school system. Black students are stereotyped as being naturally good at sport, where they seek a space to be themselves. Sport becomes a mechanism to elicit good behaviour from black men. Black athletes then colonise sport as an 'ethnic territory' and the implications are that black sportsmen are seen to have a single identity, which can only be valued through sport.

My argument is that the 'pathologisation' of the black sportsman is further compounded by the obsession with the black, male body. Kane's (1971) work asserts that by surviving slavery black men became more relaxed and physically stronger and thus suited to a performance on the field of play. Such ideas legitimate spurious notions of 'racial biology' and reinforce the culture of racism itself. This approach to race and sport also separates the functions of the black body and the black mind. For Edwards (1973) the propaganda of the black male athlete as physically stronger distracts from the wider structural and microforms of racism.

This theme, of separating the black body and the black mind, making black sports men distinct as a racial category, has been used more recently in the work of Entine (2000). Entine (2000) work argues that black men are superior athletes because of their statistical success in the last four Olympic games. Entine (2000) by using anthropological data, links the status of race to biological factors, thus dangerously making the black sportsman a case of special obsession, who's identity is continually rooted to his body in the sports field.

The outcome of this obsession with the black, male body has led to a number of damaging studies, which continue to focus on the performances of black men on the playing field. Victor's (1993) work further colludes with the notion that slavery as a selective form of breeding, has contributed towards the emergence of black players in English football. The black sportsman is then projected as different from other sports men because of the pathological link to slavery where he is analysed as biologically different both as a man and in terms of a racial phenomena.

This propensity to adopt a biological approach to racism and sport has lead to consideration of the positioning of black players as 'stacked' because of their racial attributes into specific position on the sports field. Merrill and Melnick's (1988) work view racism as operating in the selection of playing positions where they found a high percentage of black players placed on the wing or in centre forward positions. McGuire (1991) found similar patterns in his smaller, comparative study of the positioning of black players in both the English and European Leagues over a four- season period.

Both argue that white coaches conclude that the black body is disconnected from any forms of intelligence, and can only operate through the use of natural speed and physical strength. Consequently black players could not be trusted to make decisions in vital positions in the field, particularly in midfield, but had the necessary speed to operate as forwards. The stacking theory fails to analyse the implications of the cultural practices of white men when black players finish playing and have to prove they have the intelligence to work in other parts of the institutions of English soccer.

McCarthy and Jones (1997) study of television commentator's language reveals further the power of white men's thought and language in institutionalising the biological images of black sports men. Through his analysis of the narratives of Football commentators over 100 'Match of the Day' games, white players were normalised in relation to their psychological characteristics as opposed to the normalisation of black players through their physical abilities.

The trend to connect biology and race then distracts from the ways in which whiteness is a pattern of actions that 'pathologises' the black soccer player. The outcome is that race and biology emerges as an ideology which leads to black sports men being seen as not having sufficient intelligence or authority to move into the industry of coaching and management that is dominated by white men.

This reluctance to understand why the black sports man is continually pathologised has evolved through the lack of a coherent theory that explains the relationships between black sportsmen and their experiences of racism inside of sport. In the American context Arthur Ashe's (1993) three volumes on the African-American athlete considers the political positioning of black sports men since 1612. He looked at the significance of segregation and the civil rights period as important moments in which race inequality can be seen to be featured in American sport. Ashe's (1993) analysis of the experiences of popular sporting icons of the periods, particularly the black boxers; Jack Johnson, Jessie Owen and Muhammad Ali, illustrate the way that American sport mirrors wider racial and political forms of exclusion through the forms of compliance and resistance adopted

by black men in sport.

A series of black feminist writers have also drawn important attention to forms of racism and masculinity that are relevant to the perception of black men in sport. hooks (1982) and Wallace (1982) argue that pathologising black men has led to them being discredited and unable to find a place in the corporate structures of America. The implication in the context of American sport is that black men have very limited control in an industry where they are defined simply as physical objects. Hazel Carby (1998) argues that the prominence of black sportsmen in the media and in public life - what she refers to as a 'stark reversal of visibility - conceals partially the lack of power and influence they have beyond the sporting arena and the continued social marginalisation of black men within the wider society.

In the British context of soccer, Vasili's (1998) study of Arthur Wharton, the first black player in English soccer, looks at racism within a class analysis. Vasili (1998) looks historically at the emergence of black players and approaches race by examining how black players are identified as different within the locations of English soccer, because of their skin colour. This is illustrated in the following quotation:

"If black players are assessed as black players first and players second this creates for them a social context which sets them apart from their white colleagues. To ignore this and assess them only as footballers is both insensitive and selective. Their colour is an integral part of their experience" (Vasili, 1994:7).

Vasili (2000) analyses the race barriers black players faced in the period 1890- 1960, without situating how whiteness and class as processes of normalisation are featured in

the types of exclusionary cultures black players were moving into. This issue of neglecting to examine how forms of whiteness emerge in the English game is partially addressed in the work Carrington and McDonald (2001). The strength of their work is to break the traditions of seeing biological and cultural forms of race as fixed, and to look at sport as a zone of multi-cultural and nationalistic identities. Sport is a space of social contestation that is open to change and cultural differences.

Carrington and McDonald (2001) review the attempts by recent writers in the area of sport and race, Scraton on race, gender and exclusion, Back, Crabble and Solomos on the changing spheres and forms of racism in soccer, to show the important relationship between race, society and sport. What is missing from this book is a non-academic, grounded and grass-roots perspective that captures the micro processes of how social actors, through their interaction make sense of their world in sport. Unfortunately the literature in this area that describes the every day mundane actions of black men in sport, is still restricted to white biographers' preoccupation with seeing black men as strange.

What comes through in the text of white biographers is an obsession with seeing the emergence of black players as signalling something 'mysteriously different' and representing a disquieting newness in the English game. Woolnough's (1983) notion of 'black magic' symbolised black players as having special mythical qualities, which set them aside from their white working class colleagues during the 1980s. The problems black players then had in trying to integrate into soccer in this period, were determined by the need to adjust to the codes and expectations that were defined by white players,

coaches and managers, as illustrated in the first quotation from Darren.

The need for black players to assimilate through sport enables Glanvill (1996) to talk about Ian Wright as a problematic, young black man, from a dysfunctional childhood, who is normalised by obtaining citizenship within the white working class masculine codes of soccer. Soccer then has an important role in 'civilising' the misplaced black man. This theme to see sport as civilising the black soccer player is seen in a more specific way in the work of Hill (1982) in his analysis of John Barnes. Hill (1982) attempts to place the issues of race within a cultural and political context by using Barnes' experiences to explore the pressures black players confront in an industry which shapes their identity by demanding that they 'play the white man' on white men's terms.

The autobiographical texts of black players have not offered sufficient empirical evidence of the range and hidden political and cultural responses of black players to the institutions within soccer. Gullit's (1997) also in Harris (1996) refusal to name himself as black, adopting the identity of the 'overseas coach' when he talks about experiences of racist chanting from white crowds, reveals the pressures placed on black men to disguise their experiences of racism in the game. Although Ferdinand (1997) and Cole (1999) also in Orakwue (1998) make a more concrete link between racism and the behaviour of white coaches and their images of black players as having 'a chip on their shoulder'. These types of acts are described as isolated moments and not as ongoing patterns of behaviours of white men inside of football.

Barnes (1998) attempts to link the pathologising of the black soccer player to wider social processes in society. In moving from Liverpool and trying to get a job as a coach, he describes a change from the overt racist culture of white Football crowds, to a more covert form of whiteness in management, hidden by the reluctance of white chairmen to talk about how they continually select white coaches and managers. Earle (1998) as well as Barnes (1998), sees soccer as reflecting external forms of structural racism. Earle (1998) openly acknowledges a lack of faith from within the white institutions of soccer to trust black men with the responsibility of being coaches and managers. Both Barnes (1998) and Earle (1998) begin to identify the implications for black players being 'pathologised' as having a significant impact on their long-term career in soccer.

The autobiographical text of white players and managers pay little attention to the issue of race and racism in their relationships with black players. When they do speak about race it is often couched in crude racist ways. Atkinson's (1998) reference to the change in attitude in the second generation of black players, who think that 'life owes them a living' and Clough's (1996) perception of Justin Fashanu as a difficult, confused, 'black poof' show the types of dismissive and homophobic forms of whiteness that operate inside soccer.

What comes through in the autobiographies of 'football men' like Graham (1996), Charlton (1995), Dagnish (1996) and Venables (1995) is that they don't have to think about issues of racism. The routines in the game that define the nature of the professional culture are unconscious to them, they simply don't have to acknowledge the privileges of being white men and, as a result the issue of race is simply deemed irrelevant. This issue

of white men not having to recognise their actions as leading to forms of exclusion in the structures of Football is best illustrated by Kelly's (1999) reluctance as Chief Executive, to disclose the processes of racialisation that are taking place at the Football Association or the processes of racial inequality in the system itself.

When sociological issues of race and identity have been more directly explored in the context of soccer, the link has not really been made between the experiences of black players and how cultures of racism operate inside soccer. While there are a few exceptions to this general rule (Back, Crabbe and Solomos 1998, 2001) the literature on racism has been primarily concerned with issues of fan behaviour and the connection between racism and 'football hooliganism'. John Williams (1994) has examined the issues of race and identity at the local level within a black club based in the Midlands. Williams' (1994) work looks at the importance of neighbourhood, and the articulation of black male identities in Football. However, William's (1994) account is limited and does not represent the multifaceted responses of black people in relation to the wider culture of football and how they are situated in relation to the world of white men who control the game at a local level. Equally, Westwood (1992) looked at the ways black men form a masculine identity through the roles of street activities and soccer in the local context, but, like Williams (1994), she does not consider the relationships between the individual and the institution within the professional cultures, or the relationship between local clubs and the wider structure of football culture.

When sociological issues of racism have been analysed as part of English soccer the link has traditionally been made with the Football stadium. Firstly, Taylor (1971,1982) has

focused on right wing expressions and the defence of working class traditions. Secondly, the Leicester School of Football research has adopted an Elysian, evolutionary model to explain how white working class men become part of evolving, political class expressions (Williams J, Dunning ,E.G, Murphy 1984; William's 1991).

The recent attempts to look at race and class and its multi-faceted complexities have been addressed through the work of Robson (2000) and his focus on the complicated layers of class identity at Millwall Football Club. This approach to examining the relationship between race and other forms of identity has also been researched through the work of Back, Crabbe and Solomos (1998:2001) and their notion of 'beyond the hooligan couplet'. Through their ethnographic study of racialised fan cultures at Everton, Manchester City, Millwall and Crystal Palace they attempt to look at the different ways identities are expressed in different fan cultures.

Back, Crabbe and Solomos (1998) also examined the international significance of the Jamaican world cup experience and the experiences of black fans during the tournament and their positioning in the Football stadium. They attempt to explain the experiences of the actors, both the players and the fans, without asserting that racism operates in a one dimensional way inside of football as expressed in the work of Bowler and Bain (2000) and Kuper (1994).

Williams' (1996) work, in the context of American sport, that links the black athlete's response to racism from the terraces to having to adopt a professionalism a 'citizen

deference paradigm' Black players are expected to accept racism from the terrace as part of the process of being a black professional sports person; and challenging racism will have a detrimental affect on their professional development in other spheres in the sport as reflected in this quotation from Williams (1996):

“Accounts by black athletes disclose that they often experience an internal violence which is accompanied by their inability to protest. Their means of reconciling racism to blatant racial abuse was the belief that they carry on their shoulders the future prospect of an entire race” (Williams,1996:8).

The above quotation raises the important relationship between the internal and external worlds of black athletes. Unfortunately the pattern in sports literature has been to assess black athletes as only having one world that can be seen in their behaviour on the field. This propensity to judge black athletes' adjustment to the culture of the sport by their performance on the sports field is illustrated further in the work of Jarvie (1991). He looks at the ways Caribbean men negotiate their identity in the sports field “after the period of colonialism”, where the potential for black men to self-actualise is denied through the historical, white spaces in soccer and rugby. This assumption, that black men are unable to express themselves through sport because of the powerful legacy of whiteness is repeated in MacClany's (1990) anthropological perspective of sport. MacClany (1990) looks at how the Turkish, Pakistani, Italian and American communities negotiate their identities in the sports field without regard for the cross-cultural exchanges that take place in this sphere.

I argue it is important to assess how cross-cultural negotiations take place in sport in the

way that black men adjust to whiteness through the cultural acts needed to perform to fit in. In this respect Keele's (1991) work shows how an English village uses cricket to create a white, rural identity, identifying whiteness as a pattern of action. This is achieved through the very ordinary acts of drinking and playing cricket within a very close knit community. Thus, these mundane acts of white men are crucial to understanding the ways that forms of whiteness can be named within the institutions of sport. Whiteness is the individual and collective actions, that are historical and lived out in these spheres that become coded through routines that become naturalised in the ways white men live inside sport.

The deliberation to explore how acts of white men form whiteness has taken place as a consequence of the obsession with fixing the black athlete as pathological, thus making the culture of white men normal. Hoberman's (1997) work shows that the construction of the black athlete as rooted to the sports field, makes him incapable of becoming a coach or a manager inside the white imagination. Hoberman (1997) suggests that the 'athletising of the black mind' leads the black sports man to internalise his position on the field. Hoberman (1997), unfortunately, focuses on the ideological affects of race stereotyping. He does not look at how forms of whiteness operate as direct acts of discrimination that are experienced by black sports men, except when describing how white coaches and managers feel black men do not have the intelligence or the authority to take a position as a coach.

Throughout this research I will undermine and shatter the pathologised stereotypes of black sportsmen reviewed above. I will examine how race and racism - as patterns of

action and talk - have been influenced by historical and cultural factors in order to examine how black and white individuals negotiate their role and position in a variety of relationships and spheres. Within this study 'race' is conceived as patterns of social action and understanding through which racialised identities emerge. In this sense 'race' is not a biological fact. Rather, race is understood in the context of this thesis as a socially constructed and politically constituted phenomenon. I am concerned here to examine the precise nature of the meanings of race and also examine the affects of racism as a process of relationships in which black players are adapting to new locations in which they are confronted by new forms of inclusion or exclusion.

1.2 Experiences of racialised exclusion in the institutions of sport

When considering how issues of racism and exclusion have been analysed in soccer, a great deal of recent attention has been paid to Asians' and other ethnic minority communities. Firstly, in the context of the playing field, Bains (1996) Bains and Sanjiev (1998) and Long (1994) show how race stereotyping acts as a barrier to Asian participation in relation to the demands of 'English' soccer. Secondly, Bradbury's (2001) study of the participation and representation of minority ethnic groups, from spectators to administrators, shows that the higher the position in the institutions of sport the lower the representation of minority ethnic groups.

Unfortunately Bradbury (2001) does not explain nor analyse how race inequality operates as a process, and how race is defined as a series of acts that cannot be located

simply under the static term of minority ethnic groups. Thus the relationship between the individual and the institutions of soccer becomes recified because of the failure to name how micro processes operate and to consider how they become part of organisational cultures that lead to the exclusion of Asian players and ethnic minorities, specially in managerial and administrative positions.

This approach, to recify the experiences of those excluded, is a trend repeated in Szymanski's (1997) work on the inequality of the payment structure of professional footballers. Szymanski's (1997) twenty-year survey demonstrated how the labour market in soccer paid less money to black players than to their white counter-parts, despite a higher level of performance, yet he fails to analyse the implications of how these actors are valued by the institution on the basis of race differences.

The issues of values and consciousness of the actors in institutions are more concretely addressed in Shropshire's (1994) study of how black agents are excluded due to a lack of race consciousness amongst black athletes. Shropshire's (1994) contribution is important in that, by showing that black athletes preferred to have a white agent because they believed they could negotiate better deals, the significance of race consciousness as a form of deference to whiteness is raised. Unfortunately this approach to consciousness does not look at the insight white men have in terms of their own power and privileges, and their capacity to abuse black men in the institutional settings of coaching and management.

This connection between race, power and consciousness is discussed in Desenji's (1994) analysis of the way sports' management operates from a mono-cultural rather than a multi-cultural perspective. This approach suggests the acceptance of black players into management is restricted by having to integrate into one form of culture. It does not recognise that cultures are created by individuals who have the power to interpretate their lives and frame their customs and values inside sport.

I argue, therefore, that we cannot talk about one specific form of racism, or one specific form of inclusion or exclusion. The actors involved in football have different histories and very different experiences as victims and perpetrators of racism. In this respect I think the work of Balibar and Wallerstein (1991) approach to the changing and transforming legacies of how race and nation manifest in ambiguous' forms of identities, can be applied to understanding the processes and dynamics that take place between white and black men in the transition from playing into coaching and management. This quotation shows that race and culture are patterns that change:

It immediately reintroduces the old distinction between 'closed' and 'open', 'static' and 'enterprising', 'cold' and 'hot', 'gregarious' and 'individualistic' societies - a distinction which, in its turn, brings into play all the ambiguity of the notion of culture (Balibar and Wallarstein,25:1991).

I will use this idea of 'ambiguous identities' to show that the movement of black players into the institutions of coaching and management is dependent upon a range of historical, cultural and social' factors, where their experiences of and responses to the racism will lead to different types of outcomes. In the quotation from Balibar and Wallarstein (1991)

culture and identity are not closed, which I will be using in this research to examine how the contradictions of race, culture and identity operate inside soccer.

1.3 Theories of race connecting to race barriers in soccer

One of the reasons that black soccer players become essentialised in soccer is because of the crude way racism and inequality has been explained through a very broad hegemonic model of sport and society. Hargreaves' (1986) work sees hegemonic relations as influenced by the ideologies of class. He focuses on sport as a cultural and political form that determines working class formations within a bourgeois model, from the 19th century to the period of post-modern Britain. Race is marginalised within class relationships and racism is seen to operate through racial stereotypes or acts of xenophobia. This is because, unlike Ramdin (1987) who more specifically analyses how race is experienced through class in English society, Hargreaves (1986) locates the experiences of black people as primarily operating from within the social processes of class, masculinity and locality.

James' (1967) work more specifically looks at how race is positioned within a hegemonic class society from slavery, to the 'Victorian era' and on, to the early 1950's, in the context of sport. The strength of James' (1967) work is that he analyses the relationship between perceptions of skin colour, class, nationalism and professional competence inside sport. James (1967) describes how dark skinned cricket players from the Caribbean were excluded from the position of captaincy, which was given to white English men. It

is this relationship between exclusion by skin colour and nationality, as illustrated in the quotation from James (1967) that I will use in my research to look at the perceptions made of black English sports men making the transition into positions of coaching and management that are presently taken up by white English men.

“Yes they are fine players but funny isn’t it they cannot be responsible for themselves, they will always need a white man to lead them” (James, 1967:232)

James (1967) uses the ‘boundary’ within the cricket field, as a metaphor to show how racism as a ‘boundary’ and a ‘barrier’ operates when black people make the transition into positions beyond playing and face the idea that competence equals whiteness. James’ (1967) empirical analysis of cricket illustrates how institutional cultures within sport mirror and enact processes of white supremacy. The notion of whiteness is described in the work of Welsing (1991) as having ‘symbolic’ implications for representations, images and roles that are dominated by white men. I will use whiteness, similar to the work of Roediger (1991), who examined how different ethnic groups compete for the privileges of whiteness during the period of slavery, to illustrate the social and cultural pressures that are placed on black players in the different ways they deal with having to be subservient to white men to obtain a job a head of another white man as a coach or a manager.

The power of white men to use skin colour as an indicator of competence has important implications for my research within the context of British society, when considering the emergence of black players in the 1980’s. In Gilroy’s (1987) work he explores how black

is situated in the Union Jack. I will look more closely at what it means to be perceived as black and English when finding a place in the institutions of English soccer, beyond the sphere of playing, through the ways black men negotiate and manage their relationships with white men inside of soccer.

It is through these relationships that the tensions between race and nationality, between blackness and Englishness, between competence and fitting in, are revealed when looking at how black players are accepted into the English game in terms of whether they are given the same opportunities as white, English men. I will examine the position of race and acceptance when black players leave the field of play and compete with white men for jobs as coaches and managers. In considering the transition from the location of the field to the locations of coaching and management I will use Gilroy's (1993) idea of 'double consciousness'.

Gilroy (1993) adopts the idea of double consciousness from the work of Du Bois (1903) to discuss how black people reconcile with and make sense of their identity in moving from Africa and the Caribbean to the context of English society. I will look at how black and white men's consciousness in relation to their race and gender, impacts on their power and their identity in the movement from the sphere of playing to the spheres of coaching and management. I will develop the link between consciousness and action later on in this chapter through Frankenberg's (1993) work on race cognisance.

1.4 Understanding institutional racism in coaching and management

The aim of this research was to analyse how racism and inequality are enacted in the transition of black soccer players into the institutions of coaching and management. I looked at several spheres that black players have to move through, both emotionally and occupationally, from the playing field, the coaching qualification into coaching and management positions to establish how racism operates and it affect.

Within the different spheres and institutions involved in the transition I was interested in how racism, as a form of exclusion emerges and the processes and pathways that black players experienced. Some of these issues have been addressed in two of my previous papers, that looked at the experiences of black players moving into the setting of coaching and management, King (1994:2000).

The cultures of racism that exist in the spheres and institutions of soccer have recently been examined in the work of Back, Crabbe and Solomos (2001). In their work they examine how a white centred masculine identity becomes normalised in a range of spheres in Football from the pitch into the institutions of management and administration. Additionally Bradbury (2001) suggests a culture of exclusion emerges through a word of mouth, informal process of recruitment, without naming how this process operates and how it is constructed through white male, networks.

My research focused upon understanding how racism operates in the institutions of

football by examining how effective 'institutional racism' as a definition that had been used to explain racism in other organisational settings could be applied to soccer. In this respect, it is the Police Force that has most prominently been looked at. Since Lord Scarman's (1982) initial statement, after the Brixton Riots that there's no institutional racism in the Police force, but rather individual acts of racism. Sivanandian (1982) has attempted to understand institutional state racism through the power of immigration and its affects on the African and Caribbean communities in the context of British society. Brown's (1985) study of how institutional racism takes place in local government, with both intended and unintended outcomes through the acts of individuals, moves from describing racism in institutions to a model that tries to analyse it. This represents a progression towards understanding that racism is determined by how individuals act, and that racism can have affect when there are no intentions. Unfortunately this attempt to link individuals acts to institutions has been sabotaged since the murder of Stephen Lawrence with the emergence of the Macpherson Report (1999).

The Macpherson Report's (1999) definition of institutionalised racism encourages institutions to examine their practices without having to connect individual acts to institutional processes of racism. It is limited as a definition, when applied to the spheres of soccer coaching and management, because it cannot be used to unravel the implicit, and unspoken forms of racism that operate in these spheres. In the Macpherson Report (1999) institutional racism is defined as:

“The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate, professional service to people because of their

culture, colour or ethnic origins. It may be detected in processes, attitudes or behaviours that amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudices, ignorance and thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping that disadvantage racial and ethnic groups” (Macpherson Report,1999:17).

Macpherson’s (1999) definition of institutional racism focuses on racism that is unconscious and unintended, through processes that are ‘unwitting’. As a conceptual tool it is limited in describing and understanding of how individuals act in institutions can amount to discrimination on different levels. More seriously, it is unable to recognise that all individual acts can and do amount to a ‘collective failure’, and a range of people, both black and white, and various moments can be implicated in that failure.

Machperson (1999) has followed a theme in understanding racism in institutions by not looking more specifically at how individuals manage their relationships of power in institutional setting The approach of Carmichael and Hamilton (1967), in the era of the black power movement, analyses issues of power by seeing institutional racism as separate from individual racism:

Racism is both overt and covert. It takes two closely related forms, individual whites acting against blacks and acts by total white community against black community. We call these: individual racism and institutional racism. The first consist of covert acts by individuals, which cause death, injury or the violent destruction of property. These types can be recorded, they can be frequently observed in the process of the common. The second type is less overt, far subtler, and less identifiable in terms of specific individuals committing the act. The second type originates in the operation of established and respected forces in the society and receives far less public condemnation than the first (Carmichael and Hamilton,1967:32).

The problem, diagnostically, with this definition of institutionalised racism is that it operates as a macro political analysis of exclusionary processes. Individual processes are, in this approach, disconnected from institutional outcomes. In Charles' (1982) work he states that it is important to have more than one definition of institutional racism to account for the complexity of the relationships between individuals and institutions. Charles (1982) introduces the need for a more flexible model to name and understand how processes of racism operate. I argue in support of Miles' (1984, 1989) quotation below that advocates a model that examines the determinate forces of racism, by examining complicated racialised processes that operate in organisational cultures:

The concept of institutional racism therefore refers to circumstances where racism is embodied in exclusionary practices or in formally non-racialised discourse. But in both cases it is necessary to demonstrate the determinate influence of racism (Miles,1989:87).

Miles' (1989) central point is the need to outline and name the determinate influences of racism and I will attempt to do this through my research'. This has similarly been attempted in the work of Small (1994) who studied the different processes of racism in the English and American context, through an analysis of the housing, educational and employment systems. I will use the idea of 'racialisation' as a process in which the central task in understanding how racism features in institutions is to examine how individuals act, both black and white men, will have implications for the forms of racism in the institutions of coaching and management.

To understand how individual acts have consequences for institutions, I will shift this

research away from Macpherson's (1999) approach of seeing institutional racism as 'unwitting', or based on ignorance. Similar to the work of Back, Crabbe and Solomos (2001) I will focus on the affects of people's actions as constituting racism. I will look at how the culture of an organisation reveals qualities of 'racialisation' in different spheres. Thus we can begin to see how a culture emerges in coaching and management through the ways that white men behave and create forms of familiarity that reinforce their position as managers and ensure that they are never made accountable to forms of whiteness that exclude black players from the roles of being coaches and managers.

In this research I want to analyse whiteness, in the context of soccer coaching and management, as a process of 'racialisation' by looking at the privileges white men have in relation to black players and their capacity to exploit these privileges. More specifically, in the institutions of coaching and management white men develop patterns of being at ease that disadvantaged black men when competing for jobs with white men.

In this respect I am using racialisation as a way to understand the processes by which white men function through patterns of actions that form associations and lead to a specific culture in coaching and management. I argue that these are the processes in which whiteness is featured through white, masculine identities and through performances that are at the very centre of the institutional cultures that influence and determine the way that black soccer players must perform to be accepted.

1.5 Racialised performances and racialised narratives as frameworks for looking at the institutions of coaching and management

In this research I will use the concept of ‘racialised performance’ by combining Goffman’s (1956) theory of performance with Fanon’s (1967) approach to how racial identity is constructed and enacted. My study examines how black players have to perform, to ‘play the white man’ both on the field of play and in their relationships with white men when they move into the spheres of coaching and management. The idea of ‘racialised performance’ will examine how black and white men perform in relation to the powers and privileges they have in the industry of soccer.

Firstly, in terms of how processes of racism operate inside of soccer, I argue that Fanon's work (1967) that sees black men developing their identity and their place in the social world through their relationships with white men, translates to the processes of soccer when black men relate to white men as coaches and managers, and as potential employers. Black players have to adjust to the stereotypes made in relation to their body to the cultural changes necessary to move into the institutions of coaching and management. Fanon’s (1967) quotation below illustrates the pressures placed on black men to survive in a white world, which is also pertinent to the world of soccer:

“Not only must the black man be black, he must be black in relation to the white man. In the white world the man of colour encounters powers in his bodily schema, consciousness of his body is solely a negative activity. It is a third-person consciousness. The body is surrounded by an atmosphere of certain uncertainty. He discovered his blackness, his ethnic

characteristics. Battered down by tom-toms, cannibalism, intellectual deficiency, fetishism, racial defects, slave ships” (Fanon,1967:112).

I will use Fanon’s (1967) quotation to examine the challenges faced by black players retiring from the field of play, when their body is no longer needed and they have to perform to new expectations of whiteness i.e. to ‘play the white man’ in the spheres of coaching and management. Consequently when black players try to get a job as a coach or a manager, the pressure to conform whilst in the field is replaced by a psychological pressure to fit into a culture which requires a new performance to be accepted.

Fanon’s (1967) work, sees that acceptance by the white man is determined by the black man’s ability to assume his culture and his language, revealing the overwhelming need to adopt the white man’s standards of behaviour and speech through the use of the white ‘mask’. I will use the metaphor of the ‘mask’ to show how black players, moving into coaching and management spaces, use the ‘mask’ both as a public performance and as an internal mechanism to survive the pressures of being essentialised simply as a black coach or a black manager.

In the course of this research I see racism in football as constructed by how individuals make sense of their history, their lives and their social relationships in the different spheres of football. My argument is that, in the attempt to move beyond forms of essentialism, to concentrate on the performance of the racialise ‘mask’ as a flexible tool that is not duped or controlled by needing to act like white men we must examine the consciousness of the actors.

In the second part of this process of examining how forms of racism and inequality are featured inside of soccer I will use the work of Frankenberg (1993). Frankenberg's (1993) work argues that one's race cognisance, is central to how people understand their role in perpetuating racism and inequality. Secondly he argues that the cognisance of one's race will shape one's power evasiveness. In this research I will establish that there is a number of contradictory relationships between individual consciousness and individual actions, and that this has implications for institutional racism inside of football.

I argue in this research that the consciousness of one's race influences both black and white men's performances and their responsibility and responses to racism, in different ways. More importantly black and white men will understand the power they have in the institutions of coaching and management in different ways. This leads to a system in which white men perform without having to think about their power as white men to system where black men are always having to assess the power they do not have in relation to white men.

In the third part of this process of exploring how racism can be detected through acts that are influenced by the race cognisance of the individual I will concentrate on the idea of performance through the work of Goffman (1956). Goffman (1956) work considers how individuals preserve themselves through the roles they perform. I will examine how the race cognisance of the individual influences the roles that are performed and the implications for the forms inequality that emerge inside of soccer.

I will examine the performances that take place in the settings of coaching and management, particularly how white men work and shape the behaviour of black men. To understand how individuals contribute towards institutionalised racism, I will explore the connection between race cognisance and how individuals perform their role inside of the institutions of soccer in relation to the work of Goffman (1956). Erving Goffman in his influential book *The Presentation of Self in Every Day Life* (1956) quoted Robert Park to illustrate the relationship between ‘masks’ and ‘roles’:

It is probably no mere historical accident that the word person in its first meaning is a mask. It is a recognition of the fact that everyone and everywhere, more or less consciously plays a role. It is these roles that we know each other: it is these roles that we know ourselves. In a sense and in so far as this mask represents the conception we have formed of ourselves, the role we are striving to live up to, this is our true self, the self we would like to be. In the end, our conceptions our roles become second nature and an integral part of our personality (Robert Park quoted in Goffman,1956:30).

Goffman’s (1956) idea of performance and what he calls dramaturgy becomes useful in analysing the social roles featured in the performances of white personnel. Through their actions they convey implicitly the standards required to become a coach or a manager. In the context of this research I will explore the ways black players access the stages, where white men perform their roles in the setting of the coaching qualification and the settings of coaching and management. I will use Goffman’s (1956) idea of ‘mystification’, which he describes as the social distance between actors when moving into a new role. This idea of distance is applicable to the examination of how black men become excluded by the requirements of the new performances which must be enacted if they are to be accepted

into jobs as coaches and manager. Goffman's (1956) quotation below outlines the processes of being inducted into a new role:

It is common to say that different social groups express in different way such attributes as age, sex, territory and class status and that in each these bare attributes are celebrated by means of a distinctive cultural complex configuration of proper ways of conducting oneself. To be a given kind of person then, is not merely to possess the required attributes, but to sustain the standards of the conduct and appearance of that social group. When the individual does not move into a new position in society and obtains a new part to perform he is likely to be told in full detail how to conduct himself, nor will the facets of his new situation press sufficiently upon him from the start to determine his conduct without his further thought to it. Ordinarily he will be given a few cues, hints and stage direction, and it will be assumed that he has in his repertoire a large number of bits and pieces of performances that will be required in the new setting (Goffman,1956:79).

It is pertinent, in Goffman's (1956) work, that, through 'teams', the 'routines' of the performance are protected by the actors. On entry to the spheres of coaching and management teams of individuals emerge who control access into the 'social establishment'. The social establishment, confirms the action needed to enter a team in two ways described by Goffman (1956) as firstly the 'front stages' and secondly through the 'back stages'. In this research I will reveal how team performances are nurtured and protected, in which white men act in different ways in the front stage, where the public performance of whiteness is distinct to how whiteness operate in the back stage, where the implicit and unspoken processes of racism take place.

It is within these back stages that information about the role of the coach and manager is

controlled, in an industry where appointments to such positions are often informal and where more specifically Goffman's (1956) ideas of secrets, particularly 'inside' secrets becomes fundamental to how the performers in the social establishment gain access. Through the process of maintaining an exclusivity, through secrets, the performers will develop character relationships with each other in which they learn different gestures, ways of stage talking and methods of perceiving the audience, referred to as team collusion in this statement by Goffman (1956):

Team mates everywhere employ an informally and often unconsciously learned vocabulary of gestures and looks by which collusive staging cues can be communicated (Goffman,1956:89).

This study will examine the gestures, words and methods of team performances that operate in soccer and lead to the establishment of regions in which white men keep secrets from black men and inhibit their ability to become coaches and managers. It will explore how men perform in relation to their consciousness of their race and how these performances lead to practices that be named by the capacity to exclude one group and include the other.

In the fourth process of identifying and naming processes of inequality and racism my research will identify the ways in which racism in football is perpetuated through the narratives of players, coaches and managers. I will use Portelli's (1991) work on narratives to look at the radically different ways black and white men make sense of their lives in this system, and how this affects the powers they have to survive and progress in the institutions of coaching and management.

The aim of this research, through a range of interviews, is to focus on the value of narrative analysis to see how institutional racism, in the spheres of coaching and management are dependent on how individuals rationalise both their experiences and their identities through their talk.

The key concepts I want to develop in this thesis are the notions of ‘racialised performances’ and ‘racialised narratives’. I will use these ideas to conceptually and methodologically develop a more intensive analysis of how institutional forms of racist exclusion operate inside soccer. More specifically I argue that institutionalised racism is the processes within which the way that people think about their race has implications for their performances and actions. These actions are enacted in the professional cultures of soccer and lead to a range of racialised forms of inclusion and exclusions in the institutions of coaching and management.

Model for examining institutionalised racism in Football coaching and management.

Racialised Narratives.

Race Consciousness

Racialised Inclusion.

Racialised Exclusion.

Racialised Performance

The above diagram illustrates the key concepts that will be used in this research to analyse how the subjectivity and the different levels of race consciousness of the social actors leads to different behaviours that are enacted in the institutions of soccer. It is by examining these actions and there outcomes, which leads to a more complex understanding of how institutional cultures inside football coaching and management operate.

1.6 Conclusion

In this first chapter I have outlined how I intend to examine the ways black players adjust

to the new demands placed on them through having to 'play the white man' in order to see how forms of exclusion and inclusion operate inside football. I will explore, in this research the tensions between 'playing the white man', in terms of having to copy the white man's behaviour, and 'playing the white man' in terms of inverting acts of white men to survive and progress in the institutions of coaching and management. I argue black players now face a new type of racism in addition to the race stereotypes that have been used to pathologised them as different. There has been a reluctance to link their experiences of exclusion inside of football to political and ideological factors of racism that operate outside the institutions of soccer. In this respect I will use Kovell's (1988) work on the psychology of racism in which he describes two types of racism, dominant and aversive. I will explore dominant forms of racism in the ways that white men act towards black players in the field of play, and aversive form of racism in relation to embodied forms of whiteness that are enacted in the institutions of coaching and management.

I am particularly interested in how black men invert and manipulate the pressure to act on the terms of white men firstly through using Basso's (1967) work on the use of parody. I argue that black men can shape how they have been affected by the acts of white men by deciding how they want to 'play the white man'. Secondly I want to consider the political position of black men using Malcolm X's (1967) notion of the 'field nigger' and the 'house nigger', in terms of whether black men are simply resistant or subservient to the power of white men. I believe the echo of slavery in this period does not automatically mean that black men will either defy or sell out to acts of white men. It is by examining

their different responses that the diversity of their strategies to survive racism in side of soccer can be used to show that 'play the white man' is a complicated and multi-faceted mechanism used by black players.

In the next chapter I will discuss in more details the research and the methodological tools, from statistics, interviews to participant observation methods that have been used to analyse the 'racialised performances' of both black and white players making the transition from playing into coaching and management. I want to pay more specific attention to the methods and ethical issues in exploring how institutional processes of racism take place in coaching and management by evaluating how black players respond to the acts of white men that emerge as distinct forms of whiteness in football.

CHAPTER TWO

The politics and ethics of research into racism in football

Past research into black men and black soccer players has created many pathologies through the sociological and anthropological gaze. Some of these concerns were discussed in the first chapter with reference to the work of Kane (1971) Cashmore (1982), Victor (1993) and Entine (2000). In this chapter I will outline how I researched the barriers faced by black ex-professional players in their transition into the institutions of coaching and management. I consider myself to be in a unique position having taken on, simultaneously a variety of different roles as a sociologist, an activist, a coach and a course participant. In this respect I have observed the illusion of equality in sport from a range of different positions. The responsibilities of reconciling with these roles became apparent during an interview with a black ex-player. As I sat listening to Steven, a famous black player of the 1980s, talking about how he felt my research had enabled him to get his coaching job at the Football Association, I realised I could research and challenge racism at the same time:

Me talking to you may have indirectly got me the interview, the stuff that you have being doing may have indirectly got me the job, they think these people are lobbying to raise the profile of black players in England (Steven Lewis, interview, 1997).

Steven's comment reveals the central aim of this research project, that is to uncover the hidden processes that affect the transition of black ex-players moving into coaching and management. It aims to make more specific how racialised forms of

inclusion and exclusion operates inside the institutions of football. The interview also shows the possible outcomes of occupying several inter-related roles: as a researcher and the secretary for the Martin Shaw King Trust, an organisation challenging representation of black people in coaching and management. I will examine the issues that emerged in the conducting of the research and develop an argument about the wider relevance to issues of ethics, research practices and politics.

In the first part of this chapter, I will outline the different methods used in this research. I will firstly look at the ways quantitative methods have been used in sociology and the sociology of sport, and their use as an accurate indicator of the race positioning of players, coaches and managers in the institutions of the English game. I will then outline how I used quantitative methods to complement my semi-structured qualitative approach in relation to two specifically different sample groups.

The first sample group consisted of black ex-players, who started their playing careers during the 1980s and ended them in the 1990s. I looked at how their experiences of racism whilst playing lead to one group failing to make the transition into coaching and management compared to the second group of black players who did make this transition. The second sample consisted of white men in elite positions as managers, coaches, directors and stakeholders in the organisations of soccer.

Also in this first part of the chapter I will outline how I used semi-structured interviews over a one-year period in relation to my longitudinal study of seven black ex-players and five white ex-players making the transition from playing into positions as coaches and managers. I will discuss the use of the interviews to reveal the power

of narratives as described in the work of Portelli (1991), Rosaldo (1991) and Silverman (1993). I used narrative analysis to examine the different ways the players in my sample made sense of the same experiences, that is the transition from playing football to seeking a career in coaching and management.

I will then move on to discuss participant observation as a tool in sociological research and in relation to my project as complementing the quantitative and semi-structured methods used. I used participant observation to look at football culture in motion by observing and recording how the performances' of black and white players become racialised in the coaching qualification. I will explore the issues of positionality and the blurring of one's professional integrity by using the work of Burgess (1984) in relation to my dual roles as researcher and participant. It is through these methods that I gathered the different types of data, during the research process, to the theoretical approaches outlined in chapter one, particularly the notions of 'racialised performances' and 'racialised narratives'.

In the second part of this chapter I will outline the ethical issues of researching racism inside football as they relate to my different roles. The first ethical concern I will discuss is that of 'professional integrity' in relation to the research participants when uncovering racism in the institution of sport. This issue of 'professional integrity' points to the central tension over whether to protect the anonymity or expose individuals who are responsible for acts of racism. I will use Bourdieu (1999) work in relation to two issues that impact upon the ethics of professional integrity. Firstly the need to be faithful to everything we hear whilst trying to making sense of racist remarks. And secondly Bourdieu's (1999) approach to the 'spiritual' exercise that is

required, that is, to put to one side how I experienced racism myself in order to understand how white and black men act and talk and contribute to processes of racism in football.

The second ethical issue that I considered was that of how 'covert' processes in the research, particularly my presence, affected people's behaviour whilst I was researching them. I will discuss the issues that confronted me as a black, male sociologist trying to get inside and examine a system where I became part of, and also experienced processes of racialised discrimination.

In this second part of the chapter I will also explore the problems outlined in the work of Ladner (1973), Lawrence (1981) and Tucker (1996). I will explore the ways European sociological methods have contributed towards pathologising black people, and how this has influenced my ethical position whilst researching racism in the structures of football. The process of exploring how racism operated throughout the research, will be explored through a reflective approach to certain themes.

I will examine three themes in this part of the research project; firstly, how race is categorised in institutional settings; secondly, the different ways black and white men reacted to me in the face to face interview; and thirdly, how black and white men responded to me during the participant observation stage. These are the three different moments I want to use to explore the ethical issues that confronted me in researching racism in Football.

2.1 The method and researcher in action

A quantitative survey of race representation in soccer coaching, management and administration

Throughout this research project I appeal to Mills' (1959) notion that our private biographies influence our 'intellectual craftsmanship. In 1977 I was told I would not make it as a professional footballer as 'Niggers couldn't read the game'. In 1994 I was physically assaulted by a white course tutor whilst trying to obtain the Full Licence Coaching Award. Subsequently I approached the Sports Council and carried out a small piece of research, 'Black Players as Coaches and Managers' (1994). This research involved a quantitative survey of black and white men's positions in the game as players, coaches, managers and administrators. To further develop my craft I then approached a major educational institution with an application to investigate what was happening in the institutions of football that lead to black players being underrepresented as coaches and managers.

Initially I was told by one white man that I wasn't intelligent enough to do a PhD research. Secondly I was then told by another white men that I did not have the research skills to do the work. I consider these moments as important aspects of the 'craft' needed to persuade white men in authority that black researchers are competent. This experience represented one of the many similar barriers that black players faced, in terms of being judged in their efforts to work in an environment that is dominated by white men's perceptions.



In my position as the secretary of the Martin Shaw King Trust, an organisation named after my departed brother, Martin Shaw King, I was engaged in an activist role, using an Afrocentric approach to confront and change processes and procedures that militated against equity in the arena of sports management. I experienced some of these patterns of exclusion and discrimination first hand during the research process, when I was trying to obtain the UEFA A coaching award. Potentially, although the roles of activist, researcher and course participant overlapped, they were also complementary in that they enabled me to see racism from these different positions.

In my role as a researcher, my first priority was to choose a range of methods that would test my theory that racism and exclusion were processes that could be analysed through performance and narrative in the professional cultures of sport. My anxiety was that the research would be dismissed firstly because it was too close my own experiences and secondly because I would be accused of using these methods to explain racism inside football in a resolute manner. These are accusations rarely aimed at white researchers, Williams (1984) and Bradbury (2001), who do not talk about their relationship to the processes of racism, in the research, with the notable exception of Mac AN Ghail (1991).

My first task, in terms of this research, was to look critically at the racial breakdown of professional soccer players, from the 1980s to the start of the 21st century, who were making the transition into positions as coaches and managers within the 92 Football League Clubs. These statistics immediately illustrated the race disparity in that the significant posts within the Premier League, the Football Association, the League Managers' Association and the Professional Footballers' Association were all

held by white men. Statistics collected by Bradbury (2001) show that there are 57 black coaches, within 34 of the 92 Football League clubs. He does not show what positions black coaches are in or the qualifications they hold, despite using parts of my original research from 1994. His definitions of how race is used in football is confused, as he flits between the terms black, Asian and minority ethnic groups. Unfortunately he shows little specific understanding of the structure of coaching and how processes of racism operate in these clubs and the types of pressures black coaches experience.

I wanted to get a more accurate picture of how race as a category, is used in the organisations of sport to measure representation, I was aware of the ways statistical surveys in sociological studies had been used in the past to define social problems, for example Rowntree (1901), Booth and Bowley's (1906) study of poverty; and the work of Willmott and Young (1957) on East End Life. In relation to the politics of research into racism, Du Bois' work (1903) had successfully demonstrated the detrimental consequences of slavery in American southern life and, more critically, the need to research how racism emerges and the impact it has on people's lives.

Statistical approaches in football research have mainly been used in the areas of hooliganism and race chanting. Greenfield and Osborne (1996) looked at the effectiveness of football legislation in reducing race chanting over a 3-season period from 1991-1994. They used statistics to show a decline in race chanting in this period and a drop in prosecutions under Section 3 of the 1991 Football Offences Act. Racism was categorised by the chant, rather than the motive or the effect of the chants, instigated by mainly white audiences. The failure to collect data on the affects on

black fans means the more subtle intricacies of racism in the Football stadium were not explored.

In terms of statistical research into racism on the field of play, Merrill and Melnick (1989) contacted the public relations officers at the 27 English Football League clubs. They used a chi-square graph to show that a high percentage of black players were placed in wing or forward positions. McGuire (1991) looked at The Football League Directory to establish the race breakdown in terms of playing position by skin colour. He found similar trends to those identified by Merrill and Melnick (1989). Neither study seriously attempts to connect the quantitative data with the belief held by white managers and white coaches that black players do not have the intelligence to operate in midfield.

Szymanski's (1997) study of the different wages paid to black and white players, was based upon statistics taken from the photographs from the Rothmans football yearbook. Despite the problem of defining categories of race from black and white photographs. Szymanski (1997) demonstrates that black players were paid less, often for a better performance. This process of discrimination that values white men by giving them more money for a less effective performances is never analysed. The trend to categorise race statistically through photographs is redressed by Bains' (1996) research on the exclusion of South Asian men from Professional Football. Bains' (1996) 'Asians can't play football' research project sent questionnaires to a number of Asian Footballers about the perception of their roles in English soccer. In terms of my research, I looked at the statistical breakdown of black and white players, coaches, managers and administrative staff inside of Football so that I could target the

research towards the personnel I wanted to interview and observe. I approached the task of gathering statistical information in two different ways. Firstly, after establishing that Football agencies do not record by race, ethnicity or national origins, I looked at the Rothmans Yearbook over a six year period from 1993-1999. I found I was subjected to the same problems as McGuire (1989) and Szymanski (1997) in that I was crudely defining race as a category by looking at black and white photographs.

Secondly I then spent several months phoning Football Clubs to see if they had any information on the race breakdown of their staff. Generally they did not. Data collected by Vasili (1998) showed that there were 16% of black players in both the Premier League and the Football League compared to the Professional Footballers Association's estimate of 25% (Kick it out, 1994). Bradbury (2001) suggests there are 13%. I found that less than 7 first team coaches and four managers (including assistant managers) were black ex-players. Ruud Gullit, of Chelsea Football club, was the only black manager in the Premier League. At the Professional Footballers Association, Brendon Batson was the Deputy Chief Executive. The Football Association Council had an entirely white English membership, with only one black coach.

At the conclusion of this research in 2001 these patterns have changed slightly. According to Vasili (1998) there has been a decline in the numbers of black players in the Premier League and in the Football League. There is now one black manager in the Premier League, Jean Tigana of Fulham, who is of French origin. The pattern in terms of management shows an increasing number of English born, black managers located in the lower divisions. There is a small, but increasing, number of black coaches working under white coaches. In total however black coaches and managers

still represent less than 0.5% of the industry. A notable exception to the trend of black coaches working alongside white managers was the recent recruitment and dismissal of the black management team of Ricky Hill and Chris Ramsey at Luton Football Club in the season 2000-2001. Their appointment has challenged a historical trend of white men working with the same white men. Statistics show a pattern of the same white men working together, and moving together like a marriage throughout the different clubs structures in England soccer.

My research moved to the next level, from the statistical analysis of the overtly low numbers of black people in positions as coaches and managers, to examine how processes of exclusion and inclusion operated in football. In the next section I will outline the importance of qualitative semi-structured interviews to see the types of racism experienced by black players, in the transition into the professional cultures of coaching and management.

Assessing racialised exclusion through the analysis of talk

In this research I interviewed over 200 black and white personnel about their experiences in the institutions of coaching and management. I used semi-structured, qualitative interview format (see Appendix) to examine how these contrasting groups saw racism operating as a factor in the transition into coaching and management.

The first group I interviewed were a sample of the high number of black ex-players who came into the game during of the 1980s, who were just about to retire and were thinking about their career development in the 1990s. The second group consisted of

white men who had traditionally dominated the positions of coaching, management and administration. From the detailed interviews with white men I could see and name how forms of whiteness are colonised in the places in which they work and how their performances put pressure on black players to integrate on their terms.

Consequently, the interviews were used to develop an insight into the ways black ex-players seek a position alongside white men. Through a previous pilot project I found that personnel in football don't often respond to carefully structured, pre-coded questionnaires. They often don't have the time, are unable to commit themselves or feel uncomfortable talking about their feelings.

Jones (1997) touches on the themes of my own research, but only interviewed black coaches and managers in the game, in the non-league scene. The research is thus dependent on the accounts of black players in understanding how race barriers work in soccer. Back and Solomos (1993) claim that to understand racism one shouldn't only talk to those being oppressed. Consequently there is a need to talk to both black ex-players and especially to white men in powerful positions to understand the major differences in the way they understand their lives and how racism operates inside of football.

In this research I used a semi-structured interview format (see Appendix) with 80 black soccer players who had finished their playing career. This represented my sample of black players of the 1980s. I looked at how their experiences of their families, and of being inside the culture of a football club shaped their career prospects when they retired. I then identified a group of black players who dropped

out of the profession, and a much smaller group who obtained positions as coaches and managers.

From the small numbers of black players interviewed who had made the transition into management I looked at how they reconciled with the racism they experienced as players with the new types of racism they saw in their positions as coaches and managers in the English game. All the interviews were taped, transcribed and analysed within weeks of the interviews. On several occasions second interviews were set up, and a number of the black players interviewed were selected as part of my longitudinal study. Most of the interviews took place in the player's home or place of work although, on occasion, telephone interviews were undertaken.

My second sample of interviewees consisted of white men in positions as coaches, managers and administrators in the structures of the game. I refer to this group as my 'elite sample'. They were selected by organisational lists and contacted by letter or by telephone. I used a similar, semi-structured interview format (see Appendix) to find out their life stories, how they got into their present positions in their different systems and their understanding of racism. Interviews took place in a range of different locations: conference rooms, offices, car parks, sports grounds and at their homes.

Samples of people interviewed.

Sample of black players	
Sample type.	Numbers
Black players failed to become coaches or managers	40
Black players who became coaches or managers	40

Elite white male sample	
Sample type.	Numbers
White administrators	30
White coaches	50
White managers	40

Longitudinal semi structured interviews

To move beyond the one off interviews of black ex-players and an elite sample of white men in soccer, I followed the progress of twelve ex- professional players, seven black and five white, who had retired from playing and were seeking entry into the settings of coaching and management.

I used a semi-structured interview schedule (see appendix) to interview the respondents twice over the period of one year. The sample of players were carefully chosen, being at exactly the same stage of their development of their career. The black players were selected from the sample of the 1980's group, and the white group were selected from a range of players I had met on coaching courses.

Each ex-player was asked a range of general and specific questions at the different stages of the research, to assess and compare the progress they had made in their ambition to become a coach or manager in the game. They were firstly asked about how they understood their lives in terms of playing, retiring, obtaining a coaching qualification and moving into and trying to progress in the systems of coaching and management.

The interviews over this one- year period were used to show the power of the player's narrative, in terms of how they created a system that worked in different ways and had different outcomes. I used the work of Portelli (1991) and Rosaldo (1991) who use narratives as forms of analysis in which the same event and the same experience, in the case of this research the transition from playing into coaching and management, can be understood in different ways dependent on the experiences and values of the teller.

I focused on how the players developed a race cognisance through their narratives, and the different ways black and white players understood how racism operated in their lives in this period of their transition. I also looked at how power evasiveness operated in the player's lives; illustrated by the way white players underestimated the

power they had in the system, compared to the ways that the black players had to reconcile themselves to the lack of power they had in their transition.

The range of narratives gave me some insight into the ambivalence within the player's lives in this system. These interviews were used to understand how players made sense of their world through their narratives. In the next section I want to look at participant observation as a tool to show how forms of race inequality operate in the institutions of soccer through performance and action.

Participant observation

There have been a number of ethnographic studies of the inside world of sport that have used methods of participant observation, including the works of Armstrong (1996), Archetti (1997) and Carrington (1997) in relation to cricket. In the area of soccer, Williams (1984) examined the hooligan events during the 1982 World Cup, whilst Robson (2000) analysed the complexity of class relationships and identity formation in the context of Millwall Football Club. Back, Crabbe, and Solomos's (1998) 'Cultures of Racism into Football Project' looked at how racism is normalised in the stadium through a range of diverse acts by observing matches in the north and south of England.

Few researchers of football culture have used participant observation to study a closed part of the industry of sport. I looked at how the Football Association coaching courses were organised, the location and the processes that determine success and

failure. I researched the private and public parts of the industry where course members and course tutors interact and contribute towards racialised forms of exclusion and inclusion.

I observed over 35 coaching courses at a number of local settings throughout the country, from the level of the Preliminary Coaching badge to the Football Association Preparatory course. During the period of this research the courses were restructured into the Football Certificate Coaching Badge, the UEFA Part 2, the Football Licence and the UEFA A. I then observed over 30 of these new courses, and took rigorous notes, using Burgess' (1984) 'in the field' approach to the recording of significant events in my relationship with white men and black men competing for a coaching qualification.

Sample of coaching courses observed.

Types of courses observed.	Numbers.
Preliminary Football coaching course.	15
Prep Football Course.	15
Full License course.	5
Junior Team Managers Course.	8
Football Certificate UEFA B part one	8
Football License. UEFA B part two.	2
UEFA A.	2

Sample of coaching courses participated in.

Types of course participated in.	Numbers
Full License.	2
UEFA A conversion	1
Managers and coaches course.	1

In relation to the use of direct participant observation methods, I applied to be a course member on the Full Licence coaching badge now the UEFA A coaching badge, two weeks course at Lilleshall. I also took part in the UEFA A conversion, 5 days course at Lilleshall and the Football Coaches and Management three-day course at Newcastle. During each of the courses I took notes (see appendix) bearing in mind the difficulties suggested in Burgess (1984) work on the relationship between friendship and spying, and the problem of being a participant influences ones objectivity. My position was further complicated by the fact that I was also trying to obtain a coaching award in relation the UEFA A coaching award.

I used the participant observation method to examine the ways black and white men acted in the front and back stages of the coaching qualification. I looked at three different spheres of the coaching qualification, the field, the classroom, and the bar area to examine the types of cultures, and the patterns of actions developed by white men and how black players had to 'play the white man' in different ways to succeed in gaining the qualification and entering white networks.

All three methods used during this research, quantitative surveys, semi-structured interviews and participant observation, lead to different experiences of racism and different ethical problems. In the next section I want to pay more attention to how issues of racism and ethics impacted upon my research through these different methodological tools.

2.2 The Themes from the research

Centring the personal and ethical issues

In Rosaldo's (1991) work his ability to reconcile with the loss of his wife, had a profound effect on his analysis of how Indians mourn death. Rosaldo's (1991) approach to link one's social experiences to the research process caused me to continually examine my position as a black man in looking at racism in the institutions of football and within the research method. Firstly in terms of my own personal story, and secondly, in my relationships with the black and white men involved in this research. In terms of racism within the research method, Tucker (1996) showed how eugenics had been used historically to undermine the intelligence of the black community, whilst Ladner (1973) most vehemently argued that European methodological tools have misrepresented the black community. Ladner (1973) claims that the methodological approaches of white, middle class mainstream sociology have lead to institutional practices that have resulted in a pathological representation of the black community. Lawrence (1981) critique of the work of Cashmore (1982) as pathologising the black experience, specifically black youth and the black family in the context of British society, provides evidence of the danger of

white sociologist inability to understand the dangers of constructing black people as different.

I was interested in Ladner's (1973) appeal to black sociology to respond back to the ways that black people have been misconstrued by white, Euro-centric science and the unethical ways that white sociology has entered the lives of black people and assumed it can speak on their behalf. Attempts have been made by white sociologists to go beyond this white norm that pathologises difference. Ghail (1991), shared his identity as a white researcher, whilst listening to a range of black young women and their parents talk about the complexity of their coping strategies in the school system. In this research I used Bourdieu's (1999) work on 'non violent communication'. This is the task of actively listening to and understanding the deeper repressed implications of what people say. More specifically in my study of how white men talked about racism and performed racist acts, by having to repress my own anger in seeing and observing their racism in operation.

In this research I felt a personal responsibility as a black researcher to examine the way that my methods might lead to me essentialising white men as a possible reaction to experiencing their racist remarks. For this reason I appeal to Back and Solomos's (1993) notion of 'speaking positions', the problem of seeing how respondents in the research speak and reflect on their experiences, particularly the ways white men talk about their privileges that produced patterns of actions that become normalised and contributed towards institutional racism in soccer.

This problem of speaking about racism was illustrated most acutely, as a black, male researcher talking to white men about racism, in their institutional settings. Collins, (1991) idea of 'insiderism', which she used to look at the ways the experiences of black (African American) women are marginalised in the research process, became important to my work. This notion of 'insiderism' operates on several contradictory levels in terms of my own research because of the different roles I held during the research process. These roles as researcher, course participant and political activist lead me to be more analytical about how I saw and experienced racialised processes in the institutions of soccer in relation to two ethical areas; professional integrity and covert research. The British Sociological Guidelines (1997) outline the duties of the researcher to be ethical in the process of the research. The demands of professional integrity are to safeguard and protect the interests of those involved and to protect their social and psychological rights.

The British Sociological guidelines suggest that it is unethical to manipulate the research participant, and that one should take care to show how the behaviour of the participant is affected by covert processes within the research, especially in the direct face-to-face encounter. Anderson's (1996) states, it is unethical not to disclose racism, presented me with a dilemma, and a need to refocus the way that I worked with the perception of white men as the perpetrators of racism, and black men as the victims. In this research I will look at how I think my different roles affected the respondents, and the ethical dilemmas of seeing and experiencing processes of racism in the research.

Talking to white men and exposing racism

When accessing the quantitative data on the race breakdown of staff and their positions in the football industry, I collected evidence about the way race as a category was being used in the professional cultures of sport. In this part of the research I spent several months phoning and talking to, mainly white Football Club administrators to find out the racial composition of their staff. The organisations I spoke to, responded either suspiciously or co-operatively to my requests for information over the phone.

The issues of being an outsider was highlighted by the inconsistent ways football clubs responded to my research into the race composition of their staff. Some clubs openly provided the information without any suspicion about the reasons behind the research. Other clubs, before deciding whether they would respond, asked that I write in clearly outlining the nature of the research. On many occasions clubs would not respond unless the letter was supported by an recognised white sporting or academic institution.

The response to having to categorise race in soccer was best exemplified when I phoned the administrator of a Suffolk club. I introduced the research as part of a wider study looking at kicking racism out of football. The administrator responded in a very friendly way, pulling out a list of players and coaches and going through the names in terms of his perception of their racial origins:

“Hang on a minute let me just look at this list, well he’s black, he’s black or what do you call a half caste. And this bloke I’m not sure where his parents are from. God this is difficult, anyway what do you need this for, you should write in” (Football club administrator, 1997).

The comment above indicates an ethical problem, whether to confront offensive definitions of race for example when the words ‘half caste’ are used, or whether to be non-confrontational to access these types of pathologies that have remained private in the professional industries of soccer. I faced a test of loyalty as in my position as the secretary of an anti-racist organisation, as I was tempted to disclose this information that was given to me on a confidential basis within the research.

It is important to compare the ethical issue of obtaining information over the telephone to the direct, face to face issues that arose in my semi-structured interviews. I will focus on two examples from my research that illustrate the problems of researching racism from an ethical and political position when interviewing white men. In the first example, I had written on several occasions to the Sports Minister to find out how he got his job, and his perspective on the under representation of black ex-players in coaching and management in the English game.

In my role as the secretary of the Martin Shaw King Trust I attended the launch of the South London Initiative, a joint Partnership between the South London Football clubs to tackle racism in Football. The launch was held at Football, Football in Piccadilly. Several weeks previously I had spoken to the Sports Minister, Tony Banks, for several minutes at a European conference against racism at Manchester United Football Club. We met again at this launch at Football, Football, and I asked if he remembered me. He responded:

“Of course I know who you are, did you think I thought you were Ruud Gullit” (Tony Banks, Sports Minister, 1997).

He then pulled my locks very hard, smiled and walked over to join the Chair of the Commission for Racial Equality. The place was very crowded and extremely noisy, but a black male and black female colleague had witnessed the event, which seemed to happen very quickly and escaped the attention of other people. We looked at each other in total shock and disbelief, our anger was such that we did not know what to do next.

I remember standing there in my blue suit and tie, sweating, angry, unable to move, whilst this person casually walked off, totally oblivious to what he had done. I decided to write to this political figure and was invited to a meeting at the House of Commons. I went with my supervisor, who is white and male and was involved in conducting similar researches into processes of racism in football. We were met by the Sports Minister's secretary and were taken to the garden outside to wait for the Minister. The Minister arrived 10 minutes later, dressed in a smart Next suit. He sat opposite me, smiled, and offered me a drink. My supervisor sat opposite the Minister's secretary, who is also white.

The minister apologised for his behaviour, he could not see how he had offended me by implying that black people looked the same, and secondly the disrespect he had shown for the heritage of Rastafarian traditions by pulling my locks. He suggested that I misunderstood this gesture. He then talked about the need for a strategy to monitor racism in the game but was averse to any form of league tables.

The most significant aspect of this interview was that it had shown me the types of abuse and stereotyping a black man may have to endure in order to gain inside status and access to how white men act in their professional context. The innocent but passively aggressive manner that this white man tried to distract from his action of racism by implying that it was me that was being too sensitive, is one example of how the black male experience is rendered insignificant whilst researching racism. As I walked out of the House of Commons I realised that to be ethical is to put aside how one feels about white men to enable them to talk openly about themselves. I had to perform in relation to this white man's standards to show I was not a threat, to make him feel comfortable, to be himself inside his space. This is the task of sitting back and watching white men perform acts of racism without responding. This is the task relating to the work of Bourdieu (1999) of the 'spiritual exercise' needed to understand the other. To understand the ordinary nature of these acts of this white man, and to examine the unsaid, in which one's spirit and respect as a black researcher is partially bruised, because of being insulted in the process. It is only justified by the realisation that it becomes important to experience racism in the research process and to see the relationships between individuals and institutional forms of racism and the capacity of white men to exercise their power.

In this second example, again I had to decide whether to expose acts of racism or use them as forms of sociological data. I was invited to the London Football Association with my white male, supervisor to discuss a proposal to increase the participation of black players in management. The proposal meant dealing with two inter-related roles at the same moment: the first, my role as secretary of the Martin Shaw King Trust developing partnerships to deal with the under representation of black people,

the second, in my role as a sociological researcher. In both roles, I began to see how racism operates dependent on the context and the individual, as revealed in this example:

My supervisor and I arrived together, I was dressed formally all in black, my supervisor in jeans and a short jacket. We were greeted by a white receptionist, who welcomed me in relation to my surname, my supervisor in relation to his title and status, Doctor. This was the first example of a different approach taken toward us as black and white men. We were taken up to the second floor and directed into the office of the Technical Director, who was formally dressed in a suit and tie.

For two hours he lectured us, directing most of his eye contact towards my white supervisor, as if his presence as a white man gave credibility to my role. We were told stories about Andy Cole, as he mimicked how Cole would 'kiss his teeth' in his response to white coaches. He controlled the interview by the pitch of his voice, closed responses to open questions and delaying tactics, saying he would get back to us about the FA's response to equality standards in their organisation.

The interview revealed another strand to the performances of white men, the contradiction between being verbally committed to supporting the development of black players, and simultaneously demonstrating racist caricatures and behaving in an oppressive way towards a black researcher. This raised again the ethics of protecting these acts in the name of confidentiality. This dilemma of the protection or exposure of white men acting in a racist manner, is tested on another level during the longitudinal semi-structured interview stages of this research.

The problem of how much you can, and should, influence the race cognisance of white men was tested in relation to Steven Williams, who was one of my sample of white players trying to break into coaching and management. Throughout our relationship over this one-year period he was very suspicious when responding to questions that sought to make him accountable, as a white man, for his position in the system of coaching and management. The possibility of looking at the combined issues of race and masculinity was blocked continually by Steven. He did not want to talk about how his role and power as a coach was influenced by his race and his gender.

Over the one- year period Steven became more closed and distant as he only wanted to respond to questions about his work and his need to use his networks of friends to get a job as a coach. Steven refused to acknowledge racism in the system, his resistance could be detected in both his tone of voice and his negative responses to questions about whether or not white players had a better chance of getting through this system. In this white man's imagination I represented a trouble-maker, creating ideas of race inequalities that remained unconscious to his world. I realise that my presence as a black man implicitly influenced Brian's. In this situation, Brian's reluctance to see the realities of racism were exposed by his repetitively patterns of talk that ended up being defensive: 'I don't know' I haven't seen' and 'I don't think it is a problem' when talking about experiences of racism in his life.

In my position as a participant and as a course member I could more clearly observe the ways white men act without being inhibited about them knowing my role as a researcher who is black. I want to pick two examples that illustrate the tensions of

being both a researcher and a course member simultaneously and looking at how these roles affected white men on the coaching courses that I took part in. On one occasion I was sitting in the bar surrounded by 25 white professional footballers, who had been drinking all evening. It was about one am most of the other course participants had gone to bed. The group had situated themselves in a corner of the lounge, the light was dim, glasses half empty. The talk revolved around old playing experiences and the recollection of famous drinking encounters. I sat quietly, the only black man in the room. One of the members of the group came up to me, slurring his words and breathing stale lager. He asked me if I had any drugs. I said no and that I didn't smoke, he responded:

“You don't smoke? You're joking! Most Rasta men with locks smoke (White course member, 1994).

The ethical problem that confronted me at that moment was holding in check my feelings of anger about how this white man was constructing a stereotypical image of me. I had to respect his right to be offensive and watch him perform in a way that would not have been tolerated during the course of the one off interviews. I consider that, at that moment, I was more concerned with the rationale of his comment, how his image of a ganja-smoking Rasta connected to his wider social world that related to his ideologies of black men in the game.

My approach, opened up these acts that become normalised within an audience of white men, and lead to the development of a white masculine culture. This assumption, that black men sell drugs, sets up the types of dynamics that I, had to reluctantly accept in order to see racism in action. The emotional pressures I faced as

a black researcher in trying to access the data in a 'natural' way are uncovered. An ethical side to sociological research and to professional integrity is revealed through the difficulty of researching racism and experiencing it in the same moment.

The need for different ethical standards in relation to talking to white men, is determined by a black researcher's capacity to be silent and face abuse as a routine aspect of the project. This issue, of seeing and experiencing racism as a part of this project, was made more complex by my conflicting roles as a researcher and a course member. My intention was to maintain my professional responsibility by keeping confidential these acts of white men. It is this quotation by Bourdieu (1999) reminds me of the challenge of seeing and making sense of acts of racism:

Can racist remarks be reported in such a way that the person making them becomes intelligible, and can it be done without legitimating racism? How can we do justice to the remarks without entering into the reasoning, without accepting that reasoning (Bourdieu,1999:623).

This issue of the conflicting responsibilities to make sense of racism and to protect the perpetrator, is tested in this next encounter, which took place in the coaching field. A white man was being assessed during one of his coaching practices but his session was going badly and he got angrier as it deteriorated. At the end of the session he took the customary walk to the assessor, who handed him his marks. There was instant disappointment in his face. I had formed a friendship with this man during the course and had confided in him on occasions about racism in the system. He walked over to me after his session and said:

“Who do you think you are some kind of black Hitler? All you are interested in doing is getting jobs for black people like yourself” (White course member, 1994).

His comments made me feel vulnerable to the suspicion of white students about my role on the course. It illustrated to me the possible fear white men have about being observed. More importantly, it revealed what I represented in this white man’s life, in relation to his position in the organisation and his fears of jobs going to black men, thus threatening his control and position in this industry.

These incidents, of being abused and being stereotyped by white men during the interviews, but more specifically, during the participant observation stage of the research, raised an ongoing dilemma about the decisions to accept these acts when they are damaging one’s personal pride as a black researcher. This propensity not to confront acts of racism whilst actually researching them, test a personal ethic over whether the black researcher actually colludes with white men in not exposing them.

In the context of this research, when analysing the talk and actions of white men, I felt the need to be more rigorous and self-contained, in my position as the researcher because of the temptation to step outside the research process and to respond to the ongoing racism experienced during this project. The sociological guidelines pay no attention to the specifically different requirements of being ethical, in terms of the different practical steps needed to ensure the safety and the integrity of black researchers.

Over identifying and protecting black players in the research

When combining the roles of being a political activist and a researcher there was a risk to over-identify and want to more assertively protect the interest of black players. My intention in the interviews with black players was to show the diversity of their experiences and the ambivalent and contradictory ways they were either being integrated into or excluded from the industries of coaching and management.

Black ex-players' experiences of the system can then be used to reveal the problematic ways these institutions respond to them, as opposed to following the tradition of seeing black players as the problem. In both my positions as a researcher and an activist I aimed to show that the data in relation to the interviews of black ex-players demonstrated the need for important institutional changes in order for black ex-players to progress within the system.

On an interpersonal level it was easier to develop an affinity with the black ex-players as black men, who had similar family and school experiences to my own and many had experienced the same cultural and political events of the 1970s and 1980s. I faced the task of not being too intrusive in the lives of black ex-players as revealed in the work of Bourdieu (1999), in over identifying with them, that was not possible with the white men. One player from Birmingham acknowledged a form of transference taking place in relating to me as his younger brother. He had been very radical in his assessment of the racism he had experienced in the game and during one of our interviews in his front room he said:

“You know these white people, those white, middle class people in high positions, who still think we are slaves will never give us a job. There is a fear of black men in football, not in the playing, when you are all in it together, but when you’re going for their job unless you happen to be one of those uptown blacks” (Darren Smith, Interview, 1997).

He then went very silent, expressing a fear about how the tape would be used and I assured him that it would not be used publicly nor would anybody from the world of football hear it. In this one comment I realised how I represented the fear of whiteness in terms of this man’s future in the game, even when it was not my intention. It raised for me my own ethical responsibilities to this black person, who might regard me as a spy of the sociological community. I have since talked to him about his comment and he has given me permission to use it.

This interaction highlights the problem of being too close to black players, thus accessing more personal information, which if made available to those who may pathologise black players experiences, meant potentially that I play a role in perpetuating institutionalised racism in the research process. Darren’s reaction is important in revealing the mistrust that exists amongst black men where they feel they cannot be honest about how racism operates in a system they are trying to move into it.

The black players began to use the research relationship to develop new ways of understanding their positions within the system. Darren Smith, for example, moved from wanting to enter the system to wanting to challenge the processes of racism that were affecting his development. He became more concerned with the wider political issues of institutional racism in soccer than with his own personal development.

This raised a bigger issue for me in terms of the reluctance of other black players to challenge racism in the system, where they had to be complicit and non-confrontational and, to 'play the white man', on the terms of white men. Paradoxically I then realised whilst they were giving information to me and not to white researcher and or a white institution, I could 'sell out', by using this information not to confront racism but to demonstrate to other white men that I was capable of writing and producing a piece research to obtain a PhD qualification.

The tension between using the talk of black players and feeling powerless to protect black players leads to whether the black researcher is an advocate or simply colludes when faced with discrimination. For example, whilst fortunate to witness the culture of sport in motion, through the performances of black and white men in the coaching field, I watched with great despair in the ways that black players responded to the harsh voices of the white tutors, and the forms of racist marking they had to endure.

Seeing the comparatively different ways black players were treated on the course created an anxiety in me as to how much I should just observe, and how much I should intervene and advise to black players that they should be more assertive in challenging racism. Especially the racism from the white tutors and the white networks that operated to exclude black players from the culture of the course.

I remember asking one of the black students if he would tell me about his experiences on the course. We were, however surrounded by his white tutor and other white course members and he therefore whispered:

“I’ll talk to you later in my room” (Interview with black course member, 1994).

Unfortunately that opportunity never arose because he failed the course. The moment however revealed to me the discomfort he felt in being one of the few black players performing in this setting. The use of participant observation had been powerful in analysing the major differences between the black and white ex-players on the course and their relationship with me when considering this notion of racialised performance.

For me, being a participant raised the ethical dilemmas of trying to reconcile with three different performances, as a researcher, an activist and as a course participant when looking at how racism operates inside soccer. The problem of dividing one’s professional responsibilities: to challenge racism against protecting white men who act in a racist fashion during the research process requires new procedures. These procedures need to take on board the complexity involved for black researchers who suffer the discrimination of white men, for the sake of the research.

2.3 Conclusion

By the end of these four methodological stages of my research project I was left with a great deal of data; statistics on the race breakdown of staffing structures, transcribed taped interviews and process recordings from my participant observations. After listening to the tapes several times, I began to identify themes that were coming out of the research and how they connected to the theoretical issues outlined in Chapter One.

I aimed to avoid showing simplistically that the industries of Football coaching and management are institutionally racist through the statistical fact that there are very few black ex-players moving into positions as coaches and managers. The interviews and participant observation illustrated the need for different theories to explain, not only different acts of racism, but how they contribute towards understanding institutional racism in Football. It raised various ontological and epistemological concerns. Firstly the need for an approach to analyse racism by seeing how my roles has enabled me to be more reflexive as a sociologist in relation to the research into racism inside of football. And secondly within these roles how new forms of knowledge can be produced that describe racism in action and the potential for racism to be identified within the research process itself.

The combination of these roles, as a researcher and in challenging racism had a positive affect in enabling me to see experiences of exclusion whilst creating new speaking positions from which black players could become empowered to ask questions about racism in their transition. This process of giving a voice to black players who have been the subject of racist research practices in the past (Cashmore 1980, Kane, 1973) was determined by the willingness of black ex-players to be critical of a system that had the power to deny them the same rights of entry as their white male counter-parts.

I argue in the research of looking at racism in the structures of football, the methods of interviewing and observing white men create particular ethical problems for a black researcher. Firstly, in trying to be ethical and professional, white men are given licence to abuse, stereotype and degrade both the black researcher and black players.

This leads to different priorities for myself, firstly to use the actions of white men as data to demonstrate how racism operates and secondly to protect black players who become the victims of racism, whilst thirdly and interrelated, to protect my dignity and pride as a black person.

Through these processes it is impossible to predict how one will respond and how you will be affected both emotionally and politically. There are several important and recurring moments when one is professionally tested. Firstly the moment of white men talking and performing in racist ways that go unchallenged. Secondly, the moments of black players' reluctance to challenge these processes. And thirdly, the moments in which my own personal pride is dented in having to sit powerless and simply watch racism take place.

In the next chapter, I want to begin to examine how the black players of the 1970s and 1980s, entered the professional cultures of English soccer. I will focus on how their experiences outside of the culture of English soccer shapes their integration into patterns of white male acts which powerfully influenced their decision to leave the profession, or to stay and try to move on to the next step in their professional career, the transition into coaching and management. I feel it is important to analyse these first experiences of arriving into the cultures of English soccer. They illustrate the first pressures to 'play the white man' and introduce the long term implications for black players experiences of institutional racialised forms of exclusion.

CHAPTER THREE.

The impact of black players experiences in the English game in the 1980s

In this first empirical chapter I argue the types of racism experienced by the increasing numbers of black players who came into the English game in the 1980s reveal what it will mean to 'play the white man' in the vernacular cultures of English soccer. These are the first moments that shape the types of transition black players will make at the end of their playing careers.

The way that black players talk about their arrival into English soccer will be used to explore their experiences as mirroring the forms of whiteness they encounter. Whiteness represents the privileges and sets of historical routines that have been developed by white men in the absence of black players, in the sphere of playing, coaching and management. The black players, who came into the professional game in the 1980s, show how the acts and traditions of white men contributed towards institutional forms of racism in the sphere of playing.

The experiences of black players reveal also, the types of inclusion and exclusion that operate through the processes of class and masculinity inside football. In this respect, I will explore the issues black men have in facing white men in the professional game: in the crowd, in the playing field, and the changing room. Black professional soccer players are influenced by these different locations, and have to use different strategies

to manage their relationships with white men. These relationships lead black players to assess the performances needed to survive inside the institutions of soccer. They reveal the specific performances of white men they will need to reconcile them with, as they finish playing and begin to consider whether they have a future career in the game, and at what cost.

In the first part of this chapter I argue that black players not only increased in numbers but their point of arrival changed from Africa and the Caribbean to a new generation who were now born in England. Their responses to the structures of the English game was rationalised in different ways, and shaped by the fears black families had of their sons playing English soccer, in three distinct ways. Firstly it represented a new tradition in the lives of black families, secondly it was perceived as the white man's space and thirdly it was a place that the black male body would be damaged. I will examine the way black players were brought into the English game, similar to the ideology from the period of slavery that led to the black man's body being exploited as discussed in Kovel's (1988) work on a dominant form of racism.

In the second part of this chapter I will examine the implications for objectifying the black male body and the consequences for the types of racism black players experienced in this period from white men, as echoing particular features from the plantation field during the period of slavery. I will also examine the tensions black players face in being judged as black and English in terms of their integration as determined by the reactions of white football spectators on the international stage.

In the third part of this chapter I argue that racism changes in its form when enacted

by white crowds to the racialised processes encountered in relation to white players, coaches and managers. I will explore how the language of racism, firstly through the term ‘black bastard’ is utilised by white men in the context of the playing field, which exposes black players to a ‘professional’ sports culture where racist remarks become a normalised part of being amongst white men in the industry.

The relationship between racist language as coded white male behaviour will be explored further and secondly through the notion of the “chip on the shoulder”. I argue this is a term that has become racialised by white coaches and white manager to integrate or exclude black players into the culture of the changing room and the training field. This process of racialisation is inherent in the power of white men to judge black men’s complicity in this period when black players have little power to shape the culture of the industry.

The impact of the language and the acts of racism will be analysed in the fourth part of this chapter in relation to the ways black players exited the English game and the options open to them in terms of how they begin to understand the profession where they now seek opportunities beyond the sphere of playing. The argument I want to follow in this chapter is that the different forms of racism black players experienced during their emergence in the 1980s had a profound and long-term affects for their cognisance of race and how they make the transition from playing either into coaching or management or out of the profession.

3.1 The significance of black players in English soccer in the 1980s

I conducted an interview with Brendon Batson, Deputy Chief Executive of the Professional Footballers Association, to find out how black players who emerged in the 1980s were making sense of their experiences of racism during this period. I was particularly interested in how these experiences influenced black players' understanding of their position inside of football at the end of their playing career.

Brendon started his career at Arsenal Football Club in 1969. He moved to Cambridge United to get more experience of first team football and then went on to West Bromwich Albion where he became part of the famous 'Three Degrees' (a black female soul group of the 1970s). This term was used to describe the famous trio of black players who played at West Bromwich Albion during the late 1970s and early 1980s, which included Laurie Cunningham and Cyrille Regis.

When Brendon retired from professional football in the 1980s, because of a knee injury, he applied, unsuccessfully, for a management job at his old club Cambridge United. He eventually got a job with the Professional Footballers Association and progressed to his present rank, at a time when black players were really emerging in the English game. He sat in his leather seat in his office, surrounded by pictures of ex-players and a photograph of a black players' tour to Jamaica in 1983. He talked about his experiences of racism as a black player during the 1970s and 1980s:

I remember speaking to two lads at that time, you were talking about the late 1970s and the early 1980s and racial abuse was at its height. I remember going out at West Ham, picking up a

banana and throwing it to Cyrille, it use to be the instant reaction to that kind of abuse. There was a lot of grounds that you went to and there would be the National Front out side They said we don't need all this, a lot of black players said we don't need this aggravation (Brendon Batson, interview1997).

Brendon's comment illustrates the pernicious form of racism black players experienced in their emergence in the 1980s. He shows the explicit forms of racism confronted in relation to white crowds that became a devastating deterrent for black players thinking about a long-term career in the game. To understand the impact racism had on the lives of black players, it is important to look at the different ways they arrived into the English game.

Black players' responses and relationships to the structures of the English game became diverse through the different routes they arrived in this period, generally through London and Midland Clubs because of the patterns of migration from the Caribbean and Africa into these areas. Black players ended up playing for clubs in London and in the Midlands. Hamilton (1983:1998) looks at the prominent black players of this period: Clyde Best, Ady Coker, Luther Blissett, Bob Hazel, Cyrille Regis, Laurie Cunningham, Garth Crooks, Viv Anderson, Vince Hillarie, Paul Davis, Chris Houghton and George Berry. He gives little consideration to the relationship between their lives, where some were now born in England, and the lives of their families in the Caribbean and Africa to how racism affected them in English soccer.

The tendency has been to look at the period from the 1970s to the 1990s, as a time in which black players simply increased in numbers in both the Football League and the newly constituted Premier League of 1992. According to Vasili (1998) black players represented 4% of the playing staff in the 1970s, increasing to 25% in the 1980s and

declining to 15% at the present time. He also reports a decline in black players in the top League from 50% in the old First Division to 37% in the new Premier League. Bradbury (2001) states the present percentage of black players is now 13%.

The routes and conditions by which black players entered the game provide indicators of the new and changing types of racism they encountered. In terms of their entry, most black players would have played for a school or a non-league team, being scouted and offered a trial resulting in an offer of apprenticeship terms being made (now the Youth Training Scheme). The impact of their entry can be detected by how black players rationalised their experiences.

In this interview with Colin Parker, in his home in Leeds, he talked about his life as a child coming into the English game. He was born in St Kitts and came to England at the age of nine from a close knit family. He was one of the few black families who lived in the area at the time, as he talked of a sense of being overwhelmed as the only black player during a trial at Wolverhampton Football Club:

At Wolves a scout asked me to go for a trial and I was the only black kid and it was the first time I felt discriminated against and I was the only kid that didn't get a kick of the ball (Colin Parker, interview 1997).

For Colin, the isolation of being the only 'black child' is reinforced by not getting a kick of the ball. For Colin this is his first subjective experience of being excluded. This produces a link between his two worlds, inside football as being different on the premise of his different skin colour, which is reaffirmed as of the few black families in the area. Colin understands this experience of difference is based on being

introduced to a system in which he made to feel an outsider because he is physically different.

I argue the contrast between how Colin rationalises his experiences of a system as a black person compared to Brendon Batson underlines that black players make sense of the same experiences, i.e. coming into the English game in different ways. Brendon came to England at the age of ten from St Lucia, he accepts that being the only black player as a normal part of being in English Football:

I didn't put a great deal on it, as many players would tell you of that era coming through the youth team we were usually the only black players, there were no other black players at Arsenal and I was the only black player at Cambridge. Other people put more on the fact we were black players than black players themselves (Brendon Batson, interview 1997).

Brendon shows he has to normalise being the only black player to be effective inside of football. Although he may not look like a white man, he can still be accepted. These different responses show that experiences of inclusion are not always the same, they are determined by the subjectivity of the black player in adapting to English schools and the scouting, coaching and management structures of English soccer. These experiences of being seen as different is naturalised by Brendon as unimportant but internalised by Colin as being an outsider.

This process of subjectivity and consciousness, in relation to the importance of one's skin colour is influenced by the ways that the second generation of black players, born in England confronted the barriers to their acceptance as black, English players. This acceptance will partially be determined by how they reconcile with their parents'

experiences of racism in English society. The process of belonging and understanding racism in Football starts from within the black family.

The fear of black families of a career in English soccer

The following interview with a black player, in his office in a sports centre in South London, illustrates the fears black families had for their sons in English football. Frank was born in South London whilst both parents were born in Jamaica. He talked about the difficulties facing his family, the lack of jobs and the way his mother feared for his safety in going into a profession where there were very few black people:

My parents didn't want me to go into soccer because they felt that black players weren't treated right at that time. My mother had to do the mothering and the fathering, and she might have to pick up the pieces, there wasn't a father around (Frank Lee, interview 1997).

Black families had an important role in shaping how racism was understood by black players. They articulated a fear that their sons would be racially abused in Football stadiums. This fear, I believe, was made more real in his example by the absence of a father figure to protect this black player. The temptation here is to follow the sociological trend of pathologising the black family (Cashmore 1982), which potentially invalidates their experiences of racism in English soccer and the forms of black masculinity developed in order to survive in a profession dominated by white men.

In this comment from David Boyce I was interested in the feeling expressed by his

family that David was wasting his time in relation to a career in professional football. More specifically the rational behind black families conceptualising football as a place where their sons would get hurt by other white men:

I remember trying to talk to my father about being a professional soccer player and he gave me a strange look and said what do you want to be a professional footballer and go out there and trip up your leg. I know my dad was really a cricket fan at that time and he didn't see a career for me in soccer, he wanted me to get my qualifications and get a job (David Boyce interview 1997).

The implication of this comment is that Football, for black families was not a viable career, it was formed in a completely different tradition. The lack of insight into Football as industry with proper jobs leads to the advice given to David by his father to find a safer and more reliable career. This request for David, places him in a dilemma and tests his loyalty to the cultural demands of his family against following a career and a new culture inside of Football. Black families began to politicise black player's potential experiences of racism in this following quotation, through the way the English game is described as a 'white man's thing'. This perspective is illustrated in this statement from Darren Smith's family, who were born in Jamaica. Black families perceived Football as a naturalised, masculine space for white men, that black players were not supposed to enter in the period of the 1980s:

My dad always big up on having a trade, my brother said you have got to have a trade. All I wanted to do was to play football, but they didn't take it seriously, because there wasn't a lot of black players playing football. And my older brother looked at me and said why do you want to play football for that's a white man's game (Darren Smith, interview 1997).

The central theme that resonates from this comment is the perception of Football as a

place where black players were entering a space they saw as white. I argue it is important to look at the features of whiteness that create this deference in the psyche of black families in relation to their sons entering a profession of which they had no experience of the codes and customs of white men.

I believe one of the major reasons for the low status given to a career in soccer by black families is primarily related to it being a new territory that they saw as being occupied and dominated by the historical presence of white men. It had become a territory in which an ideology of the black male body has travelled, from the period of slavery, and in which black men again become valued primarily for their physical prowess to perform in the field but not having the intelligence to run and administrate the industry.

In the work of Kovel's (1988) he shows how a psychology of racism categorised black men through their bodies during the period of slavery. I argue that the black male body is similarly categorised in soccer thus reinforcing the fears of black families that Football was a dangerous place for the black man's body. Kovel (1988) describes a dominant form of racism that existed during slavery with large numbers of black slaves situated in the American south who were in direct contact with an open, expressive type of physical and verbal abuse. The black male body was brutalised through the rituals of hanging and lynching. Kovel (1988) illustrates the way the black male body became objectified during the period of slavery:

The American slave owner went one step further in cultural development: he first reduced the human side of the black slave to a body and reduced the body to a thing: he dehumanised the slave, made him quantifiable

and therefore absorbed him into a rising world of markets of productive exchange (Kovel, 1988:18)

I argue that the English game during the 1980s becomes a location where similar objectification of the black male body, took place, in a sports culture that limited black players' identity to their body. Black players during the 1980s, became subjected to a division between their physical attributes and their intellectual abilities. This comment below from David Boyce, captures the experiences of black players trying to challenge race stereotypes attached to their bodies whilst at the same time trying to avoid becoming stereotyped as difficult due to this resistance:

I think there was a perception that we couldn't think, we couldn't read the game, but surely we have turned that around, with players like Paul Rose and Darren Smith. They can now see it's not just about speed, skill and strength. When I first started playing the cliché was that they were not disciplined, and all they wanted to do was run and go out dancing and to go to a night -club and anytime they told you anything they put it down to having a 'chip on your shoulder' (David Boyce, interview 1997).

The type of racism that black players suffered during the 1980s can be linked to the way the black, male body is seen as an essential and the only part of their identity. It is the idea that black men can function through their body without any intelligence. Hoberman's (1997) work on the 'athleticising' of the black mind captures the danger that I want to investigate in this research project, that as black men in sport become naturalised in relation to their physical prowess, whilst they are not seen as intelligent to work in other parts of the industry:

Efforts to convert black physicality into intelligence cannot overcome the racist traditions that have always made the body

the essence of black humanity and a sign of its inferiority (Hoberman,1997:60).

These ideas of the inferiority of black players that revolve around their body become crucial to the types of racist experiences that will confront black men in playing professional soccer in front of white working class men. This will lead to historical forms of racism that can be closely linked to the ways black men were treated during the period of slavery.

3.2 The echoes of slavery in the playing field The ‘field nigger’ and the ‘house nigger’

I argue the football field in the 1980s contains the echo of slavery. During the period of slavery black men were valued for their bodies and placed in the plantation field where they were abused by their white slave master in the hot sun. There was also a set of black men who were allowed to work in the slave master’s house and received better treatment.

In the work of Malcolm X (1965) he makes a division between these black men, those who worked in the field were referred to as the ‘field nigger’ and those in the house as the ‘house nigger’. Malcolm X (1965) also argues that the ‘field niggers’ because they experienced the more violent acts of white men were more resistant to racism, whilst the ‘house nigger’ who received better treatment were more compliant towards white men . The quotation below from Malcolm X (1965) explores the location and the responses to racism during slavery:

Since slavery, the American white man has always kept some

handicapped Negroes, who fared much better than the black masses suffering and slaving in the fields. The white man has these 'house' and 'field' Negroes for his special servants. He threw them crumbs from his own table, he even let them eat at his table (Malcolm X, 1967:340).

I argue that the plantation field is similar to the football field because of the similar processes of racism in relation to how black men were treated by white men in relation to their bodies. In this comment from a black player who made his debut in the 1980s, he talks about being frightened and unaware of the level of abuse he would suffer in the playing field, raising the echo of the fear of abuse from white men. The positioning of this black player on the pitch, by the corner flag, just about to take a corner, close to the crowd and being pelted by bananas, captures the legacy and act of white men from the period of slavery that sees a black player as less than human, and thus deserving to be treated like an animal:

I was playing one of my first games for Man City at Derby I remember going over to take a corner and I was pelted by bananas, they were falling on to the pitch besides me and I was young probably 23 or 24 and I thought 'shit, what is this', what have I let myself in for' (David Boyce, interview 1997).

David Boyce's experience shows how the banana represents a symbol of power by which white men colonises soccer by rendering black people as savages. His sense of shock is the first stage of orientating himself to developing a response to cope with these acts of whiteness so that he can survive. His reluctance to be openly defiant should not be seen as submissive, or similar to how the 'house nigger' in the period of slavery accepted these acts of white men in order to avoid being further abused. David's strategy is a more sophisticated response that enables him perform as a player for the period of ninety minutes of his life in this a situation where he cannot change

these historical patterns of white male behaviour.

Black players have to perform a restraint that reduces these symbols of white racism as a normal part of being a professional footballer in English soccer. They have to learn that although they are made vulnerable to violent acts by white men, they will have to develop more complicated strategies that conceal, politically, how they feel in their internal world. Consequently although they may experience similar acts of racism to those experienced by the 'field nigger' in the field during the period of slavery, their responses cannot be simply be essentialised, they are far more complicated.

The echo of the plantation field within the football field is personified further in this story from Tony Francis, who was talking about the abuse he experienced from white supporters. The use of the words 'shoot that nigger', 'kill that nigger' and the actuality of being attacked by a white men, reflects how black men in soccer during this period become subjected to similar assaults to those that took place in the plantation field during the period of slavery:

I suppose it was at Leeds, not playing for Leeds but playing at Leeds for Portsmouth where you had people shouting for ninety minutes 'shoot that nigger', 'kill that nigger'. I had that at Leeds, I had it for a spell at Portsmouth, my own fans had a go at me for a couple of games. A minority of them because I was the only black man to play down there for a long time. I had an experience at Crystal Palace where a fan came on and abused me physically, smacked me and I had to leg it
(Tony Francis, interview1997).

Abuse such as being pelted with a banana, being called a 'nigger' and being physically threatened resonated throughout the accounts of the black players I

interviewed. Racial abuse was an integral part of being a 'black' professional soccer player. I argue that this process of seeing racism as part of the role of being in the game leads them to understand that to survive within the professional football culture, they must show what might seem a public deference towards the racism of white men during this period.

In Goffman's (1956) work he argues one has to believe in the role one plays. For black players, this belief becomes racialised; firstly by the way they have to accept as a routine, racial abuse from white fans. Secondly in their relationships with white coaches and managers, they are forced to adopt a role where they are always compliant to racism as part of the performance of being in the English game.

The story of Frank Lee illustrates that this belief in his role, in relation to accepting forms of racism from football crowds, is shaped by what he is told to do by his white managers. This is an important part of the drama of football culture that operates at the hidden informal level and represents another layer of understanding how black players perform to the codes directed by white men:

At the time you had your silly racist jokes but the crowd especially up north at Sunderland were nasty and one of the things I was told to expect was a lot of chants and name calling. But if you went further on in your career you had to put things like this outside of your system and go out there and prove you're the best player on the park and smile and that would put you in the right frame of mind. So things like that were explained to me very early on in my career" (Frank Lee, interview 1997).

It appears, from Frank's comment that he becomes so embroiled in 'playing the white man' through the part given to him by his white manager, that racism becomes

legitimate, and registered as a justified pressure for a black professional soccer player. This connection between legitimacy and performance means black players deal with two acts of whiteness, race abuse from crowds which is then made permissible by white coaches instructing black players to accept these acts as part of the drama of being a black player in English soccer.

The power of these acts of white men, from white spectators and white managers represents a process of racialisation, as traditions faced by black players in the 1980s. In English football black players faced this challenge, in having to transcend the fixed images attached to their bodies as black man and the abuse they were instructed to accept.

Although the English game, especially the Premier League, has seen a reduction in racial abuse towards black players', on the international level there are still question marks about black players' status as English players when situated against their white male counter-part. I argue that the emergence of the black player in the white shirt of the national team and their acceptance as being both English and being black in and outside of the game is shaped by white men, particularly on the terrace.

I want to pick just one important moment that articulates the task for black players obtaining a passport to being accepted as English by white crowds at the international level as distinct from the test of regional attachments at club level. In this interview with Tom Stevens he describes vividly how difficult it is to be get a viva to travel uninhibited into the national pride of white, largely working class men in the international stadium:

One game particularly when we played away and we were warming up and somebody shouted to Paul Harrison remember where you come from you were once a West Ham player and now your just a black bastard. But you know deep down in your mind, I am not saying everybody who supports England, if they could have an all white team then they would have it. That's the feeling you get from different sectors of football (Tom Stevens, interview 1997).

Tom points to a racism in English soccer that questions black players legitimacy within the national imagination, that they could play for England, whilst at the same time they can be seen as different because they were not white. My argument here is that the actions of white men in the stadiums ensured that black players face the test of being fully English, whilst they had a different colour skin. Despite how black players address the general requirement of showing they can be English whilst they are black, in going out with white women, and embroiling themselves in the professional culture of soccer, their acceptance is determined by criteria's they have no control over. I argue that black players can perform acts of nationalism and not feel a part of it due to how they are accepted through the social approval of white men. I want to follow this issue, of how the acts of white men impact on the performances of black players further, through looking at black player's experiences with other white players, on the field of play.

3.3 Racism and the interface with white players

The relationships between black men and white men on the field of play reveals a complicated and contradictory form of racism. I think this is best reflected in my interview with Tony Davis, one of the first black players to play for Manchester United. During our telephone conversation he reflected on the ways that he was

treated by other white players. He laughed very loudly when describing the incident below when he was called a 'black bastard':

You've got players saying 'you black bastard' and 'I will break your legs'. It went on right throughout my career. The irony of it is that you get this and they want to apologise afterwards. You would see them in the bar afterwards and they would say 'sorry about calling you a black bastard'. It wasn't racism it was like the enemy, what can we do to weaken them? (Tony Davis, interview 1997).

Tony's experience represents the ambiguous nature of racist language when coded in the playing field, it represents a form of sportsmanship, it is meant to 'put him off his game'. In the bar after the game, the apology reclassifies the racist comment, it becomes a harmless gesture, which places black players as vulnerable to the accusation of being over 'sensitive' or 'temperamental'.

These talks and acts of white men, have racialised outcomes, in that black players find it difficult to identify racism and to hold white men accountable. When racism is coded and translated as 'industrial language' it is seen as a legitimate form of competition between men, as a normal part of being a professional soccer player. This, then, disempowers black players in terms of challenging the use of such language and changing the culture of the industry as dictated by white men.

Black players' resolve in dealing with racist remarks from other players will depend upon how the remark is actually heard and to what extent it becomes naturalised in relation to the consciousness of the individual black player. Tony David adopts a strategy through which he perceives these remarks as part and parcel of being a professional soccer player. When I talked to Darren Smith he adopted a more defiant

and less compromising stance:

Darren talked openly about his experiences of racism in the game during his emergence in the 1980s. He described the types of racial abuse he received from white players and the ways in which he dealt with it:

If I got £1 for every time I received a racist remark from a player I would be an extremely rich man, but these were the things I faced day in and day out. I remember attending a Professional Footballers Association conference on racism in Football and I said people paid lip service to racist abuse. For a black man playing football you need to have an extremely tough skin or be a bad bastard. I chose the latter. It was always a contest and it was always how far you deal with it. I would exact revenge on them, there and then (Darren Smith, interview 1997).

Darren shows that black players are made vulnerable to racist abuse, in a climate when it is unrecognised as a form of racism, leaving Darren having to respond independently in defying white men's acts. I argue that black players are judged in relation to their responses to these acts, their ability to neutralise racism they experience in the playing field, reinforces the pressures placed on them to buy into and prove they can succeed in a colour-blind industry.

Black players then face different forms of racism from scouts, white crowds and white players, in the training field, the playing field and in the bar. The racism experienced in these different areas can build up and have a cumulative affect on black players lives. The following comment made by Chris Peters during an interview for 'Show Racism the red card' in 1997; shows the changing, contextual forms of racism facing black players in the 1980s:

Football clubs when I started had a National Front element in the crowd and as I said before not only did they boo you on to the pitch, but if I played badly they boo me off the pitch and certainly barraged me throughout the pitch you know. But in around the dressing room you there use to be players who were racist who wouldn't go into the shower with you when I was there. They wouldn't go into the bath, there would be a communal bath and when I was there they wouldn't use the same soap, they wouldn't room with me on trips overnight. (Chris Peters, Show Racism the Red Card:1997).

Chris reflections on his experiences as a black player in the 1980s is an insight into the unpredictable ways that white men respond to their fear of black men's presence from the stadium to the bath. Black players learn that their compliance and silence, are rewarded by not been thrown back to a world where they realise they have more privileges to black people outside football, even when white people in the game deny them the power and the capacity to dominate and shape the culture of the industry. Ian Harris comment below shows that black players feel they are alone in dealing with racism inside of English soccer because of their social distance from a black community, which had very little understanding of the types of pressures that confront them. This leads to a tension in black player's position inside football concerning whether they represent a collective group, and whether they can count on the black community to support them if they speak out against racism in the game:

As a black footballer you are easily accepted. There are black people out there struggling for a lot less and I know the struggles. As a black footballer you are more easily accepted, so people see the colour and they say its ok they are a footballer. You have to be a strong character to stand up to things if you're the only black player, especially if they say they don't mean it. It's easier if you have the backing of the black community. If you're the only one your not sure if the other black players will come with you. (Ian Harris, interview 1997).

Ian outlines the dilemma confronting black players in feeling vulnerable to a football culture where they are seen to be treated well because they do not suffer in the same way to black people in relation to racism outside the game. The implications is that black players are subjected to an form of discrimination that is not recognised compared to the blatant forms racism directed at their bodies in the playing field.

3.4 The ‘chip on the shoulder’ and the hidden nature of Racism

I argue that racism changes in form from the pitch, where it is more open, to being more difficult to identify and name when enacted by white professionals behind the scenes in football. This process of making transparent acts of white men is less tangible when situated in the relationship between black players and white coaches.

Because of the hidden nature of racism in this relationship between black players and white coaches it becomes difficult for black players to identify how whiteness operates in the professional cultures of soccer. To understand how whiteness is enacted it is important to analyse the experiences of black men, in relation to the patterns of actions of white, English men and how they construct and expect black players to behave. This comment by Frank Lee begins to unpack some of the social pressures that were placed on black players to adjust and integrate in English football clubs in the 1980s:

Things weren't easy and society accepted black players as casual in the field of play. When I got my contract I felt part of the family I had been classed as an equal under the same badge as a family. That's as close as it gets, as if you're in it

together from Monday to Saturday. I was a pretty easy person to get on with, pretty polite and as a black person you had to be double polite to be accepted you had to keep people happy (Frank Lee, interview 1997).

Frank describes the silent and powerful pressure to be the subservient black man in an attempt to appease white men. He reveals the psychological pressures of racism imposed on black players and the performances expected of him in order to get a contract to become part of, but not necessarily integrated into the white 'football family'.

This leads to black players in this period having to develop a performance that is a response to the demands of white coaches and managers. This issue of complicity, is illustrated in this comment by Colin Parker, and the problems black players face in reconciling to forms of racist comment that are unconscious to white men.

So long as you could toe the line, you got your racist jokes like my coach use to call me 'cherry blossom' not knowing it was a racist joke and the other players could pick up on that. You would get the trends where people have seen something on television and they would try it out on you (Colin Parker, interview 1997).

The response to the name 'cherry blossom', places this black players in a position of seeing and naming the unconscious acts and patterns of white men. He has to be seen to 'toe the line' to collude with the crude racist stereotypes from white men. Black players do not necessarily accept the stereotype, but have to analyse the consequences of their actions in front of white men. Even when they perform as white men require them, this does not mean that they will be accepted into the world of white men within the playing cultures of English soccer. It demonstrates that black players can

seen to be compliant whilst they tolerate being degraded by these acts of white men in a system they cannot change on their own.

Black players face the problem of not knowing if they are being integrated even when they perform to the racialised expectations of white coaches and managers. This issue of integration is illustrated in this comment from Frank's story as he describes the compelling need to perform to the different expectations of white managers:

With Mike Henry it was like a territorial Army. He was big on discipline, it was not a great deal of how are you. A similar type of personality to Alan Mark. Very, very hard, a little bit of an eccentric, very, very discipline. He was the hardest one to get on with. I preferred Gerry Webster. he was soft and a father figure. All I tried to do was to keep the manager happy (Frank Lee interview 1997)

This moment, of a black player talking about his experiences of dealing with the different methods white men use to pressurise him to conform, illustrates how white men maintain their privileges, by assuming that black players respond voluntarily. These acts of white men, the act of authority and softness, have the same affect on black players, they represent forms of white male power, which become naturalised within the settings of Football, by continually leaving black players confused whether they have any rights.

The power of white coaches and managers, to shape black player's acceptance can be illustrated through the notion of the 'chip on the shoulder': This phrase has become a racialised test of black players' ability to, adapt to, and integrate into the cultures of football that are determined by white men inside the Football club.

The idea of the 'chip on the shoulder' has often been used to describe people who have problems with authority. I was interested in looking at how this idea of the 'chip on the shoulder' is used in relation to black players who came into the English game during the 1980s. I talked to a black player of this period about his experience of how the term was being used particularly in relation to black players:

If you speak to white coaches they don't know how to speak to a black child or a black player. They would say they have a 'chip on their shoulder'. When I first started at QPR, there were a couple of black lads and I would often hear the Youth Development officer say, I don't know why they have got a 'chip on the shoulder'. We did have this white goalkeeper, who had this same attitude as this black fellow. I use to say why hasn't he got a 'chip on his shoulder'? And they use to say he's all-right he just takes it hard. So why does he take it hard, and why has he got a 'chip on his shoulder' (Les Frank interview 1998).

The use of this term in this period becomes racialised in that it is seen as only to be applied to black players by white coaches. Black players then become vulnerable to a term that leads to an inherent question mark about their ability to assimilate into the English game.

The notion of the 'chip on the shoulder' thus become a means by which black players are judged in relation to their ability to adapt to the standards set by white coaches and managers. These judgements become an important part of football and impose fixed notions of black players who are only allowed to behave in relation to the demands of white coaches and managers.

I argue that these judgements represent the power of white men to create perceptions

of black players that are enforced in the locations of football. The term is also embodied and can operate on a more implicit level in the relationships between black players and white coaches. I refer here to Ian Wright's autobiography (1997), particularly the passage describing his relationship with Bruce Rioch, his manager at the time:

Bruce Rioch also pulled me aside one day and told me he found my language unacceptable. Psychology plays a huge part in football and relationships between managers and players, even though I was partly to blame with my attitude. I think that Bruce Rioch made a big mistake psychologically. I can take somebody tearing into me if I've done something wrong, but the big stick does not always work. The managers who have got the best out of me know that I need an arm around my shoulder, sometimes a quiet word of encouragement every now and then. (Ian Wright 1997:21).

It is important to contextualise this interaction as one taking place between a high profile black forward and a white manager who has just arrived at the Football Club. The white manager is described as having a controlling approach, which the black player rebels against. This perception of the need to be treated with the 'big stick', to be talked to in the right language, replays the historical relationship between the white adult and the black child, the one who has authority and the one who needs to reform. It has a historical connotation in the context of Football, in that the power is with the white authority figure.

Football in this context, with more black players, becomes a stage where these subliminal processes, hidden identities and covert relationships get acted out. In this specific case the black player internalises that it is permissible from the white male authority figure, to 'tear into me' or, in contrast, putting an 'arm around my shoulder'

or having 'quiet word'. These are the range of options open to him in buying into the professional cultures of football as a black player.

These are processes of power dynamics that do not always avail themselves to open scrutiny. Black players are struggling for the same kinds of freedoms as white players, and as white men, to be accepted as individuals with multi-identities. In the settings of football however these freedoms are influenced by how black players reconcile themselves to the pressures to act out an illusion of acceptance on terms they may find reprehensible.

For example, in the following interview with a black player, born in England, playing during the late 1980s, the notion of difference is tested by his hairstyle. He was born in South London and talked about what his hair style meant for his own political identity and how it was perceived as a threat to the codes expected of professional players:

Harry Best took over. At the time I had dreadlocks and was called into the office. I was asked why I had dreadlocks and I said that it was an affirmation of my African heritage. They said it wasn't appropriate. Harry Best told me to cut them off. I told him apart from the fact that I was 26 or 27 years of age and nobody had told me how to cut my hair it would offend my whole heritage. And if I was to get my hair cut he should do some elocution lesson to get rid of his Scottish accent (Ian Smith, interview 1997).

Ian's challenge to this white Scottish coach is a challenge to how acts of white men impinge upon the identities of black players in English soccer. If Ian is compliant with what the white coach wants him to be and look like, his conformity to the ethos of this football culture means he integrates on their terms. I believe that Ian's comment is

not simply a respect for his African heritage but a claim, an assertion of difference, that exposes the limitations of his manager as a white man in accepting difference. This impact of white male power to impose their command in the setting of a football club is highlighted in the second part of Ian's comments in the context of the training pitch:

I was down at Torquay and they had an assistant manager there by the name of Terry Walsh. I had been down there a couple of days and it got down to a five a side and he said we've have the white team over there and the 'coons' and 'niggers' over there'. I said you do know what my name is, if you can't use my name then don't speak to me at all, but don't call me 'nigger' or a 'coon'. I said, 'if you're going to refer to me in those derogatory terms I will tear you head off' (Ian Smith interview 1997).

Ian's experiences as a black player in this period who left the game because of incidents like this, reveals the inflexibility of white men who expect that black players such as Ian, should not question their authority. More importantly, in terms of this research and this chapter on the experiences of black players in the 1980s, it is the power, that white men hold, through the luxury of being unconsciously able to normalise these patterns of control over black players. It is through these processes that white men produce forms of inequalities within the system that black players see more clearly when they make the transition beyond playing.

3.5 They think its all over. facing new racism and exclusions

One of the biggest fears that confronts most players is what to do after putting their boots up, no longer having a contract and finding that their role as a professional soccer player has ended. One of the myths that has surrounded black players is that

they play longer and so they fail to look at their career beyond playing. On retirement black players, like any other player, have to face the prospect of what comes after their playing career. There are several ways they will exit the game. They will either stay on as a coach, as a manager, or in another related capacity, or mostly commonly, they will leave the game

In my interview with Frank he said that he felt he would play forever. He talked with great remorse about ending his career and finding out he wasn't good at anything else. He began to realise and develop a new cognisance of the importance of his colour in competing for jobs as a coach against his white male counter-parts:

I was naïve at the time but never thought I would ever stop playing football, I thought I could play forever. I thought I had enough put aside, I just wanted a little mortgage to say that's what I got out of it. I wanted to be a coach but I don't think the opportunities were always there. There are times when I wanted to be a coach, it's not only a matter of colour, but there are a lot more white coaches than coloured ones. But I would like to think that any black player that has been in the game and has done a coaching badge would be equal to a white coach (Frank Lee interview 1997).

Frank's comment represents the illusion of immortality, an unrealistic hedonistic orientation to a system which does not encourage him to think he has a right to career beyond the playing field. He justifies his exit from the industry by rationalising that it is a space and place for white players to become coaches because of their greater numbers in this industry. It shows how black players who emerged in the 1980s and were beginning to retire in the late 1990s faced new structural forms of racism that is disguised by the way white men inherit a position and move into new jobs unchallenged in the institutions of coaching and management.

Derrick Morris, in this comment, shows the difficulties facing black players of the 1980s who are ending their playing career and considering their next move. He highlights that, in the transition into coaching and management, black player face a similar type of racism to that experienced by black people outside of English soccer, who have qualifications but cannot access jobs as managers:

It is only now that a influx of black players have packed in the game and are trying to get into management. I think it is just a matter of time will tell. If I had to predict I know a lot of black guys who have had 10-15 years in football, who may have got management and coaching qualifications, who are seeking employment in that field. What the statistics show, it will take time, it may be hard for them to get a job. Like in society black people find it hard to get employment at management level and I don't think that football will be any different (Derrick Morris interview1997).

Derrick reveals the illusion sold to black players, that it is time rather than discrimination in the system, that influences their progression from the playing field in relation to their career development. The problem with notions of evolution, is that white men have evolved in this system through patterns of conduct which become coded in very exclusive and exclusionary ways that contribute to the forms of racism black players will face whilst in this transition into coaching and management.

Before concluding this chapter on the kinds of racism black players experienced in their emergence in the 1980s, I think this comment by Geoff Webb, as one of the most prominent black players who played during this period, brings to life the concerns black players confront in a industry where acts of white men can be connected to processes of power:

There's still racism, it is as simple as that. We all try to put different labels on it, but they don't have the faith in black people, because of the bad press we get. They trusted us in the field but will they trust us to lose a few million of their money. I don't think black people are any worse than white people, we are told we are laid back and black people get labelled that way. It's plain and fucking simple there are certain people out there that don't want black people to get on, they want to keep them where they are. We've got our token black so that's ok, but that's fucking rubbish (Geoff Webb, interview 1997).

This comment by Geoff echo's the central argument of this chapter, that is the types of racism black players faced in the 1980s in the field, the changing room and in their direct interface with white men will have implications for how they see their positions as black men in the institutions of soccer. Thus the racism that they confronted in these spheres, and the echo of being abused in relation to their bodies is part of the process of seeing that at the end of their playing career they will not have the same chances to participate, equitably, with their white counter-parts.

3.6 Conclusion

The intention of this chapter has been to demonstrate that black players have been judged in the English game, firstly and foremost in relation to the importance of their body. The notion of black men functioning through their body has been contested by an examination of two variables; their changing arrival into the English game and secondly the importance of black families fears that black players would be abused and would be subjected to processes of racism and exclusion.

I argued that the cultural adjustment black players made in order to be accepted in the English game is shaped by their levels of consciousness in their relationships to white crowds and the demands from white coaches and managers. Although football in the 1980s contains echoes of the plantation field, in the abuse of black player's bodies, I argue that black players begin to develop a relationship between their internal world and their public performances inside of football.

In this chapter, the experiences of black players reveal forms of inequality in a system which is dominated by the beliefs and actions of white men. The relationships between black and white men in the context of the soccer pitch and the training pitch are the basis upon which black men find out they have no power in the transition into coaching and management, which is based on no formal recruitment process.

Black players are then left confused in terms of how they should manage their relationships with white men. This process of confusion, is in itself, an affect of the acts of white men, and a privilege in which white men do think about how they act in relation to black players and the power they have to construct and demand that they 'play the white man' in relation to their codes and customs.

The unthinking use of the term 'black bastard' and the notion of the 'chip on the shoulder' become key ways in which black players are defined and categorised in these white worlds. This process of labelling is superimposed in the power dynamics between black players and white men. Thus the privileges white men have becomes normalised by expecting black players to perform a role of compliance. Black players realise that even when they play for England this does not automatically lead to

inclusion to the privileges connected to a being seen as a white English man.

I argue that as black players retire from the English game the racism they experienced becomes a determinant force in whether or not they want to stay in an institution where they may not have the same prospects as their white male counter-parts. It brings alive the fact that they will see and understand racism as a process, from the context of their family, and from their experiences of racism whilst playing. It becomes a series of inter-connected experiences which influence their cognisance of how they may have to perform to stand a chance of getting a job as a coach or a manager in the institutions of English soccer.

In the next chapter I want to look at the transitional issues facing black ex-players in their career move from the playing field into coaching and management, primarily through examining the next logical step i.e. a coaching qualification. I will also look at the new institutional patterns of whiteness that emerge in these locations.

I want to look at the coaching location and the racialised performances that are found at the interface between white tutors and black and white course members. I believe that these performances will have a significant impact on black players' ability to make the transitions into jobs as coaches or managers in English soccer. My argument will focus on the ways that the culture of the institutions of the coaching qualifications leads to different types of racialised processes and performances that are both similar to and different to those of playing.

CHAPTER FOUR

Racialised performances, coaching qualifications and the myth of equality

In this chapter I want to explore the forms of racism black players confront in trying to obtain a coaching and management qualification. Attaining a coaching badge is assumed to be the first step towards getting a job as a coach or a manager. It is important to focus on the role of the qualification and examine critically, the degree to which its structure is meritocratic. I argue that the whole idea of equality of access to jobs as a coaches or a managers through getting a qualification, actually camouflages the importance of networking. It camouflages the deeper levels of inequalities that exist in the location of the coaching qualification, as a new stage where black players will have to perform to the expectations of white men who will determine whether they successfully complete the qualification, which will not guarantee them a position as a coach or a manager.

In this chapter I will use the idea of 'racialised performances as discussed in chapter one, to examine the power white men hold over black men in the location of the coaching qualification. I argue that black players have to respond to the rules of the course and will have to perform in different locations to demonstrate they are capable of coaching in relation to the standards set by white men. I will discuss the need to perform in relation three spheres: the playing field, the classroom and the bar area.

Throughout this chapter I argue that whiteness is embodied through patterns of actions

that can be detected by auditing the individual ways that white men behave in the settings of the coaching and management qualification. To assess the complexity of black players responses I use Fanon's (1967) notion of the mask, elaborating the framework from chapter one, to look at the ways that black players understand whiteness and develop different responses to survive whilst trying to obtain a coaching qualification.

The mask has an important role in concealing from white men the extent to which black players feel they are being included and excluded. I argue that the mask is also adopted by black players as a performance in response to the way white men operate. In the first part of this chapter I will use Goffman (1956) work on the 'front stage' to analyse how whiteness is formed through the course structure, the pre-course work, the location and by the ways white tutors act in front of black candidates. I argue that despite the meritocratic ethos of the course, the personnel who administrate it, colonise the institutions of coaching through rules that shape the processes of black player's inclusion.

Many of these processes of colonisation take place in the 'back stage' where black players are absent and are measured by standards that are based upon the historical values of white men.

In the second part of this chapter I will outline the problems and confusion faced by black ex-players in trying to perform to white men who assess them through values that cannot always be detected in the assessment procedures in relation to the coaching topics given to candidates. The test for black men is to read and reproduce new cultural expectations

in new relationships with white men in their positions as course tutors. My approach here is to identify and name whiteness through the ways that black ex-players make sense of the intervention of how white tutors enter into their lives, leaving them unclear as to how they should act in the coaching field to show they are competent.

In the third part of this chapter I will look at the UEFA A Conversion badge, specifically the classroom experience. I argue that the less formal the setting, the more implicit and the more collusive white men act. I am interested in how these course settings and spaces enable white men to reaffirm processes of familiarity, whilst black ex-players see that they may not be able to access these processes of familiarity.

In the fourth part of this chapter I argue that by looking at the informal setting of the bar area, compared to the field and the classroom, white men perform distinctly different acts, because of the luxury of being in a 'back stage'. This back stage offers the possibility of informality and performances of whiteness without any level of accountability, whilst black players have to find a place in this privileged area in which white men control. The bar area, I suggest, is a symbolic space where white men facilitate how networks of inclusion and exclusion operate.

These are the networks that black players will need to try and entry as the most important process that determines their access to coaching and management jobs, despite gaining a coaching qualification. It is in each of these locations that white men, in the institutions of coaching shape how the mask is used by black players as a public performance. Black

players will learn to develop different behavioral and political responses to acts of white men, which will have implications for their move into jobs as coaches and managers.

4.1 Formations of whiteness in the coaching field

The coaching qualification represents a space and a tradition where black players will be confronted with new social and cultural expectations, influenced by the following: the location, the procedures and the rituals of the course. As part of my research project in 1994 I participated on the Full License course. To undertake this course it is necessary to have completed the Football Association Preliminary Coaching Badge, the Football Association Preparatory course and to be recommended by the course tutor to go on to do the Full License course, this regime becomes a process of assimilation by induction.

The regime of the coaching qualification is established by the Football Association and the Local County Associations who administrate the course. Each County will have its own specific structure, but the general organisation of the course is sanctioned by the Football Association, the governing body of the sport. The FA Instructional Committee (made up of white men from the Army, the County Associations and Universities) approve the general structure of the course through a practical coaching 'Assessment Sheet' which is used to judge the competence of the student to coach effectively. The 'Assessment sheet' I argue represents the value judgments held by white men; it conceals the control they have by assuming that the sheet transcends all race, culture or class differences:

THE ASSESSMENT SHEET.

General

Marks A. B. C. D.

1. Appearance
2. Enthusiasm and general manner
3. Ability to inspire players
4. Knowledge of content

Organisation

5. Skill in organising space and equipment
6. Explanation/Direction.
7. Realism in practices

Observation

8. Ability to diagnose key faults
9. Ability to progress in relation to players failure

Communication

10. Quality of voice
11. Speech habits
12. Effectiveness of instructions
13. Effectiveness of demonstrations
14. Skill in dealing with player's failure

General Comments

The above sheet was originally marked on an A B C D basis. It has recently been replaced by the Candidate Assessment Portfolio that operates on the basis of similar categories, but uses a different marking system: Strengths and weaknesses are marked by a tick in the box [] weakness by a cross in the box [] neither a weakness or a strength by a dot in the box []. This marking system has recently been replaced in August 2001 by a more open report sheet.

The course is organised into three components: a) theory of the game b) refereeing and c)

practical work (which contains 60% of the work). The first example of how whiteness becomes colonised in the structure of the course is through the personnel who administrate it. This power of white men is reflected in their instruction to engage in all pre-course work they design. This requires watching the “Winning Formula” coaching videos and reading the accompanying set of books, by Charles Hughes, the Football Association Technical Director of Coaching. The pressure to reproduce acts of white male English histories is reinforced further by the need to acquire and perform in Umbro kit and boots.

I argue that these acts of white men become institutionalised and can be illustrated by Goffman’s ideas of ‘fronts’. ‘Fronts’ being a component of the setting where actors perform. Here I am using ‘front’ as the dress codes at the ‘front stage’ of the performance demanded on the course. Such demands are made by predominantly white men in ‘back stages’, within locations unknown to black players where it become impossible to challenge the formations of these codes of dress.

In order to analyse how processes of racialisation and codes of whiteness operate in the coaching stage it is necessary to look at the location of the Full License (now the UEFA A coaching badge). It takes place at the National Sports Centre in Lilleshall, in the leafy countryside of Shropshire, thirty miles from Birmingham. A regional and historical form of whiteness can be quickly identified by the 100 acres of rich green land, transformed into playing fields accessed through big iron gates, along stony paths. This leads to a rich green forest and a mansion hung with portraits of famous white Englishmen. On entry to

the main building one is confronted by a notice board:

This Building was donated to the Sports Council by the South Africa Government in 1939

This building represents a trophy of a colonialist history. There is Victorian outlay of large houses positioned some distance away from the playing field. More crucially the absence of black men in these houses, in the form of black tutors involved in the construction of the course leaves important spaces in terms of language and patterns of behaviours to form. This enables white men to reinforce their personal histories in the format of the course without hindrance.

The relationship between the building structure and the white male tutors enables a performance to develop that does not easily open itself up to being researched. To avoid simply speculating about how whiteness operates in buildings where white men work, I examined the ways in which white men (predominantly middle class ex-teachers) construct routines that are coded by specific patterns of behaviour, which will provoke different responses from black players whilst on the course. The quality of these responses are influenced by the course expectations. Over the next fourteen days there is only one afternoon off, the day begins at 8am, with meals, lectures and practical sessions in the field. The affects on the black players begins to be emerge as they are placed into groups, with a group leader, a white staff member, and then sub-groups lead by white ex-players. White men are immediately placed in the controlling positions on the course.

These formations of white men lead to rituals that become formalised in the structure of

the course. These rituals are maintained at the explicit level through the course outline which all players have to abide by to be successful on the course. Within these guidelines are interpretations which more powerfully influence the cultural demands of the course. These demands, are dismissed as representing the power of white men through this interview with one of the course tutors, Steven Reid. Steven believed that the course did not create constraints for those students who had not previously been in a controlled, structured and rural environment under the control of white men:

I don't think it matters where you come from everybody once they come on this course has an equal chance as anybody. It does not matter what race or what sex you are, if you are a professional player or not, or if you were a teacher, everybody is judged on the same standards (Steven Reid, Course Tutor, 1994).

This comment advocates the ethos of equality through standards that are assumed to apply fairly to all candidates. The refusal to see how the course may discriminate, is one of the important symbolic themes, that underwrites the impossibility of questioning those in authority. Inter-related to this theme are the problems facing black men questioning the authority of white men, outside the context of the Football Club and in the new location of the coaching course.

4.2 Performing in the field

Performing to new white male figures

I argue that there is a completely different performance demanded of black players in the setting of the coaching course. Firstly, the identity they have shared with white men as

players and as working class men changes when black and white players have to compete with each other for a coaching qualification. Secondly ex- white players and white male tutors begin to share an identity as white men. Although they may come from different class backgrounds, this sharing creates an easiness in being on the course as the first process of the racialisation of whiteness, the privilege of nurturing, unconsciously, a comfort zone to perform without reference to naming the convenience of being white.

The shared forms of masculinity that went across the colour line in the playing field are abandoned, and replaced by black men adjusting to patterns of white male acts that can be illustrated by interviewing the candidates and tutors as they arrive, and by observing the reality of individuals competing for qualifications to get a job in Football coaching and management. Responses to the privileges white men hold start with the ways the seven black students on the course enter the canteen area where the roll call takes place: two come in chatting interestedly to white students, one is late. Another black ex-player scans the room looking for a safe space in a sea of white faces. The luxury of not having to think about scanning the room, but simply identifying oneself through the club tracksuit one wears or the people one knows, reflects one of the advantages that white men enjoy over black men in walking into spaces that that have been created by other white men before them, where a legacy of being at home is established.

The relationship between privilege as a form of whiteness, is further represented by the imagery instilled by the embodiment of five white tutors dressed in the same uniform: Umbro hats, T-shirts, tracksuits, shorts and socks. The course coordinator reads out the

tutor groups and the groups then retire to another room to be told about how the sub-groups will operate.

Sub-group leaders are selected by the course tutor. In all four groups a paternal image of whiteness is promoted through the selection of older well-known white ex-players. The image of paternalism and whiteness gives authority to the manner in which the course tutor outlines the expectations for the next fourteen days. The course tutor then stands in front of the group, clip-book in hand, arms folded, with his legs firmly apart, a military pose. He speaks without eye contact, making explicit what will be expected of the course members:

Its important that all the sessions start on time, you must be out of you room, have your breakfast and be in the lecture room by 9am and then we come into this room for a group meeting. By the fourth day when Football Association tutors have shown you all the practical demonstrations that may be given to you as a topic, you will be given your actual topic. Its important you study it, and I will be able to give some time in relation to your organisation. It is vitally important that we help each other out. All right, any questions: good, see you in the morning (Robin Russell, Course Coordinator, 1994).

The comfort zone of whiteness, is a theme that resonates in this quotation, as a method in which white men develop, instill and follow patterns which enables them to feel at home. The comfort zone of whiteness is revealed in this setting, by the way that the white men sit at the front of the class and the three black students have positioned themselves at the back of the class. The black students smile is the first example of a mask, a coded response to show to white men that they can cope with the rituals of the course and the

nature of the conversion needed to acquire the coaching qualification. The mask, in this context, conceals a fear about how to deal with white tutors who do not recognise the difficulties facing black players in moving into their zones of comfort.

To analyse the feelings of black players coming into this setting, to show how acts of white men are experienced in this institution, I talked to one of the black players in his room about what it felt like to be in this group situation. I had got to know him over the week. He looked to the ceiling in despair and with an anxious look, he shrugged his shoulders. He looked as if he had had enough:

There are definitely more black people on the course this year but I am the only one in my group. The tutor and the other coaches without even knowing it have got a way of making you feel really isolated and for younger people it could really destroy them. If there are certain politics I think it depends what professional club you are with will influence your chance in getting the badge. It's certainly true the savages like me will need more help (Black course member, 1994)

The quotation begins to articulate how the cultural environment of the course enhances the power of white men to mystify black players whilst on the course. Consequently, black players are left unsure how to act in relation to white men whilst working to get a coaching qualification. The implications of reproducing the acts of white men, is reflected in this quotation from Utchay, below:

A black man cannot be secure in his employment by mastering his duties alone. He must study the idiosyncrasies and peculiarities of the white man at the head and study and endeavor to satisfy. For his continuation in the service depends on the will

of this one individual (Utchay 1933:437).

The move into the coaching field, where black men were once players, is a transition where they are presented with a different pattern of whiteness, because white men, instead of shouting abuse, are in the position of assessing if black players are competent to be given a coaching qualification. Black ex-players reaction can be observed by the ways that they interact with white men who use their capacity in different ways to influence the performances of black ex-players.

My argument in this section is that black players face a new type of racism to the dominant overt racism experienced in the playing field as discussed in chapter three. I argue that using the work of Kovel (1988), they begin to experience an 'aversive' type of racism in the way that white men disassociate themselves from black men, who are then denied access to the spaces where the infinitely different privileges of white men are reaffirmed. The power of white men operates through their capacity to enforce the rules used to judge black ex-players, who are lead to believe a qualification is needed and is important to their career development.

By advocating the importance of a coaching qualifications, hides the power white men acquire through coaching in a specific style in the playing field through the practical work. The five white tutors will demonstrate how to coach a skill of the game within the following areas: (1) A technical practice, (2) A small-sided game, (3) A phrase of play, 4) A full sized game.

The 5 white tutors use an instructional style of coaching, referred to on the course also as the 'Command Style'. This command style is enacted during each of the sessions in which the white tutor stops the game, analyses a mistake and shows the course members how to correct the mistake. The lack of black tutors involved in this presentation then represents how authentic the performance is valued if it is not carried out by a white man. These unconscious acts of white men are further displayed in the physical demeanor and the language the tutors use, as demonstrated in this comment, which is consistent with the language, used by the tutors during most of the sessions: This act from a white course tutor can be considered as an example of how whiteness as a performance is enacted on the course:

Stop, stand still, let me take your place. This is what I want you to do and do you understand? Good, now let me see you do it. Great that's exactly what I want. That's good, you have done well, so have you, you could tuck in more, and what are you doing over there half a sleep (White course tutor, 1994).

Although the five tutors will adopt an individual approach to their coaching demonstration, they share a common body position, standing on the side, away from the students. They will stop the game with a large shout and slowly walk on to the pitch. These are examples of how white men create a performance in a space in a field that black men must show that they are comfortable in reproducing. I argue, it is the quality of the relationships between course tutor and course members, in this case the relationships between white tutors and black men that determines whether black men are judged as able to reproduce the standards of white men even before they perform.

For instance, in the coaching field the head tutor is positioned sitting in a chair wearing sunglasses, monitoring the performances of the tutors and the course members. By bringing together the whole group for a question and answer session, this enables him to assess the level of compliance of the students on the course. These are processes in which black ex-players are monitored in terms of how naturally they are able to integrate into white men's expectations. Despite knowing the structure of the course, in that they will be given four topics to coach and their performance will be assessed by one of the course tutors in front of their peer group and in this controlled stage. They face a dilemma as to whether white men will be consistent in the ways they see, respond to and assess them as candidates without making any reference to their capacity to act in the same ways as white men. I want to analyse these dilemmas facing by black players by focusing on two incidents that illustrate the problem in working with and being assessed by white men in the setting of the Full License (UEFA A) course.

In the first example during one of his sessions, Marlon Jenkins was being assessed on a topic on coaching, 'finishing from crosses'. He sets up his session and it begins. The tutor placed himself on the opposite side of the pitch, tightly holding a clipboard with the assessment criteria. The crosses were poor as Marlon struggled to get the players to cross effectively. The white tutor dropped his clipboard to show that the session was going badly and the codes of the performance were not being followed successfully.

In two minutes the white tutor told the nearly all white players what he wanted, the crosses went in and, like magic, the play started to make sense. Marlon took over, his

voice was shaky and he was reluctant to go in and correct mistakes. The act of this white man smoothly, almost arrogantly intervening, leaves Marlon confused as to whether the tutor's ability to effect the change in the performance of the players is due to his skills or a deference to him being the tutor, who is white, in a setting where he has taught and performed before. I talked to Marlon at lunch time and he was still shaken and unable to relax, the pain of the experience still vivid in his mind. I asked him what went wrong in the session. He stopped eating, his salad was almost untouched, but he was drinking lots of water to compensate for the profuse amount of sweating:

I don't know what went wrong, in all my days as a professional players I never been through anything like that before, its nothing like the pro-game, although they have taught me a lot and I have learnt a few new things. This tutor giving me bad marks and treated me just like a school kid and kept on coming in during my session, it just felt really intimidating (Marlon Jenkins, 1994).

What lies behind Marlon's comment is this point of mystification of how white men are at ease and comfortable in a setting that they control. Although Marlon has experiences of both professional soccer and professionalised teaching, he begins to see the power of white men to feel more able to adjust and perform within the rules of the coaching qualification setting. Marlon's confusion about how white men behave is further compounded by having a change in tutors.

During his second session, the tutor who gave Marlon Jenkins his poor marks had to leave the course due to a family illness. The tutor who took over the marking responsibility spent more time coming in during the coaching session on defending. This,

however, lead to a surprising new outcome, despite the change of tutor at the end of the session Marlon marks had improved considerably.

Again, in the canteen when I asked Marlon the reason for this improvement, he looked equally mystified. The way Marlon searched around the canteen to see if anybody was watching, showed a fear of being around white men outside the coaching field. The white tutors were situated together in the corner of the room on the top table. It showed the power of white men to instill a fear in black players, through an omnipotence, as Marlon continued to review his performance, casting a suspicious looks over his shoulder:

I can't explain it, it just seemed easier and maybe it was because I knew this tutor as we both live in the same area of Islington. Its difficult to tell how these white men think, one is really miserable and gives me good marks, the other, the 'fat destroyer', gives me poor marks. The most difficult thing is getting use to the different approaches of the tutors. I don't know if it's racism or not, but I have been all over the country as a professional player and have seen different types of racism at different clubs, so I have developed a second sense to it and you kind of expect it at different levels. The worst kind of racism is not what they say, it's what they don't say in case they are accused of being racist (Marlon Jenkins, July, 1994).

My argument is that the personal relationships between black ex-players and white tutors is expressed through this assessment process, which can lead to different outcomes. Consequently, whether Marlon gets a good or a bad mark, it is the power that white men have in this context to discriminate based on their personal feelings, becomes one important way of naming how whiteness operates as having the power to decide black ex-players future in the game.

Black ex-players then experience the playing field as representing a new threat where they confront more indirect and inconsistent acts of white men. Although they feel they have through the 'mask' successfully copied the coaching style of the white tutor, a confusion remains in terms of how they are being assessed. It represents one of the most significant confusion of the coaching qualification which can be illustrated in this interview with another black professional player who was consistently receiving poor marks on the course.

This black ex-player felt that other white students, less competent than him, were getting better marks because they got on better with the white tutors. The suspicion that white men were in a better position to pass through their ability to operate within a mutual comfort zone was expressed by the way he reproduced how he saw white men being so natural with each other. He then stood up in the middle of the bedroom, put his hat and glasses on and brilliantly imitated the head tutor, right down to his accent.

He went quiet after a period of laughter and began to reflect back on his relationship with his tutor and his poor performance. He talked as if the tutor was in front of him, revealing for me how black ex-players use their own back stage spaces to decode what white tutors represent in their lives during the course:

I just thought my tutor had very real little time for me, they said they were there to help, but during this period of time you were very lucky if you got two or three minutes with them. I feel their approach is rather teacher like and they do seem to favor the teaching approach. Their approach is rather regimental I like to have a laugh and joke. I don't feel there are any race problems

with the tutors at the moment the only politics I can see at the moment is the preferential treatment towards those who have some link with the Football Association (Black course member, 1994).

The copying of the behavior of his tutor, redefined in terms of how he felt about the white man, reflects a feeling of isolation, of being controlled. This feeling of being controlled is reinforced by the image of white teachers, as army instructors, who alienate those they had no previous associations with, and those who do not comply with his expectations. This black ex-players responds similarly to the work of Basso's (1979) in which the Apache Indians portrayed and parodied whiteness through humour and jokes. He parodies whiteness as way of making sense of white men, outside of their space as an strategy to cope with the cold and unpredictable ways white men are seen as intervening into his life.

Thus, the way that white men are experienced begins to raise a number of conflicts for black players, in terms of how they understand and apply themselves to working with them. They face throughout their relationships with white male tutors the need to perform, in an unsafe atmosphere where, white men advocate equality and then can act in highly preferential ways.

For example, whilst on the course a black ex-player talked about a situation when the course tutor reprimanded him about the fact that he was wearing a baseball cap and sun glasses and asked him not to swear in front of the players. He told me he had been disrespected, he then put his cap on and rehearsed what the tutor had said o him and how it made him feel about this white man:

You know that fat bastard, the fast destroyer, how dare he come over to me and tell me to take my cap off, because it didn't look appropriate for a coach. They want to get into the real world, when I'm down at my club there is no problems with me wearing a baseball cap. The funny thing about it (he begins to laugh) his fucking boss sitting in the corner with a fucking Umbro baseball cap and dark classes. Who the fuck does he think he is, not even my Father talks to me like that. And you can't swear, fucking hell does he think I am nun or something, the fucking prick (Black course member, 1994).

My point from this comment is that black players feel they are being unjustly 'put into their place' because of the rules are set by staff who do not subscribe to them. The issue of who can break the codes of the course is highlighted here by the power of the white tutor to wear a baseball cap and sunglasses, whilst the black player is told to take off his cap and glasses by another white man. It reinforces that white men in authority dictate and interpret the rules despite the fact at the start of each session, each candidate is told to wear a top, shorts and 'pull their socks up'. One is automatically guaranteed an 'A' grade if one complies with these traditions.

What lies behind this challenge, beyond the challenge to copy the white man, his language, dress and actions, is the irony of the white coach in the background wearing items of clothing associated with black culture, which the black player is penalised for wearing during his session. This for me raises some of the problems of race as a social construction as discussed in the work of Fishkin (1993) when she talks about how much blackness enters whiteness and whiteness enters blackness thus complicating the ideas of race as fixed and static categories.

The problem with this analysis of race as a construction, is that it misses the element of power in the cost to black professional players when they fail to consciously or unconsciously follow the idiosyncrasies of white men. The cost to the white tutor in entering blackness does not have the same consequences because he controls the cultural environment in which the black player is judged. Thus the power white men have to dictate the performances of black players represents a form of whiteness.

At the end of this course the fact that the white participants shout “hooray, hooray” and begin to mock the white tutors is an indication of the ease with which they can take risks that black players have to think about. This form of parody by white men of white men is both public and permissible. Black players have to more carefully assess how they take part in these scenes and are more wary of the implications for their chances of passing the course. Ultimately, only one of them passed the course.

The black players express their feelings about the course when the white players go, reflecting a freedom of being alone which is reinforced by the way they end up singing the famous Gloria Gaynor song ‘we will survive’. The act of singing this song reflects their travel through the acts of whiteness and the mysterious and contradictory ways it had been used to assess their ability as black men to obtain the coaching qualification.

It is this comment from the black ex-player who was forced to take his glasses and cap off, that reveals how his experience in this location links into a larger picture of the relationship between the actions of white men to wider macro forms of racism outside of

coaching:

I feel this course is just a mirror image of the personalities who run it. They are backward thinking, racists and colonialist, you have a better chance of passing the course in America. Working class and black people have no chance on this course (Black course member, 1994).

The danger of such a comment is that it portrays white men as all the same and that they behave always in this manner in this institutional setting. Their individual capacity to exercise racism in different ways is disregarded. Consequently the individual encounters between black ex-players and white course members and tutors are important in seeing whiteness as a complex and contradictory patterns of actions that have different outcomes for black ex-players.

The Football Field where the coaching qualification takes place shows that black ex-players have to translate the acts of white men that are unconscious to them. Black ex-players' lack of involvement in the design, structure and location of the course, and the private moments where they are talked about, means that they perform in a vacuum where their own historical experiences and values are not represented.

Black ex-players have to see whiteness as operating through patterns of actions, in which they have been alienated from, where white tutors judge their performances to comply with their standards. Black ex-players as course candidates are excluded from the privileges that white men have had to define themselves and their role within the organisational culture of the coaching qualification.

I argue in this next section that black players face different acts of white men and a different process of racialisation through the new professionalisation of the English coaching system, which was implemented to bring it into line with European standards. These changes in the format of the course have been set by the UEFA A conversion badge, where the drama moves from the field into the location of the classroom, where institutional processes, to use Goffman (1956) work, become more 'mystifying'. This is where whiteness operates on a more implicit level in the subtle and unspoken ways it maintains its privileges and forms of familiarity.

4.3 The classroom setting of new forms of whiteness

The radical changes in the Full License Course have led to the whole coaching and management structure of courses in English soccer moving towards integration with the European system. The major revamp has involved a move away from the field to the need to complete 100 hours in the class room studying the following components in the form of the UEFA A conversion course.

- Preparing for Management.
- Self-Organisation.
- Time Management.
- Managing People with the line of Responsibility.
- Counseling.
- Communication.
- Football Food.

- Football Fitness.

The classroom setting therefore becomes the scene of a new drama where the additional hours take place and with high profile coaches and managers. I attended the course as an observer and participant. On the first day the lecturer talks in great details about the importance of CVs in accessing jobs in the market of coaching and management. There is a dispute in the room as this idea is contested. Sitting next to a black ex-player in the classroom who is getting increasingly restless, I over hear him saying:

What a load of shit, do you think anybody in this room has ever got a job by filling out a CV? Do you really think any of these top white managers is going to respond to my CV, when they are more than likely to give the job to their friends? (Darren Smith 1997).

Darren highlights the contradiction between the theory of the course and the realities for black ex-players trying to break into coaching and management through the use of a coaching qualification. He challenges the fantasy inherent in the way that white men talk about the need for job descriptions, line management responsibilities and clarity over ones role within the organisations of soccer. The biggest concern actually centers on the issue of developing networks. The theme of networking is promoted as more important than the coaching qualification thus contradicting the notion that the qualification offers equality. This following definition of networking is taken from the section on 'Preparing for the Management' role and becomes an important part of the course:

Networking.

This refers to the activity of building up networks of contacts with individuals involved in the Football Profession who can potentially provide help and support for, and be involved in, the management role. If you list the people whom you know now or whom you have had contact with in the past, it is likely that you will discover you already have a network of friends and acquaintances in the field. It is important to be pro-active in networking and think about whom you would like to meet and who would potentially be an important source of support and advice. Knowing a network of people in the game is important in obtaining employment. They may be able to provide information about posts which are (becoming) available or to act as referees and comment on your personality and experience. Networking occurs naturally as your range of colleagues grows: however there are ways of improving your networking skills, which are outlined as part of this module (The FA Advanced Coaching License UEFA 'A' Coaching award, 1996:2)

I argue that the way the course goes on to promote networks as open and essential for the candidates to become a part of, conceals the power of white men to define how networks function. By suggesting that all candidates have the same privileges, the performances necessary to enter and succeed in a network are disguised. This notion of performance is reflected in the following definition of impression management which is taken from Goffman (1956):

Impression Management.

The overall impression you create as an individual and as a professional is extremely important. The things you do and say and help people to understand what you are about, they create an impression of you as a person. Learning to manage that impression is also an important part of preparing for, and building being successful in, the management role (The FA Advanced Coaching License UEFA 'A' Coaching award 1996:2).

These two academic definitions reflect the importance of forming personal relationships, they suggest a performance is needed to access friendships particularly with white men who control both the definition of and access into the network. In this context, for black ex-players networks are racialised by the ways they are organised by and through white personnel, in an environment where they have little influence.

In the context of the classroom the performance needed to effectively become part of a network is revealed through the subtle powers of white men to define and approve how to act and how to talk. For example, during an afternoon discussion on networking the tutor asks what the important elements are in terms of communication. A black student puts up his hand up and says:

I think it's important to try and work with people from different areas of the country, especially with more Asian people coming into the country we need to find out how to work in the best way possible (Black course member, 1996).

The white tutor delivering the lecture looks stunned, he responds to the black player saying, 'Yeah, I am not sure what you mean, but let's move on'. A prominent ex-England coach puts his hand up and the tutor smiles and invites him warmly to make a contribution by the positive wave of his hand. The coach puts his glasses at the end of his nose and talks in a loud and clear manner:

You see at our club we have more and more players coming from the continent, more top players from the continent, there are many cultural and language barriers, and to get the best out of them we need to integrate them into our style of doing things (Steve

Bridges, 1994).

The strong nodding of agreement amongst many of the white managers captures a way that they show approval. This an act of whiteness contrasted to the negative reception given to the previous remark from the black student. It is preconscious and again embodied in this one act of nodding one's head. These moments are important indicators of how white men value each other, demonstrated by the non-verbal use of the head. They also demonstrate how white men can talk and behave in a pre-coded masculine mode that undermines the presence of black men and their knowledge base.

In the first moment, the voice of the black player, who talks about working with difference, is not heard or respected in contrast to the response given to the white manager who talks about difference in the context of integration into his world. In these classroom settings how these actors conduct themselves will affect whether they are seen as compatible with the cultural demands of the course and, more importantly, with a wider Football culture within which the tensions that operate within networks are not challenged.

Unlike on the football field, where white men demonstrate more public acts of whiteness, in the classroom setting it is featured in these more subtle processes of communication between the tutor and the course members. This is a place where the language of white men connects to non-verbal actions that are more difficult to pinpoint and explore than on the football field.

In the context of a football field, black players can imitate the roles demanded by white tutors, although how their performance is privately marked is difficult to evaluate. In the classroom there is no formal assessment as to what is considered a good or a bad answer, it is based on how white men validate their experiences through unspoken moments of social approval.

These moments are based on histories and social contexts that are enacted outside the classroom. The classroom represents the link of other external locations and relationships where white men develop a sense of being liberated with the other, which is the foundation on which they reaffirm their powers. It is this easiness that is at the center of the problems black player's face because the conditions of the patterns of familiarity are not rooted in their histories. In the next section I want to consider the bar area as one of the locations where whiteness is constructed. I want to look at the implications for black players in performing to forms of whiteness exhibited in this setting.

4.4 Cheers, the bar of whiteness

The movement of the participants from the field and the classroom into one of the more symbolic spaces of masculinity, the bar, reflects, I believe a Football culture that has a special reference point in the power of white men. The bar acts as a secret point for white men and their networks to nurture particular forms of inclusion.

These forms of inclusion are illustrated in the following example taken from the UEFA A conversion course during which the white ex-England coach, who made the remark about foreign players integrating into the English game, retires to the bar. In the middle of the bar most of the white participants assemble around this white coach, drinking lager whilst listening intently to his amusing anecdotes about his coaching days. The laughter gets louder and louder and it becomes like a session at speaker's corner as more and more managers and coaches gravitate towards this comical performance. One or two of the black players situate themselves on the edge of this group process, just as it becomes clear that this white person is making a series of racist parodies of black players he has worked with. The white coach continues unaffected by the presence of the black players. The other white members of the group are so intensely involved in this process that they are oblivious to the racialised content of the joke and the way the black players are disrespected:

You know I am standing in the coaching session trying to explain to this black geezer but nothing is going through. I say fuck it lets call it day, so all the players get change and shower. This thick black guy gets into the shower and comes out and I tell you he has the biggest Dick I have ever seen in my life, and if he had tripped over he could have beaten the pole-vault record. (Steve Bridges, First team coach, 1996).

The punch line is accompanied by sudden and explosive laughter, a noise that reverberates throughout the room. The white tutors in the corner of the room share in the laughter, adding approval. The calm but dismissive response from the black players reveals one of the tensions in enduring crude racist parodies. They feel compelled to remain on the outside yet have to accept these remarks since failure to do so might affect

their chances of breaking into these networks.

In this way the bar becomes an important feature of the coaching establishment and an intrinsic part of white male culture. It comes to represent an informal recruitment agency with hierarchical forms of white male power. On entry to the bar the way the tutors place themselves in one of the corners, separating themselves from the students, represents an important class formation. The few students privileged to enter this space are those who have developed a relationship with the tutors before the start of the course.

These class divisions are split further into sub-groups of players who have already got jobs, but have been sent on the course to get the qualification and a subgroup of players who will arrogantly state that they don't need the qualification. The bar becomes an important place where students negotiate and where players can market themselves, a form of prostitution in which jobs are exchanged in a space where the selection criteria are based upon friendships, being secure within a relationship with another white man.

For black ex-players, trying to break into these networks in the context of the bar, they need to have built up friendships with white players before the course. It's imperative that they assess how these networks operate and the cultures that determine the point of entry. Let me illustrate this point by referring to a moment when one of the black ex-players was sitting in the corner of the bar drinking an orange juice. He was surrounded by several white ex-players drinking lager. One of the white men asked: "who is buying the second round?". The black ex-player offers to do so and buys himself a pint of lager like the rest

of the ex-players, as his first attempt to force his way into this network.

In speaking to the black ex-player the next day I was interested to find out the experience of being part of this network and being in the bar area with a number of white men who might have the potential to give him a job. He sat still for a moment and a wide grin appeared on his face. He looked me in the eye and responded as if he was going to make a public announcement:

You know, I felt like a total outsider, although we laughed together and had a drink, it was hard being there. What was strange about it was these were the same people who were part of my group and when I had my session they did not want to work for me and I even heard one of them say lets make sure he gets a bad mark (Black course member, 1996).

I use the comment to illustrate the professional and institutional barriers that exist between black and white ex-players. This black ex-player reveals that he can be included in the locations as a course member but still feel excluded, even when he shares a drink with other white men. Black ex-players then see implicit forms of racism operating amongst their white colleagues. This, I argue, is one the most powerful affects of whiteness, it establishes a process in which white men do not need a coaching qualification to guarantee a job in the industry matched against the more important implications of developing the right networks and feeling at ease around other white men.

4.5 Conclusion

I argue, by analysing the structure, location and assessment procedures of the coaching qualification, the disadvantages black ex-players face is revealed through these processes. Their experiences of trying to obtain a coaching qualification reveals how forms of whiteness operate through the acts of white men in the field, in the classroom and in the bar area. Whiteness can then be identified through the observation of white men's actions in a setting which they have designed and which they control through particular forms of familiarity.

I argue that patterns of white men's power on the course are made visible and represent a specific cultural environment, where white men reproduce their histories through the expectations, rules and rituals of the course. Despite gaining a coaching qualification by reproducing the performances of the white tutors, black ex-players do not have same privilege access to a job in football as their white peers

It is through the tensions black ex-player have in trying to manage their relationships with white men that most significantly influences whether they will be seen as competent coaches and awarded the coaching qualification. Black ex-players then realise that the only safe space open to them to make sense of white men is outside their presence. Consequently, despite the fact that equality is advocated through a rigid assessment process, the integration of black players into the ritual demands of the course is dependent on them accepting not only the structure of the course but also the idiosyncrasies and contradictions of the white, middle class men who administrate the

course.

Black ex-players find that in the front stage of the coaching qualification they are subjected to the same criteria as any other player. At the back stage, however which they do not have access to, they realise that another set of rules operate which they are unable to influence. Consequently black ex-players may have to hope their performance whilst on the course gains sufficient approval to obtain the coaching qualification without understanding the mystifying ways in which white men make judgment in their private backstage moments.

The processes of the coaching qualification which takes place on the Football field involves totally different dynamics to those that take place in the classroom setting. What becomes apparent is that the more informal and more implicit the setting, the more difficult it becomes for black ex-players to deconstruct how white men operate. In the classroom, we can see how white men, through inclusive, non-verbal masculine codes of acceptance alienate black ex-players.

In the bar area the powers that white men have come alive in the way that they can make stereotypes of black players unchallenged. They also control access into networks which is shaped by the comfort zones of white men, which is far more important than a coaching or management qualification in the search for jobs. The comfort zone then represent a physical space and an emotional place that is home, a place of safety in which white men can be themselves, uninhibited by how others may be offend others who feel

excluded. Thus the capacity to enter into these comfort zones measures the ability of black ex-players to compromise.

In the context of the coaching qualification black players have to develop different masks to deal with the different forms of racism, that are enacted by different white personnel. The mask loses its effectiveness because white men behave in contradictory ways and the grounds of being included become more obscure and difficult to predict.

The different acts and experiences of being around white men in the settings of the field, the classroom and the bar, when audited, reveal patterns within which racialised forms of exclusion become apparent. Black ex-players express feelings of anxiety, isolation and injustice, which reflects that they do not have the same access as white men to jobs as coaches and manager. This challenges the mythology around the value of the coaching qualification and the notion of equality inside of football. In the next chapter to begin to explore how race and forms of masculinity operate in the recruitment of coaches and managers I will move on from the observation of how the performances of black and white men become racialised as indicators of forms of exclusion and inequality to focus on the power of their narratives. I will move on to examine how 12 players who have been through the coaching qualification talk about their transition, using their stories as a new approach to understand how processes of discrimination operate inside of football. This involved using ethnographic interviews and a longitudinal study to look at the lives of 7 black ex-players and 5 white ex-players over a one year period in trying to get a job as a coach and a manager.

I will look at how individual black and white ex-players through their narratives develop self-reflective strategies to enter and survive in a job as coaches and managers, and their ability to create a system that works in different ways for them. Narrative then become another important way to understand how racism operates inside of soccer in the transition from playing into positions as coaches and managers.

CHAPTER FIVE

‘Colouring opportunity’: race, players narratives and the transition into coaching and management

In Chapters Five and Six I focus on the longitudinal aspect of this study. Over a period of twelve months I documented the progress of twelve soccer players who had retired from the game and were seeking positions as coaches and managers. The sample of respondents consisted of five white ex-players and seven ex-black players. I wanted to chart the progress of these ex-players while, at the same time, recording how they reflected on their prospects and the ways racism featured inside football.

I maintained ongoing contact with them over this period and conducted tape-recorded interviews to elicit their accounts and reflections. In the first interview the players were asked about how they saw their future and their perceptions of the degree of equality between black and white ex-players. All the ex-players were interviewed a second time within six to nine months of their first interview. I wanted to analyse what changes had occurred in their views and in their assessment of the factors that contributed towards success and failure with regard to getting in and staying in the system.

In this chapter I want to focus on the accounts that were given at the beginning of the research period. I am looking at these accounts as narratives in which the ex-players represent themselves and their social position. As Portelli (1991) writes, attention to the form of narrative “allows us to recognise the interests of the tellers, and the dreams and

desires beneath them. What is useful about this approach is that it makes the truth or falsity of the narrative of secondary importance. It is what the narrative reveals about the values of the speaker that is crucial.

I will use two additional approaches, firstly that of Rosaldo (1991) who discusses the importance of using narrative as a form of social analysis and secondly, I will look at the power of narrative to create systems as demonstrated in the work of Silverman (1993) on institutional talk. Narrative reveals important elements of the lives of the ex-players in terms of how they construct a system in which they live, and develop views of their place in it, over this period. The additional question I want to raise in this context is the degree to which the ex-players' narratives in this period of their transition become racialised. My analysis will move beyond simply identifying explicit references to race and racism in football because accounts can be implicitly racialised.

The two factors I refer to can be found in Ruth Frankenberg's (1993) study of the way that white women orientated themselves towards issues of race and racism as revealed in the personal accounts of the people in her sample. She identifies two contrasting patterns, i.e. 'race cognisance' and 'power evasiveness.' She suggests:

Race cognisance articulates explicitly the contradiction that racism represents: on one hand it acknowledges the existence of race inequality and white privileges and, on the other it does not lead to ontological and essential differences in order to justify inequality or explain it away. By contrast the colour - and power evasiveness repertoire is organised away efforts to represent or evade the contradiction. Race cognisance in this sense generated a range of political and essential questions about white complicity with racism (Frankenberg, 1993:160).

The idea of 'race cognisance' captures the potential for a critical understanding to emerge from white men in relation to racism, while, 'power evasiveness' identifies the way that white people deny any responsibility for racial inequality and racism. What I want to do here is examine the application of these ideas to the accounts offered by the ex-players in my sample. How do they show a cognisance of racism in their narratives? Do the accounts of the ex-players show elements of power evasiveness?

I will start by looking at the sample of five, white ex-soccer players, to examine how they talk about issues of race in the transition into coaching and management and how they normalise their approaches to the system through their narratives. I will use the white ex-player's narratives as forms of 'racialised insights' that reveal how they think and see themselves devoid of a race identity. I will trace how these insights change over a period of time and how white ex-players survive and progress through the system by the way that they understand the relationship between their power, their race and their masculinity.

I will then follow a similar process in looking at the narratives of the black ex-players and the way that they make sense of the system and the barriers that confronts them. I argue that forms of inclusion and exclusion in Football are influenced by how black ex-players reckon with a cognisance of race and the little power they have in this system.

The narratives of the black ex-players will be used to analyse how they seek employment and work within different spheres where they have to reconcile with the relationships

with white men and racism from the playing field, to the coaching location and to the systems of coaching and management. I argue that these first accounts of black ex-players inside the system are important insights into how they try to enter new sets of cultural relationships with white men, whilst simultaneously developing strategies to survive within the system. The relationship between black men's perceptions of the system and the changes needed to survive will be themes focused upon in chapter six.

In the first part of this chapter I will look at the white ex-players, to capture their initial perceptions and response to their transition. I suggest that there are three ways in which white ex-players understand how the system operates, these are; through the ethos of hard work, through networks and through pragmatism. The second half of this chapter will concentrate on the experiences of black ex-players. I will analyse the types of narrative they use to describe their integration into the system, through the themes of trust, fate and disillusionment, negotiation through white male networks and having to get the white man's permission.

My general argument in this chapter is that the shape of each ex-player's narrative has implications for their cognisance of race and racism. Equally, the narratives themselves become ways of describing and justifying the player's identity at this particular moment in time. I will compare the narratives of the white ex-players to a system that seems to work in their favour, to the black ex-players who are beginning to understand the institutional barriers that they will have to reconcile with in relation the lack of power they have.

5.1 Narratives of the white players: Meritocracy and hard work

I start here with Gareth West, who was born in England although his parents are Irish. He played for the Youth team, reserve team and for the first team at 12 different clubs. During our first interview, in 1997, he talked about his professional career from Queens Park Rangers to his last club Luton Town. At this stage of his career he had completed his UEFA A coaching badge, and he had one year left on his contract as a player at Luton Town. In this comment he begins to come to terms with what it means to finish his playing career and find a new identity in football:

It would be the saddest day ever, I love the game, and I absolutely love the game. I couldn't accept it that age is catching up with me. From the age of 32, 33 I have prepared myself for ending my career, that's why I got my full badge, so if I go for a job against somebody who has not got it I might be a step nearer getting it (Gareth West, interview 1997).

Gareth regrets the loss of his status as a professional player, which motivates him to find a new position in the system. A coaching qualification enables him to feel that he will have a better chance of getting a job as a coach. Thus he colludes with the myth that a coaching qualification represents a system that is progressed through in stages, similar to the stages of becoming a professional footballer. This is illustrated in the next quotation from Gareth's narrative:

If a job did come it would have to be in stages, may be youth team level, may be assistant manager and then first team level, that is my aim in an ideal world. You have to deal with the

chairman, all the directors, you have to deal with the contracts. I would have to learn to manage it. I think you would have to distance yourself from players, I think it would be easier to go to another club and do it (Gareth West, interview 1997).

Gareth promotes a belief in a system based upon stages that he has to pass smoothly through in his route to become a manager. Within this route for Gareth there is a fear in having to confront personnel, such as directors and the chairman that he was accountable to as a player. To enable him to manage these new relationships, especially now that he is moving into an authority figure in relation to other players, the need for distance becomes a part of his professional strategy.

I argue that Gareth is beginning to construct a system where he finds a place with other white men, who will support his role and his identity as a coach. This represents a 'power evasiveness' because as a white man he does not have to think about being different, in terms of his race identity in moving from a player to a coach. He is able to operate in an atmosphere where the privilege and powers of being a white man is never challenged.

Les Jackson, the second white player in my sample, was born in London to Welsh parents. He had also worked through the system, spending his career at Watford Football Club. He had also completed his UEFA A coaching badge. He perceives, firstly, a system where hard work is rewarded by a job as a coach. In this comment Les aspirations of becoming a coach and holding on to his position is rationalised by entrenching himself to the system he's in :

I went straight to Watford Football Club, and I played for one club, then had to retire. I was advised to give up the game at 28 years of age. I was already working with the young kids, I wanted to go into coaching and management particularly on the youth side. It is difficult there are only so many jobs, I would like the opportunity to become first team manager, jobs are hard to come by and they are harder to keep (Les Jackson, interview 1997)

Les creates a system where jobs are sought and held, where access operates by having to move instrumentally through the club structure to be rewarded. His power as a successful coach evolves by doing every thing he can to minimise the likelihood of losing control of the environment where he's placed as an unremovable figure.

Les, believes in a system where once he has done the work necessary to break in, he has to maintain his role and his status in an industry where jobs are not based on any format of equality. Unlike in Gareth's reality, going on a coaching course does not guarantee a job or a progression in the system. The system operates by ensuring that there is no body around to replace you. For this white man in the system it operates through being discreet, watching your back, and ensuring that your not vulnerable.

Les suggests that you may need to work hard to get into the system, but beneath that meritocratic idea, another approach to the system is realised in developing the right strategies to establish roots. Les and Gareth share, at their point of entry, a lack of consideration, as white men in participating in a system that is not based on any equitable standards.

Consequently they can live and function without thinking about having to make personal changes in order to be a coach or to hold on to their roles. This luxury of taking for granted one's race and not needing to consider it as an inhibiting factor leads to a confidence and a freedom which enables the next two white players in my sample to talk more openly about being able to exploit the system for their own benefits.

Self-assurance and networking

Tony Francis was resolute about soccer as the only career he was interested in. He started his professional playing career at Lincoln, ended it at Wimbledon and played for England on two occasions. He was part way through his UEFA B coaching badge and was offered a job as the reserve team coach at Wimbledon Football Club having finished his professional career as a player with the club.

In Tony's role, as the reserve team coach, he develops a confidence and self-assurance by being so engrossed in a system where he does not have to conceptualise the privileges of being white and how this has contributed so naturally to his transition. He does not value the power he has to walk into a coaching post that he has been ear marked for, which allows him to feel comfortable about himself in this system.

Tony does not have to be reflective about his identity as a white man, as he furthers his coaching education and becomes more involved in the running of the club. His smooth

transition into his present role as a coach at Wimbledon Football club, appears as something that just happens, again naturally. This process of naturally moving from one position to another without regard to racism creates a real illusion of being in a system that it can automatically work in relation to his interest. He can then see his progress as operating through his own motivation, which disguises that he has a head start in this system as a white ex-player compared the black ex-players in this sample:

I influenced myself, Football is all I know and all I wish to know. There is no transition into coaching and management no one spoke to me. I've got faith in my own ability and how I work and if I retired and not been offered a job at Wimbledon Football Club, I would have applied elsewhere. I am glad I got a foot on the ladder the opportunity and look upon it as a new career (Tony Francis, interview 1997).

This point of Tony making it on his own terms is important to how whiteness is a state through which white men can exploit the system in relation to their own needs, and then boost they have made the transition by being the best at the job. Tony develops his perception of his relationship with the system that is based on his individual aspirations. It is a powerful position because he situates himself in a world where the significance of a system and the way that it works becomes secondary to the fantasy of meritocracy. Within this fantasy Tony's power as connected to the privileges of being a white man is concealed.

With the fourth white player in my sample, power evasiveness becomes apparent through the secretive way that Alan Ward feels that he has to exploit other people in the system in order to get a position within it. Alan was born in London and progressed through the

traditional playing system, from youth team to first team player. He had also completed his UEFA A coaching badge. Despite Alan having had a similar playing career, from Queens Park Rangers to twelve years at Arsenal, his position is different to the other white players in my sample, as he already had a management job at Slough Football Club:

I didn't really make the conscious decision to become a manager. I was assistant manager at Yeovil, but left Yeovil and came back from Hong Kong at the age of 34, I came back to nothing. I never really made the conscious decision to become a manager. I did my coaching courses for whatever reason just to give me an option. And I got the job at Slough doing their football in the community. But I want to work as a full-time manager, if you get the opportunity you have go to take it (Alan Ward, interview 1997).

Alan, by feeling that he does not have to make a conscious decision to about a career in management, or again, see the need for a coaching qualification creates a system that cannot be relied on to be fair, his progress within the system is dependent on how he manipulates it. The outcome is that Alan believes he is in a position where the system and structures of football work in relation to how he constructs it. This approach to seeing how the system can work for white players, can be linked to Frankenberg's (1993) ideas of power-evasiveness and race cognisance. In Alan's comment, below, the way he defends his beliefs about the need for secret networking in the institutions of coaching and management reveals a form of whiteness that colonises the system by the way that white men adopt a powerful position to shape how it operates. Consequently he disregards the need to compete on any standards based upon meritocracy:

Well, I would like to manage in the Football League. I've got personal ambitions but I think that's something you keep to yourself, if you achieve them nobody needs to know. You got to have ability but its also who you know, you have got to have networks, if you don't know people and you haven't got a background its difficult to get into (Alan Ward, interview 1997).

Alan dreams of becoming a manager in a system where networks are formed around his friends in his life. In his experience, ability can be seen as secondary to developing the right networks to exploit the system in order to progress. This point, of Alan orchestrating his entry into the system through networks as opposed to through a formal recruitment procedure, amounts to a system in which the informal processes become conceptualised as the acceptable way of moving into the system and establishing one's position. The system then operates through these individual interpretations, as further illustrated in relation to the fifth white player in my sample.

Wallace Brent 's perception of the system, and his experience within it begins to capture the ongoing dialectical relationship between the individual and the system. This dialectical process is determined by the quality of one's relationship with other professionals. It is through these relationships that white ex-players perpetuate different levels of being at ease with other white men which becomes essential to how this system operates.

Pragmatism in the system

Wallace begins to see the strategies he has to develop as an individual to progress into the institution of coaching. He moved into soccer late, which he sees as giving him a greater will to succeed. His previous job was labouring. He entered the league scene at twenty five years of age and did not have the same experience of the playing system as the other white players in my sample.

Wallace's experience of the multi-cultural context of Crystal Palace, and seeing black players experience racism, contributes towards the way he perceives the ambiguous ways that individuals move into jobs in the professional cultures of soccer. Wallace realised that the ambiguity, in relation to his own movement into the system, was dependent upon the types of relationships he was able to develop with other white men.

Playing professional Football can be seen as the most important prerequisite to forming contacts, and consequently it becomes the basis on which networks are formed which enable one to break into the system. Wallace comment, below, reveals that it is the dynamics within these networks that influences, how individuals get into coaching and management:

Les James at Charlton most influenced me in terms of going into management. When I was a player at Barnet, Ian Bull took me to Reading as reserve team manager. I am lucky that I do have a manager, who knows I want to become a manager and he's big enough to have me in the background and not worry about me. I know there are definitely managers who don't think like that, that's why a lot of jobs in football go to friends. (Wallace Brent interview, 1997).

Wallace operates in a system that is built on vulnerable men who depend on friendships with other white men. His sees his life as a coach is determined by somebody else losing their job, and being mentored, where he is sponsored in his move into a coaching position. His account shows no awareness of the implications of the way that white men maintain relationships with other white men to develop these systems of sponsorship. This pattern of white men consistently working with the same white man, as a pattern of mutual comfort, is tested in Wallace's life when Ian Bull is sacked as the first team manager at Reading.

The outcome for Wallace is that he has to adopt a more pragmatic approach to his entry and movement through the system since his reality of taking the job of his friend is disrupted. Unlike the previous four white players, Wallace sees a system where you are dispensable and will not always be guaranteed a job. The fact that Wallace does not recognise that black players face a different type of pressure in coming into this system as black men, enables him to take for granted the ways that white players can operate in a system that does not make them accountable for their inclusive ways they operate as white men and the exclusive outcomes for black ex-players:

If you're thinking of white chairmen not choosing black players and I think that would only be the case with about 2% of them. I can think of Mark Stephens who was always very together and very smart. I think that some chairmen might be frightened by that, so I don't know if he would get a break (Wallace Brent, interview 1997).

Wallace's account defines an industry where white chairmen choose black players who will not disrupt the system, whilst Wallace can progress as an individual without reference to disrupting the system as a white ex-player. A pattern emerges where Wallace does not have to think about how racism operates in the context of how he is recruited. This means not only can he avoid looking at the power or see the privileges he has as a white man, there is no need for him to see how these privileges discriminate against the black ex-players he was close to in his playing days.

Wallace's perspective of this system, shows that white men construct different ways of entering a system but share a reluctance to own the power of being white. Gareth approaches the system within an ethos of working in stages and the importance of a coaching qualification, and Les values hard work as the first stage to rooting himself inside this system. Through their narratives they sell the illusion of a system based upon meritocracy and equality. Whilst Tony relies on his own self-confidence, and Alan focuses on using networks and secrecy. The overall result, I argue, is that they all make sense of their positions without having to think about the importance of being white, and how patterns of whiteness are created in the system.

Wallace's accounts illustrates a system that is based upon personal relationships between

white men that influences the more complex ways they move into the system and the idiosyncratic forms of white male insecurity. The central point derived from these accounts of these five players, is that they do not have to acknowledge that being white men gives them an advantage. They do not think or see that they have any privileges as white men inside of the system. My argument here is that the luxury of not having to link a consciousness of race, enables white ex-players to perceive a system that is seen as devoid of racism. It is by analysing the experiences of the black ex-players in this sample that processes and perceptions of racism can be detected.

5.2 Narratives of the black players Trust, fate and the disillusioned

The narratives of the black players reflect a different consciousness of racism, as they become contemptuous of the unequal processes operating in the system. This contempt must be understood in relation to the different histories and relationships that black ex-players have within this system. For example Darren Smith was born in Jamaica, he started his career at Wolves and ended his career at Port Vale. He went through the traditional, playing system from youth team to first team player. In this comment Darren begins to think about a career in coaching, significantly after he has been out of the system for some time:

It wasn't until a year after finishing playing that I decided to get into coaching or anything like that. I didn't know what the barriers were. One of the things I was afraid of doing was saying I wanted to be a coach and finding out that I couldn't be a coach and that I was a broke layabout. I remember feeling really

disappointed when the job at Cambridge came up and Brendon Batson applied for it and he didn't get it. (Darren Smith, interview 1997).

Darren's apprehension about a career as coach reflects his feelings about a system that does not operate equally for black ex-players because of the mystery of the barriers he confronts. His reluctance to declare an interest in coaching and management is based upon a suspicion that the black ex-players who have gone before him have been discriminated against. Therefore Darren becomes apathetic about a system which he feels does not offer the same pathways to black ex-players, thus reinforcing his fears of being condemned by a system that he clearly sees as unequal and racist through this particular narrative.

I've got my Prelim badge and my full badge, and I have been told that my name has been put forward by the Professional Footballers Association. But I want to know if my name was put forward when a proper job comes along. I have developed networks I know many players I see players that are my age and who I have got to know, where are these networks, does that mean that they know more people than me? It seems my networks do not get me a job (Darren Smith, interview 1997).

Darren sees that his networks are not white enough and he feels marginalised by a system that does not take him as a black man with a coaching qualification, seriously. The frustration for Darren is that he knows he is being excluded but he cannot see how this exclusion is taking place, especially when he sees white players progressing through the system through their networks that become 'white only zones'.

Darren realises the limits of his power as a black man in this system by contrasting his

progress with the way that white players are able to progress more effectively. He sees that he is being excluded as he pinpoints the privileges of white ex-players, to be in a system where they do not think about their powers which leaves him completely demoralised and having the greatest insight into how the system works unofficially. The second black player in my sample illustrates this feeling of a lack of power through his distrust of the system in which white men are so prominently in control.

David Boyce was born in London and also went through the same staged system of playing, starting within the Youth team at Manchester City. He finished his playing career at Cambridge United after a long spell at Tottenham. He felt unsure about staying in the game since he felt that he had been treated like a child and discouraged by the white managers he had worked under. In this account he reconciles with the fact that networks work in more supportive ways for white ex-players on their entry into coaching and management:

Ideally there are things I would like to do outside of the game, before wanting to come back into Football. Football has become a game of who you know, whoever the manager is his number two is usually somebody he has met via Football or played with or played under. We are now getting to the first generation of black players retiring, making the first stage on the ladder as coaches, what we really need is a black person on the board of a Football Club (David Boyce, interview 1997).

David thoughts about a life outside the game, reflects a precariousness about the profession, which he believes, is based on probabilities and not a clearly structured equitable career path. Consequently, to give David a better chance in this system there is

a need for black representation at the level of chairmen, someone who can influence the recruitment procedure and give David some power as a black man. David recognises the limited importance of a coaching qualification in attaining success.

David develops an understanding of his place in a system where he would be less likely to need a coaching qualification if he was white and had been a famous player. He returns to the importance of his skin colour as he retires from playing and sees that he being recognised not as a player but as a black man, at a time when the system finds it easier to accept white ex-players. Consequently, he has to re-orientates himself to similar processes of racism to those that take place in wider society in terms of facing barriers in getting employment as a coach or a manager. He sees that he has very little power to influence how white men in the industry think about him as a black person when all he wants is to be judged as a coach.

Darren and David's narratives open up a system where they expect that they will be excluded from white networks. They reconcile with entering a system that is based on being around white men who have more power than them because their colour represents a privilege through which they naturalise their lives and their customs. This leads to a cognisance of race where being a black player means being excluded and being a white player means being included. The next two black players understand and respond to a system where their power as black men is enacted in the way they negotiate their entry and work alongside white men in the system.

Using white networks and patronage

The next two black players understand that the transition into coaching is influenced by having to adjust to working with white men. They understand that they have to rely on white men to 'open the door' because they have more opportunities than black players do in the system. The power that white men have over black men in this system is revealed in my interview with Ian Harris. Ian was born in Yorkshire, and went through the traditional playing system. His career started at Leeds United and ended, after a bad knee injury, at Brighton:

For the ratio of black players at my time it was about 1 to 20 white players, you can't imagine a lot of black players waiting around, thinking well I had a good career, let me do something else now. I don't really want the hazard of being a manager. It may take a black millionaire to buy a club before a black person will be successful (Ian Harris, interview 1997).

Ian realises that the chance of progressing to the level of a manager is unlikely due to black ex-players being significantly outnumbered by white players. The outcome is that Ian evades this space, which he sees and allocates as the white man's property. Like David, he believes that white men control the management space, which can only be challenged if black personnel are already in the system. Consequently, Ian develops an approach towards his career where he is dependent upon being selected by a white manager to become his assistant manager:

I haven't applied for any jobs it's always been word of mouth.

John Bless wanted me and said would I like to work the reserve team at Bristol Rovers. There was no formal application for reserve team manager and I was then sacked at Bristol Rovers and John Bless was at Bristol City, again it was more or less a phone call about working with him again. (Ian Harris, interview 1997).

For Ian the system works in exactly the same way that it does for white men, through his name being circulated and him being approached, except that he has to rely on the approach coming from a white manager. Terry's career is then determined by the patronage of white men. Although Ian's work location changes, his position and his power, in relation to his white manager stays the same.

Ian's destiny is determined by accepting that to maintain his position, he must place himself as 'waiting for the call'. He cannot negotiate his role within this system because he realises that competition for jobs is not fair, it is a system that functions through men who are white and who have infinitely more power, and expect black men to accept unconsciously, these forms of dependency.

Stephen Bridges, the fourth black player in my sample, sees his power in his relationships with white personnel in a more complicated way. Stephen is of mixed parentage, he father was from Africa, his mother from Ireland. He came into the game late after completing an engineering degree and had a 13-year career at Tottenham Hotspurs, before finishing at Brentford. Stephen feels the transition into an industry based is based upon luck, and being in the right place at the right time.

Stephen sees his career opportunities as determined by a cognisance of race which is

shaped by his recognition of the advantage that white players have through the luxury of not having to confront racism as players. More importantly, they do not have to consider a career in relation to their identity as a white coach. They do not suffer the ongoing struggles that black ex-players have to face, in being forced to look at the relationship between their skin colour and their role as a coach:

First and foremost I see myself as a coach, secondly I see myself as a black coach just the same way as I see myself as a black person. I think in an idea world I would like to see myself as a coach, but I think society determines that difference. And even as a black person it shouldn't be that way and I would probably say to a majority of white people that they shouldn't see it as black and white, they should just see it as a coach. I want to be judged on being a coach and being a good coach (Stephen Bridges, interview 1997)

Stephen's ability to be seen simply as a good coach without this being linked to any perceptions of him as a black man, is outside his control as he has to come to terms with a society and a football world where he is objectified as a black coach. In trying to be accepted as a coach, he sees the danger of being portrayed in a colour-specific way compared to the white coaches, which limits both his identity and his opportunities in the professional cultures of football.

For Stephen, his power emerges and is realised in relation to how he perceives these event in his life, finishing playing and seeing the advantage that white players have over him. As his experiences changes, his cognisance of race is shaped. Consequently, in Stephen's life, race cognisance operates on two levels. The first level is the way he sees racism, taking place in the system as unrelated to his life. The second level is his own

experience of racism and the personal changes he has to consider making in relation to the white men he has to work with:

I think the changes apply to white coaches, a white coach would have to conduct themselves in a certain management style, his dress code would have to be different, and his approach to his players would have to be different. And the black coach would have to be the same. I think I am building towards the coaching side. There are so many areas to make breakthroughs and you don't know when one is going to come along (Stephen Bridges, interview 1997).

Stephen's narrative reveals a belief in a system which despite the same behaviour and dress codes applying to both black and white ex-players, it is not meritocratic. The major difference is that white men assert their progression whilst Stephen defers to a system that works instrumentally in his ambition to gain a job as a coach. This leads to a hierarchy that is racialised, with black players placing themselves as coaches and white men as managers.

Consequently, white ex-players have the privilege of not having to question within their career progression in the same way black ex-players have to both reckon and develop a self-awareness about how their race identity impacts and affects their position. Stephen, in trying to identify himself as just a coach, still sees how racism operates to deny him the same privileges that white coaches have.

The accounts of these four black players show that they understand their lives in this system in a completely different way to the white ex-players. They demonstrate a self-

awareness of being both black and excluded. This places them either outside the system, in not trusting white men or having to negotiate a position as a coach rather than a manager alongside white men inside of the system. The overriding issue is that a system emerges where black players face having to make a number of sacrifices and compromises that white players do not have to consider.

Waiting for the white man's permission

Les Turner came into the professional game very late at the age of twenty -eight, playing for Boston and finishing his professional playing career at Lincoln City. He lived most of his life in the north after coming to England with his parents from Trinidad. He had also completed his UEFA A coaching badge. He reflects on his entry into the system in this comment, below:

You must remember I was working all my life, then I went to Grimsby and I had so much time on my hands, so I went into coaching, then I took my full badge. Steve Brimson got the job, he brought me to Lincoln and I played for a year then I took over the Youth Team and was still playing and then I became manager. Steve Brimson got the sack, the chairman asked me to take over for a couple of games. I was a bit surprised to get the job (Les Turner, interview 1997).

Les moves from being a player to being a coach without having to think about racism. His transition occurs at a poignant moment when the white manager who brought him into the club, loses his job and it is offered to Les, as his first opportunity in the system.

Les's cognisance of race is therefore not connected to an overt form of racism, because of the inadvertent way he is introduced into a system that does make reference to his skin colour at this moment of his career.

My argument here is that one's cognisance of race will have implications for one's narrative. Les adopts a colour-blind perspective in this moment of his career, at a time when he considers he has power in his new position. I want to compare this to the more colour-specific position adopted by Tony Francis in understanding his experiences of racism in moving into the system.

Tony was born in Kingston, Jamaica and came over to England with his parents in his formative years. He also graduated through the youth team to become a professional Football player, firstly at Aston Villa and then at Exeter City where he is still playing. He had an ambition to become a coach early in his career, which enabled him to develop an earlier awareness of how the system operates, and the implications for his identity as a black ex-player making the transition to being a coach.

Tony orientates his life in this system around a perception that he will firstly and only be accepted as a coach. This leads to an aversion to the management office where he will need the white man's permission, which is one of the ways that racialised divisions that become internalised, are created. Tony adopts a position that he will have to relate in different ways to black and white men within the constraints of his new role as a coach in the system:

Whatever circle you're in you should be able to hold a conversation, if you're in a white circle you should be able to hold a conversation with a white person in a proper manner. If I am with my black friends I go into my patois, you have got to keep your identity, I am a black man full stop. I think there is a question mark against you, people look at you in a different light. I don't change, but I tone it down a little bit. If I was dealing with 11 black lads, it would have to be my culture, I would talk to them in that way, like a black man within the framework of the club. (Tony Francis, interview 1997).

Tony sees that a different cognisance of race is needed in relation to responding to the needs of white and black men within this system. He develops a practice that reflects being able to relate to black players more naturally, whilst amongst white men he makes more conscious changes to be correct to adjust to their world. Consequently, through this process of self-analysis, he manages his relationships dependent on the race of the personnel with whom he is interacting, unlike the white players in this sample who show no consciousness of having to relate in a two dimensional way.

Tony's narratives shows that white men do not appreciate the cultural context in which he works as a black man. Tony understands his life is a series of reckonings with the cultural demands placed on him within his professional world. He comes to see that he operate within a system of black men and a system of white men where there is very little cross-cultural exchanges.

In the last comment from Tony, he begins to realise that the only way he can survive in this system, as a black man, is to make himself as valuable as possible by working twice as hard. He then faces the accusation of being to seen to be too close to white people in a

system that opens him up to the criticism of 'selling out'.

When I go to games I still get people staring at me, but it doesn't bother me, I know there's a lot of black players out there in the game who think I am a bit of a coconut. I was looking at Ruud Gullitt, there's a man who was at the top of his tree and was sacked. What could they do to somebody like me at the bottom, who has no financial clout like he had? So I am making myself as employable as possible (Tony Francis, interview 1997).

Tony's account shows the political implications and the types of adjustments made by black players becoming part of white structures. He is entering a system where he realises he is no longer a player, but an employee, who does not have the same rights and privileges as white men who do not see themselves as employees with the same restrictions.

Tony's loyalty to this system is then tested on two levels, in relation to his allegiance to his white managers and his allegiance to his race. He is accused of selling out his race by seeming to act like a white man. The tension, between his response to white male authority figures and maintaining his identity as a black man, disguises the fact that Tony is engaged in more sophisticated game in trying to operate as an individual in this moment of his transition.

William Marke's narrative further illustrates the difficulty of maintaining two images at the point of his transition into the system, his image as a professional and his image as a black man who has not sold out. William was born in London, to Jamaican parents, and had also progressed through the playing system from youth team player, to a first team

playing career that started at Bristol City and finished at Southend. He then became a youth team coach at Leyton Orient before moving to his present position at the Football Association. In this comment he reflects on how he entered the system:

I have never applied for a job, that's the case, when you're half-desperate. They phoned me and asked me to apply for the Football Association job. I think it got to a point when they have looked round and looked at what skills people have and who we got, and we haven't got one of those colours, who can do that, has he played. So then it happens that it becomes politically correct (William Marke, interview 1997).

When William is offered the job as a coach co-ordinator of the South East Region he believes that his transition is shaped by a system where his colour begins to matter for the cosmetic face of the organisation. He understands that his entry into the system is based on its need to have a black person in this position. William sees that he is chosen to represent the myth of equality and multi-culturalism in the system.

William's narrative reveals a system where he feels he can only be accommodated within white men's perception of him if he performs well and on their terms. Through his talk he realises, he must not upset the white men who have selected him by exposing racism in their system. For William the system will not change, since he does not see individual white men wanting to change. He is stuck in a system where he has little power as a black person. His lack of power is evidenced by the way that he is made to feel that he must accept how the institution is organised through the constraints on his ability to develop his identity as a black man from a different cultural heritage becomes marginalised, despite the compromises he makes.

What is shown very strongly in the themes from the narratives of the black ex-players is a very clear understanding of the ways racism operates in their lives in this transition. Firstly the more overt the racism experienced, the clearer the system is seen as excluding and discriminating, which is expressed in the narratives of both Darren and David. In the narratives of Ian and Stephen in their relationships with white men they show the need for caution and dependency, and having to realign themselves to being in the subservient role. The quality of this dependency is qualified further through the narratives of Les, Tony and William, in needing to operate within and between worlds, firstly as black men and secondly as coaches working under white men. When audited, it is a system where black men have less power to control their career paths, and less privileges to act on their terms. They work within clear racial divisions of labour, as they are more likely to access jobs as coaches working within a white management structure.

5.3 Conclusion

The narratives of these 12 players show a radical contrast in the orientation and perception between the sample of white men and the sample of black men. The white ex-player's narratives naturalise their move into these systems of coaching and management as unconnected to any self-awareness of an identity as white men. Consequently they appeal to an idea of their transition being based on making the system work for them. Their power evasiveness is featured in the ways they understand and approach their lives in the system. A synopsis reflects Gareth's understanding of the system as operating in

stages, Les saw it based on keeping your job, and Tony and Alan saw themselves exploiting the system through self-confidence or through networks.

Wallace Brent highlights a system constructed through individual complex relationships, but his account like the accounts of the other white players indicate a central theme of operating in a system where he does not see black men taking over from white men. This enables the white men to see a system where race inequality does not take place, and a belief in meritocracy that enables white men to be naturalised at the centre of how the system works.

This idea, of a system based on racial inequality is expressed through the narratives of the seven black ex-players in my sample. Darren and David acknowledge the power of white men and expect practices of exclusion as a routine form of racism. They become disillusioned or lack trust and feel the only chance they have is if there are more black men in powerful positions. The paradox, in respect of David and more particularly, Darren, is that they have the greatest insight into the system and yet they become most disempowered and marginalised.

Ian and Stephen, inside the system, realise that they are dependent on white men. Les sees his transition as based upon chance so he does not have to consider how race is implicated, neither does he feel the need to compromise. Unlike Tony and Stephen, who see the race dynamics of working with different professionals which requires them kept discreet from the institutions of coaching and management their identities as black men.

William sees that he enters the system because it needs a black person, so he has to continually compromise his position in order to be accepted as the 'token black'.

In these first sets of narratives the themes that have emerged are the very clear ways in which the white players show no cognisance of themselves as white men, and so consequently do not begin to see the power they have. In contrast to the work of Frankenberg (1993) this is not a matter of power evasiveness. Their lives are focused so overwhelmingly on competing, getting a job and staying inside the system without any cognisance of being white, at all. Put simply, they have no sense of 'power' in the first place, therefore there is not need to be evasive.

This sense of competition between the white man hides a profound sense of being vulnerable and insecure around other white men, who have the potential to offer a job and take a job away. What was revealed in this first stage of the research is that white men are continually assessing how to use other white men, without having to think that these processes of association are the foundations on which a white identity is built and shared but do not extended across the colour-line with black ex-players, except when they are needed in a more minor positions.

Black men find they are totally powerless by the competition that takes place amongst white men, because they are no where near how decisions are made about their futures. This is their first experience of taking part in this system. Not only are they negotiating their position, they are also understanding how the system works, and the new

relationships they have with white men, who they might have played with or played under.

They have to understand that they are in new relationships of power with white men in a system into which they see a passport to acceptance is determined by how white men control who is allowed to enter. In the first stages of the research the picture that emerges is that the process of entry is understood by black ex-players as having to abide by rules and the through the ethos of meritocracy.

The system then emerges through the narratives of both the white ex-players and the black ex-players that operates in two completely polarised ways. There are certain features they share, that go across the colour lines, feelings of anger, fear and having always to look over the shoulders for others competing for the same job. What black and white ex-players do not share is the same ease and comfort within this system. This is because it is a system in which white players have had more time historically to develop and instil their ways of doing things, ways that are foreign and can be discriminatory in the lives of the black players at this moment of their career. It is at this very point of the transition, from playing into becoming a coach or a manager, that we can see distinctly different patterns in relation to the black ex-players and the white ex-players.

What is clearly demonstrated are the different ways these players internalise their place and the possibility of what they can achieve, black ex-players seeming to locate their roles as coaches, and white players seeing the role of coach as a stepping stone to

becoming a manager. This begins to amount to a system in which roles and positions become racialised, and the method of moving between these positions is determined by the culture of a organisation that is defined and shaped by the actions of white men.

In the next chapter I will assess the changes in the players narratives over this one year period. I will use their second interviews to map and assess how the themes from this first part of the research have changed or remained constant. More specifically I will look at the possibility of detecting how forms of race cognisance and power evasiveness change in relation to the individual experiences of these twelve players in my sample. I will examine the limits of the concepts of 'race cognisance' and 'power evasiveness' and the need for a new approach to analyse the specific qualities evident in the player's narratives.

CHAPTER SIX

The recolouring of narrative Getting in and staying in the system

In this chapter I will look at how the narratives of these twelve ex-players have changed over the year since their first interview and how their accounts of being in the system lead them to either reaffirm or develop new ways of understanding their power as black and white men.

I argue that the system is dominated further by white ex-players who's values become entrenched through their networks that continue to exclude black ex-players. These networks represent forms of inequality in which the power of white men in the system, leads to a structural form of racism by the way white men live their lives through these systems over this one year period.

I argue that Frankenberg's (1993) ideas of a cognisance of race and power evasiveness have a limited application in this context, the narratives of the white ex-players show that they do not want to see or recognise the power of their whiteness in maintaining their positions. It is by comparing how the system that white ex-players appear to take for granted, is experienced and understood by the black ex-players in their second narratives, that highlights more clearly the relationship between racism and the positions of black ex-players who have little power to reconstruct the system in relation to their needs.

In this respect I will explore how the narratives of the black ex-players show that they are continually making sense of their lives in their ongoing relationships with the white personnel they work with. Despite the different approaches they use to survive in this system, they mirror the compliance and domination imposed by white men in relation to getting recognition as mainly coaches rather than managers.

More specifically the narratives of black ex-players reveal having to be submissive to a system where the privileges of white ex-players can be illustrated through the acts and beliefs they use to manipulate the industry. I aim to show in the second set of interviews the way black ex-player's narratives, highlight patterns of dependency that emerge, in which their lives are continuously influenced by the way white men shape the cultures of recruitment in a system where meritocracy is established as a fantasy.

I will analyse how a system is created by the unconscious power of white men by looking at the white ex-players narratives in the first part of this chapter by mapping the changes that have taken place in their lives since their entry into the system. From their narratives, I will examine the actions taken to confirm their position through routines that reinforce their power in the structures of coaching and management. It is by continually analysing the ways that white ex-players relate to each other in this system that highlights the power they have over black ex-players to stamp their mark on this system through reinforcing the themes of a person centred, closed male networks that are unable to operate on any multi-cultural basis.

In the second part of this chapter I will focus on the changes in the narratives of the seven black ex-players to show how their cognisance of their race and their power as

black men is influenced by their individual experiences and their lives within the system. I want to compare how far the themes outlined in Chapter Five: the disillusionment, working within white networks and waiting for the permission of white gatekeepers, are reinforced or reshaped through their understanding of the different ways that racism operates in the system.

I will examine how the changing qualities of these themes; have lead to processes of self-exclusion, having to negotiate and having to make compromises for black ex-players to cope with their increasing exposure to the acts of white men who determine their destiny. Black ex-players have to then confront white men who have no cognisance of their race, and are reluctant to see how their power affects their live.

In the third part of this part of this chapter I will examine the similarities and differences within and between the narratives of both the black and the white ex-players to a system which is determined in completely different ways by their cognisance of their race and their power evasiveness. To start this process I will look systematically at two themes. Firstly, how their narrative has changed from their first interview, and secondly what do the changes in these narratives reveal about the approaches of white ex-players and black ex-players to the values they place in understanding their lives in this system.

6.1 The changing narratives of the white players Realising the importance of self

In Gareth West's first narrative he applied himself to a system based on the ethos of

hard work, preaching meritocracy through holding a coaching qualification. In this second interview he orientates himself to the need for friendships as instrumental in assisting his transition from playing into a coaching position, removing the fallacy, and putting to death any belief in the ethos of equality. Gareth, was 36 years of age by the time of this interview, his perception of his life in this system now worked in relation to his own individual ambitions:

I wanted to be a professional footballer. I wanted to be a coach and I want to be a manager. I want to manage at the highest level, I don't know where that will be, but I want to be number one and I want to run a football team, the way I want to run it (Gareth West, interview, 1998).

This change in Gareth's narrative, in asserting his career development and the terms in which he saw himself managing, indicates an arrogance and a form of egotism which is needed to succeed. This position of a claim to a job, becomes one way that Gareth as a white man dominates this industry. The outcome is that Gareth is more confident to take control, by relinquishing his contract as a player at Luton and is then offered a youth team job with one of his previous managers. Gary's career as a coach is dependent upon another white man looking out for him in this system.

He now begins to see the benefits of having colleagues in the system to open doors. He does not see these relationships with other white men as contributing towards discriminatory outcomes, as exclusive patterns of white men following other white men around the system, as the most natural ways of entering and a staying in this system.

Through his lack of insight into the power of white male networks, Gareth can avoid seeing his actions as contributing towards processes of inequality. His reluctance to see himself as implicated in covert racist practices through his association with white ex-players means he does not have to take responsibility for this approach to the system as contributing towards racialised forms of inclusion, as revealed in this comment from Gareth:

I have many black friends, I have many white friends, if one of my black friends applied for the job and I thought it was right, I would give it to them. But chairmen run the clubs. If they want to employ a black manager they will employ a black manager, if he wants to employ a white guy, he will employ a white guy, for me colour doesn't matter (Gareth West, interview 1998).

Gareth portrays a system where racism is out there and no way linked to his approach to this system, that has exclusionary outcomes. By seeing white men in higher position as having responsibility for the recruitment of coaches he does not have to engage in any process of reflection about his own prejudices. He can then see a system where the selection policy is colour-blind, and evade having to see the power he has as a white man over other black ex-players in his transition into a job as a coach.

The implications of Gareth's colour-blind approach to the system is that he can then work as the youth team manager at Queens Park Rangers. He can complete his UEFA A coaching badge and learn about his new role without being inhibited by having to be conscious of himself as a white man. He can influence his own progress by networking with other white men, with no cognisance of the significance of the luxury of being white in this process.

Gareth's strategy to exploit his contact with other white men to help him succeed in this system, becomes part of a culture in which Les more assertively recognises the need to use white networks to progress. His position had not changed since our first interview he was still the first team coach at Watford Football Club. He also reaffirms his place in a system where he recognises his career is determined by developing associations with other white men as intrinsic to Football circuits where jobs are advertised informally through knowing other white men:

It gets you known it gets you on the circuit, you get to know other people and then you get to know when the jobs are coming up. I know there's not a lot of black coaches about, may be they don't take an interest in it, but there's Martin, I do think people have got to be prepared to start at the bottom (Les Jackson, interview 1998).

Les reveals an approach that works on the basis of a 'circuit'. These 'circuits' form through the foundation of relationships of familiarity that act as informal recruitment processes. These then become formalised in the way jobs in this system actually emerge. The power of these processes are disguised by the way Les promotes a meritocratic system that functions by players having to work from the bottom upwards. By using the example of Martin Andrews, his black colleague, he falsely implies that black players can move equitably and get a position in this system in this way. This disguises the fact that white players are privileged to a 'fast track' through networks and exclusive 'white male coded circuits' that become self-perpetuating.

Les, during the period between interviews, had coached Watford to promotion from the second to the Premier Division. He points to a pattern of white men getting into the system and staying there until an opportunity to progress becomes available. The

entry to, and the exit point, from jobs are not based upon any open system but through the strength of the relationships that white men build with other white men.

What is apparent from Les's narrative and more progressively in Gareth's is the way that they rationalise their approach to these networks that are based upon developing reciprocal relationships with somebody who will in time do them a 'favour'. This pattern of networking, based upon close intimate relationships, is described more clearly by Tony and Alan, who in the last chapter focused on achieving their own personal needs by manipulating the system through developing partnerships with other white men.

Mentoring through closed white male networks

In the case of Tony Jackson networks featured prominently in his current position as the reserve team manager at Wimbledon Football Club through the way he was nurtured to do the job, through his relationship with his first team manager. The value of these relationships and the role they play in his advancement within the system are underestimated by Tony compared to the importance of completing his coaching qualification:

I have done the UEFA B course, my next step is to go on to the UEFA A course next summer. I am still running the reserve team and I am working with Joe Stevens the manager. I leave home at 8.30am, get to the training ground at about 9.20am, see who's available, who's injured, who's not, then coach my reserve team. In the afternoon get some of the youngsters and do some individual work. Then once or twice a week I will watch a game and watch the game on a Saturday

(Tony Jackson, interview, 1998).

Tony's value of the system is shaped through working alongside other white men. Through this he gains more confidence and more of an identity as a coach than he would through gaining a coaching qualification. It is through these routines and relationships that take place in the setting of a football club, that enables Tony to naturalise his pathway into a job without seeing how his progress is influenced by the networks he establishes as a white man. The importance of being a white man is coded silently by his association with other white men through relationships that become exclusive and are never acknowledged as an intricate part of white male bonding and identity formation in the context of football.

Tony's identity as a coach is based upon having a close and ongoing relationship with Brain Hall his first team coach, who helps him cope with the demands of the system. This enables Tony to consolidate his role in a familiar space, as part of a team where he is valued for being a white man amongst other white men without this recognition of being white needing to be openly registered.

Mick's role within this team of white men is consolidated by observing other white team members at work. In these moments he does not have to confront the pressures of whether or not he fits in or he shares an easiness about being around white men. Whilst Tony works in the company of these white men through these behind the scenes relationships he can normalise these processes as his route to becoming a coach and progressing towards a management position without having to feel he is doing any thing unjust or discriminatory:

I am quite happy where I am, I wouldn't go anywhere. Basically I sit here, observe the manager Joe and the other coaches and hopefully learns from them. But I think I have become a stronger person, more adaptable and more flexible, your learning every day (Tony Jackson, Interview, 1998).

Tony, like Les describes a system where close relationships enable white men to maintain their position. It is this process, of being both nurtured and mentored that leads Tony to think that he has control over how he does his work and how he can survive in the system. This approach enables Tony to reinforce his belief expressed in his first narrative that he achieves his ambition on his own terms. He does not have to consider the powers he has as a white man to enter and be successful within a network amongst other white men he knows.

Tony's story is the experience of an individual who does not think about the benefits and the power he has in being able to use other white men in the system. This enables him to operate freely in a system where race inequality does not exist either in his narrative or in his approach to the system.

I want to compare Tony's informal use of his networks to that of Alan's orientation to the system as waiting for his networks to provide access to a management job. Alan reaffirms a perception that progress is not solely related to good management skills. His unwillingness to accept that white players have a better chance of becoming managers and staying in the game, leads to a form of race consignment in which as a white man he does not have to feel guilty for the way that racism operates as a factor in giving him advantages over black players:

I haven't got an issue whether it's a black or a white player. If

I was with a professional club I would take Paul Davis with me he's a black guy. I am surprised in this day and age we are actually talking about this issue (Alan Ward, interview, 1998).

Alan's aversion to seeing how racism operates in the system enables him to continue to use his strategy of being secretive. He does not see the consequences for the power this gives him, as a white man to establish networks that become inclusive of only white men. The outcome of this inclusiveness by continuing to wait to be approached by another white man, is a freedom emerges of being in a system where he does not expect to apply openly with other candidates for a job:

I haven't applied for any jobs, I don't see myself applying for anything. In terms of networks, well I have got quite a good network, I know a lot of people in the game, and I know a lot of people in the pro game (Alan McDermott, interview, 1998).

The theme that resonates from Tony and Alan narratives is that of being able to progress in the system without having to see the importance of working with other white men who give them the skills and confidence to negotiate how they will operate within networks. This process contributes towards a sense of being 'worthy', which is more recognised and validated as a point of entry than the status of having a coaching qualification.

Despite their different approaches to networking that enable the white sample to survive and progress in the system, they collude with the fantasy that this system is open and formal. They believe that despite their power to exploit their networks, that the system does not operate any differently for black men. This position, of white men benefiting from white networks, needs to be understood in relation to the specific processes, qualities and characteristics contained within the network, which do not

always work in the same ways for all white men. Wallace Brent narrative begins to disrupts the assumption that the relationships between white men working with other white men will naturally leads to a job.

White men adjusting to white men

Wallace's narrative reflects the specific local problems of white men surviving in a system where he has to work with another white personnel. His experience disrupts the fantasy that all white men get on with each other. For Wallace, his inability to progress in this system is not based upon race difference, but having to work with somebody who is totally new to his life at Reading Football Club. To survive he abides by the Football Club demands to work with a new management team of white men, as the people he was depended on. are no longer around. Unlike the other white players in this sample, he accepts the formal rules of the industry, until he can regain his confidence to work again with somebody is comfortable with:

I haven't applied for any jobs, once I serve my apprenticeship in this job, then I get a job with a Premiership club or as an assistant manager. In the next year I will complete my UEFA A logbook, I see myself seeing out my contract, learning from Harry Burns in the next 2 years. (Wallace Brent, interview 1998).

Wallace, unlike the four other white players in my sample, shows a cognisance of himself as not fitting into the demands of his new colleagues. This sense of readjustment is not connected to him being a white man. Wallace sees his life in a system that does not always operate in the way he has constructed it and, therefore, he

may need to make compromises like the black ex-players in this sample. This compromise is different to the ones being made by black ex-players, as it is based upon how the system changes when other white men, whom he has not previously worked with, come into more senior position to his.

Wallace position is dependent on how he is accepted by other men. This is in contrast to the more subordinate ways that black ex-players have to force their way into the system in their relationships with men who have infinitely greater access and ways of shaping how the system works.

Within this process of white male competition, Wallace introduces the possibility that white men are made vulnerable by other white men. When Wallace compares the opportunities for black ex-players to move into these industries, he shows that black players are subjected to different standards than white men:

I think the opportunities for black players are less than for white coaches, it's just a fact of life throughout English society. I think somebody needs to break in on that side, it needs a high profile black player. In my time in football colour doesn't really come into it, I haven't seen much on the surface, whether its underlined in Chairmen or Directors I don't know (Wallace Brent, interview, 1998).

Wallace sees that despite the lack of opportunities for black players, it is a system in which he can get into by being an himself as a white man. Black ex-players are seen as representing their race, despite Wallace's colour-blind perception. Wallace reinforces the fact that there are different rules and expectations for black and white men trying to get into the system. Once inside the system, his claim that the same rules apply to black and white managers, in terms of results, negates the importance of

simply being able to operate as a white men in his job.

The significance of the white player's account of their lives in this period is their understanding of the way their progress is linked to their friendships, and that friendships are at the foundation through which this profession operates. White men form circuits with different qualities and patterns, which lead to them naturalising their position in the system by developing closed and exclusive networks that lead to partnerships that become institutional.

Although Wallace reveals that white men do not always relate to other white men through friendships, there still is a process of familiarity which is not shared by the black ex-players. They share a belief in a system where the privileges of simply being able to operate within the norm of whiteness is the invisible centre that defines the professional culture itself.

Power evasion, functions for white men through their approach to being in a setting in which they are not accountable to forms of race inequality. The race cognisance of the black ex-players stands in stark contrast to cognisance of white ex-players in their narratives. They make sense of themselves in a system where there are see forms of inequalities which places them on the outside or having to continually make choice about having to compromise.

The changing narratives of the black players

Outsiders and the increasingly disappointed

The second sets of narratives of the black ex-players continue to show an awareness of an system in which functions through racism and forms of white male culture that are policed and limited their life chances as black men in this industry.

For example, Darren Smith's narrative, in his second interview demonstrated that he had become more disillusioned with the system, as he begins to feels that there are rules operating within this system that act without any level of accountability. This is reflected in his frustration at trying to enter and move through a system by following the official routes:

I have never applied for a coaching job anywhere, I have never seen them come up and they don't put an advert in the Sun you know. I don't know why I haven't made it, the only other thing I can do is to write to the 92 League Clubs and say that Darren Smith is available. But then somebody in the game will say, oh, have you done it, but how many people have got jobs, have done it (Darren Smith, interview, 1998).

Darren sees a system that does not work, formally, equitably or on any multi-racial basis. The harder as he tries to work to be included into the system, the greater the social distance and the more invisible the routes that are being used by his white male counter-parts. Darren sees an institution that preaches meritocracy, but practices

resolutely, by design and by implication, inequality.

This sense of not knowing how the system works is compounded by Darren seeing the types of black players that white men feel comfortable working with. He begins to feel that success is purely dependent on having the right kinds of relationships with white men which might require him to compromise himself as a black man who does not want to be subservient.

You know Andrew passes, good luck to him, but I am sure people were saying to him, don't be seen with those black lads. Because we be at lunch and it be funny how some white lads would come straight over to the table without thinking about it and you see others looking. They would drop their shoulders and say that table looks too black, and you see arseholes like Andrew doing the same thing (Darren Smith, interview, 1998).

Darren's narratives is a reflection of his life in a system where he feels that employment is dependent upon being accepted by a white man. He is mystified as to how these processes of acceptance operate or how he should act and whom he should associate himself with to progress in the system. Darren's inability to see or play the game leads him to think that he represents a form of black masculinity, a defiance and a lack of compliance, that the system cannot accommodate. He then internalises his personal failure as opposed to seeing how the system cannot deal with difference and diversity:

He develops a sense of alienation through realising that he cannot take the level of exploitation and compromise needed to stay in the system. This is compounded by seeing a form of white male nepotism, where he does not share their privilege of knowing the right person to become part of the football family. Consequently, for

Darren to survive, he must detach himself from a system in which he has no chance to establish himself.

It is from this position of detachment that Darren understands that the system will include him on a lower level than his white counter-part, for less money and that he will have to work harder to make less progress. Darren's response, of working hard to be included into one role means that he experiences exclusion when trying to move into a higher position. He sees a system that will only accept and recognise him in a lower and less powerful position as a black man who wants to keep his autonomy. This tension of keeping ones autonomy and being accepted is seen by David Boyce through the ongoing tension he faces in getting an English coaching qualification and getting recognition for being competent as a good coach. He feels that for himself as a black man the qualification does not give him the same privileges as it gives his white English colleagues within the systems of coaching and management.

David Boyce becomes sceptical about the value of a coaching qualification as a route to a job, which is highlighted as he returns to a world where competition is no longer based upon playing. He sees a world where racism operates in similar ways to the ways it operates in wider society as demonstrated by the ineffectiveness of qualifications when he competes against white, English players for a job as a coach:

The job is going to come through another channel, somebody you know, or somebody you know has got a job and they want to take you with them. But there are a few players in the game I have played with, there's Kerry Francis, he's not really got a management post, there's Tony Kay, but I don't know him that well. I like to try my hand outside of Football, I won't get a job on the strength of this coaching badge, not in England (David Boyce, interview, 1998).

David develops an awareness that he needs to have a close relationship with somebody in the system to succeed as a coach. The system does not give him the same access to jobs as it gives to white English men. Like Darren, David by seeking inclusion through gaining a qualification, comes to understand that the qualification is worthless compared to being familiar with the right kind of white men. He realises these forms of familiarity with white men are based upon being part of a distinct English culture that represents a particular form of whiteness, which is obscured through the simple mundane processes of white men talking, eating, and forming bonds from their playing days.

In David and Darren's narratives they see and rationalise a system which is in stark contrast to the image presented by white ex-players. Their cognisance of race is influenced by seeing more explicitly the rules and processes that exclude them, as black men who are English, but cannot access the system. This is reflected through David's narrative by the way that he reviews the contacts he has made in the game as he begins to realise, like Darren, they have not forged the performance and behaviour conducive for white men to feel safe about their entry.

Although they are both reluctant to change to meet the values of the white players, they realise that they will only be given a chance if they can make insignificant the way that they see race inequality operating. David's assessment leads to him to defer from a career in the system and considers a safer option outside of the profession. Both Darren and David are on the periphery of a system where they feel they have no influence. The next two black players in my sample show how their relationships with white men inside the system shapes their understanding of the link between racism

and how to deal with the power that white men have over black ex-players in this period.

Facing the manipulation of white male networks and nepotism

This theme of the control white men have over black ex-players in their move into the system is reflected more specifically in the second interview with Ian Harris, who begins to see his life as having to deal with processes of racialised negotiations in having to breaking into and bid for a position alongside white men.

Ian had completed his UEFA A coaching badge, Bristol City had been promoted from the second to the first division and Ian's relationship with John Bless, his first team manager, had lead to him being delegated more responsibilities. This then lead to more contact with his white Chairman and his white Board of Directors.

This contact and responsibility creates an illusion of being included, of actually progressing through the system. But for Ian he still continues to think that he has to work through the system in stages despite his new association with white men. Through this deference to the system he alienates himself from these white men where he feels he won't be valued by them, so isolates himself to a space outside of management:

I don't really want the hazards of management. If I wanted to be a boss right now I would find this difficult, I don't think I have the experience. My goals are to keep learning to acquire the knowledge, to manage the club (Ian Harris, interview, 1998).

What becomes apparent through Terry's narrative is that he discredits himself through an sense of inferiority. He feels that he is only worthy in the eyes of white men if he knows all facets of the job, only then can he progress. He experiences uncertainties and self-questioning that were not evident in my white sample.

This struggle to be 'worthy' in the eyes of white men was also reflected in Stephen Bridges narrative. During this period he continues to seek acceptance into a permanent position as a coach. When he is promoted to being the first team coach, he has to understand the ambivalence and implicit forms of white male behaviour present as he gets closer to the old, white establishment:

You must remember I am a coach not a manager and in my experiences in sitting in the director's box I haven't felt any inward or outward signs of racism. But I am in a different position I am a first team coach, where I am there watching the game with other coaches. In terms of the board I think it's the old establishment, and they are harder to breakdown (Stephen Bridges, interview, 1998).

From Stephen's position in the director's box he has to assess and adjust to the mystification that surrounds being around white football chairmen who he has little familiarity with. Consequently in order to survive in this system, he must read the ways these white men who operate behind his back. His lack of contact with these board members means he cannot accurately assess how they see his capability to do the job.

This leaves Stephen in a vulnerable position as he is relegated to being the reserve team coach without knowing how this decision was taken. When Stephen's first team manager was sacked he was replaced by another white manager, who brought in his

white male assistant to take over Stephen's role as the first team coach. Here whiteness operates on a 'behind the scenes', implicit level, because Stephen is absent from the negotiation, he is absent from the histories involved in these personnel working together to establish their place in this system.

Stephen faces moments where he does not know how the rules governing his ability to move through the system operate. He sees a form of racism taking place by the way white men select other white men with limited respect to their skill and competence.

The last three black players in my sample begin to look at the strategies and the compromises needed to stay and cope with the implicit manner in which white men dominate the system in which they work.

Inverting forms of whiteness and 'being ahead of the game'

Les Turner in his second interview begins to see the problems black ex-players face in being accepted into the system. Les first response to the system was to work hard and to forget about how he was being judged as a black man. In his narrative, below, he begins to see the implications for his survival when his colour is called to question in relation to his ability to do the job.

I don't care what you say it's difficult no matter what your colour is. But I think racism in society is more noticeable, in soccer it's subtler. In terms of me making cultural changes, I don't think I do consciously, sometimes you may change and your may not. But you do feel under pressure as a black coach, you can't put your finger on it. There are few of you,

yeah I feel I can't afford to fail (Les Turner, interview, 1998).

Les approach changes when he analyses his experiences by seeing that he is engaged in two systems. There is the system in which he wants to do his job without being accountable for being black. This colour-blind perspective of the system is dented by realising that as one of few black people, both his survival and the progression of other black personnel are dependent upon him doing well in the system. Unlike the white ex-players in this sample, Les performance shapes whether the system can accommodate other black ex-players who may not subscribe to or know how white men want them to be.

When Les is sacked from his job at Mansfield, he moves out of the Football League to manage a non-League club, Ikington Town, the implicit forms of racism which were initially obscured in his narrative become explicit. This leads Les to see a second system where black coaches are only given one chance, facilitating a political reorientation to challenge the power white men have in this system:

I think a lot of them need to make more noises about why they are not being accepted. Its very tricky because if black ex-players start saying they want to be managers, people in authority don't won't them in positions because they think they will cause trouble. Unfortunately whether you like it or not we have a persona where we are looked upon as dishonest, they always think I better watch out, but they might not say it. (Les Turner, interview, 1998).

Les's narrative shows how one's experience can change one's cognisance of racism. His experience of being sacked reveals a system where he sees how white men are threaten by black men. This leads to Les realising that white men need stereotypes that resonate outside Football, that are expressed in the way they use their power as

white people to exclude black men. For Les there is a need to contest these stereotypes of black people being dishonest to get to the core of how white men use their authority to preserve their position in this system.

This idea of testing and challenging the acts of white men is further explored in the case of Tony Francis. Tony tries to invert these processes of racialisation, by trying to pre-empt the way white men undermine black men by expecting them to follow their instructions. In this period Tony had been given the first team coaching job at Exeter on a temporary basis. He recognises on the departure of his manager, he is under less pressure to work within his image and command and less dependent on this white man to validate his competence. He is however continually hindered by having to deal with the ongoing questions that white men do not face, whether or not he was given the job because he is black. Consequently, he feels that he is participating in a system where he has to continually prove himself:

I have got this job and I can prove that I can do this job, they know I can do this job. I have been here for four and half years. I haven't got the job because I am black. I have the ultimate respect of all the players. I hope as time goes by I have the respect as the first team coach, but they know me, but one of the things I am, am is very honest I tell them that. In terms of being one of the few black managers at the moment I haven't really thought about it yet (Tony Francis, interview, 1998).

Tony's survival in this system depends on his confidence, and his determination to dispel the demons of black men having to prove to the people around him that he can manage in a white environment. His cognisance changes from having to develop the right performance to convince white men of his ability, to a cognisance that links to an inner belief that he can do the job.

This relationship, between one's belief and one's performance is tested by the new processes and the new personnel Tony confronts. He detects a different type of racism taking place in the structures of English soccer in an system where he will need to be more perceptive and pre-emptive around the white men at this level of the organisation:

I am well schooled in the English culture, I am schooled in their way of thinking. They say one thing but I am always a head of them, I know what they are thinking before they are thinking it. You got to be a head of the Directors you have to be planning ahead (Tony Francis , interview,1998).

Tony's progress in this system is dependent upon studying the idiosyncrasies of white men, so that he can deal with these points of racialisation in the coded ways white men work, think and behave. In terms of football metaphors this strategy by Tony represents an 'interception' because he now reads the situations that he may experience before they happen, which gives him some control.

Tony moves from a strategy of compromise to a position of empowering himself in the system where he attempts to disrupt the racialised constructions made of his role as a black man. Tony's narrative indicates that he is continually adjusting his approaches to white men. This approach by Tony, to intercept, to invert the power of individual white men was not possible for William Marke in the context of the Football Association. William suggests, that, in his new relationships in this setting, the task of 'intercepting' and inverting the power of white men is denied because of the of the low regard for him as a black coach. William develops a more guarded approach to his life in this system when he asked to take an English team to a tournament in Nigeria as their under 19 coach:

Nobody wanted to take the team out there, they thought as white men they would be in danger and I know they can't stand what they think would be extremely poor conditions, maybe they thought it be easier for a black man to accept those things. In any situation there are games that you have to play, so you have to be sensible. I don't think people blatantly come out and be racist to you in institutions do they, people articulate things in different ways, so if there is racism it needs to be swept under the cover (William Marke, 1998).

William's narrative, makes explicit a process of racialisation through the very little respect given to him as a black man. They send him to Africa where it is assumed that he as a black person, is instinctively more qualified and naturally 'at home'. He faces the paradox, in that this obnoxious form of whiteness can be disguised by celebrating Tony's role as representing an important advance in the emergence of black coaches, despite the racist implications of this action. William learns that he has to play this game to advance his career in an industry where he is undermined by being 'shut away'.

To cope William depersonalises his relationship with the white men he works under, his managers, the Directors and the members of the Football Council. He resigns himself to the fact that he cannot influence white men, nor can he affect individual and institutional changes in the system because of his marginalised position as a black man:

As I get older and the more I work in this place it just got to the point that I just look around and the stories, it is so inbred. I think it is very difficult to change things from the heart. Some of their attitudes the way they are, the way people think, the way they are towards black people, its their attitude towards people. I am saying would they let you out with their daughters, no probably. But the same scaly geezer that is white, they probably would (William Ramsey, interview, 1998)

William's use of the metaphor of the 'white man's daughter' becomes relevant to his experiences concerning how much white men in soccer are prepared to accept difference. His belief that racism in white men is inherent and indelible, means it becomes impossible to detect their private racist thoughts and feelings that white men harbour about his role in the organisation.

William realises that he is in a system where it is impossible to work out the different ways that individual white men operate or the collective and shared ways they make the system work. There is a limitation to what he can achieve in these relationships with white men, because the insecurities and vulnerabilities in white men to protect an established way of living their lives.

6.3 Conclusion

These two chapters have looked at the experiences and the perceptions of twelve soccer players of a system in which they have developed different strategies to survive and progress into coaching and management. What has clearly emerged in this period is the importance of their narratives in showing the radically different ways that white ex-players and the black ex-players race cognisance lead to them understand inequality in the system because of the different powers they have in this system.

The white ex-players refute the idea of a system that exists in relation to defined stages and the importance of a coaching qualification. From their narrative a system

becomes formalised around networks that function through processes of familiarity with the right people to learn about their role to progress up the system. They form partnerships in which they contracted to work with the same person for the duration of their careers.

The white ex-player's in their narratives colonialise the system by partnerships, or networks in which they maintain their position. They do not see or come close to understanding issues of power-evasiveness in their lives. They enjoy a set of privileges of being liberated to exploit the system for their own personal needs.

Consequently, the whole of idea of power-evasiveness becomes limited in understanding how white men function, through their day to day routines, because they continually unconsciously realise the power they have developed through the processes of continually working together. Particularly through the processes of mentoring, acts of sponsorship and mutual recognition that are based upon favours, of being worthy and waiting to be approached. Although individual tensions may exist amongst white men, they share an understanding of a system in which racism does not take place, in which opportunities in football are accessible to all.

In these two chapters I have identified the key outcomes of the narratives deployed by the five white ex-players in my sample. They hold a perception of a system that is colour-blind, meritocratic and accessible through developing secure relationships and networks. This essentially produces a model in which white male privileges are normalised and issues of racism and exclusion are rendered invisible.

I argue from this research that the move from being a team player to an individual competing for jobs, means that white men will have to be more selfish and dependent on individuals they can trust. The move into coaching and management is determined not only by ability, but by being in a system where they choose a friend, who mirrors your attitude and customs and somebody who you will not regard as a threat. Their transition is naturalised through networks of white masculine codes as opposed to qualifications. The consequence for black ex-players is that, through their narratives they show an awareness of a system built upon the values of white men and a culture that cannot accommodate those who challenge their networks and their privileges.

Black ex-players respond by having to be subservient and dependent on white men and having to integrate in a system that is taken for granted by white men. Having been demoralised by the insidious notions of equality and meritocracy in getting qualified, they begin to exclude themselves from the incestuous nature of the system in getting close to and trying to be accepted by white men.

They realise that exclusion and inclusion do not adequately describe the changes necessary to enter and survive in a system that does not want to change to accommodate black men. They have to develop a race cognisance, in order to decide the strategies needed to become part of a system that is defined, created, and reproduced by white actors who colonise the centre of power and influence.

To survive in the system is then dependent on the personnel, the location and the level of consciousness of the black coaches in confronting racialised barriers. Black coaches see that they do not have the power to change how individual white men

operate, so they leave, attempt to negotiate or invert acts of whiteness. Through these approaches black ex-players realise they have power through choice in terms of how they integrate into a setting where white men maintain social distance and only trust black players with a limited level of responsibility.

The narratives of the black sample show the types of political demands placed upon them to compromise and 'sell out' to a system in which implicit forms of exclusions and inequalities are not recognised. This resistance to see inequality is part of a denial in the way men across the colour line do not want to be seen as complaining and consequently unable to compete with other men.

For black men although they accept race and racism may operate as a factor in the selection of coaching and management jobs, they must play the game in order to get a job and a chance. They know that white men are privileged in not having to think about their race and also in that they have the power to determine the opportunities available to black coaches and managers within the game. To 'shout racism' may be seen as a form of weakness, or against the codes that hold men together in this system. So, the system rather than being colour-blind, institutionalises a blindness to racism.

It is through these potentially exploitative and implicit relationships that black ex-players learn to see the patronage given to them by white men in this system. The narratives of the black ex-players show that they understand that their entry into and movement through the system is determined by forms of patronage, networking and being privileged in the system. It is precisely these networks of privileges that I want to identify as central to how whiteness functions in football culture.

Black ex-players, more consciously than the white players, realise that their progress is dependent on how they manage their relationships in this system. Unlike for the white ex-players, black ex-players have to transcend how they are seen as black men. They become a prisoner of a system in which they are always reflecting on their performance, as black men, who want to be liberated and be seen and obtain opportunities on the basis of their competence.

In the next chapter I want to look at the pressures that are placed on black managers, in working in amongst white men and in organisational cultures in which they may have to adopt a 'white mask' Fanon (1967). I argue they operate behind a mask within which they recognise with two worlds, the public and the private. I will look at the ways their public performances mirror whiteness whilst in their internal reckoning they resist the pressures to the white man's servant and express the diversity of their identities.

CHAPTER SEVEN

I am black but I just want to be a manager: The public and private lives of black managers

In other words the black man should no longer be confronted by the dilemma turn white or disappear, but he should be able to take cognisance of a possibility of existence. In other words if society makes difficulties for him because of his colour, if in his dreams I establish the expressions of an unconscious desire to change colour, my object will not be of that of dissuading him from it by advising him to “to keep his place” on the contrary, my consciousness will be to push him into a position to chose action (or passivity) with respect to the real sources of the conflict, that is towards the social structure (Fanon,1967:100).

I will use the above quotation from Fanon (1967) to explore in this chapter how black players who become managers deal with their public and their private worlds when confronting whiteness in the institutions of Football. I am using Fanon’s (1967) idea of the ‘white mask’ to argue that black managers adopt a public performance within the institutions of management. I argue that what takes place behind the ‘white mask’ are distinctly different processes of internal reckoning in which black managers inside the professional cultures of football develop a variety of responses to the acts of white men in the institutions of management.

Fanon’s (1967) notion of the mask is a useful model to understand how black managers in English soccer move through a range of relationships with white men that influences how they adapt to the setting of management. The mask in this chapter represents a subjective process in which they use to interpret their experiences. This is facilitated in three ways; firstly the mask is used to mirror the idiosyncratic behaviour of white men, secondly it is used to manage their feelings about racism in the

institution, and thirdly to reconcile and adjust to their identities as black men in their private conversations.

In the first part of this chapter I will use Pat Link's experiences, as one of the few black women in the management role, to analyse two points. Firstly to analyse the need for a 'white mask' in dealing with the fear of walking into a white organisation whilst trying to maintain one's identity. And secondly, as a black female manager, how she makes visible forms of masculinity that black men take for granted as shared across the colour line.

In the second part of this chapter, I will explore how black men make a distinction between the public performance of the mask, and how they reckon with their experiences and positions in their internal world. By exploring the experiences of three black ex-players who failed to make the transition into management; Brendon Batson, Cecil Burke and Michael Andrews, they establish how the mask has an important function in mirroring the lack of faith white men have in them to perform in the white institutional world of management.

In the third part of this chapter I will examine what takes behind the traditional use of the mask for black managers through the biographies of four black ex-players who have become managers in the English game; John Barnes, Les Ball, Alex Walsh and Shaun Watson. I will also look at how they connect their internal and external worlds when they operate as managers in the settings of a football club alongside white men who own the settings in which they have to work.

In this respect of being controlled and being owned by white men I will use Malcolm X's work in relation to his notion of the 'house nigger'. Malcolm X (1965) argues that black men were allowed into the slave masters house to become his servants. I want to explore how black managers who entry into management, operate within the constraints of white personnel. Malcolm X's (1965) quotation below illustrates the historical pressures black men faced to instinctively respond to the order of the white man, to become his 'puppet' .

Well, slavery time's 'house' and 'yard' Negroes had become more sophisticated, that was all. When now the white man picked up the telephone and dialled his 'house' and 'yard' Negroes, why, he didn't even need to instruct the trained black puppets (Malcolm X,1965:341).

My argument in this chapter in relation to Malcolm X (1965) is that although black managers may see similar types of racism that makes them complicit to white men, they now operate in this profession in a more liberated and more complicated way. They want to be measured by results, to dispense with being the 'house nigger', so they can develop an understanding of their role in a far more subjective way. They face constantly being in a world of white men who are reluctant to see that they are denying black men the opportunities of being themselves, of being an individual. I am interested in how black managers deal with the constant pressure of having to be accountable to being black in the white world of management.

Through the experiences of these four black managers, I will assess how they deal with being essentialised as black managers within a climate of exclusion that operates on the basis of networks, implicit rules and ongoing forms of familiarity that are developed by white men. I will focus on how black managers maintain their identity

through three different strategies: firstly attempting to separate their private and professional worlds, secondly inside of their internal worlds they switch of from the stereotypes they face, and thirdly they do not see racism as an issue.

I will examine the importance of black manager's internal world, as individuals trying to make sense of their place in and amongst an institution where they want to be more than just black men. More specifically their struggle to reframe the 'white mask' to deal with the acts of the white men in this industry.

7.1 Donning a white mask in management

The 'white mask' was used in the work of Fanon (1967) to describe and analyse the pressures placed on black men in post-colonialist Algerian society to adopt the white man's language and culture in order to be accepted by the white man. The implication for Fanon (1967) as suggested in the quotation below, was that the black man had to act like a white man to gain status. This led to black men enacting a public performance through the 'white mask':

The black man has two dimensions, one with his fellows, the other with the white man. A Negro behaviour differs with a white man and with another Negro. This self division is a direct result of colonial subjugation (Fanon, 1967:40)

I argue that as black ex-players progress in this transition from ending their playing careers to taking part in a coaching qualification and then seeking a job as a coach or a manager the traditional use of the 'white mask' changes its function. This is because

forms of racism that operated in the competition between men within a shared code of silence, that resonates in a profession where you do not 'grass' on acts of discrimination if you want to be considered for a job. The mask then conceals the pressures placed on black men to be silent.

The power differentials between white and black men is often hidden by an unwritten contract, in which black men have to agree to, to stand any chance of being selected by other white men. I argue therefore it is Pat Link, as a black woman in the management structure, who exposes the fears behind the 'white mask' in surviving in a culture, where she is uncomfortable, and reveals the position of white men to shape the need for a mask as a performance:

I think somebody needs to break through and probably act as a voice or a spokesperson, it can be done and you should not be intimidated by the whole set up. Cause I believe it is scary, its scary to put yourself out there unknown in a white world, in an all white situation, its scary because colour always becomes an issue (Pat Link interview 1997).

Pat Link expresses the psychological fears that confronts the black experience in which whiteness represents intimidation. As a black woman she articulates the power of white men to effect an anxiety of being around them. It is through this internal reckoning that takes place behind the 'white mask' that is not available to white men which enables Pat to both negate and cope with being culturally alienated in the institution of management.

It was during my interview with Pat Link that the pressures that face black people in trying to be managers; as well as the pressure of being judged as simply and only

black, was emphasised. As a black woman she was more intuitively able to mirror how white men impact upon black people in the system. I think her comment below highlights her fear of what white men represent without any action taking place on their behalf, particularly the fear of the unknown power of white men when Pat wants to be more than just a black manager:

Because we are black and I think we go so far it's hard. It's very difficult unless black people see somebody else doing it. I don't think we are driven, we are not driven as a race, we are easy, we are more kind of laid back, but fear, fear stops you going into that unknown, it's frightening. It's the fear of failure or being laughed at (Pat King interview 1997)

Pat shows that black people conceptualise behind the 'white mask' the damage to their psyche and emotions in trying to be accepted. She sees that a system is dominated by white men who inhibit black people, through the stereotype of them being 'laid back'. Dealing with the stereotype results in being demoralised from having to break down another barrier in the system in becoming a manager. The mask becomes a public performance to disguise the pains of being in this system where black people are judged as a stereotype, and internalise the notion of being 'laid back' to avoid being further alienated.

Pat's comment below illustrates the need to change the public performance of the 'white mask' to deal with the transition from how the white 'old boy' network now perceived black people in the industry in an era when they confront the need to develop a multi-cultural front to their organisations.

I play the game, oh yeah nice to meet you, I think they think they are really clever, and if they say jump you say how high It's the old boys' network, I believe it is tokenism they are not really interested in women's football. I think because of Equal Opportunities Policies and all that stuff and there were so many issues around colour. I think they needed to put somebody in there sooner or later to make it look good and if that's the case and I am the guinea pig I don't mind I can get in there and change things (Pat Link interview 1997).

Pat becomes aware in her internal world in being humoured as a black woman. This leads her to function on a new level beyond the 'white mask'. The mask then functions as a mirror. She uses it to reflect back on how she being treated by white men, whilst behind the mask/mirror she is fully conscious of how she feels about this treatment and how she is mirroring back in her response.

She develops a more sophisticated strategy in terms of mirroring how white men perceive and respond to her. Consequently she can understand that in the lives and codes of white men she is positioned as a token to represent the multi-cultural and gender face of the organisation. Thus she is able to liberate herself behind the 'white mask' to give the impression to white men that she has been duped, due to the vulnerability they show in being challenged.

Pat articulates and makes explicit the implicit and invisible acts of whiteness as a black woman who is not fooled by how racism operates. I argue the first set of black players who tried to move into management, similar to Pat see and experience processes of racialisation, through the judgements made by white men about their competence to represent the white institutions of football. This issue of representing the white man's interest can be revealed by focusing on the forms of racism black men perceived and confronted in trying to become managers in the English game in

the late 1990s. This perception of the industry needing a particularly type of black man is illustrated especially in this comment by Brendon Batson:

I always said the acid test is would a black Bryan Robson have made it or a white John Barnes. At the top level there will be those with the financial clout, hopefully you will see more and more players moving into these positions. I remember speaking to Cecil Burke when he thought of going into management and I said do everything, show that you have a good CV and if nothing happens you can show this is institutionalised (Brendon Batson, interview 1997).

Brendon's comment shows the unwritten pressures placed on black men at a time in an industry where they needed to demonstrate that they are no different to white men. This need to act like the white man represents the lack of control they have to define themselves and be accepted simply as competent, beyond any criteria in relation to race. Black ex-players, at this time, have to transcend the perceptions made of them where they have little control in shaping how the institution responds to them. This question, of whether a black Bryan Robson would have got a management position, disguises the fact that black ex-players may have to act like Bryan Robson to demonstrate that they are at ease in working with white men in this system. They have to function by getting on with the job and not complain to find a place amongst white men. In Cecil Burke's story he reveals that to be compliant depends on keeping happy white boardroom members who may only take risk with a high profile black player:

Of course at the end of the day it's all about power. From my point of view, white Caucasian men, there's a fear factor there. You never know boardrooms hidden agendas. Those white guys from million pound background, do they understand having a black guy as their manager? They want a bigger profile than an ordinary white guys. Some black guys can do it they can transcend race. You look at Ruud Gullit, you look at John Barnes. It's the ordinary guy that have got

the qualifications, who have good enthusiasm, will they get the chance? (Cecil Burke, interview 1997)

Cecil realises that he does not have the powers to change the processes of exclusion operating inside football. Within the world of soccer, as in the outside world white men have the power to force black men to act on their terms if they want a job as a manager in the profession. For Cecil, although he feels powerless to change white men's beliefs about him as a black man he can still resist the need to be the white man's servant, to condemn himself as the 'house nigger'.

Beneath his mask Cecil resolves himself to the fact that it is impossible to transcend the one-dimensional stereotypes made by powerful white men. From behind the mask Cecil can translate how he understands white men as inflexible and failing to acknowledge him as an individual in his own right. He is dependent on white men who lack any insight into the consequences of their actions in relation to him becoming a manager.

To effectively perform in the image of white men, black men have to conceal how they feel about white men to act without anger in front of them. Unlike Fanon (1967), who suggests that black people have to operate on two levels in relation to black men and white men, I argue that these levels operate in the relationship between how they feel and how they perform. The ongoing challenge to black managers is to resist internalising their role as the 'house nigger' and psychologically freeing themselves from needing permission from white men to manage in their own right.

For the early black players, like Cecil Burke and Michael Andrews, entering into a

world of predominantly white men meant developing a particular type of 'white mask' which would protect them in an industry where they did not feel respected. Their lack of access to the hidden forms of whiteness prevented them from developing a more flexible sophisticated response to the rules that are made in their absence.

As a result behind the 'white mask' they construct a system of faceless white men, who fail intentionally to appoint black managers. This, I argue, is one of the ways that the institution is understood by black players wanting to become managers, through a dogmatic and exclusionary form of racism that is enacted by white men who share a common belief and act in the same ways. This process by which white men are essentialised as blocking the arrival of black players moving into management, is reflected in Michael's comment about trying to get a job as a manager in the English game:

I made a lot of applications, they look at you and you're black and then all the stereotypes come out and they joke, but that's what they see. You have got the problem to overstep all of that and show them that you can do the job and that's why you need to be successful at the very top. They don't know the black person, but all it takes is oh yeah, it doesn't seem to be a good idea. If you look at all the current managers, who have had problems with drink, but that has never prevented them from getting another job (Michael Andrews, interview 1997).

In Michael's comment there is a realisation that no matter how he performs through the 'white mask' he will never be accepted. The mask becomes redundant as a tool to present to white men that black men can act white. Michael also suggests that it is impossible to become the 'house nigger', to be a servant to the white man, because all the opportunities that arise in this setting are automatically given to white men, no

matter how black men perform.

Consequently although black players may try and assume the culture of white men in their effort to become managers, and although even in their internal world, they recognise they may have to 'sell out', they see they cannot change the rules that govern their exclusion. Michael realises that the 'white mask' is totally unable to change his public identity to make it compatible with the expectations of the white world of management.

Michael then has to operate in an industry where acceptance in the worlds of whiteness, is then based on something more than performing the public image of the 'house nigger' The need for a new performance and an new internal reckoning can be analysed through the ways that black managers, since the arrival of Tony Collins, of Asian descent, who won the old League Cup with Rochdale) in 1962 have adapted to the management setting.

There has been little analysis of the complicated ways that individual black managers faced the different forms of whiteness in the industries of management. In the next section I will examine the experiences of black managers with a specific focus on four black ex-players who have recently become managers to look at how they operate in their private and public worlds.

7.2 The private worlds of black managers

I argue by exploring the inner worlds of past black managers, Viv Anderson of Middlesbrough and Chris Kamara, ex-manager of both Bradford City and Stoke City, the accusation of being ‘coconuts (black on the outside, white on the inside) opens up how they were unfairly judged in these institutions. Unfortunately black managers who do not talk about their relationships with white men are automatically seen as colluding with racism in this setting.

Black managers face a pressure of having to be either black or white, and are consequently always vulnerable to being essentialised within these terms that become fixed in measuring their ability to fit into the cultures of management. This pressure to survive within these recified terms is resisted in the way Ruud Gullit (1997) described himself as an ‘overseas coach’. In this way Gullit, is able to escape the traps faced by black managers born in England, having to separate their identities as black men in an English management system. Gullit (1997) can operate within a multi-cultural identity in both his private and public worlds.

The task for black men either born in England or who have lived most of their lives in England, who become managers, is to begin to understand, in their internal worlds, how they are being judged. In my first interview with John Barnes, he faces the task of understanding how he is located in a world, where the struggle between black and white men is not acknowledged or is seen in the same way as Pat Link as a black women. This is because John Barnes has been portrayed as the one high profile black man able to break into a predominantly white male profession. I argue that black men become so absolved with issues of confronting racism, the task of talking about their

failure as men becomes too painful.

In the summer of 1999 John Barnes was offered the job of first team coach at Celtic Football Club. It was said that he did not have the experience, he was not qualified and he did not understand the traditions of the community of Celtic supporters. These perceptions test his capacity to deal with how he is being judged, as able to work within the traditions of white men who have gone before him even before he starts the job as the manager.

I interviewed John whilst he was first team coach at Celtic F.C. after a number of phone calls to Newcastle and Charlton where John had played. I was contacted by his secretary on a Thursday and was told John would be prepared to offer me an interview on the following Monday. That weekend Celtic lost to Hearts at home, 3-2, after taking a two nil lead. There were rumours of players' dissent and the board were unhappy with John's overall performance.

During our interview John talked earnestly about the positive support of his parents as his role models and his desire to move into management from the age of thirty one to thirty two years of age and his feeling on how forms of whiteness operated in his transition:

You're talking about it being a white man's world and it is and we know that, so maybe there's a fear of us. There are people's perception because there are few black managers people say if you fail is that an indictment on black people, are they saying if I don't succeed black managers can't manage, that is the most racist question I have ever been asked. What about white managers who fail, does that mean white people can't manage (John Barnes, interview 1997).

John's comment is an attempt to make the 'white mask' redundant so he can remove the conditions upon which white men judge him. As an individual he takes control over his individuality by refusing to see himself as always representing and having to be accountable to being black. In trying to separate out and protect his private identity from how he is constructed on a public level, John sees the dangers in being measured by stereotypes that have nothing to do with his ability to do his job as a manager:

People often ask me if I am British, Jamaican or what, that's not who I am, it's not part of my profession. I am a professional player, who is a manager called John Barnes. Professionally I am English, working within a Scottish club to which I am fully committed. Who I am is when you take me away from this environment, to my family, that's who I am, when I am with my friends, the conversations I have, the thoughts I have away from my job. This is what I am, a Football Manager (John Barnes interview 1999).

John's seeks the same privileges as white managers who are not judged in relation to their racial and national identities. He wants to maintain a distinction between his private and public world, but finds he is always associated to myths and fantasies he has no control over. His ongoing struggle is to remove the implication of how he is seen in relation to whether he can manage a Scottish Football Club because he may not be sure if he is Jamaican first or English first.

John wants to hold on to his private world and prevent it being connected and intervening into his life as an employee. He faces having to deal with the reservations of white men, who questions his professional loyalties to represent and perpetuate the traditions of an industry that is built on historical white male patterns of actions.

The test for John, in trying to operate as an individual, who is a black man, is to

reconcile to a football world that wants to fix his identity. This need to categorise him leads John to see a form of racism that operates through white men's misconceptions. His strategy is not to challenge these misconstructions as he is unable to educate white people to see the consequences these acts. He sees that he has no influence over the ways that white men in the industry behave so it becomes impossible to reflect back the implications of white men as only wanting to change on their terms:

When it came to the end of slavery, you know what got rid of slavery? When white people thought it was wrong for slavery, not when black people thought it was wrong for slavery. But as soon as white people started saying slavery is wrong we will abolish slavery. They won't change, what you have to do is let them hit you in the face eventually they say this is wrong and they will change (John Barnes, interview 1997).

John's perception of change, as passive and non-interventionist should be not be read as selling out, but part of his internal conversation in which he reasons with this dogmatic world of management. His philosophy that the transition of black players into management will be dependent upon white men acting on the basis of moral guilt, mirrors the slow, simplistic and denial of white men to see the patterns of racism in their lives.

These patterns of white male power are made more apparent when John applies for several management jobs in England. He believes that the outcome is dependent on fate as part of the idiosyncrasies of white male behaviour. The consequences is that John sees no clear logic in relation to his entry. He believes that there is no way of predicting how white men will operate when selecting black managers.

John then learns that he has to accept that racism may be an element within the

selection process. He believes that to challenge it would lead to white men becoming entrenched in their position, making it more difficult for him to be trusted. He has to continually gear himself up to be accepted or rejected like any other manager, whilst knowing that white men covertly may not allow him the privilege of anonymity that comes with being a white manager.

He has to try and operate between worlds, the professional one, which is similar to that of any other manager: in the office by 9.30am, coaching until mid-day, afternoon meetings and occasional meetings with his board. In his other world he has to reconcile with the quality of his relationships with his line manager and his board that determine his existence. His positioning to these white men shows his precarious place within this organisation where he has little say over his future:

As the first team coach, you haven't got the long term, if you don't win something in the first year you are out. So my focus is just the first team, it's just the first team, Kenny's developing the club for the next twenty years. Kenny and the board are involved in buying first team players, I will target them in terms of coaching and the development of the team that is my responsibility (John Barnes, interview 1999).

John's private world is geared to analysing how his performance as a manager is judged by standards that are developed by the narrow minded business culture of white men. He faces the mystery of how he is being understood in his position as a black man in a white organisation. He has to operate in a culture and an institution where he does not see behind the scene locations in which white men operate.

He has to interpret acts that are considered to be ordinary forms of white male practices which he has to endure, and try disprove the a perception, that he be seen as

just another black manager who has failed. In John's private world, when he is sacked after a range of poor results he has to deal with trying to re-enter an industry that he feels he has been 'set up'.

Part of the process of being 'set up' is that John has always seen the dangers to himself of being labelled. This process has restricted his ability to simply be a manager, despite his efforts to separate himself from the implications of the stereotypes of being black. He has to continue to reconcile with the fact that he does not have the same privileges as white men, in an industry where he cannot share his private thoughts about the tensions of being a manager and being black.

John's dilemma is that he does not have the privilege of individuality. Consequently when he is sacked, it becomes difficult to distinguish the motive and whether the assessment of his competence is based upon him being objectified as a black man or whether it is based upon results. This, more critically reflects one of the problems confronting black ex-players who are trying to integrate into a culture of management where their abilities are confused and connected to whether they can cope and transcend being judged as black men in the white institutional worlds of football.

By moving on to the experiences of Les Ball, I want to begin to compare the different strategies used by black players to rationalise their lives as managers. Les shows the need for a flexible public response to white men in trying to be accepted as a black manager in an organisation where he sees that he has to act in different ways to be accepted. The range of these performances for Les is the basis on which he survives in the white organisational settings of management when he is offered the joint care-

manager's job at Bristol City. These performances are developed by reflecting on how he has had to perform as a player during his career at Fulham, West Ham and at Bristol City, in working with white men who are now his employers or his associates and peer group. His presentation to these personnel is influenced by his internal reckoning as he assesses the cost of challenging acts of racism when integrating into the codes of white men in the world of management:

If somebody tells a joke about black people I don't think that is racism, a joke is a joke, it's the way it is told, there are certain people who put things in a certain way. But I think people treat me on my merits, I suppose if your aware of it you do feel the pressure, I see myself as a person and if people want to treat me in a certain way that is up to them. I see myself as a role model to other black lads, but that does not put pressure on me as one of few in the profession (Les Ball, interview 1997).

Les's comment reveals the value of an introspective approach to examining how the micro processes of being part of a team help him to judge what he is prepared to see and tolerate as racism. The analysis of the jokes told by white men is used to see how he is implicated in their whiteness. This helps him realises that, to survive, he has to make allowances and make a distinction between racist comments and racist intent.

Les can then position himself as a black manager who can also be unique and different, by virtue of showing he has the ability to be flexible in his response to the different acts of the different white men he works with. In this comment he contextualises the problems of being a black manager in a white westernised society. He identifies the way again, football as an institution sees his blackness and not his diversity:

I think we might have to work that much harder to succeed but that's life. People forget it isn't a black society, it's a Western society and I am from an African background and people do view you differently. Its harder as a manager and a coach, its easier as a player because you just went out there and played, people are not concerned about you as a person. As a manager you're got to be respected, you have got to adjust to so many individuals and thousand of different personalities (Les Ball, interview 1997).

Les adopts an internal sense of realism, which he needs as a black ex-player who wants to be successful as a manager, to give him a sense of control. His formula is to use different behaviours to respond to the perceptions and expectations of the white managers and directors who hire and fire. At the same time in his internal world, he can protect himself from expressing the anger felt towards white men in this industry who create him without sharing their repressed pathologies.

Through his internal reckoning, Les can see that football is a place in western society that is made up of white men who may not want to change despite their individual personalities and individual qualities. I argue that it is through these individual encounters with white men that a specific individualised approach is mastered in terms of managing the relationship between one's internal reckoning and one's performance that contribute to the more complex processes of being a black manager.

Les was initially the first team manager at Gloucester City, he then became part of a three-man management team at Bristol City. When the first team manager left, the job was given to one of the two white men. Despite his disappointment, Les recognises that he has to work within a culture in soccer where white men may unconsciously select another white man without being accountable in the same way to John Barnes is in relation to his race.

As a consequence Les become more diverse in his interactions with white men. He uses his private world as an internal mirror to reflect on and openly confront within himself how white men respond to him. So in his inner world he assumes a position where he feels confident in being accepted for who he is, irrespective of whether the people he works with, want to patronise him or collude with their own vulnerability in always needing to around another white men.

Les develops a mechanism, a form of inner conversation whereby he can adjust his behaviour based upon the specific environment he is located in. There is a cognitive process not recognised in black ex-players in which they begin to mirror back in their internal world how they perceive that white men behave towards them. Using this process Les can decide on the type of performance that is needed to bridge the social distance between himself and white men he may need to show he is capable of working with.

In the case of Alex Walsh this process of black ex-players inner reflection, becomes a device that enables him to separate his identity as a manager from his identity as a black person. This tension between being a manager and being a black manager results in an ongoing struggle which black ex-players like Alex manage by dividing their worlds inside and outside the Football management industry.

The background to the way Alex separates his worlds was that his mother were from England, his Dad from Jamaica, but he was adopted and brought in up by white English parents. He played his early football in the lower Leagues followed by a period at Crystal Palace, before moving on to Blackpool and his eventual club, Bury.

Before his career as a manager Alex had been a player at Bury, then he was asked to take care of the reserve team and on the day that his Manager, Stan Bridges, left the job as first team manager, Alex walked into the Chairman's office and asked to take care of the team for the rest of the season. He was given the job. His appointment was made quietly, without the same level of public announcement given to the appointments of John Barnes.

As Alex talked about his work, getting into the job and his long term ambitions, he revealed an uneasiness in the task of confronting the pressures of being one of the few black men in a predominantly white profession:

I have been brought up in a white background but I know I am a black person there has been no problem in that, I have been brought up in a white community but I have never known any racism towards me at all. But I think it goes on, its when you have a mixture of black and white people together. But I would like to go on and achieve much more and to set a precedent and encourage more black players to go into management (Alex Walsh interview 1997).

In his private thoughts Alex develops the ability to travel uninhibited from his white community, without feeling that he has lost his black identity. He sees that he still needs to carry out the day to day task of being a manager in an atmosphere where the conditions of racism are often discrete despite how he relates to or how he feels about the white men around him.

Alex suggests that although he can see racism he does not experience it. He can still however understand how racism operates and his responsibility to act as a role model. He is then able to sensitise himself to a form of racism taking place in management,

that is different to the overt forms of racism that took place as a player, especially in the context of management:

I don't know why there are so few black managers in the game, it would be interesting to see how many are applying, but it shouldn't make any difference at all. It needs one of us to do well to achieve something and may be the petty minded people will take more notice, but I don't think it will make much difference. I have heard rumours in the game, but there are some managers who won't sign a black player, but I can't understand these people, but that's what I have heard and obviously it still goes on (Alex Walsh interview 1997)

Alex suggests that for black ex-players the transition into management may require them to realise in their private world that being successful does not change white men's images of them. Consequently no matter what is reflected back to white men in this industry it impossible to open up and change the very hidden ways that white men perceive and respond to black men.

In this last case example, Shaun Watson, he represents the type of black manager who does not consider racism to be a process that affects his potential to enter the structures of football and to be successful. He denies that processes of racism are at play in both in his private world and his public performance. He sees results as the most important criteria for success.

During his career Shaun played at Charlton, Southend, Wolves and eventually Lincoln. He had been appointed manager at Lincoln after being promoted through the ranks from reserve team coach to first team coach. His move into management seemed to be no different to that outlined by Les Turner, who had also been a manager at the Club. Shaun's background was slightly different to Dean's: his mother

was from Canterbury, England, his father from Trinidad, but he had lived all his life in the North of England. His resistance to talk about the presence of racism in football enables him to live his life without feeling inhibited by something that is not real to him. I asked him if he felt the pressure as the only black manager in the Premier League and the Football League:

I might have been the only black manager at the time, but it didn't really affect me. Managing a football team you are responsible for all the staff, 40 professionals. But the chairman sacked me, the chairman had a very large ego, he wanted to get involved in bits, which I resented. We had a few injuries and the lowest wage bill in the division, results hadn't gone well and the chairman decided to take over the management position (Shaun Watson interview 1999)

Despite Shaun experiencing the ultimate embarrassment of being displaced in his role as manager by the white chairman, he refutes the suggestion that white men can be racist. Alternatively, this lack of insight in Shaun, as the only black manager in all four leagues, stems from the fact that, in his private world, he sees this process as the outcome of being a ruthless industry. I wanted to know how he saw racism as operating within football and the structures of management:

I think it would be naïve to say there is no racism, it would be naïve to say that bearing in mind the egotistical people that are on boards at the moment it's frightening. But Keith is doing well, Les is doing well at Bristol, they will be judged on results. Did John Barnes lose his job because of racism, no it's about results. I think it's foolish to look back and think we got the sack because we were coloured (Shaun Watson interview 1999)

Shaun's experience shows the dilemma of being in an industry where he wants to be considered as a manager without having to subscribe to vague notions of being black.

By stating that black managers are doing well, racism, as an issue, is negated. His first priority is to be a manager in his private world and act like a manager in his public world.

Shaun's decision that he is a manager first and foremost, whether he is working in the setting of management or considering his identity outside the game must be regarded as one of the many ways black men are operating inside of football. He wants to be understood on the merits of his own experience, whether or not he sees the power of whiteness in determining his identity as a black manager. He uses an approach that rejects the need for the 'white mask' because he negates the influence of racism in his life. His story illustrates a strategy, which in his internal world he does not have to battle with racism and inequality inside of football.

7.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, by exploring the experiences of black ex-players who have become managers in the English game we can see the transition from the public use of a 'white mask' towards a more complex process in which black players begin to function through their private worlds. The basis of my argument has been that Fanon's (1967) idea of the 'white mask' is no longer applicable to an industry where white men control. The outcome for black ex-players is that they have to play and perform from their own subjectivity in developing more complex relationships between their private and public worlds in the settings of management.

This is the world in which the 'white mask' becomes the public face of 'playing the white man'. Black men are required to be subservient and compliant to the demands of white men who control the routes into the industry. By appraising the different responses of the black managers in this sample I have demonstrated that completely different strategies emerge and different types of relationships are formed between their internal world and their public performance.

Pat Link reveals the new function of a mask that has the potential to be a mirror in two ways. Firstly it reflects back to white officials the crude and openly racist ways that they perceive her and act towards her. Secondly she uses the mirror to reflect her experiences into her internal world so that she can maintain her self-esteem, especially as a black women who feels marginalised by overt masculine forms of oppression in the industry. Pat makes apparent a white masculine cultures that the black players take for granted because of the additional discrimination she faces as a women. Black men focus more specifically on forces of racism that are at work in this industry. I argue that there are different levels to how black men react to racism and inequality in their private and public worlds in this industry.

The first set of black players who did not break into jobs as coaches and managers, articulate an industry of insensitive and inflexible white men. The 'white mask' fails to persuade white men that black men can act white and perform like them. The outcome is that these black ex-players retreat into their private world and resist confronting white men. They disappear without having had the chance to turn white.

Black managers mirror an industry that requires them, as discussed by John Barnes to keep their private and public worlds separate. The problems that he continually faces

is that this approach, the separation of his worlds, leads to him being betrayed by white men who cannot liberate themselves to judge him as an individual rather than a black man who has to fit into their social world

He faces the ongoing challenge of dealing with the perceptions of what he is in his world outside of football despite how he does the job. He finds it impossible to liberate himself and be accepted just like any other English or Scottish manager who are judged by results. The experience of Les articulates most explicitly the strategies needed by a black manager to operate in a world of white men whilst maintaining, in his private world an identity that is not rooted to their image of him as a black man. Les, shows that the inner world becomes a mechanism by which an assessment of how white men act in the context of football can be linked to processes that are played out across the western world. He can then process and analyse in his private world a range of responses to white men in the industry.

The possibilities and outcomes in these private worlds of black players will not always be same. Alex points out the fact that one can be affected by what one sees or assumes without experiencing direct acts of racism. He suggests the response of being on 'your toes' to the continual anticipation of racism is one way of operating as a manager.

This contrasts with the private world of Shaun who in his inner thoughts completely negates the need to reconcile with processes of racism in the industry. Shaun, ironically, through the process of denial may end up being the most effective to re-enter the industry because he is not hindered by seeing and dealing with processes of

racism.

The sum total of these different experiences and the different approaches to being a black manager reveals an industry in which black managers cannot simply act in a one dimensional way through the adoption of the 'white mask'. Rather, there is a need for a private world in which black ex-players can make sense of what is going on in their life in the industry, and reflects back the acts and beliefs of white men, who fail to grant them the same privileges that come with being a white manager.

Consequently black managers have to find a space in their private world outside the pressures to conform to white men's expectations, where they are freed and able to be themselves. This freedom compares to the privileges that white men have in the public spaces of management. They realise that despite their efforts to reflect back to white men the idiosyncrasies of their actions, they do not change. Change is only possible through the way that black manager's deal with the responses of white men in their inner worlds and their private conversations.

The outcome of this process of internal conversation is that black player's have a range of options that are much more liberating than the constraints of the 'white mask'. Although the industries in which white men operate may not change, black men who become manager can begin to manipulate the label of being a black manager, and act more freely at these points of time when these two processes, being black and being a manager, constrain them.

The real accomplishment for black managers is to relegate the need for the title 'black

manager' and be seen and judged simply as a manager. This is not a denial of their identity as black men, but rather a position of empowerment in that they do not feel the need for a 'white mask' to continually assist them in the process of resolving, in their private world, that they have to be white to be accepted.

My plea on behalf of black players who become managers, is that their abilities and potentials as managers should not be measured by assumptions based upon their race. This represents an injustice within a system that reduces their abilities to their blackness, the phenomena of black manager, rather than simply considering them as new recruits.

Consequently any requirement to change is always perceived as the responsibility of black managers, since collectively they are the ones who are considered to be different, although these assumed differences are never named. The outcome of this process is that the mask reflects in two directions. Firstly, it mirrors white men's actions and expectations into the public world. Secondly, behind the mask there is a process of reckoning with the consequences of the inequalities in the system.

White men are continually let off the hook in their relationships with black men who become managers as they do not have to be accountable for how they affect black managers. Neither do they have to think about their role or responsibility in contributing towards racism in management.

This process of introspection that black managers struggle with by the continual questions that are asked of them as black managers, inhibits their capacity to think of

themselves as just managers. The result of this pressure to be accountable as black managers as described in the comments of John Barnes, leads black managers placing pressures on themselves to represent their race.

The position of being continually judged as a race, and made vulnerable to being essentialised as black manager operates at the discrete level of management. This is the level in which white men, who control the access to and the interface of, the industry, fail to open up the back stages where they makes sense of and express their feelings about the arrival of black managers into Football.

This chapter has been important in showing that the experiences of black managers coming into a white institutional setting confront, mirror and illustrate white men's actions towards them. The discussion of how forms of whiteness operate in relation to black men is a prelude to the final chapter which explores the way that white men orchestrate the culture and influence the patterns of behaviour inside of soccer.

In the next chapter I will analyse how white men in various positions in the industry of soccer, from players to coaches, managers and administrators, understand racism in their personal lives, through the confusion, ambivalence and paradoxes of their performances in the institutions in which they live and work.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Acts of whiteness colonising the institutions of soccer

In terms of institutional racism, nobody tells you they are discriminating against you, the culture of the organisation makes you know where your place is. As a black person you have got to know that part of British culture means that you are trying to co-exist with a group of norms that you are grappling with. The people within that world will manipulate processes to suit themselves, they appoint people in their own image. White people are still at the top, white people still have the power (Sir Herman Ouseley, Chair Commission for Racial Equality, interview 1997).

My aim in this chapter is to explore how the acts of white men colonise the institutions of soccer. The central point arising from my interview with Sir Herman Ouseley is how do we identify whiteness and the privileges that derive from it in the institutions of soccer? Consequently, I want to examine the acts of white men and consider how they contribute towards whiteness through the processes of familiarity that white men produce with each other. More significantly, I want to look at the potential for whiteness to relinquish its control and admit to its vulnerability.

The capacity for whiteness to be opened up and to change will be analysed through a number of interviews with white men; from Chief executives, Football Directors, Managers and coaches, to leading political figures in central government. I will look at

how white men, through their very ordinary acts, give meaning to whiteness within their organisations. This is similar to the work carried out by Ware and Back (2001):

One area of research opened up by the recent focus on whiteness entails questioning ordinary people on a range of topics designed to draw out their perception of what it means to be white in different social and geographical locations (Ware and Back, 2001:8)

I want to begin this chapter with a mid range assertion concerning the white men in this project, that is, that they do not acknowledge, or even want to consider, that they are privileged in being white and that this privilege is reinforced by their gender. They take for granted the power of being white and this is reflected in the institutions in which white men work and live. In the structures of soccer the fight for a level playing field, for a colour-blind approach to sport and equality, has not begun with the most important process, that is ‘how is whiteness enacted within soccer’?

In this chapter I will analyse the privileges that come with being white, through the talk, actions and forms of consciousness that colonise the structures of soccer. I will deconstruct how a colour-blind philosophy works in favour of white men who operate without being held accountable to whiteness as a political colour.

In the first part of this chapter I will explore how the talk of white men reveals an orientation to the structures of Football in which they are confused about whiteness in three significant ways. Firstly, they project black players as having problems integrating into taken for granted forms of whiteness. Secondly, they become critical of black players

who fail to comply to whiteness, and thirdly they find it difficult to be accountable for the ambivalence of whiteness when they try to be anti-racist in both their talk and their actions. Whiteness can be seen in these processes of talk in the way that white men cannot see the barriers facing black ex-players in the settings of; the Sports Council, the Football Association, Football Clubs and the Professional Footballers' Association. This second quotation from the work of Ware and Back (2001) begins to crystallise the task of linking the actions of individual white men to institutional forms of whiteness:

The routine normal activity of whiteness and the often camouflaged structures of privileges extended to those categorised as white compared to the notion of institutionalised racism which serves to prevent those citizens outside of the category from enjoying equal rights and opportunities in a nominally democratic society (Ware and Back, 200:8).

In the second part of this chapter I will examine whiteness in its embodied, unconscious form. This is the form by which white men act and perform in their locations that leads to the development of a comfort zone in which whiteness becomes normalised. These processes of normalisation, where conversation is not necessary, can be seen by observing white men in action with other white men and with outsiders who challenge the basis of these zones. I will analyse how white personnel, through their mundane and everyday actions, develop an institutional culture in which forms of whiteness are manifested through the patterns of inclusion and exclusion that are faced by black men.

In the third part of this chapter I will move from the talk and actions of white men to their lack of race cognisance, where they cannot see either racism in the system or the role they play in the structures in perpetuating forms of racial inequality that become featured

and maintained in their lives. Whiteness will be analysed through the ways white men refute any direct responsibility for contributing towards racism; firstly, through their reluctance to see the consequences of their power as a form of whiteness, and secondly, through the way that guilt causes white men to displace their responsibility to address their own racism by focusing on the institution. Both these responses can be seen as fatalistic. I want to explore the constraints these forms of fatalism places on white men in terms of making changes in the structures in which they operate.

In the fourth part of this chapter I will then analyse the way that white men then interpret their lives in the structures of English soccer, without linking their individual racism to the institutions in which they work. I argue there is a need for more than one definition of how white men's actions can be linked to the different processes of institutional racism that exist inside of soccer, as illustrated in this quotation from Sebastian Charles:

The phenomenon of institutionalised racism defies easy definition. This is in part due to the wide range of disciplines, which are concerned with race and racism. They offer a wider range of definitions of racism and some of them totally ignore institutional racism. To sustain the charge that there is such a thing as institutional racism in Britain and other European countries requires considerable clarification as to what is meant by institutionalisation (Charles, 1982:5).

The aim of this chapter is to identify whiteness as directly and indirectly related to wider, macro-institutional processes. It aims to understand whiteness as a social construct that emerges from the actions of individuals in the institutions of Football. This will involve analysing each of the interviews in relation to two specific areas. Firstly, what the content of the interviews reveals about the relationship between white men's values and their

patterns of actions in the institutions of football and secondly, how the moral panic surrounding institutional racism stops individuals taking responsibility for the outcomes of their actions and limits the possibility of changing the outcomes of these actions in the structures of football.

8.1 White male denial and power evasiveness in talk

Howard suffered from a black man's attitude towards the white man. See, everybody thinks whites have got a problem with blacks. In reality blacks have got a problem with whites. Howard unfortunately was the only black man, nobody got on with him, he thought he was the only one to get it. I am not prejudiced, but if a coloured moved in next (day) door I'd move out like most white people would. If my daughter came home with a nigger I'd go mad (Tommy Smith quoted in Hill, 1989:89).

Tommy Smith asserts the idea that Howard Gayle, as a black man, is unable to integrate in the environment which he has, as a white player, constructed as his comfort zone. Within this comfort zone Tommy Smith cannot see or reveal a vulnerability through his need to hold on to his power as a white man and his superiority. He sees the pathology and the need for adjustment as the black player's responsibility. His resistance to a black man to living next door, or polluting his race by going out with his daughter, brings Tommy's social world into the context of the culture of playing. It is an ideology formed around the belief that black men may threaten his professional and institutional world, and may disrupt the traditions on which his life has been based on. Whiteness, in this situation, represents the failure to change, and the fear of the arrival of black players who may alter this privilege that he has taken for granted.

I want to follow this theme, of white men maintaining their privileges by depicting black men as problematic, in this second account from a white manager, Ron Atkinson (1998). Ron represents a form of whiteness that is unable to see the implications of the ambivalent way that he talks about the black players who emerged in the 1990s. He reveals a contradictory position as a white man, who, on the one hand has worked, managed and co-existed alongside black players, yet, when they challenge his reality that they should always be compliant, he demonstrates a negative response:

They have been brainwashed. Maybe they were innocently being exploited for racist purposes. The second generation were hell-bent on stirring up the whole unsavoury atmosphere again. I saw it as reverse racism, the minority came into the game, brash and swaggering and full of arrogance, like the world owed them a living, simply because they were born black (Atkinson,1998:167).

Atkinson, as a white man, articulates an unconscious form of arrogance that establishes his power over black players by suggesting they should not challenge his status and the institutions in which he works. He shows that when whiteness, as a form of privilege, is threatened it becomes fragile and confused, and ultimately defensive. This is demonstrated through his assumption that black men should not act above their station. Atkinson (1998) then depoliticises the position of black players who have no rights in his world as a white man, at these times when he cannot no longer control them. The implications for Atkinson's (1998) world, is that the link between individual and institutional forms of whiteness are disguised by his denial and refusal to see that his beliefs about black players can lead to forms of discrimination in the structures where he operates.

To open up these forms of denial and look at how whiteness is an ordinary, everyday means of deflecting attention away from white men, it is important to recognise that white men are not aware that these moments, when they unconsciously show a confusion that they can both appreciate and like difference and, simultaneously, feel attacked by it.

This problem, of white men not seeing how their actions and beliefs have consequences for institutions, is illustrated during an interview with a Director of coaching for a famous West London team. I listen to his explanation of how his working-class background would lead him to select a white, working class man to work alongside him. He denies that this action would have exclusionary outcomes for black players:

If I am recruiting somebody I would look at the standards. I would not look at the colour. If I was a manager and I needed an assistant, it may be, well, it would not be a black person I would choose, because most of my contacts in the game or the people I know aren't black. But it wouldn't be because they are black. It would be who I know and what standard they are at (Tom Franklin, interview 1998).

The lack of awareness shown by this white man means that he can unconsciously choose to employ someone who's background resembles his own. This illustrates one of the pre-conditions to how comfort zones are founded. White men create a pattern of selecting other white men through these processes of mutual recognition. The implication is that a culture emerges of recruitment based on an idea of familiarity that leads to a racialised form of exclusion.

Through these processes of familiarity, white men in soccer do not have to conceptualise themselves as white, however their whiteness is reinforced through these implicit and

unspoken ways of casually selecting a white man that they want to work alongside them. Consequently, whiteness is a process that operates through a lack of awareness to see the privileges of being able to select another white man without seeing this as leading to a form of nepotism. This point, of white men not seeing that they are creating a system of white men benefiting because of their colour, was illustrated when I asked a white, South London coach, now a prominent member of the national England team's coaching staff, about how he conceptualised himself as a white man. He talked openly about his teaching background in a multi-racial school and acknowledged the fact that, if he had not been white, he would have found it even more difficult to rise to his present position in a mercenary profession like football:

No, I don't think of myself as a white coach, I don't think I need to do that. I have read articles about black coaches, who feel they need to call themselves black coaches, maybe that's something about black culture, and not selling out in being seen as white (Frank Jones, interview 1997).

The talk of this white man shows the privilege of not having to identify the codes that makes his power transparent, whilst black players are seen to form their resistance in relation to the power he renders invisible. In this resistance, whiteness is never open to scrutiny, it means that there is no pressure on this man to think about the relationship between the self, the organisation and the external world. This is the way white men can colonise the institutions in which they work, (because) they do not have to be accountable to their whiteness or begin to locate how it their whiteness pervades the structures of soccer.

Although, in this instance, there is a claim to acknowledge that white men have a luxury over black men in being able to operate without looking at themselves, which means the need for change is continually rooted in the direction of black players in English soccer. Whiteness as a form, is illustrated at the times when white men's beliefs and their expectations of black players are not met, when black players fail to 'play the white man'. It is at these moments that the culture of white men, composed of as fragile acts and as a pattern of confusion, is made visible, when their taken for granted relationships with black men are challenged and broken.

I use this comment from an interview with an assistant manager of a South London Club from the Nationwide League to show the complexity of whiteness when the compliant role, expected of black players, is disrupted. This white man progressed into management from the Football Association. He articulated the challenge for black players from their arrival in the changing room, the expectations made of them and how their growing presence in the last few years had radically affected white players:

I think that young black players entering the game needed to have convinced people in the game that they were white men with black skins. They would have to adjust to the whole culture of the game from dressing room banter, through to the way they dressed, the way they acted. I think with young Afro-Caribbean players coming in and in their own way and rather confronting white traditions, they changed them and introduced some of their own background and culture, which leads to a change in a particular club if not the game (Frank Jones, interview 1997).

The dressing room is an important reference point of whiteness forming through the processes of dress, social activities, and more specifically, the power of humour black players had to accommodate to. Black players thus, very subtly, reach a new point of

inverting and changing the traditions that have been taken for granted by white players. In this case whiteness is reframed by black players, but without any powerful costs to challenging the customs that underwrite the traditions of white men.

The location of the changing room is an important site where processes of inclusion are enacted by white, working class men who are never held accountable for the pressures they place on black men to conform. Consequently for white men they unconsciously do not realise that white identity is formed in relationships that are continually reflected in a culture that black players are having to adjust to.

Whiteness, as a changeable form that is influenced by class, is illustrated further in this next comment by a white manager at his exclusive Surrey tennis club. We talked for some time about his background as a manager, how he came from the lower divisions and eventually made the transition from Youth Team Manager to First Team Manager. He offered me a fascinating insight into whiteness as a form of comfort that operates without consciousness:

You look at this tennis club that we are in today, there's not a coloured person in sight, so there is a part of society where they don't mix in well, or they are not a part of. They will do things with a bit of flair, possibly a white person wouldn't do, and that's a generalisation, but I think their natural instinct is to have a go at something. I think they are prepared to chance their arm at something, you know they will try something that's not always safety first (Interview Andrew Smooth, 1997).

Andrew's comment represents whiteness as a form of discourse in which white men depict black players as unpredictable and unable to assimilate into their world. Whiteness

represents an unchallenged comfort zone, where white men are at ease, in a place when there are no black people around. Andrew assumes, just like in the dressing room, that whiteness just happens; it is an unspoken norm.

I argue, through this interview with the Chief Executive for the League Managers' Association, that whiteness is a process that can be analysed when white men fear they will be made accountable for their actions. The League Managers Association was set up seven years ago to represent the interests of the Managers in England and, in effect, has emerged as a union, with defined roles, a Chairman, Chief Executive and ordinary members.

The Association has developed a role in providing support to managers and has become significant in enabling, predominantly white, men in management to develop the industry. This is revealed in the interview when the Chief Executive talks about an aversion to having 'anti-racist clauses' in managers' contracts:

We have an anti-racist code. They wanted to put an anti-racist clause in the manager's contract and I think that is very, very dangerous. Can you imagine that I come into the changing room and I have got 5 minutes at half time and I have a go at one of the coloured lads and I leave him out and I have got an anti-racist clause in my contract, where does that leave me That is crazy (John Davis interview 1998).

John's apprehension in relation to an 'anti-racist clause' reveals a fear that he may be accused, unjustly, of an act of racism that has nothing to do with his intent. It underlines how this white man is not comfortable when his actions are put under the microscope. His preference is for a colour-blind ethos and a license to manage without having to think

about how black players are affected by his presence. Thus reflecting whiteness as vulnerable when faced with having to confront the power it may lose in just being able to be himself through simple self-examination.

This lack of awareness of, these forms of reservation as to what whiteness represents in the lives of white men have important implications, whether the confusion is based on not wanting to be around black players; on seeing black players as politically challenging their roles; or on seeing black players as reframing whiteness and its class dimensions in the dressing room, the field or the management setting. I argue that these denials are at the very core of how whiteness operates. In this next section I want to show how a form of whiteness is made apparent as embodied and unconscious, and is shaped in peculiarly different ways by the location and the personnel involved.

8.2 Embodied and unconscious performances of white men

Processes of spoken, white male denial manifest in different ways compared to the way that embodied and unconscious forms of whiteness occur. This is a form of whiteness that can be seen in the ways that white men perform in their structures. In this section I am interested more directly in how white men act and I will focus on one location, the Football Association, the governing body for the game in England. The Football Association is responsible for promoting and developing football and is accountable to the Football Council.

The Football Association, as an establishment, has developed its structure over a 100-year period. All ninety-two of its committee members are white, there is only one woman. The committee structure therefore embodies a form of whiteness that leads to the almost sole inclusion of white, middle class, male actors. I was interested to interview one social actor within the Football Association, the ex-technical director of the coaching department. Seeing him at work in his location immediately revealed whiteness as a form that changes in different ways.

I sat in the waiting room at Lancaster Gate, the offices of the Football Association, with a black, female colleague. We were invited to start the interview. From the stark expression of this white man it was clear he had not realised that we were black. This white man, neatly dressed in a dark blue suit, seemed perturbed and uneasy. He tried to be polite as he responded nervously to my questions about his route into his position in the Football Association. The embarrassed laughter, the lack of eye contact and the way he continually banged his pen against the desk indicated to me that his world has been disrupted by the entry of two, unknown, black people, who he was not familiar with.

He talked, coyly, about his time at Loughborough University, his two children, and the impressive changes he had made in the Football Association structure. His attempts to be charming and to gain creditability in the audience of two black people, by accounts of his friendships with other black people in the profession, reflected one moment of whiteness as cautious. I argue that whiteness, as a behaviour, becomes cautious when its comfort zone is disorientated, in this case when this man was asked personal and direct questions about racism in the Football Association in which he works.

Despite his 'good will' talk about race monitoring and a follow up meeting to discuss ways in which the Football Association could assist in developing the profile of black people in sport, by using high profile players such as John Barnes, his politeness contained a falseness. His conclusion that black people needed to change before his organisation could begin to accommodate them illustrates the theme of white men, as individuals in their structures, reluctant to adjust to differences because of the efforts involved. A contradiction is revealed, in that it is possible to perform a belief in equality which is then undermined by the suggestion that black men are not equal to the task of working within his setting.

This contradiction between performances of equality and white men's actual beliefs when threatened is revealed, through this man's behaviour. He is overtly sociable when his comfort zone is challenged yet when I returned to the Football Association with two other white men he changes to being overtly arrogant and rude whilst back in his comfort zone. One of these white men was a leading figure from the Regional Sports Council and the other, the liaison officer for the Sports Council in relation to the Football Association. The tone and atmosphere of this meeting was completely different, the warmth was now converted to a hostility and disrespect towards me. The meeting revealed how whiteness and masculinity can change its form in the presence of one black man who has no power, and in the absence of a black women, enabling white men to act without the pressures of gender influences. These dynamics presented themselves in the following ways.

I was placed in between these two white men, on a lower chair. The Technical Director had brought his secretary to take notes. He looked directly into the eyes of the two white

men and with a harsh tone, made explicit his personal and organisational views on racism in the Football Association. This declaration had not been possible in the previous meeting when he had been confronted with two black people:

You know there are no problems with racism in this organisation, we have many women working here. If black people are not making the break through, then they need to look at themselves. There are too many people around trying to make a career out of making trouble. I got here through sheer hard work and endeavour, I didn't come from a privilege family setting (Terry Williams, Technical Director of the Football Association interview 1994).

This defensiveness demonstrates how Terry, responds without having to think about whether or not he is being disrespectful or being dismissive. A vulnerability emerges, to safeguard his position, his routines and his ways of being in his organisation, he must deflect racism as being out there. His reaction is a protection to an irrational fear, that he is being attacked. This is illustrated by him being openly rude in the presence of two white men whom he knows will not challenge him. The outcome of these actions are that he can legitimately disrespect a black man whom he perceives as challenging his goodwill by questioning his commitment to tackle racism, whilst he knows instinctively that the other white men will collude with his actions through their silence, thus demonstrating their implicit loyalty.

These acts of collusion that operate unconsciously amongst the white men are maintained by the setting and the social talk, right up to the final act of us being escorted to the lift, once the meeting had been completed. These processes take place in a building which has

many offices, all are occupied by white men in similar suits, who despite having different personalities, embody forms of whiteness that might be contrary to what is taking place in their internal worlds. In this case, in which they may see white man acting offensively they become unable to challenge because of the ambivalence felt for the consequences for their lives.

This repressed side to whiteness, that is not openly expressed, in the institutions of sport, was further illuminated, as I walked out of the lift with the two other white men, firstly by the failure of one of these white men to acknowledge the significance of this white man's power and attitude at the time it takes place. And secondly by the Liaison Officer from the Sports Council casually remarking. 'he is always like that', thus accepting nothing can be done. The white man from the Regional Sports Council in contrast, still appeared very shaken and disturbed:

What a white, fucking prick, I can't imagine how you kept your restraint. The pity is, once he dies there will be so many to take his place (Brian Henry interview 1994).

For whiteness to maintain its unconscious status, and the power derived from not having to reflect on how it is performed, it is dependent upon white men like Brian not challenging the specific, adverse acts of white men 'behaving badly'. If Brian is courageous enough to expose other white men, he reveals whiteness as a range of powerful acts that discriminate against people who are not white and are not men

My argument here is that the failure to look at whiteness as an embodied performance, that is contradictory, means that the experience of the white actors becomes naturalised in

the structures of football culture without regard to the areas of vulnerability discussed. In the next section I want to look critically at the ways white men have some level of introspection and cognisance of racial inequality and racism in the systems in which they work and live.

8.3 Race cognisance and white male guilt

I want to move on, in this section, to look at how white men in football reveal a form of whiteness through the expression of guilt. This is an emotion in which white men are unable to implicate themselves in the process of racism, and so feel that they cannot change the outcome of racism in the system. This is a form of race cognisance in which feeling guilty about being white, and what it represents in terms of discrimination, does not mean that white men understand how their actions contribute towards patterns of exclusion.

During an interview with a football chairman I was interested in how this white man understood the privilege of his whiteness and how he saw the outcome of seeing himself as the victim of racism which meant he could not be a perpetrator. This white chairman and his club had received special awards for their anti-racist work. We met in his office just before a big promotion match. He looked anxious and was distracted by a number of telephone calls during the interview, as he responded to my question about why he, as a white man, had been able to become a chairman of a football club:

Without any culture or race, the outsider has to work harder. I was born in China and was the only white man I had to work harder, and blacks have been here for fifty years, and coming into the next century I would love to see better race relations and black people don't have to become white to be accepted. I mainly got into my position because of money and working hard to get this club off the ground (Mark Brent, Chairman interview 1997).

Mark's conception of himself as white whilst in the minority, suggests this difference motivated him to succeed. When he is in the majority position as a white man within the context of the Football club, by advising black people that they do not have to be white to be accepted into the structures of Football, he underestimates the privileges he has as a white man in controlling the pace in which race equality takes place.

Mark's perception of himself as a white when the 'victim' does not lead to a cognisance of the specifically different problems and conditions facing black people seeking representation in his structures. Mark can feel guilty about the moral effects of racism, as something that is bad, without having to see that his own whiteness is the product of how he lives his life in his organisation, despite his avowed approach to anti-racism.

Consequently, his guilt can operate without resulting in any change in his internal reckoning and without recognition of the power he has as a white man. He can continue to exist in an industry where there are race barriers and race exclusion. He does not have to think about the need to change his life or consider the problems black people may experience in finding a place in his organisation:.

I am not actively saying come on board we need a black person, I think it will emerge. I tell you the route it might come from, through the supporters club. I personally don't know any black

guy with £700.000 quid in the business going spare. I don't know any black guys, but having said that, there is a BMW dealer, but he is a bloody rugby fan. It's a black family and half of them are from Gloucester, its strange seeing a black guy with a Gloucester accent. I don't think the majority of Chairmen are racist, it's an issue of time rather than race. I always consider the Northern clubs to be the most fascist (Mark Brent, Chairman of Charlton Football Club interview 1997).

The comment from this interview highlights that this white man exempt himself from addressing the more complex task of assessing to what extent the lack of black representation in the boardroom may be rooted within exclusive processes taking place in the boardroom. Consequently his guilt, limits him from seeing that the lack of cultural compatibility is not entirely due to the black BMW owner being unable to 'fit' into his tradition of whiteness despite the fact he has the money and has a 'Gloucester accent'.

More critically by establishing that northern clubs operate more overt forms of fascism than the racism taking place within his immediate own sphere, means he is exonerated from being implicated in any real offensive practices of exclusion. The impact is that he displaces racism, which leads to a form of fatalism and a confusion over how he is actually responsible for individual acts of racism. Racism is located out there, in another world, because its too painful to own, particularly the fact that the barriers that prevent black people entering into the structures of whiteness begins with the very acts of the individual.

This form of fatalism, is a pattern of whiteness, the consequence of which is that a feeling emerges that 'nothing can be done', 'change is impossible' because racism is difficult to relate to as a concrete act. It cannot be identified or eliminated because of the way it is

positioned as an intrinsic part of 'the things we are'. This form of whiteness has an important function in disguising the more complex processes by which white men enter the structures of sport and colonise themselves through the very simple ways of being with each other.

White guilt, as a confused form of denial of racism, can also lead to a position where white men over identify with the victims of exclusion, black players, by assuming that they can have some form of 'racialised empathy'. I am using 'racialised empathy' to describe the way that white men, because of their guilt, feel that they understand and have had similar experiences of exclusion to black players in the system. This empathy is distinct from the approach of white men who are confused and then deny the power of their whiteness.

This notion of 'racialised empathy' can be seen to be operating in this comment taken from my interview with a white Scottish man, a leading figure from the Scottish Professional Football Association. He was responding to my question about institutionalised racism in the organisation of soccer, and the inevitable dominance of white men in these structures:

The mentality of white people in institutional settings is very white, very rarely do they mix or understand people who are not white and British. I am sure if I was a black person I would not have got into the position I am in today. That's because of the mentality of the people who run the game, it's a security thing and they go for people who are like us, they tend to think that white people understand the British mentality better than black people (Terry Hill, Scottish P.F.A. interview 1997).

This text appeals to whiteness as an apology for a tradition, where this white man sees his faults are entrenched in the way white men in the past have not wanted to be around people who are not white or British. Whiteness, from this perspective, leads to sameness, familiarity and safety, through not taking the risk of letting outsiders in. It is a form of insecurity by which white men feel vulnerable and threatened by the possibility of being around black men who see and experience the culture of their sport as unwelcoming.

The frustration is that while whiteness is objectified as British, Terry can render his indifference as a white man in an abstract way without having to name specifically the role he takes in perpetuating the patterns of comfort that exclude black men within soccer. This is a form of white, male confusion. In recognising that he is white and is trying to be anti-racist can lead to an exemption to address how forms of race inequality are created through his own actions. So Terry can still sympathise with the black player's plight without having to change personally.

In this next example I want to explore another form and outcome of white male confusion in terms of how whiteness operates through this comment from the Chief Executive of the League Managers Association. By talking about the problems of getting black players to come into the system, he reveals a form whiteness that unconsciously implies that black players are less able. This is despite his intention to tackle racism in his institution:

We want more coloured people coaching for obvious reasons, the relationship between coloured people and coloured coaches is one reason. Perhaps coloured lads think they would not be able to control these fellows. Any coloured lad in the game should be saying I want to coach with him, my recommendation to any

coloured lad coming into the game is that they should set their stall out to network (Barry West, interview 1998).

This comment reduces the role of black players in the white structures of soccer as offering empathy for other black players, in a system where this white men is central to the more professional operations. The assumption that black players may not have the confidence, does not lead to an insight that the move into the structures of soccer operates through the networks through which this white man develops an unconscious belief that black men lack the competence to manage other white men. Yet at the same time when he is trying to make efforts to increase their representation

The outcome is that the prevailing structures of Football, as sites of white, male culture, escape scrutiny as processes of racialised exclusion. White men can patronise black players, suggesting that they are wanted, as long as they do not affect radical changes in the structures or take the jobs of white men. This form of whiteness operates on a different level in the context of the union structure for the players, through the organisation of the Professional Footballers Association. This organisation is formed around ex-players representing players, based upon a structure of a chief executive, deputy chief executive and a committee structure.

The following quotation is from an interview with the chief executive of the Professional Footballers Association. When asked about the role and positioning of black players he acknowledges the importance of the inclusion of black players into his structure by being critical of racialised exclusions in other structures in Football. This is another example of

a white man who is unable to reflect from his own role in the process of exclusion within a limited accountability to what it means to act white in his own organisation:

We are much more comfortable when we've got a fair percentage of black players. They have been quite insular, not to say arrogant and aloof, who say we should be stronger. For the Football Association, you would struggle to see a black face, particularly in council, in administration and in coaching. It is hard enough when you're black, but the likes of Viv Anderson have become coaches/managers, but you can count them on one hand. It is a situation we are duty bound to change. (Sam King interview 1998).

This comment from the Professional Footballers Association, reveals a form of whiteness where support to black players is based upon the notion that they have special needs and not that they are victims of institutionally racialised processes. Consequently, the black players in the industry are perceived to be in need of help and rather than changing the problems they experience in the system. This means that the P.F.A, can celebrate their achievement in involving more black faces, whilst the conditions under which they come into soccer do not change.

The impact of this type of white guilt is that, yet again, it removes the need for self-analysis about how individual and institutional forms of whiteness are connected. This organisational position contains a missionary theme in the way black players are rescued, assisted and in need of preparation to assimilate, whilst forms of whiteness, through the acts and views of white men are not scrutinised and stand apart from the process of assimilation. What becomes apparent in these emerging forms of denial through 'guilt', is that white individuals do not concretely link their actions to the forming of an institutional culture. The consequences is that a culture emerges in football where white

men can act and feel at ease in the structures they have created, while at the same time assimilate the language of anti-racism

8.4 Fatalism, whiteness and institutional displacement

This is a major problem that has faced English soccer as a whole, we have the tradition of the country that introduced the sport to the world. We were the first people to have the rules of the game, the first one to have a management system to control how the game is run. We have gone through a traditional English way of setting up committees and setting up councils, which is a very much an English, middle class way of doing things. It is part of the culture of middle class English men to be involved in that kind of administration, the committee method (Frank Jones, interview 1997).

The comment suggests that whiteness, both historically and in the context of sport, just happens, that it lies outside ordinary social relationships. I argue that this assumption is the foundation upon which middle class, male relationships are granted the privileges that enable them to perpetuate themselves in the structures of Football. It is this uncontested form of Englishness that underpins a regime built upon the arrogance of a committee structure in which mutual forms of recognition legitimise the idea that only white men are best able to run the organisation.

The connections between class, race and gender are important because of the status ascribed to the white middle-class men who are trusted to administrate organisations and to develop the structures in which their heritage is invested. In this interview with Kate Hoey, then Member of Parliament for Vauxhall, it is possible to illustrate how forms of whiteness, masculinity and class operate as the focal points of inclusion. I wanted to find

out from Kate why institutions are filled with white men and whether this leads to a certain type of culture:

The problems with politics, and, to a greater extent sport is that they are filled with white men, who have come out of University, or Football Clubs and go straight into organisation without any life experiences of the difficulties of other groups. They talk as if they got there on their own merit and don't seem to realise how much easier it is for them compared to other groups (Kate Hoey, Member of Parliament for Vauxhall, now the Sports Minister, interview 1998).

Kate's comment illustrates how white men fit into institutions without having to be aware of the connection between their masculinity and their whiteness. The connection between class and masculinity is are given power in the way that, white, middle class men move into positions of administration and because the processes regarding their entry are never questioned. I argue that Kate, as a white woman, is able to locate and see white men acting a form of whiteness because she has had to break down, and into, the 'comfort zones' in which whiteness is institutionalised amongst men.

To connect forms of whiteness to comfort zones that lead to privileges through the ways that white men are able to see their lives and the institutions of sport as naturally linked, I refer to Sports England. Sports England is responsible for ensuring that all sports in England operates around a set of principles; elitism, participation and, recently, anti-discriminatory practices. Sports England is headed by the Minister for Sport appointed by Tony Blair, the Prime Minister, and, according to my interview with Phil Lee, of the Southeast Region Sports Council, is made up of mainly white men between the ages of thirty and sixty five. To demystify whiteness, to make it visible through the lives of the

personnel in their structures, I argue that we need to understand how white men live their lives in these organisations.

I talked to a leading figure at Sports England about the 'natural' way he moved into the arena of sports administration, and how he considered the power he had, as a white man, in this structure. He talked about the ways that sports administration in this country had taken a lead role in defining how the game is played, run and managed. He also talked about the recruitment processes within his organisation:

There are still organisations in sport that don't like being challenged, it is like a relationship or a marriage. It comes down to what people look like, behave like, that influences the decision. When you get into management structures of sport and coaching structures of sport its about the existing structures selecting an individual who does not look like them, and the person who does not look like them making a decision whether they want to be involved. The more you challenge the individual the more they retreat into their standard values and seeing themselves and the interaction with others so you never get through the person's barriers. And if you challenge their perceptions of themselves you challenge their consciousness, its destabilising and can be extremely disturbing (Phil Lee, interview 1997).

The metaphor of a marriage is a comparison that reveals how individuals choose their partners on the basis of a resemblance to each other's histories and personalities, to the point where they end up looking like each other. This is an arranged 'marriage' that is based upon a culture that appeals to a shared unconscious process of being white and male, which is made diverse by the different contexts and locations in which these relationships of power are negotiated and managed. To challenge the individuality of these power formations of white men, is to challenge the institution which has been

colonised by whiteness through closing it's door to anybody who may disturb the patterns upon which white men live their lives.

This pattern of white men working within comfort zones with other white men is at the very essence of how behaviours are enacted in the structural relationships inside Football. As in the institution of marriage, white men then develop ways of eating, meeting and conversing together that are never stated openly, but are not static and are dependent upon the quality of the relationship.

These acts and varying relationships established by white men are intrinsically linked to football structures through networks that facilitate the development of comfort zones where white men continually reaffirm, on different levels, their places in football. The passport into these structures are determined fundamentally by being a white man, and this is then further defined by the range of different behaviours and values that are attached to whiteness including denial, guilt and the embodied preconscious forms of acting white.

My contention, in looking at how forms of whiteness operate in the structures of soccer, is that there is a need to look more specifically at the ways white men enter and colonise the cultures of the organisations. This comment from Phil Lee begins to show one particular way in which a form of white masculine conduct takes place in one particular process of inclusion into the systems in sport:

Well my background was in water sports, I went into racing in a big way, I took part in the world and Olympic championships, did

a PE course on retirement, then a sports development course, and then went to the sports council. But you do tend to find that most people at the Sports Council are qualified people from white middle class backgrounds, against those people who have the hands on experience. They are usually all over fifty, it's not just a change in their attitudes it's a change in their working methods (Phil Lee, the Sports Council interview 1998).

What emerges in this analysis are some of the features of middle class identities invested in systems that become rigid and cannot be penetrated. These systems reflect the histories of white, male networks, of relationships where the privileges of acting on the terms of white men governs access into the world of sport. The idea that white men, in the organisational settings of soccer, have a shared history allows for individuals to co-exist as long as they do not disrupt the agreed way of working upon which the organisations are founded.

Sports England then differs in terms of forms of whiteness, from other organisational cultures in the structures of Football. What is consistent and consensual is a shared form of whiteness in which white men operate in structures without having to acknowledge that they are white or older, English, middle class men. A culture of whiteness develops structurally through the status attached to being white and being male which is perpetuated through ongoing working relationships. This shows for white men to challenge whiteness it would mean questioning their own realities, and running the risk of losing privileges. This questions whether whiteness is a psychotic state that has no insight into the reality of being white, except when invested in the performances and languages of anti-racism

8.4 Conclusion

I argue that there are forms of whiteness that can be made visible by examining individual actions that have outcome within different institutions. White men colonise the structures of sport by not having to think about the power of being male and being white and through this they preserve their privileges, through processes of familiarities that remain unchallenged. This makes them vulnerable to the contradiction that they can recite anti-racist sentiments yet express racist views when their position is threatened.

I argue that the way white men confront issues of racism and how they place themselves in organisations, reveals forms of confusion, where they refute acting in a racist way by perceiving black players as the problem. It is these perceptions of black players as unable to change or needing help to assimilate, that reveal a form of whiteness where white men project racism as somebody else's responsibility. Consequently they can then develop a culture in which they don't have to talk about themselves as white or reflect on the impact they have on people in the organisation who challenge their rationale for the way they live their lives.

In this world, they maintain their status as white men by continually referring to the problems of race equality being 'out there' and in no way connected to how they act in the institutions in which they work. Whether describing their lives in the changing room, the playing field or another social setting, the continual theme of denial emerges which enables them to continue to operate within a comfort zone of whiteness. Beyond the talk of white men and this position of denial, an unconscious and embodied form of whiteness

is enacted, in which the elements of class and gender are also made apparent. Whiteness then emerges in the naturalised way white men act and respond within the comfort zones of their institutional setting. This is emphasised most particularly, by the disparity between the ways that white men operate and perform in front of other white men and the way they operate and perform in front of black men and, on rare occasions, black women.

What can be seen in the variance of these performances is the way that white men more consciously think about themselves when confronted by black people who undermine their comfort zone. Their performance changes to a more preconscious one when they perform to white men. There is a familiarity and ease which permits them to act without any form of consciousness or inhibition. These embodied acts are directed in a culture where white men do not challenge other white men, despite feeling discomfort in their internal world, and feeling torn professionally and morally.

The affect, in relation to the case of performance and embodiment, is that a form of whiteness is expressed through the way that the institutions become colonised by white men without them acknowledging the power of whiteness. When white men, through their own race cognisance, begin to recognise forms of racism, they feel a form of white male guilt which leads to a confusion that makes them more vulnerable to acts of anti-racism that does not lead to real personal changes.

The guilt displayed by white men leads to a false sense of empathy because they are unable to consistently or accurately recognise that they can continue to act in ways that exclude black people. The consequence is that they firstly deflect responsibility for racial

inequality on to the structures in which they work, or on to other organisations that are connected to their institutions. The implication is that they can feel guilty for how black people are affected by forces of racism without having to implicate themselves as part of the process.

Racism is viewed as unconnected to their experiences and their position in the organisation in which they work. It is a more subtle form of denial, because they see racism and try to assist those who have been disadvantaged, however implicit within this is the criticism that black people are not able to operate on the same level as white men or able to be assertive enough to manage in a white organisation.

The overriding problem identified in this research has been the constant resistance of white men to see their lives as representing whiteness within institutional cultures. This leads to white men adopting a privileged position from which they can always see black players as having problems assimilating into the institutions of soccer without seeing how they contribute to black people's feelings of exclusion.

The purpose of this chapter has been to show that the individual actions of the white men that colonise sports culture contribute towards institutional racism. The manners in which individual white men try to see racism in institutions, without seeing the part that they play, has been a significant theme. This is the process by which institutional cultures are founded on the acts of white men as features of whiteness, which escape scrutiny. It is my contention, throughout this chapter, that forms of whiteness can be identified, either through discourse and performance or through processes of denial, displacement and

confusion. More importantly I argue that forms of whiteness can be located and identified in the very ordinary acts of white men in a range of locations, which, in the total sum, leads to the emergence of institutional whiteness.

The outcome of institutional forms of whiteness is the damage it causes to the people who are not given the passport into these privileges, who internalise their inferiority and who are disoriented by trying to reconcile with the acts of white men who exclude without a consciousness of being white. In the contexts of coaching and management whiteness changes in form, from being overt and easily located in the playing field, to a form which is implicit, hidden and dependent on white men investing in values and codes that are about being white and male in the institution of Football.

Of all the eight chapters leading up to the conclusion, this has been the most challenging because whiteness, and its form, is so difficult to analyse. Its implicitness and apparent lack of manifestation poses difficult analytical problems. I have maintained that whiteness can be identified in actions, association, patterns of talk and the establishment of 'comfort zones'. If whiteness is a way of acting it follows that there is at least the possibility of alternative ways of acting. Rather than being immovable and eternal whiteness and white supremacy, particularly in football culture, is a particular structure of dominance that can be altered if there is the collective will to do so.

CONCLUSION

Play the black man

Connecting individuals to institutional racism in football

The metaphor 'play the white man' has been used in this research to illustrate that race as an identity and a form of inequality can be seen in both performances and narratives. 'Racialised performances' and 'racialised narratives' are two concepts I have used to show that individual actions and beliefs are intricate parts of how institutional racialised cultures emerge. My focus has been sport, soccer, and the transition of black ex-players moving from the field of play into roles as coaches and managers in the English game. I believe that the pressures placed on black soccer players to 'play the white man' can be analysed through the way they respond to the terms of white men. There is a need for white men to 'play the black man' to understand the impact of their power and change the patterns of whiteness that operates inside of soccer.

What makes football unique is the way the black athlete has been pathologised in their move from their families and their educational settings. Sports literature has failed to look at the black athlete within a political, cultural and historical context (Kane 1973, Cashmore 1982, Hargreaves 1986). I argue it is an absolute imperative to understand how the black athletes make sense of how they have been constructed in the institutions of sport.

I have shown in this research that when black players retire from the game they begin to see new types of racism in the institutions of soccer. This is because their position in the structures and cultures of sport changes from being coached and managed as players, to themselves seeking jobs that are traditionally occupied by white men. It is the way these positions are held by white men that represents the barriers to getting a job in soccer, where whiteness is a pattern of behaviour that can be made visible, identified and analysed, that contributes towards the collective failure of an organisation to accept the outsider.

In this project I have used institutional racism as a conceptual and theoretical tool to explore white male customs that form the defining culture in institutions to give them both privilege and power. These privileges cannot just be linked to their cognisance, as it has been shown that white men do not see they have a part in producing inequality in the system, compare to black men who experience it more intensively.

I have argued the concept 'racialised performance' has shown that roles and acts of exclusion are closely linked, through the ways that individuals perform in the settings of sport, particularly in relation to a coaching qualification. I have also argued that the race cognisance of black and white men making the transition into coaching and management can be detected through their discourse. In this respect I have shown the power of white men to instill patterns and routines that become normative way of acting that can be linked to whiteness. My argument, here, is that white men have no cognisance of their race. Whilst black men develop more of a race cognisance through their struggle to

compete inside football because they do not have the power to define themselves or change the informal recruitment processes that exclude them.

Consequently I see 'racialised cognisance, performance and narrative' as intrinsically reflective of cultures that emerge inside football that can be detected by looking at how people act and talk. The accounts of black and white players' are important in revealing their approach to their lives in the institutions of coaching and management, and reveal how forms of inequality operate from the perspectives of the individual. I have argued that the ideas of inclusion and exclusion are too crude and too polarised to capture fully the range of experiences that black players have in the transition from the playing field into positions as coaches and managers.

This is because of the different ways that the actors involved in this research change their performances and narratives dependent on their location and the personnel that confront them. This moment of the transition from the field into the institutions of coaching and management, has lead to black and white personnel developing different responses to entering and surviving in the system. 'Play the white man' becomes a useful concept to understand how racism operates in the actions and narratives of white men and how this shapes the cultures that black players are expected to integrate into. My argument is that we cannot understand how racism operates in institutions until we pay more attention to how white men understand their identity and how they act out particular patterns of whiteness that colonalise the institutions of sport. This represents an attempt to move away from simply seeing whiteness as either denied or displaced and to make it visible.

It is an attempt to get away from the punitive way racism has been used to blame and accuse, but instead to use it as a tool to describe and link very complex and fragmented beliefs and behaviours to the formations of institutional cultures.

I have tried to use race not as a tool that leads to the biological stereotyping of black men, but as a method to examine how black and white individuals see themselves and operate in these institutions through both their performances and their narratives. The consideration of my position as a researcher holding many different roles simultaneously, has been crucial this to process in disentangling white men's stubborn approach to see racism, and black men being too compliant to challenge it.

The relationship between cognisance, performance and narrative is tested through a number of ethical problems within the research when assessing how participants, are aware of the outcomes of their acts of racism inside soccer against the political responsibility to describe, investigate and challenge racialised process in the institutions of soccer. I argue you can be accountable to the disciplines of sociological research, and not have to collude with the racist way that it has traditionally misrepresented black people and their integration into the settings English society and English Football.

As a researcher, I have tried to make sense of several forms of institutionally racist cultures at this work in this project. Firstly, I have had to make sense of how racism may exist in the research process during in the interface with the respondents, particular white men who have been racist towards myself and other black people. This meant having to

reluctantly witness racism taking place particularly in relation to the white male respondents, and not to record and document racism in action.

Before going through the issues arising from this research, I feel it is important to say the one of the most important tasks that confronted me in undertaking this project about what it means to 'play the white man'. This was the challenge of trying to disconnect the pain of being a victim of racialised processes, during the research in the way I was disrespected as a black man, and the pain of seeing other black men being treated in similar discriminatory ways. Over the course of the research I had many sleepless nights, and dreams of feeling attacked by white men. It is through these experiences that I began to realise that I was involved in trying to reconcile with my anger about racism, seen and experienced during this research, with my ability to write in a sociological and reflective manner.

Restating the pain

Those who know it, feel it

Situating the diverse lives of the social actors

One of the first priorities of this research was to move away from a stark dualism between the identities of the personnel being categorised as simply black and white. Contained within this aim was to examine how notions of race, masculinity and class are realised in people's experiences in the transition from the field to seeking jobs as managers and coaches in English soccer. My research was original in that I moved away from simply and always focusing on black soccer players' by merely looking their bodies, as fixed, the pathological notions of black families and sport as compensating for their educational failure.

Consequently in chapter three, I focused on the diversity of black soccer players' experiences; looking at their lives in the important era of their emergence in soccer in the 1980s, and at the different ways they responded to different acts of racism. The types of racism I have focused upon, the racism from white crowds and the racism in their relationships with other white players and white managers, have shown that the same event can be understood and responded to, dependent upon the subjectivity of the individual. The idea of consciousness and subjectivity allows black players the opportunity to change their responses and to reconcile with their identity whilst trying to

be accepted as English, by white men, in the form of crowds, players and managers. In this case to 'play the white man' leads to seeing the individual ways that black players who retired from the English game in the late 1990s, deal with the pressure to transform themselves around white men in terms of their futures in the game.

I have used Malcolm X's (1967) notion of the 'field nigger' to the football field to analyse similar types of abuse aimed at black men's bodies and the 'house nigger' as relevant to having to be subservient to white men inside of the institutions of coaching and management. I argue there has been a move from a dominant to an aversive form of racism in this transition from the field into these institutions. I have also argued that 'playing the white man' personifies much more effectively the range of options open to black men to confront racism in these two settings, the playing field and the coaching and management location. This is an attempt to see the stories of black players as representing the unique ways that they understand and respond to racism inside of football.

This attempt to deessentialise black men in football was explored particularly in chapter seven by looking at how black ex-players talk about their individual experiences and their different approaches to the new label of 'black managers'. I argued that there is a shift from the overt forms of racism black players faced and revealed, to a more covert and implicit form that they experience as managers. In the context of management I believe that the notion of the 'white mask', as a public response to whiteness, evolves towards an

internal form of reckoning through the development of a mirror. This mirror reflects outwards in the interface with white men, and inwards into the private world of black managers as they resist the pressures to comply with the expectations and demands of white men in the institutions of management.

In operation behind the mask are cognitive processes that lead to strategies by which black managers separate out their racial identity from their management performance, whilst they see it as too painful to challenge their inadequacies as men when competing against white men who contribute towards their vulnerability. Ultimately, black managers want to be liberated and have access to the same privileges as white men.

Chapters Three and Chapter Seven demonstrated the individuality of the black male experience in soccer, as players and as managers. In chapter Eight, I have attempted to similarly consider the position of white men looking at the ways they talk about their lives in a more evasive way when compared to the narratives of black players and black managers. This approach has shown that white men unconsciously 'play the white man' by displacing forms of whiteness in three different but inter-related ways: firstly by seeing black players as having the problem of integrating into the structures of football; secondly, by seeing racism as an inevitable part of the structures in which they work and something they cannot change; and thirdly, that they hold an identity of white male guilt which confuse white men who can act in anti-racist ways and still hold a belief, unconsciously that they best able to represent the institution. Within these three forms of whiteness, white men's position and orientation to the worlds of soccer are enacted

through the very ordinary ways that they talk about their lives and the very ordinary ways that they do their work. This is the foundation on which institutional cultures are built as the prerequisite to processes of inclusion and exclusion. The mission is to challenge the idea that racism is 'out there', yet it does not recognise that it is at the core of how white men colonise the structures of sport by the privilege of being able to operate within the comfort zone of their networks through continually working alongside the same white men .

White men maintain their influential positions in the organisations of soccer, through the implicit ways that they construct barriers, in their public worlds. My plea in this conclusion is that a great deal more work is needed to understand the contradictory outcomes of white men's act, in that they can hold anti-racist sentiments, whilst simultaneously also be involved in, and collude with race inequalities. More specifically the capacity of the individual white man to use their power leads to different outcomes for how racism takes place in the organisations of football.

This process, of opening up the unconscious acts of white men can be achieved in two ways. Firstly, by looking at how black players and black managers experience the actions of white men as contributing to the processes of racism they experienced, in which white personnel do not see the patterns of their actions that operates in the institutions of soccer.

Secondly, in my position as a researcher, I could see and name how white men, on a face to face level in the context of an interview, reveal to me, a black man how they define

racism and how they see themselves implicated in racialised processes. This approach forced white men to look at how they unconsciously contribute to the process of racism in terms of their beliefs and their actions. In this part of the research, I have moved beyond looking at the race cognisance and power evasiveness of white men, to look at what white men say and how they act will have consequences for institutional racist cultures in sport.

I have assessed, through my research relationships with white men the patterns of talk and action that makes whiteness comprehensible. I have represented the respondents' voice in the interview situation by being sensitive and open when interviewing the white men with a distance and seriousness to interpret their racism without showing my disapproval and pain. I have attended to the life experiences of black men without collusion or being critical of their compliance, to hear and record their views.

Consequently in working with black men I wanted to accurately show that their views represented sociological data that highlighted the diverseness of their situation. I faced the challenge of staying within the boundaries of the research and resisting the research becoming a political weapon for black players to express their grievances.

Encountering racism in action

Through this research I also wanted to look at the formation of cultures of racism. Initially I looked at the performances of black and white players trying to get a coaching qualification. This is an aspect of the institutional culture of football that has not previously been analysed in terms of how this setting and the structure of the course contribute towards how men relate to and assess each other that leads to different levels of integration into the cultures inside football. In chapter four I examined how the playing field changes when men are assessed, in relation to a coaching topic and their capacity to reproduce embodied acts of white, male culture. The ability to coach, in relation to a predominantly white, male audience, is the ability to mirror the idiosyncratic demands of white male tutors, and even when these have been mastered one is not necessarily accepted and granted the privileges of a white English coach.

The idiosyncrasies of whiteness is reflected in the differing demands and expectations placed on the candidates, on the playing field, in the classroom and in the bar area. In these areas, more covert and implicit forms of whiteness are enacted through which white men set up the networks that have a significant impact on their career in the sport. The different qualities of these acts and expectations in these three different locations help to establish the complexity of 'racialised performances'. The idea of 'racialised performances' enables one to see that how white men act and behave will have huge implications for black ex-players in the institutions of the coaching qualification.

In this part of the project I have shown that black ex-players needed to perform to convince white men in the field, the classroom and the bar that they are capable of 'playing the white man' to the different standards required in each of these settings. Processes of inclusion and exclusion are then determined by the forms of whiteness that confront the black ex-players, and the need for a mask to fit into the images of white men.

Black ex-players realise that their transition into the institutional cultures of coaching and management is determined by their capacity to negotiate relationships with white men in a variety of spheres. They face, in this transition, the confusion of how their performance is judged by a group of white men, that leads to outcomes, in which they experience a continuum of emotions between being accepted or being rejected by the system. Consequently they become aware their transition is not based upon a coaching qualification, but rather it is dependent on these ambivalent forms of whiteness that have no consistent pattern. Black ex-players come to see that the process of moving into coaching and management is totally dependent upon how white men feel about them.

The issue of how actors experience the same event yet make sense of it in different ways can be seen to be racialised in the different ways that black and white men talk about the transition from the field, the coaching qualification to obtaining jobs as coaches and managers. In this respect I have attempted, in this research, to make the connection between racialised performances through the way narratives, reflect how people create a system through their values and beliefs.

In chapters five and six I examined how twelve soccer players talked about their transition from playing into a system of coaching. It is apparent through their narratives, that race cognisance and power evasiveness operate on two radically different levels. White men rationalised a system that worked in relation to their own personal needs. It was through the power of their narratives that white men created a system based upon rules that matched their individual aspirations. It is a system that is dependent upon friendships and networks that enable white men to sponsor and mentor other white men, and create a culture that projects an illusion of a colour-blind approach to the system.

This notion of the system as colour-blind was challenged, through the narratives of the black players, on three different levels. Firstly, the experiences of black players revealed that the system operated more favorably for white men when they tried to be included by following the rules. They expressed feeling of disillusionment and rejection as they observed a system that did not operate on any meritocratic basis. Secondly, black players, whilst in the system, saw, that their progress was dependent on white men, in which they decided, to leave, or to compromise or attempt to preempt the discriminatory acts of white men. Thirdly, black ex- players have to make decisions both culturally and politically, in challenging the stereotypes harassed by being rooted to the position of coaching.

Through the narratives of both the white and black ex-players over this period it is possible see how they develop a system, in which there is one form of transition that takes place for white ex-players and another for black ex-players. I argued that the

likelihood of black players reaping the benefits of a colour-blind approach is limited by the inability of white players to recognise the privileges they have acquired through colonising the system.

Unfortunately, the transition for black ex-players into the role of a coach and a manager, is unpredictable, and dependent on their relationship with white men within the system. It is therefore not possible to talk about an equitable system. What has become evident is that the transition is not simply based on competence, skill and holding a coaching qualification. It is a transition based upon managing a series of personal relationships, and a dependence on white men feeling safe in the presence of black men as part of their network. Networks and friendships become the foundation of the power that white men hold against black men who try to seek a position alongside them in an industry which has been traditionally based on the values of white men.

The role of the researcher is important in making explicit a system that develops through the ways that white men who enjoy both status and anonymity in terms of their route into the system, whilst black players endure having to continually face the benefits that white players have and that they do not share. There is a need for black ex-players to explore their lives in terms of how racism in society connects to the form exclusion inside the system. Whilst white players, need to be liberated from their defences, so that they can begin to see or relate to the privileges they have over black men if they are to dispense with the affects of racism in this system. In both cases these challenges took place in the context of the interview.

In the context of the coaching qualification, through the method of participant observation, the challenge was not to influence these actions and beliefs of the actors is less problematic. This is because of the secret nature of being a participant researcher, in being able to see different dynamics in relation to the power of white men to create deference through the powerlessness of black ex-players.

Participant observation offers opportunities to a black male researcher to discover how white men talk and behave, and how black men perform in response to the acts of white men. One can see the formation of cultures of racism in operation; and assess the affects a black man has in shaping the culture of the organisation, without blowing one's cover in my second role as a researcher.

There are two factors that dent this opportunity to see authentically, racism forming. Firstly the emotional impact of seeing and experiencing racism as a participant, who cannot challenge it or defend the position of other black course members who may be going through similar experiences. The second factor is facing the dilemma of how far one's silence represents a form of collusion, which undermines one's personal integrity by accepting racism at the moment it takes place, and then disclosing these acts of racism well after the event.

Connected with the dilemma of disclosure, is the challenge to utilise sociological methods to explore how white men act in these institutional settings, without being imposing a predetermined view of how racism in football operates. In this research I

have tried to rework a notion of black sociology, so it is more circumspect in its application and it does not contribute to an institutionally racist approach that misrepresents the realities of both black and white players. Like Du Bois (1903), I have tried to demonstrate that sociological methods are useful in diagnosing racial injustice specifically in the examination of racism in the organisations of coaching and management.

Through this research I argued for a more realistic approach to ethics through my specific experiences as a black researcher in researching an area, (how racism operates inside of Football), that has the potential to emotionally destroy one's integrity and sanity in questioning white men about their privileges. More practically there is a need to rethink how, in the role of participant observer, to feed back to the organisation how individuals act, without breaking their confidentiality.

To achieve this objective it is essential that a new approach to the ethics of racism is adopted. It is necessary to move away from the punitive outcomes for individuals who are seen to be acting in a racist manner or contributing towards racism in their organisational setting.

The task is to enable individuals to see and examine the implications of their actions in the organisations in which they work. This frees both the researcher and the research process from the dilemma of whether or not to expose a respondent when they are acting in a racist manner. The role of the researcher moves from a position of 'spying' to one of

facilitating the respondents understanding of how their actions contribute towards institutional exclusion.

At the end of this project, as a black male researcher, I am considering my own feeling about white male, privileges and my anger at the treatment of black men and their compliance to institutional racism. It is within this struggle that I want to move beyond the label of simply being as a black researcher who is researching racism, to show the contributions that my own roles and skills have brought to this research project. It is this position that leads me into the last important finding in relation to this research, that is the need for new approaches to understanding institutional racism, specifically in the institutions of soccer.

New definitions of institutional racism in soccer

My central argument throughout this research project has been the need to liberate ourselves from the constraints placed on us by the Macpherson report (1999) in relation trying to understand and research institutional racism, particularly in the area of sport. I share with Fitzgerald (2001) the view that the Macpherson (1999) has lacked impetus in defining and offering a clear strategy to tackle institutional racism. For me specifically, this has created a moral panic to curb racism, and a lack of clarity over the responsibility of the white community's role in contributing and perpetuating racism as individuals within institutions.

I also share with Fitzgerald's (2001) the frustration with the reluctance of organisation to explore their collective failure and to look at to how racism operates on an 'unwitting level'. My position is that the collective failure should be addressed by focusing on individual acts and the consequences of these acts. In this research it's also vitally important to understand how acts of racism are influenced by the process of gender and masculinity in institutions.

If we are to use the notion of 'unwitting' which is in itself a blanket and totalising term, as a starting position to deconstruct institutional processes of racism, we need to be place the way that individuals act in institutions within a historical and cultural context. In terms of this research the task is to not polarise the individual and the institution but to connect through racialised performances and racialised narratives as two methods of describing and explaining the ways that individuals act and experience being inside institutions.

The use of the terms such as institutional racism, particularly in sport, has encouraged individuals to disconnect their worlds, especially in linking 'racism' as individuals acting and talking in institutions. This approach to racism in institutions has led simultaneously to either a blame culture where racism is every where or an insistence that it is no where. In order to change this approach there is a need to invite individuals to work through a process of awareness raising in terms of how their different worlds link and contribute towards the cultures of the institutions they live and work. This means deconstructing how individuals understand their lives by using an approach to race and racism that is not

punitive but instead encourages one to look at how they define themselves as parts of institutions and how they contribute to institutional exclusion.

This research into how institutionalised racism operates in soccer during the transition of black soccer ex-players into positions of coaching and management, has revealed the diversity of their experiences through a series of complex relationships inside of soccer. More particularly the experiences of black players make visible forms of whiteness which white men take for granted in the way they control the institutions of soccer.

In this transition into coaching and management the relationships between black and white men reveal forms of racism that are unlike those expressed on the field of play. As actors their ability to see and respond to racism as part of their life and their work is less persuasive in the settings of coaching and management. Black ex-players in their transition, see racism on different levels in the industry, which they either leave or stay and confront. For white men these are the crucial moments when racism can either be made tangible, or dismissed as something they are unable to see. In this way individuals can place their practices and actions of racism into the category of 'unwitting forms of racism, or to put it crudely that they simply 'didn't mean it!

Through this research I have been able to define institutional racism, in the settings of coaching and management, as white men holding power and including black men on their terms. The white men involved in this project have not seen how the very ordinary ways that they talk and behave in front of, and behind me, the researcher, contribute towards

institutional racism. It is these implicit, behind the scenes ways of talking and behaving that amount to both the forms and consequences of institutional racism.

I echo Fitzgerald's (2001) concern at the way the term 'institutional racism' has discouraged a process of introspection that makes individuals accountable within institutions. Fitzgerald (2001) suggests that the Macpherson Report (1991) has lacked an analytical context and a legal power. The recent changes in the 1976 Race Relation Act has not penetrated the need to confront race inequality inside of football. Macpherson (1999) enables individuals to displace responsibility for racism on to the institution, it has reinforced the traditional belief that black people are either the victims, whilst white people are the perpetrators, or cannot see what they do.

In the context of the institutions of soccer where white men appear to dominate in terms of representation and in terms of a specific culture, we have been seduced into thinking that by adopting a color-blind policy, these institutions have become exempt from any form of investigation. What has been demonstrated is the need for a colour-specific approach to examine more closely how white men are thinking and acting in their practices and their lives. It was Lord Scarman who after the Brixton Riots said that there is no institutional racism, but there are people who act from a position of race prejudice. The response to this theory in the post Scarman era, has been a move to embrace Macpherson (1999), as a way of shirking the focus from the individual to the institution. Unfortunately, this position has polarised the individual and the institution, which has

lead to a failure to encourage a culture of reflexivity and contributed towards a culture where abstract policies and anti-racist movements have had an important role in soccer.

The idea of institutional racism being part of football has led to a silence, particularly in the power relationships between white and black men. The patterns of race inequality, and masculinity has become normalised as acceptable aspects of the culture within the game. The relationship between those in authority who develop processes of familiarity on which the culture of football is based, has not been connected to how institutions inside football operate by white men who colonalise the structures of sport through these processes.

Although it is now permissible to discuss other forms of racist abuse that take place on the training ground and in the relationships between black and white players on the field of play. My conclusion, from this research is that the ideology of institutional racism and the fear that it instills in people who are afraid that they may be accused, has led to the more explicit acts of racism in institutions becoming more implicit and hidden.

The move towards anti-racist policies to counter racism in football, has orientated itself to looking to attract black people into the industry, whilst the whole culture of exclusion remains the same in the way that these organisations operate. The information I gathered through my different roles within this research, reflects the need for the institutions of coaching and management to seriously address how forms of whiteness operate and lead to the development of a culture of inclusion through familiarity and exclusion through

fear of difference. The increased numbers of black players making the transition as coaches and managers, and the growth of black administrators, has been achieved through making sacrifices. The forms of deference demanded then contribute to new processes of institutional racism. It is important to also explore the personal cost to white people in institutions who continue to deny and displace the fears that comes with the threats of losing the privileges of being white. Perhaps, this is why the sense of resistance is so powerful, because ultimately this is a matter of relinquishing control.

To conclude, I believe the present use of institutional racism, has inhibited analysing how individual values and actions, forms whiteness that colonise the cultures and structures that operate inside of football. Until these connections have been established, white men will continue to enjoy the forms of privilege that have become naturalised in their relationships with the institutions whilst black people will continue to struggle to fit into structures that cannot accommodate them unless they comply with the conditions which are structured on the foundations of whiteness.

APPENDIX

The Research Strategy.

THE INTERVIEW PROCESS.

Section One. The institutional cultural perspective.

Subject: Elite white males.

Core Themes and Focus.

1. How have the institutional settings within sport defined and responded to the racialised barriers that confront the progress of black players.
2. How far do theories of whiteness and white supremacy help us to explain the cultural biographies and experiences of the major institutional players?
3. What are the cultural experiences and forms of integration that occur for black players in their progress into coaching, management and administration?

Methods. Questionnaires. Personal – Postal - Telephone.

Areas of Questions.

1. Past experiences and educational qualifications that led them into their present position.
2. More detailed analysis of their area of work.
3. Personal definitions of how racialised cultures exist, with personal examples.
4. Reasons behind the slow progress of particular racial groups.
5. The usefulness of Equal Opportunity Policies and race monitoring.
6. What changes are needed in the individuals and the institutions to promote better representation?

Core Theme 1. Experience – Qualifications – Access to present job.

1. What are the important qualifications that were essential to you obtaining your job?
2. What have been the important experiences you have obtained whilst doing this job.
3. How important has networking been to obtaining your job.
4. How much did family, friends and other professionals influence your decision to take your present job?
5. How much of you is reflected in the way you do your present job.

Core Theme 2. The Cultural expectations of the work environment.

1. What does your job actually consist of?
2. How much are you able to project your own culture in the way you do your job.
3. In what ways would your job change if you came from a different racial group?
4. In what way does your job enable you to understand the cultural expectations of other racial communities not represented in your work place?
5. In what ways do you see this is necessary?

Core Theme 3. Personal understanding and experiences of racism.

1. What is your personal definition of racism?
2. In what ways do you feel you may have acted in a racist manner?
3. In what ways do you think your organisation may have acted in a racist manner?
4. In what ways has your actions, or the actions of your organisation affected the racial groups not represented.
5. In what ways does racism outside of your organisation affect racial groups not represented in your organisation.

Core Theme 4. How much are black people responsible for their own lack of progress.

1. What efforts have black people made to get into your organisation?
2. Why do you feel they have progressed in a certain way?
3. What skills do you consider they need to make the transition?
4. In what ways do you feel they able to obtain these skills?
5. In what ways does your organisation feel they can assist?

Core Theme 5. Effectiveness of EOP and race monitoring.

1. In what way can we better assess how equal it is for all groups to gain access to your organisation?
2. In what ways can race monitoring offer more accuracy.
3. What are your feelings about Equal Opportunity Policies?
4. How useful has the 1976 Race Relation Act been in helping your organisation further the interest of the black community?
5. What other changes may be needed.

Core Theme 6. Individual and institutional changes.

1. Are there any individual changes you need to make to promote development of black people in your organisation?
2. Are there any structural changes your organisation need to make to break the barriers facing this group?
3. What implications would this have for the culture of the organisation?
4. What are the changes outside of the organisation that need to be made?
5. Any other comments.

Samples of people interviewed.

Elite white male sample	
Sample type.	Numbers
White administrators	30
White coaches	50
White managers	40

Section Two.

Subject: The Career paths of black players. Period 1985-2001.

Core Themes and Focus.

1. How far have cultures of racism in other related fields impacted on the predestined positions of black people in sport.
2. What are the particular social and political factors of the period that influence and determine employment routes.
3. What models of black family life and black people's history that has shaped the processes of integration of black people into the cultural institutional settings of sport?

Method. Questionnaires – Person – Postal - Phone.

Areas of Questions.

1. Personal and family experiences that lead them into playing. Home.School.
2. Experiences of playing. Managers perceptions. Family influences. Personal experiences of racism in the process of playing.
3. What were their experiences in and outside of the profession that influenced their decision to stay in or outside of the game?
4. How do they think things have changed for black players? Home – Entry in to Club – Playing on the field – Progression routes into management – Life outside of the game on retirement.

Core Theme 1. Parental and Schooling influences.

1. How much did your parents play an interest in your football ambitions?
2. How much did your parents want you to succeed in other fields outside of football?
3. In what ways did your school contribute towards you choosing a career in football as opposed to progressing in the educational system?
4. How were these experiences at home and in the school different to your white friends?
5. How much did other racist experiences outside of the home and school influence your movement into soccer?

Core Theme 2: Access into playing career.

1. What were your experiences as a black person that lead you into getting a professional club?
2. What outside pressures did you have to cope in moving from school into becoming a professional footballer?

3. How were the experiences of becoming a professional footballer different from the cultural experiences of your black family and friends?
4. How were these experiences different from other white professional footballers?
5. How well do you feel the club and football in general understand your experiences?

Core Theme 3: The Playing Career.

1. What were your important experiences as a black professional soccer player?
2. How did your family, friends and the club relate to these experiences?
3. How much were these experiences different for white players?
4. In what ways did these experiences change during your career as a professional footballer?
5. In what ways do you consider the situation has changed for today's black players?

Core Theme 4: Ending of the Playing career.

1. What were the important experiences (especially racial) that lead to the ending of your playing career?
2. What was the response from the important people in your life to the ending of your playing career?
3. How far did your club and the institution of soccer help you plan and prepare for this situation?
4. How far do you think these experiences are different for white players?
5. Looking back was there any way you would have prepared yourself differently especially as a black professional soccer player.

Core Theme 5: Experiences since ending playing career.

1. What were your plans on ending your playing career, and how much have you been able to achieve them.
2. In what significant ways has your life changed since the ending of your playing career.
3. In what ways has racism played apart in your career development since leaving school up until the present time?
4. How are these situations different for white players?
5. How far has the industry of football responded to these issues?

Core Theme 6: Black players into Coaching, Management and Administration.

1. What are the reasons for the delayed progress of black player into these areas and how far do they apply to you.
2. What cultural and important changes have your made or black players need to make to progress?
3. In what ways do the individuals and the institutions of football need to change.
4. How much are these experiences different for white players.
5. What outside economic or political factors influence the transition?

Sample of black players	
Sample type.	Numbers
Black players failed to become coaches or managers	40
Black players who became coaches and managers.	40

Section Three.

Subject: Comparative progress of black and white players into positions as coaches and managers.

Core Themes and focus.

1. How far do the different racialised experiences of home, school and in the game affect the progress routes of black and white players?
2. How far do the Professional Footballers Association and Football Association course/qualifications confront the different cultural experiences of players in their policies and procedures.
3. What are the institutional pressures that determine the cultural practice in terms of networking and progress into coaching and management?

Method. Longitudinal.

1. Interviews 2 –3 over period of 12 months.

Areas of interest.

1. How far has the Professional Footballers Association and the Football Association courses been in preparing and assisting in getting/keeping/or progression in areas of coaching and management.
2. How could the course be improved.
3. Types of experiences in the 12-month period. Moving in/Staying in/Moving up.
4. Describe types of experiences, racial/class/masculinity/authority, especially in terms of networks.

Areas of Questions.

Core Area 1: Home and School.

1. Name.
2. DOB
3. Place of birth.
4. Name of Parents.
5. Place of birth of Parents.
6. Occupation of Parents.
7. Name of Siblings.
8. Occupation of Siblings.
9. Primary School attended. Type.
10. Secondary school attended. Qualifications obtained.
11. Additional educational establishments attended. Qualifications.
12. Parents attitude to taking a career in soccer.
13. How much and what school teachers were responsible for your playing career in soccer

Core Theme 2 : Playing career.

1. Youth Club.
2. Apprentice Club.
3. Clubs played for.
4. Number of years in the game.
5. What was the highest position you took at the club.
6. International experiences.
7. What experiences or people had most influenced your decision to go into coaching, management.
8. What barriers have you experienced whilst playing in terms of moving into this area.
9. How are the experiences for black and white players different.

Core Theme 3 : Transition into coaching and management.

1. What experiences from home and school influenced your decision to move into this area.
2. What particular area are you interested in.
3. What particular networks would you use to help you move into this area.
4. What training or courses have you taken to prepare you for this move, and how helpful have they been.
5. In what ways have the following institution supported you in your chosen career.
 - Professional Football Association.
 - Football Association.
 - Other.
6. What personal changes do you feel you need to make to make this transition.
7. What changes do the structures in soccer need to make to enable you to reach your targets.
8. What are your personal goals to achieve your ambition to move into your chosen area
9. How far does racism play a role in these processes.

Stage Two. Feedback.

1. Present position.
2. Feedback on goals.
3. Course undertaken in the last 6 months.
4. How useful have they been in achieving your personal goals.
5. What additional courses do you feel you should have applied for.
6. What jobs or positions have you applied for in the last period.
7. What were your experiences of this process.
8. What has been the outcome of the applications.
9. What kinds of networks have you built up during this time.
10. How useful have they been in getting you access into your chosen area of work. Please give examples.
11. What kinds of rejections have your experienced in the last period and what were the main causes.

12. In what ways has the experiences in the last 6 months changed your
 - Personality.
 - Attitude to coaching and management.
 - Organisational support from the PFA/FA.
13. How much do you feel your experiences are specific.
 - To you as an individual.
 - To you as a black player.
 - To you as a white players.
14. How you considered any alternatives to your chose career.
15. What are personal goals for the next 6 months.

Stage Three. General reflections.

1. How effective has you're home and school experiences been in assisting you this period to move into your chosen area.
2. What particular parts of your playing experiences have been helpful in these areas.
3. How useful has the courses and training you have taken up been in this period.
4. How important has networking been in this area.
5. In what ways has the Professional Footballers Association been in helping you break down barriers to progress into your chosen area.
6. In what areas has the Football Association and other bodies been in helping you in this process.
7. Are there any personal, cultural or social changes you could have made to help you to succeed.
8. How helpful has your planning been in this period in helping your move into your chosen area.
9. What types of cultural changes and forms of racism have you experienced.
10. What types of changes are needed in support systems and the organisation of soccer for you to progress further.

Section Four.

Subject: Observation/Participant observation of coaching course.

Core and Themes.

1. How far does the cultural environment of the coaching qualification, particularly the new generation of courses reflect the cultural experiences of the occupants in terms of language, practice and social customs.
2. How far are black coaches prepared for the course, especially from the first step to obtaining a coaching qualifications.
3. How far are forms of exclusions embodied in performance.

Method.

1. Record culture in motion by observing and participating in a variety of coaching courses.
2. To record language, relationships, performances and outstanding racialised interactions and events.

Process to observe.

1. The coaching relationship as a racialised process, via verbal and non-verbal associations.
2. The process of assessment as a racialised process.
3. Comparison between the performances of black and white course members, with particular relevance to the cultural setting of the course.
4. Significant events of gender and race formation of networks.

Locations.

- The coaching field.
- The class room
- The bar.

Sample of coaching course observed.

Types of courses observed.	Numbers.
Preliminary Football coaching course.	15
Prep Football Course.	15
Full License course.	5
Junior Team Managers Course.	8
Football Certificate UEFA B part one	8
Football License. UEFA B parts two.	2
UEFA A.	2

Sample of coaching course participated in.

Types of course participated in.	Numbers
Full License.	2
UEFA A conversion	1
Managers and coaches course.	1

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