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Urban Outcasts, Disposable Bodies, and Embodied Research in a Western Canadian "Arriviste" City

Jordan Koch[1], Jay Scherer[1], and Nicholas L. Holt[1]

Abstract

In this article, we follow the recent calls of "sport and physical cultural studies" scholars to revisit the significance of the embodied research process and, in particular, the lived social body of the qualitative researcher. Between 2011 and 2013, we conducted a critical ethnography of the experiences of less affluent (and often homeless) young men at publicly subsidized weekly floor hockey games in the basement of a psychiatric hospital in Edmonton, Alberta. Our analysis focuses on three vignettes drawn from detailed field notes and ongoing interviews to reveal the researchers' embodied investments in race, gender, and class politics; our coming to terms with these investments as they intersected, and clashed, with the bodies and agendas of the city's "urban outcasts"; and, finally, the importance of interpreting these experiences with sensitivity to the context and community within which we, as critical ethnographers, coexist and, through our words and actions, help to (re)create.

Keywords

sport and physical cultural studies, urban inequality and polarization, critical ethnography

> *O my body, make of me always a man who questions!*
>
> —Frantz Fanon, Black Skin, White Masks

Introduction

In his seminal text *Black Skin, White Masks*, Frantz Fanon (1967) described a strong personal investment, and indeed fixation, with the cultural production of racial difference as inscribed upon, and manifested through, his body. "I am the slave," he wrote, "not of the 'idea' that others have of me but of my own appearance." I am "fixed" by it (p. 116). Fanon's meditations on the corporeal nature of both oppression and resistance that he analyzed while working as a psychiatrist during the Algerian Revolution, along with the work of Pierre Bourdieu (1988), Michel Foucault (1991, 2008), Stuart Hall (1997), among many others, have radically expanded our understandings about the complex, dialectical location of the *physical body* in relation to systems of power in modernity. Similarly, the sociologist Loïc Wacquant (2004) invited us to remember that,

> . . . the social agent is before anything else a being of flesh, nerves, and senses (in the twofold meaning of sensual and signifying) . . . who partakes of the universe that makes him, and that he in turn contributes to making, with every fiber of his body and his heart. (p. vii)

The broad turn to the body in western social thought in the late 20th century was widely embraced by many scholars in the sociology of sport community (Cole, 1994; Hargreaves, 1986; J. Harvey & Sparks, 1991; Ingham, 1997; Vertinsky, 1994; Vertinsky & Bale, 2004). The most recent research in what has been coined "Sport and Physical Cultural Studies" (SPCS) has further enhanced understandings about the body as a key site and manifestation of various social and political relations (Andrews, 2008; Andrews & Silk, 2011; Atkinson, Delamont, & Housley, 2008; Giardina & Newman, 2011a, 2011b). Central to this latter scholarship has been a critical focus on the body as a *relational* entity; emphasizing its biopolitical[1] duality in a sea of power relations that define it and through which the acting agent defines itself and its surroundings; a thinking, feeling, *living* entity that is constituted by/and constitutive of the bundles of social relations it inhabits and relates itself to, with, and against.

Underscoring all of these developments has been a renewed dialogue about the body of the politicized researcher and an overarching commitment to issues of social justice (Madison, 2012; Silk & Andrews, 2011). In tune with the longstanding phenomenological emphasis on the body in Marxist, feminist, anticolonial, and queer

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[1]University of Alberta, Edmonton, Canada

Corresponding Author:
Jordan Koch, Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation, University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada.
Email: jrkoch@ualberta.ca

studies (Hardt & Negri, 2009), SPCS scholars have called for increased attention to the role(s) played by the researching body in relation to his or her "object of study," blurring the lines of differentiation to which these categories traditionally make reference. As Michael Giardina and Josh Newman (2011b) extolled,

> [A]ny discussion concerning the imperatives of, and for, Physical Cultural Studies starts (and perhaps ends) along the articulatory axes of *politics* and *practice*; and, more specifically, the *body*—of the researcher and researched alike—as locus of politics and praxis. (p. 37)

Inspired by these broad sociological currents, we turn our attention in this article to the lived social body of the qualitative ethnographer—his physical being, sensatory systems, raw emotions, and subjectivity that, despite conscious intention(s), remained overdetermined by various social relations and historical forces over the course of a three-year ethnographic study based out of a "harm reduction center" (HRC) in downtown Edmonton, Canada. Between 2010 and 2013, the lead author (Jordan) was immersed within a community of less affluent (often homeless) young men who frequented the HRC regularly. Importantly, these men are on average between the ages of 16 and 40 and, at this crucial life stage, have outgrown the direct protection of Child Welfare services (i.e., the state). As adults, they have been left largely to fend for themselves while relying on the support of a range of shelters and other charitable/nonprofit services.

The initial focus of our research project was to explore the vast range of physical experiences, social meanings, and human relations forged by these young men as they played and moved their bodies in a weekly floor hockey game run as an "outreach" program hosted in the basement of a psychiatric hospital in northeastern Edmonton (see Holt, Scherer, & Koch, 2013). We were especially interested in examining the use of sport as a "corrective" technology for a range of social issues (e.g., drug use, homelessness, violence) in a neoliberal[2] urban environment where unprecedented levels of social and economic inequality have contributed to the widespread alienation and the radical expansion of "disposable bodies" (Giroux, 2012) of young Canadian men (Parkland Institute, 2012).

Not long after the commencement of this ethnography, however, did we discover the full biopolitical force of the embodied research practice (and its inevitable power relations) through a host of palpable expressions and distinctions generated and communicated through the researcher's body—understood as a "tool of inquiry and vector of knowledge," to borrow again from Wacquant (2004). These included important embodied distinctions and similarities relative to the intersections of race, gender, age, class, sexuality, and the positioning of individual bodies within various social structures. All of these issues, we will suggest, call attention to the sociopolitical implications enshrined in our *physical beings* and, more generally, raise important questions about a qualitative research process that, while filled with tensions and contradictions, aims to make a specific contribution to the advocacy of social justice with respect to marginalized and vulnerable communities.

In what follows, we analyze three vignettes drawn from detailed ethnographic field notes and ongoing interviews to reveal the *physical researching body* as an active biopolitical manifestation of the various social and political relations in which it is dialectically ensnared. Our central purpose is to examine how the researcher's performative body enabled and constrained the research process and ultimately challenged our own taken-for-granted, embodied sensibilities as Euro-Canadian, middle-class, and physically active male scholars engaged in this type of politicized critical ethnography.[3] In so doing, however, we expose the messy and, at times, unanticipated pressures between the "intersectionality" (Brah, 1996) of our personal investments in race, gender, and class relations as manifested in the specific context of "inner city" Edmonton; our coming to terms with these investments as they intersected and clashed with the bodies and agendas of the city's "urban outcasts"; and finally, the importance of ethically interpreting and, indeed, writing about these experiences with sensitivity to the sociological inclination toward "Othering" (Krumer-Nevo, 2012) an already deeply stigmatized community. As we shall see, this latter point was of particular significance with respect to the collision(s) between our own embodied political convictions (and our solidarity with a number of movements, for example, *Occupy, Idle No More*) and the competing beliefs and values that were embraced by many of the young men in the inner city as matters of common sense.

Edmonton's "Inner City" and the Ethnographic Setting

In his insightful book *Planet of Slums*, Davis (2006) outlined the wide-ranging impacts of urbanization and population growth that are occurring against the backdrop of economic globalization in the new millennium. "The price of this new urban order," Davis (2006) suggested, "will be increasing inequality within and between cities of different sizes and economic specializations" (p. 7). A corollary of these developments and the ascendance of neoliberalism as a "whole way of life" has been the radical expansion of a host of economic and social inequalities around the world. Indeed, the increased polarization of cities as diverse as Mumbai, Paris, and Los Angeles—each with significant levels of poverty clustered in particular urban areas and enclaves—has incited Wacquant (2008, p. 2) to argue that:

"We must work to develop more complex and more differentiated pictures of the 'wretched of the city' if we wish accurately to capture their social predicament and elucidate their collective fate in different national contexts." To these sentiments, we would add a more overt political agenda aligned with collective biopolitical struggles that are no longer limited to the factory and other industrial settings but have spread throughout the geographies of the metropolis—the primary locus and social territory of biopolitical production (Hardt & Negri, 2009, p. 244).

While not a poor country by any stretch of the imagination, Canada has not been immune to similar dynamics and pressures. Across the country, Canadian cities have sought to signal their cosmopolitan status and secure their rank atop national and global urban hierarchies via engagement in aggressive entrepreneurial approaches and forms of governance (see D. Harvey, 1987) as a means to attract new investment (public and private) and the mobile professionals of Richard Florida's (2002) "creative class." In the new millennium, for example, cities like Edmonton (the provincial capital of Alberta), which have long been considered to be on the periphery in Canada, have experienced substantial growth while other urban centers have, of course, declined (Hiller, 2007; Whitson, 2004). As a result of the nation's shifting political economy, central Canadian manufacturing industries have found themselves in crisis while, in contrast, Alberta and its rich fossil fuel industry has boomed. While still less socially and culturally dominant than existing megacities like Toronto or Montreal, cities like Edmonton and Calgary are now seen as breaking out of their regional and hinterland roles and asserting greater influence in the national political arena (Hiller, 2007).

In Edmonton, for example, the city has seen an influx of workers—predominantly young men from across Canada but also migrants from around the world—seeking employment in the extensive oil and gas industry/reserves of northern Alberta (Hiller, 2007). For the urban sociologist Harry Hiller (2007), these developments signal the ascendance of Edmonton and Calgary as "arriviste" urban centers that are "challenging the national urban system" (p. 56) and fueling an explosion of population and wealth. However, while Edmonton is now more ambitious, affluent, and outward looking than ever before (Whitson & Macintosh, 1993), levels of social inequality have also expanded (Scherer & Davidson, 2011). Poverty and homelessness grew significantly in the mid-2000s, and exploding housing prices and rental rates stretched the limits of the city's working poor, with one in four youths reported to be living in low-income families (Lorinc, 2006).

Despite a stated political commitment to "End Homelessness" by 2019, as of October 2012 (i.e., the most recent count), there were over 2,000 homeless in Edmonton (Edmonton Homeless Commission, 2013). Complicating the tenability of this commitment, moreover, has been the legacy of Alberta Premier Ralph Klein and his neoliberal conservative regime of the 1990s. During his tenure as Premier, Klein systematically retrenched and reorganized provincial funding for a variety of social service provisions, seriously compromising public support for those on social assistance, all while social justice issues practically disappeared from the popular agenda (Brownsey, 2005). Since 1993, political life in Alberta has been effectively "hollowed" (Brownsey, 2005) while a neoliberal program of economic deregulation, privatization, fiscal austerity, and democratic downsizing has been successfully sold to a reasonably compliant Alberta electorate as a matter of common sense (Soron, 2005).

The deep-seeded racialization of poverty in Edmonton is reflected in the fact that approximately 70% of membership at the HRC is of Aboriginal ancestry. These issues and pressures underscore the complex legacy, and ongoing sociocultural and economic-political manifestations, of colonialism in Canada—and Alberta specifically—and the categorical failure of successive levels of Canadian government to reconcile the long-standing social issues associated with these processes. These levels of inequality are, of course, further reflective of Edmonton's unique geography and associated demographic trends, such as its Census Metropolitan Area (CMA) having the second largest urban Aboriginal population out of all Canadian cities (approx. 5.1% of Edmontonians are of Aboriginal ancestry)—second only to Winnipeg, Manitoba (approx. 10%)—and the largest urban Métis community in the country (Aboriginal Peoples Highlight Tables, 2006).

The HRC, the social hub of our critical ethnography, is a not-for-profit facility whose tenants consist of a range of publically funded organizations that, together, collaborate to provide support for people with multiple barriers to community inclusion. Located in the heart of Edmonton's gentrifying downtown core,[4] the HRC is in proximity to a number of public outreach facilities, office towers, city hall, a public library, a public square and ice-skating rink, a major shopping center, and a casino. This urban space occupies a key territorial stake for a wide variety of Edmontonians from a range of class backgrounds precisely because all of these services and amenities are readily accessible via public transit. However, this corporeal mixture grows gradually more uniform in appearance near the HRC as the density of "corporate," white-collared bodies dissipates and is replaced by a higher concentration of homeless and the working poor who regularly bear a wide range of physical and mental wounds of class (Sennett & Cobb, 1972) including black and sullen eyes, unkempt hair or makeup, tattered and damaged clothing, wounded limbs, and so on. The symbolic quarantining of this "disposable population"—that is, the unrecognized and underappreciated "reserve army of unemployed labor" power (Giroux, 2009, p. 9)—in Edmonton is amplified by the clear and regular presence of police officers and vehicles patrolling the HRC and its surrounding areas, thus providing a strikingly powerful visual reminder of the neoliberal state's desired and problematic relationship with residents of this community.

Of significance to this article is the sheer number of young *men* who circulate in this specific "inner city" space. Administrators at the HRC have observed that the City of Edmonton provides a wider range of female-centered social services as a means to protect its more "vulnerable" citizens, especially for those women who are pregnant or with small children (Holt et al., 2013). A lopsided ratio of female-to-male service workers in Edmonton's social work industry (and at the HRC in particular) also means that many less affluent and homeless young men lack male role models (Wesley, personal communication, June 2013). Moreover, low wages combined with a high-stress work environment contributes to high levels of staff burnout and an excessive turnover of employees working at the HRC, and in the social service industry more generally (Holt et al., 2009; Holt et al., 2013). Together, these factors along with the recoiling of the welfare state have essentially robbed the "inner city" of the human and economic capital needed to run and sustain long-term social programming for young men, including sport and recreation services.[5]

Despite these barriers, though, since 1996, a weekly floor hockey game organized by Wesley (a pseudonym)—a social worker based out of the HRC for nearly two decades and the key gatekeeper for this study—has remained a fixture and reprieve for a group[6] of less affluent and periodically homeless young men in downtown Edmonton. Following Goffman (1961), we conceptualized the floor hockey games as a unique social entity, part of an "instrumental formal organization" defined as "a system of purposely coordinated activities designed to produce some over-all explicit ends" (p. 175). Indeed, social workers first described "Friday hockey" as a rational technology through which an "at risk" population could regularly interact with social workers and benefit from exercises, or primary adjustments (Goffman, 1961), in "controlled aggression" and improved health and hygiene practices via the provision of regular exercise and a postgame shower (Holt et al., 2013).

Between 2011 and 2013, Jordan served as a "participant observer"[7] at these weekly floor hockey games, rigorously ascribing to a nightly routine of writing field notes reflecting upon his experiences.[8] Jordan not only regularly attended *and participated in* the weekly floor hockey matches, he also traveled with the young men to the weekly games from the HRC in a communal van subsidized by the province and driven by Wesley. Crucially, as part of the accepted standards of welfare for the group, all participants had to be sober to enter the van and play in the match.[9]

After collecting the men from various social service facilities and public housing units, the van would then travel to a nearby psychiatric hospital where players were provided with clean T-shirts, shorts, running shoes, socks, and a plastic-bladed hockey stick. In addition, locks, lockers, towels, and shampoo were also provided as part of the overall standards of welfare for the group. Other men (and occasionally women) from various public outreach facilities also attended the games on a quasi-regular basis. Over the course of the next hour or so, participants would compete in a semicompetitive and, at times, physical game of floor hockey. While enthusiastic celebrations followed almost every goal and players habitually slapped hands, bumped fists, and congratulated each other on "nice plays," scores were rarely kept, with the exception of players tallying their own individual points (goals and assists). These lauded moments were then strategically inserted into postgame banter as "bragging rights" for all to celebrate. However, at no point was an individuals' poor performance ever called out in a manner that was anything other than lighthearted. Importantly, the social worker, Wesley, served as the player-coach, mentor, and referee, ensuring that team parity, players' safety, and a generally relaxed, respectful, and fun atmosphere was maintained at all times. All of the men consented to these "joint values" with a level of emotional commitment and enthusiasm that bound them individually to the broader group/instrumental formal organization. Still, the hockey matches need to be understood as a "free place" (Goffman, 1961) in a psychiatric hospital—"a space ruled by less than usual staff authority" (p. 228) in which "ordinary levels of surveillance and restriction were markedly reduced" (p. 230).

On the sidelines, a wide variety of topics ranging from playing strategies, weekend plans, life histories and experiences, social troubles and "triumphs" (i.e., work, housing, addictions, and relationship related, etc.) informed an ongoing dialogue between participants, Wesley, and Jordan. The free-flowing nature of this dialogue and emotional support would continue throughout all phases of the pregame, game time, and postgame rituals, including the postgame communal showers and the van rides to and from the game. Indeed, the camaraderie nourished during all phases of the "game day" ritual enabled a unique type of relationship—especially between Wesley and the group of young men—that, in our experience, is difficult to establish in other, more conventional social work settings (Holt et al., 2013). While Wesley guided the game, he participated in these events as a *social equal* to the young men in a setting that was "backstage," to use Goffman's (1959) terms, to the usual performance of social worker- "at risk" youth relationships.

Jordan, a Euro Canadian male PhD student in his late 20s at the time of this fieldwork, had no training as a mental health or social worker. His training in the Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation and demonstrated athletic ability, however, translated into a valuable form of social capital with the players in attendance, and, as a result, Wesley gradually entrusted Jordan with certain organizational duties and social obligations, including making/dividing the teams and timekeeping. Like Wesley, Jordan's participation remained as a social equal to the young men.

Throughout these different periods of ethnographic interaction (at the center, around the center, in the van, at hockey, and at the hospital), though, Jordan's body and social dispositions incited a variety of abstractions among its "readers." The following pages provide critical analyses of three vignettes in which the abstractions derived from the *physical researching body* communicated important distinctions and similarities relative to the social position(s) of all involved in the qualitative research process. Finally, in a conscious attempt to avoid "Othering" these men, we reflect critically upon our research craft and attempt to re-present "the reality that is being written about in as much fullness and complexity as possible" (Krumer-Nevo, 2012, p. 196).

Cracked Teeth, Saving Face, and Sober Research

By the summer of 2011, Jordan had been "hanging out" at the HRC for several weeks when he was first introduced to a group of young men who played in the weekly floor hockey games. Jordan's initial physical presence at the floor hockey games was, most notably, greeted with confusion, curiosity, and skepticism from the floor hockey "regulars." It must be emphasized that, especially in the earliest phases of the research, Jordan made a conscious, performative effort to alter his body and physical appearance to blend in with the group in terms of adopting a particular aesthetic style that was part of his researching "line"—"a pattern of verbal and nonverbal acts by which he expresses his view of the situation and through this his evaluation of the participants, especially himself" (Goffman, 1967, p. 5). For example, to maintain "face"—"the positive social value a person effectively claims for himself by the line others assume he has taken during a particular context" (Goffman, 1967, p. 5)—Jordan deliberately wore old, baggy sweat pants, a baseball cap, and did not shave for several days to avoid appearing as an academic "outsider/Other." Despite his best dramaturgical efforts and "face-work" (Goffman, 1967, p. 5), though, it was Jordan's physical appearance and embodied dispositions that revealed a host of unforeseen tensions associated with his entry into this unfamiliar sport setting.

Consider the following performative dialogue between Jordan and Tony, one of the long-standing members of the floor hockey group.

> *Tony: Jordan! How is it that you never get angry when we play? You never seem uptight or anxious.*
> *Jordan: I don't know, man. I have never been one to get upset too easily, I guess.*
> *Tony: Do you drink?*
> *Jordan: Occasionally.*
> *Tony: So you're not an alcoholic. Do you smoke?*
> *Jordan: No, not really.*
> *Tony: And your teeth are way too fucking nice to be smoking crack, which is what I thought at first.*
> *Jordan: Thanks.*
> *Tony: You work?*
> *Jordan: Well yeah. I go to school. I'm working on my doctorate in Physical Education.*
> *Tony: Ho-lei! No wonder you score so often out there! So I guess you wanna be a gym teacher or something, eh?*
> *Jordan: Yeah, well, we'll see. Not many jobs out there in any field at the moment.*
> *Tony: Tell me about it (Laughter by all).*

It is clear from this excerpt that Jordan's body functioned as a key text and marker of his class status and his differential stake in this particular urban space. Indeed, despite his "face-work," his healthy and sober body was immediately and astutely recognized by the young men in this space as "out-of-sync" with their own genres of embodiment. As Tony noted, the pristine condition of Jordan's teeth (the result of a lifetime of taken for granted dental care and general good health) was simply incongruent with the standard of oral hygiene practiced by many of the other men, several of whom are heavy drug users and did not have consistent access to dental care or healthy food over the course of their lives. As a result, it was not uncommon for these young men to have stained, broken, and missing teeth and, as we shall see below, a host of other physical injuries and manifestations of ill health—all personal troubles that are inevitably connected to a host of public issues associated with social class. In fact, the condition of one's teeth emerged as a recurring theme in our fieldwork and, indeed, an issue of struggle for many of these men. That Jordan did not smoke, use drugs, or drink heavily and was, generally, healthy, pointed to an inescapable disconnect between Jordan's physical body and those of the other young men, many of whom bore several visible injuries of class.

As such, Jordan was "called out" in the early days of the study and "invited" to explain these key physical distinctions, a defining moment in the research process that ultimately would determine his acceptance and the nature of his relationship to the group. Jordan's embodied distinctions were further punctuated by the research team's collective decision to prohibit his consumption of alcohol in the company of the other men during his fieldwork and subsequent interviews—a decision that contrasted against those of recent ethnographies in sport studies where various subcultural analyses have, at times, encouraged a research culture of drinking (Joseph & Donnelly, 2012; Mair, 2009; Palmer, 2009, 2010; Silk, 2005). Despite being periodically invited "for drinks" and to "smoke up" after the floor hockey matches early on in the study, Jordan never once indulged these requests and opted instead to deflect invitations with a consistent “No thanks” or “I don’t drink much these days anyways, but thank you.” Unlike the aforementioned studies in which the consumption of alcohol was employed as a necessary strategy to develop rapport among research participants and collect data, the tenuous context of the HRC (i.e., the ethnographic “hub”) and the fact that several of the young men actively struggled with various addiction-related illnesses (e.g., several were diagnosed with Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder and others were flagrant about their drug/alcohol abuse and lifelong struggles with addictions), created a dilemma in which the ethical consumption of alcohol or other substances for research purposes was simply impossible to reconcile.[10] In fact, as an ethical commitment, Jordan consciously refrained from even telling an alcohol-related story as a means of expressing sensitivity to the few men who were, at the time, enrolled, or trying to enroll, in a drugs and alcohol detox program in downtown Edmonton. These conscious research decisions, however, inevitably shaped Jordan’s relationship to the field and exacerbated his bodily distinctions.

Despite these physical disjunctures, there were, however, several key performative elements and dialogues that lead to his gradual acceptance by the group and allowed Jordan to save "face” (Goffman, 1967, p. 5). First, as Tony noted, Jordan was identified and embraced by the young men along physical lines as a “gym teacher” and not as an abstract academic/sociologist. We believe that this perception of Jordan’s occupation was encouraged not only by Jordan’s age (late 20s), but also by his participation in the floor hockey matches and, importantly, the masculine capital of his gendered sporting body. Indeed, Jordan had played hockey throughout his own childhood and, as a result, was able to compete and consistently demonstrate a combination of skill, technical competency, and power in the floor hockey matches—these were embodied physical traits that were valued to some degree by the group of young men. Hence, these displays of physical skill, in combination with Jordan’s age and gender, worked to divert attention away from other aspects of his “positionality” (Madison, 2012, pp. 7-8), namely, the fact that he was an academic from a completely different class background. Instead, he was simply embraced as one of the guys and as a “prospective” gym teacher who, like the other young men, was also seeking future employment.

Still, many of the young men were acutely aware that Jordan’s taken-for-granted embodied middle-class dispositions (beyond the overt physical markers such as teeth) and style of play were vastly different from those that were embraced by the group. For example, Tony easily identified that Jordan’s upbeat and relaxed physical disposition and poise was incongruent with other physical cultural expressions in this space, most notably those characterized by more overt displays of physicality and sometimes anger. Jordan’s unconscious “indifference,” of course, signaled that he did not “take the game too seriously” as many of the other young men habitually did, especially in terms of more overt displays of physicality (not to be confused with violence) and the instrumental uses of their bodies in the weekly games. To be clear, none of these men had delusions of grandeur or were motivated to participate in the weekly floor hockey matches purely for reasons of social mobility; nor were they there to simply dominate others. They were, however, keenly interested in using their bodies to publicly stake their claims to a particular masculine habitus that, at times, necessitates displays of both skill and force (see Connell, 1984).

Finally, Jordan’s “relaxed” disposition was undoubtedly a product of the peace of mind that was afforded to him by the knowledge that he could return to his outsider middle-class lifestyle and the comforts of home, regular access to food, consistent access to other amenities, and the social capital of a stable and *safe family life*. All of these embodied differences were regularly on display; for example, all of the other men were regularly fatigued and aggravated by the various struggles that they endured in everyday living; for example, lining up for food, seeking out places to sleep, craving drugs and alcohol, and the sheer exhaustion caused by always having to be on guard in the inner city and, for some, having to use their bodies as weapons to achieve certain ends even if opposed by others. Thus, while Jordan’s attire and other distinctions could be more easily shed via his entrance into the HRC and interacting with these men as would any other new service user, other embodied markers of class and masculinity remained relatively “fixed” within and upon his body and thus prohibited his becoming “visibly invisible” (Newman, 2011, p. 552) in this space.

“You a Cop?” Taken-for-Granted (Body) Privileges

By the spring of 2013, Jordan had attended the weekly floor hockey matches for over two years and had developed a strong rapport with almost all of the regular players. Indeed, Jordan was often approached for advice on a variety of everyday issues ranging from relationships with women, employment, housing, the police, and, occasionally, dealings with addictions and drug dealers. Associated with these bourgeoning relations was a gradually normalized level of comfort in “inner city” spaces that contrasted against Jordan’s initial “fish out of water” experiences at the HRC. However, we later recognized that what was associated with this newfound sense of ease and comfort was a host of taken-for-granted privileges related to his physical appearance and embodied dispositions.

Consider the following excerpt between Jordan and Bruce, a 32-year-old Euro Canadian man struggling through poverty, homelessness, mental health, and addictions-related issues.

The exchange began on the April 5, 2013, post-hockey van ride and continued as the two young men walked through Edmonton's "inner city."

> *Bruce: Jordan, are you free to grab a quick coffee or something when we get back to the city?*
>
> *Jordan: Sure, man. Let's go somewhere near Churchill Station.*
>
> *Bruce: Umm, I'd rather not if that's cool. Let's get out of the van near Clareview.*
>
> *Jordan: I can't, dude. I've got to meet a buddy downtown at 5 p.m. Let's just go to the Horton's in City Center. The van takes us near there anyways. (The van arrives at HRC, and Bruce insists Jordan wait for him out front while he grabs some mail from inside).*
>
> *Bruce: Wait here, Jordan! Please! It's important. (A few minutes pass before Bruce busts through the HRC's double doors wearing a hooded sweatshirt pulled up over top of his head, urging Jordan to make haste).*
>
> *Bruce: Let's go, man. C'mon. We've gotta move, buddy.*
>
> *Jordan: What's up, man? Why are you acting so jittery?*
>
> *Bruce: I just don't feel safe around here anymore, Jordan. I can't be seen. (Jordan and Bruce walk quickly down the street. Bruce is noticeably agitated, scared, and takes frequent puffs off his cigarette to calm his nerves).*
>
> *Bruce: Remember last week when I told you about my debt? (Jordan nods) Well, I paid back that money. I thought I cleared it, man. The "fucking guy" pocketed it, eh? It's total bullshit! He said that I never paid! And now they're trying to extort more money from me, Jordan. It's bullshit!*
>
> *Jordan: Who are they?*
>
> *Bruce: Mercedes (a known drug-dealer). It's not her I'm worried about. It's the people she's got working for her, the enforcers. She's got eyes everywhere in this area, man, mostly Native eyes. And you know me, right? I'm a really friendly guy, so everybody knows me around here. If one person sees me, everybody sees me. I can't be seen near the HRC or north of 95th Street anymore. I'm safe when you're here with me, I think. That's why I need you beside me. Yeah, they are way less likely to "move" if they don't recognize the person I'm with, especially when the person I'm with looks like you.*
>
> *Jordan: What do you mean "looks like me"?*
>
> *Bruce: C'mon, man (sigh). I mean you and I are the same age and everything, but we don't exactly look the same, right? You've got a laptop bag over your shoulder, and I've got a knapsack filled with clothes. I wear rags, and your clothes are clean. You look like a worker, Jordan, a cop even. Yeah, everyone used to think you were a cop, you know that? I mean, you don't exactly "fit the profile" of the other (inner city) guys. Plus, I know that you can run pretty fast too, worst-case scenario (Laugh).*

This excerpt offers a powerful illustration of the body's role as a signifying force in Edmonton's "inner city." Jordan's "face" (his clothing and other apparel such as a laptop bag) once again contributed to his being "out-of-sync" with the bodies and appearances of other, similarly aged men in this space. Bruce astutely read these physical manifestations against the distinctive social context of Edmonton's "inner city" and, sensing disconnect, intuitively abstracted from Jordan's body a host of professions that would potentially explain and/or justify his presence as a visible Euro-Canadian minority in this urban environment. Indeed, the regularity with which Jordan's body was coded as a police officer, social worker, or doctor proved a recurring theme in our fieldwork and speaks directly to the *visibility* of whiteness in this particularly racialized urban setting.

The relative "indifference" with which Jordan's body was met by most members of the HRC signaled, among other things, its ambiguous stake in Edmonton's "inner city." Jordan (and his body) was interpreted more as a friendly and sympathetic "tourist" in this space than as a full-fledged community member. Indeed, the privilege of *visiting* the HRC and other social service facilities infrequently, *as Jordan pleased* (the privilege of both mobility and being able to "research"), was a luxury that was simply not afforded to Bruce and many other "inner city" dwellers. Unlike Jordan, most other members of "Friday hockey" remain comparatively immobile thanks to any number of social, economic, and other practical reasons. That Bruce's entire social network including his friends, family, and support workers (not to mention his lack of a private home) were based almost entirely out of this one particular corner of the city rendered it nearly impossible to avoid and essential to his survival. Evidence of this appeared in Bruce's rather impromptu decision to re-enter the HRC simply to gather mail and spend time with Jordan, a decision that occurred *in spite* of his keen awareness that a potentially violent assault could descend upon his body at any given moment.

Finally, the contextually specific implications associated with Jordan's "body" underscored several embodied power relations associated with class, race, gender, and age politics in Edmonton's inner city. According to Bruce, Jordan's body sent powerful messages to any potential assailants that he, and by extension any*body* with him, were not to be physically harmed in any way. Reading deeper into this message, Jordan's body was afforded a sense of relative privilege that more or less insulated him from the threats of violence to which Bruce, and presumably other less affluent and periodically homeless young men in this context, were more readily exposed. The substance of this corporeal message was so manifestly obvious and powerful to Bruce, moreover, that he was ultimately willing to stake his own life and personal safety upon what he felt Jordan's body communicated. As Bruce acknowledged, the nature of this embodied privilege hinged upon the assumption that a more rigorous criminal investigation and related punishment would inevitably result if Jordan's (white, middle-class, masculine) body were physically harmed in this urban setting:

> Um yeah you, you just . . . it's like yeah there'd probably be repercussions [if something happened to you] because you just naturally give that, off that aura. And when people see you, he's a cop and they'll be on the phone, blah, blah, we have a possible uh rat here, right? (personal communication, April 12, 2013)

Bruce's insight was confirmed on several occasions when "inner city" men habitually greeted Jordan with a polite "Hello officer" or with the question: "You a cop?"

Such an embodied state of safety was not lost on Jordan when he reflected on his initial hesitations and fear of entering this "Other" urban setting and the early dramaturgical efforts he actively undertook to "blend in" with the community and to save "face." Jordan's body (his skin, gender, teeth, attire, etc.) was "read" as being associated with a higher rank of class and associated state protection than that afforded Bruce and, presumably, the other young men and women of Edmonton's inner city. Ironically, the sheer visibility of the very distinctions that Jordan sought to shed was what contributed to his relative safety and privilege in this space, a powerful reminder that "[e]mbodiment is never neutral" (Hargreaves & Vertinsky, 2007, p. 10). Ingeniously, and for his own protection, Bruce sought to manipulate and exploit the privilege afforded to Jordan's body and "outsider" status to suit his own needs (see Fine, Weis, Weseen, & Wong, 2003). The depth of our initial blindness to Jordan's embodied privileges, however—indeed *the luxury of being blind to our body's privileges*—raises important questions about the politics of (in)visibility within various cultural boundaries and social milieus. On this latter note, we can't help but wonder, "Had Jordan *not* identified within the boundaries of a White, middle-class, masculine normativity (i.e., an 'outsider'), how would these and other interactions have been different?"[11] Still, while Jordan's *physical differences* illuminated a range of alignments and strategic corporeal compromises, other embodied political distinctions provided, at least initially, a more significant challenge to understanding the "connectedness between people who are simultaneously similar and different" (Krumer-Nevo, 2012, p. 200).

Embodied Politics?

On the August 17, 2012, van ride to Friday hockey, Jordan sat next to Baxter, an Aboriginal man in his early 30s from northern Saskatchewan. Upon Baxter's face and neck were a number of fresh bruises, scrapes, and other marks that suggested he had been involved in a recent physical altercation. Indeed, the injuries were sufficiently gruesome to compel at least one man in the van to inquire about their origins, if only as a matter of concern for Baxter's well-being. Baxter responded by describing in detail a recent assault that he had endured.

> *Baxter: For no reason whatsoever, man, a bunch of young punks started following me in their car. I could feel them following me, man. I was walking with my backpack, and this group of White kids jumped out of their van and started pushing me and then hitting me with a bat . . . It was probably 3 a.m. or so. The bars had all closed down, so that's how I know. I don't know, man. I'm guessing it was probably a "bash-a-bum" kinda thing 'cause they never took my bag or nothing. I never lost consciousness, but I was left pretty concussed from the attack. My bell was rung, that's for sure. (Laugh). An ambulance came and brought me to the hospital. I don't know who called it. I'm OK. I'm OK. The thing was the cops weren't going to let me go unless I gave them my address, which, of course, I don't have one in the city. I had to explain to them that I didn't have one. And no way in hell was I going to tell them where my hiding spot was neither! They'd pinch me down the road for sure! I know it! I got a great spot! It took a lot of convincing them before they let me go. And then I still had to make my way back to my hiding spot!*

On the van ride back to the city, Baxter again sat next to Jordan. Baxter's demeanor and overall body language, however, was much more open and relaxed than it had been prior to the game. In between rounds of "hockey talk," Baxter stoically shared with Jordan some other stories from his personal life that illuminated a life of poverty, violence, and unstable familial relationships—all themes commonly encountered over the course of Jordan's fieldwork. To Jordan's surprise, though, the conversation shifted to recent matters of public policy.

> **B***axter: You hear about that new law they want to try here in Alberta?*
> *Jordan: What law is that?*
> *Baxter: It's based on something in the US, I think. The basic idea is that people who are on social assistance will be forced to take randomized drug and alcohol testing in order to keep getting their handouts. If they test positive (Baxter makes a cutting gesture with his hands), they're done! Cut off from welfare for at least one year!*
> *Jordan: Yowza! I haven't heard about that.*
> *Baxter: Serves them right, eh?*
> *Jordan: Who?*

> *Baxter: Abusers, that's who. Welfare is meant to help people get back on their feet, buy groceries, diapers for their kids, shit like that. It's not for booze, crack, weed, and crack (Baxter's voice rises). Ain't no way people should be buying that shit on taxpayer dollars. Ain't no way! Welfare ain't there for that shit! If they've got money for that shit, then they've got mo*ney for all those other things. That's how I see it.

Baxter's strong public condemnation of "abusers" (of both illicit substances and, more significantly, the state) and his passionate endorsement of several neoliberal and neoconservative ideological positions immediately caught Jordan off-guard. There was, for example, a decisive disjuncture between Baxter's beliefs in these viewpoints and the simple fact that he was traveling to and from a subsidized (free) recreation event in a publicly owned van with a group of men on social assistance, many of whom are addicts living in heavily subsidized group homes. Still, Jordan took the opportunity to further engage Baxter's subjective ideas:

> *Jordan: I don't know, man. Do you not think that cutting people off social assistance might push people even further into more vulnerable situations? I mean, if they can't feed themselves or their addictions . . . that could push abusers even further toward a lifestyle of crime and aggression. Do you know what I'm saying?*
>
> *Baxter: Well, they should build more prisons then! Taxpayer dollars aren't there for peoples' addictions, Jordan! (Several men in van nodding in full agreement with Baxter)*
>
> *Jordan: I hear yah, dude, but don't you think that building prisons will simply cost more money to taxpayers than will welfare or social assistance programming? I mean, you and I both pay taxes, right? I'd rather see more money put into alternative measures, like intervention programs, detox programs, social programming, you know? Programs that more actively help to get people back on their feet.*
>
> *Baxter: That's the thing, Jordan. People gotta get out of this mind-set that they're owed something. They need to look out for themselves and stop waiting for someone else to solve their problems. Always having to depend on people that's the bullshit of it all!*

Notably, at the time of the discussion in the van, the federal Conservative government in Canada had enthusiastically endorsed plans to radically expand existing prison facilities across the country, allocating millions of public funds toward the incarceration of thousands of men and women despite well-publicized decreases in federal crime levels (The Canadian Press, 2012). Baxter's unwavering consent for a conservative political project as "common sense" thus raised a number of questions surrounding the relationships between the state and the "inner city," and the *embodied* political viewpoints that many of the less affluent young men have come to understand as natural. Why, for example, did such a deeply neoconservative political agenda articulate so fluidly with the conscious ideals of many of these "urban outcasts"? And, crucially, why did Jordan (and the other members of the research team) take for granted, and even expect, that these young men would be committed to an alternative political agenda and issues of social justice aligned with their own politicized qualitative research process (see Fine et al., 2003)?

We believe it is far too simple to suggest that Baxter and many of the other young men are merely cultural dupes of an "official" political agenda and/or passive receptors of neoliberal/neoconservative ideologies, even if they at first appear to have embraced much of these messages. A more contextually nuanced and, indeed, historically sensitive interpretation of these issues would suggest that Baxter and many of the other young men have *internalized* a politics of survival and a rugged, masculine individualism that, over the course of their lives, has sustained their bodies in Edmonton's downtown core, and that these experiences and beliefs articulate fluidly with a depoliticized discourse of personal responsibility in the neoliberal era. If "social reality exists, so to speak, twice, in things and in minds, in fields and in habitus, outside and inside of agents" (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 127), then Baxter's cultural world—a world of physical violence, family instability, poverty, systemic racism, mistrust of the state and public officials (especially the police and paramedics)—has *encouraged* his embodiment of a politics of self-reliance and individualism. His bodily "hexis" (Bourdieu, 1977, 1984, 1990), in other words, has been socialized via its habitual exposure to unstable and disappointing human relations and a lifetime of vulnerability. Indeed, the fresh bruises on Baxter's face and neck provided a strikingly physical reminder to *all* of the men in the van that they, and their "disposable" bodies, are left *on their own* to fend against the hardships of everyday life on the divided streets of Canada's neoliberal cities.

Young men like Baxter, we want to suggest, have quite literally been socialized from decades of simply trying to survive on the streets (let alone in a deeply conservative province in which social services and their outreach workers come and go at an alarming and erratic rate). An important part of these long-term processes of socialization, moreover, has been a personal investment in the rubric of equality and advancement through merit; an understanding that with hard work they, too, will eventually climb up the social ladder without public assistance. The tantalizing possibility of real upward mobility appears to be within Baxter's grasp, even if it is a future of manual labor and the "free" sale of his labor power. As part of an embodied homology, moreover, Baxter has learned how to creatively "work the system" (Goffman, 1961) in the underworld of Edmonton's inner city, and his sense of self has emerged over the years in direct opposition to various public authorities and, indeed, the public sector in general. Baxter's political claims, therefore, are better understood as an active negotiation of those historical conditions (i.e., a dominant discourse of personal responsibility), and his own palpable desire to shed the devastating stigmas of being unemployed and homeless *on his own terms*. Moreover, after years of exposure to social disappointment via erratic relationships with family members and the state, many of these men are, understandably, heavily invested in the belief that they can stand on their own two feet as "normal," functioning citizens. In many ways, then, Baxter's public claims must also be understood as a psychological defense strategy and a way of insulating and empowering his body as distinct from "Others" who are *perceived* as lazy, depend on social assistance, and may never escape the brutal cycles of poverty and addiction.

This type of ideological disjuncture may raise some concerns for SPCS scholars who make their own claims for progressive political action (with a wide range of constituents) in academic work that is often saturated with revolutionary language. It is almost taken for granted in these intellectual "call to arms" that members from across the social structure, especially the most vulnerable in society, will embrace, or share in, similar political agendas, outlooks, and positionalities. Yet, in his article in *Socialist Register*, Casanova (2002) has persuasively argued that it remains a significant mistake in Marxist theory to view workers as victims or, conversely, to idealize and romanticize them as "inherently revolutionary, rather than as negotiators who have been embroiled in the class contradictions that generate change within capitalism" (p. 267). We want to follow Casanova and suggest that any research project that does not account for—and come to terms with—a wide range of "negotiated contradictions" not unlike those addressed by Paul Willis (1977) in his seminal book, *Learning to Labor*, will struggle to grasp what is happening in the hearts and minds of today's youths and "ordinary," working people, let alone those on social assistance, and ultimately risk further "Othering" the very individuals and groups that, through their advocacy, they are seeking to help (Fine et al., 2003; Madison, 2012).

In our case, there was, perhaps unsurprisingly, a noticeable absence of political language that many on the Left would identify and applaud as progressive, and there was certainly no outspoken discussion of socialist ideals or revolutionary values that many would hope to be at the forefront of "working class consciousness." Instead, the range of political conclusions that many of these young men have internalized (from across the political spectrum) in relation to various issues have been reached via an entirely different means of socialization than most members of the academy have even contemplated let alone experienced given their location in a broader class structure. This is a location that is, of course, the result of an accumulation of privilege and ease of access to various forms of capital (e.g., economic, social, and cultural) in contrast to a lifetime of very different material struggles and the embodied disposition of being denied these luxuries. Again, in this very real sense, it is crucial not to "Other" those in marginalized communities (by victimizing or framing them in relation to our own political ambitions and positionalities) but, instead, to underscore the *complexity* of social relations, the similarities and common bonds that we all share, and the contradictions and tensions that *each of us embody* as we internalize and resist various power relations at different stages of our lives.

Concluding Remarks

In this article, we have provided a critical analysis of the embodied research practices associated with a three-year ethnographic study of a sport and recreation program based out of an HRC in the downtown core of a divided Western Canadian city. In so doing, we have focused our attention on the role(s) of the researching body throughout a project that sought to contribute to the advocacy of social change with respect to a specific community of "disposable" young men. As we have seen, though, the research process is replete with tensions and contradictions, not least because of the embodied distinctions (and similarities) between the researcher and the researched. All of these issues have served as important reminders for SPCS scholars to fully consider the power relations etched in the bodies of the researcher and researched alike throughout the duration of the research process along the articulatory axes of *politics* and *practice* (Giardina & Newman, 2011b).

In a final analysis that seeks to complicate the "discourse of difference" inherent in the "Othering" process, we want to emphasize the proximity of *all Canadians* to the sociological conditions outlined above. Amid a context of growing inequality and social and economic instability, the shrinking of the public sector (its institutions and human resources in the social service sector in particular) ought to serve as a powerful reminder that *all* individuals are but a few small steps away from potential homelessness and its associated struggles. Indeed, depending on our employment circumstances, social and family relationships, addictions issues, and mental health concerns—all of which are interrelated and intertwined within larger structures of power—the relative comfort enjoyed by most Canadians should not be taken for granted as "fixed" or secure, especially in a society that has increasingly discarded the public means to deal with these issues.

Still, it may also be worth mentioning some of the other "uses" of this research that point to some of the more modest political possibilities and advocacy services that scholars can provide as public intellectuals outside of the ivory tower. First, Jordan was, essentially, able to work as an additional staff member to assist Wesley in running the weekly floor hockey matches for over three years, and his labor provided significant aid that allowed this underfunded weekly program to continue to function (personal communication, April 12, 2013). Second, other aspects of this research (Holt et al., 2013) have been deployed by the social worker, Wesley, to provide government officials with "evidence" of the impact and importance of the weekly floor hockey program in the lives of these young men (especially as a popular site to introduce them to a range of broader social and psychological services). Indeed, this "evidence" allowed Wesley to secure funding from the province to allow the program to continue, at least in the short term (personal communication, April 12, 2013). It is in this very real material sense, then, that this advocacy research and its subsequent "knowledge translation" has worked to support the continuation of much-needed social services for the most vulnerable members of our increasingly polarized communities.

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Notes

1. While biopolitics generally refers to the increasingly rationalized, scientific, and medical governance of life and life processes, here we follow Hardt and Negri (2009) who suggested a terminological distinction "between biopower and biopolitics, whereby the former could be defined (rather crudely) as the power over life and the latter as the power of life to resist and determine an alternative production of subjectivity" (p. 57).
2. Following Brown (2006), we understand neoliberalism as an achieved and normative political rationality that involves a specific organization of the social, the subject, and the state according to market criteria. Included here is the development of numerous policies that produce citizens as individual consumers and entrepreneurs whose "moral autonomy is measured by their capacity for 'self-care'" including "their ability to provide for their own needs and service their own ambitions" (Brown, 2006, p. 694).
3. While Jordan alone carried out the fieldwork, all three authors met regularly to analyze and interpret the various themes that emerged from his field notes. This created a productive dialogue that nourished expansion upon emergent themes in the field and helped to shed a critical light upon a variety of "hidden" themes that, without consistent probing and debriefing from the other two authors, may have gone unnoticed. Ongoing exposure to probing/debriefing questions, moreover, enhanced the writing process as it forced careful elucidation of Jordan's embodied research experiences with sensitivity to each author's unique backgrounds and socializations. Future ethnographic studies may benefit from this "probing/debriefing" approach, perhaps even more so via having a culturally diverse (e.g., race, gender, sexuality, class, age, etc.) research team who could bring with them a wider range of embodied socializations and associated "positionalities" (Madison, 2012).
4. In recent years, an increased number of corporate and government buildings, high-rise condominiums, and "pay to play" leisure facilities—including plans to construct a new $600 million publicly subsidized hockey arena for the National Hockey League's Edmonton Oilers—has contributed to the gradual shrinking of public space in the vicinity immediately surrounding the HRC. These spaces become even more restrictive during the cold months of wintertime when, in temperatures reaching below 40 degrees Celsius, the bodies of both men and women are forced to congregate in even closer proximity to places that can provide warmth and other important social services. Certain local initiatives to "end homelessness" provide a welcome tone of optimism that juxtapose growing privatization; however, public housing developments are occurring at a rate that is inadequate to support Edmonton's growing urban poor, especially as the economy booms and as rents increase.
5. This general pattern fuels the cycle of abandonment to which this population has been so often exposed throughout their lives, both in terms of services available to them and of worker–client relationships. The ability of the "Friday hockey" program to persist despite these many challenges for nearly two decades, under the guidance of the *same* staff member, is tantamount to understanding its credibility among "inner city" dwellers in Edmonton. Indeed, the chronic underfunding and short-term-styled funding models upon which so many preventive and interventionist programs are based are, in our view, one of the biggest barriers to sustainable social change facing this community.
6. The particular group of men, and sometimes women, regularly in attendance included individuals dealing with long-term mental and physical ailments (such as those associated with Fetal Alcohol Spectrum Disorder), drug and alcohol addictions, and poverty.
7. As Gibson and Brown (2009) explained, "In participatory research, the researcher aims to be a part of the practices being observed as much as possible in order to gain an understanding of the insider's perspective." This strategy facilitates the collection and production of "thick descriptions" (Geertz, 1973) of the community under investigation.
8. Research Ethics Board approval was gained for the observational part of this ethnographic study that included a provision (due to the nature of the research setting) that oral instructions and approval could be used in lieu of written documentation. Program participants (i.e., the men) were informed that

Jordan worked at the University of Alberta and was conducting research about how sport was being used in the "inner city" and how these programs were being delivered. The key gatekeeper (i.e., Wesley—the social worker who provided the floor hockey program) was fully aware of the study. Wesley attended every floor hockey session and was present to ensure that all Jordan's observational work was acceptable. While we met the ethical standards required of us, it is highly unlikely that *all* of the participants in the floor hockey program knew that Jordan was a researcher and/or understood what that meant. On the other hand, the core group of players who attended every week came to know Jordan well. As the research progressed, Jordan increasingly became viewed as a social worker or volunteer and, for some, a friend.

9. Noteworthy is that this regulation did not require any overt monitoring by Wesley; rather, the rule was deeply internalized by all players in attendance, even new players who had learned about the game through a friend. On more than one occasion, an individual confessed to having stayed clean for the sole purpose of participating in "Friday hockey," if only for the day.
10. In justifying their consumption of alcohol in ethnographic fieldwork, none of the aforementioned studies significantly engaged the ethical implications of working with peoples' suffering (or potentially suffering) from addiction-related issues. Instead, scholars have opted to focus on the ethical implications of "drinking on the job" as related to matters of "data collection," "researcher and participant safety" (e.g., driving drunk), and "informed consent." While these are important insights, we strongly suggest that the nature of a research participant's relationship to drugs and alcohol be included as a matter of concern in any discussion regarding ethnographic responsibility and ethics in the field. While indulging in the consumption of alcohol may, indeed, facilitate "rapport" building, it can potentially be regarded as manipulative in the sense of a researcher's twofold exploitation of, and complicity in, an addict's vulnerability for personal gain.
11. This is a respectful manipulation of Josh Newman's (2011) meditations on his own body's coding as an "insider" while conducting ethnographic research in the Southern US. His exact citation is: "If I were not identified within the boundaries of a White, Southern, masculine normativity (i.e., an 'insider'), how would these and other interactions have been different?" (p. 549).

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Author Biographies

Jordan Koch is a PhD Candidate in the Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation at the University of Alberta. His research interests include: the cultural studies of sport and leisure; community-based research; and Native Studies.

Jay Scherer is an Associate Professor in the Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation at the University of Alberta. His primary research interests include: cultural studies of sport and leisure; globalization, sport, and public policy; and qualitative research.

Nicholas L. Holt is a Professor in the Faculty of Physical Education and Recreation at the University of Alberta. He conducts research examining psychosocial aspects of sport and physical activity.