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Civilising Offensives: Education, Football and 'Eradicating' Sectarianism in Scotland

John Flint and Ryan Powell

Introduction

In 2006 the Scottish Executive published an *Action Plan on Tackling Sectarianism in Scotland* (Scottish Executive, 2006a). The action plan was the culmination of a growing governmental focus upon acknowledging and addressing inter-Christian sectarianism¹ within Scottish society. This chapter applies the work of Norbert Elias on the *Civilising Process* (Elias, 2000) and *The Established and the Outsiders* (Elias, 1994) to explore how norms, values and habits become inculcated and reformed within populations. We argue that the unprecedented contemporary policy crusade to address sectarianism in Scotland represents an example of a civilising offensive, a concept developed from the work of Elias to describe governmental attempts to reform the orientations, manners and conduct of citizens.

The chapter begins with an account of the key concepts within Elias' social theory of the civilising process and continues by describing how both the anti-sectarianism and Respect agendas may be characterised as civilising offensives. The chapter then provides an account of key elements of the governance of sectarianism in Scotland, focusing on the arenas of education and football. We argue that the anti-sectarianism agenda symbolises

¹ Sectarianism, like respect, is a vaguely defined and contested term. The Scottish Executive (2006b: 5) states that: 'Sectarianism is easy to recognise but can be difficult to define', whilst the Respect Task Force (2006: 5) states that 'almost everyone of any age or from any community understands what it [Respect] is and thinks this is right.' However governance understandings of sectarianism have primarily focused upon verbal and physical conflict and associated urban disorders such as drunkenness.

an ambitious attempt to reframe the values and traditions of sections of the Scottish population within a 'respect' paradigm and to build an ever-wider apparatus of governmental (including non-state) mechanisms for reshaping the conduct of citizens. We attempt to identify common rationales and techniques shared by both the sectarianism and respect agendas and suggest that Elias' theories provide an important conceptual framework for understanding and critiquing social processes and government attempts to realign these processes.

The Civilising Process and Established-outsider Relations

The work of Elias is concerned with the relationship between the individual and society and can be seen as a critique of the *homo clausus* (the closed person). Elias argued that the concept of an isolated individual person, unaffected by group processes beyond those of early childhood and socialisation² is an intellectual aberration, as society cannot be separated from the units which it is made up of (Elias, 1978). This is illustrated to great effect in *The Civilizing Process* in which Elias shows how long-term³ changes in human behaviour, power and habitus are inextricably linked to the wider development of society. Drawing on historical documentation, and in particular the development of etiquette books from the medieval period onwards, Elias shows how the long-term trend towards a more refined standard of social conduct in Western Europe went hand-in-hand with the development of society in terms of its increasing differentiation and integration resulting in more dense and numerous 'webs of interdependence' (Elias, 2000). As different classes, groups and nations became more interdependent there was a corresponding shift in manners towards a more refined standard and a related increase in *mutual identification*.

² For Elias, socialisation is a continuous, ever-present process throughout the lifecourse.

³ It should be noted that long-term in the Eliasian sense refers to several generations and in the case of *The Civilizing Process*, considers the development of manners from the medieval period to the twentieth Century.

Taking the medieval period as his starting point, Elias showed how state formation and the resultant monopolisation of violence led to the internal pacification of society and the gradual occlusion of violence from the public realm. Society was therefore less dangerous and violence was more calculable as individuals, through foresight and reflection, were able to restrain their behaviour in accordance with the social situation. Developments such as urbanisation and industrialisation placed ever greater demands of self-restraint and self-management on individuals in order for them to function adequately as members of society (van Krieken, 2005). Social processes that impact on the psychological make-up of individuals as social constraints (e.g. the threat of violence from the state) are gradually converted to self-constraints and internalised within the individual through the continuous process of socialisation. Individuals are therefore more able to attune their conduct to the actions of others and behaviour which was once admissible in social settings (e.g. bodily functions) is 'removed behind the scenes of social life' (Elias, 2000) as the threshold of shame and repugnance advances. Over the course of the long-term development of Western European society 'more people are forced more often to pay more attention to more other people' (Goudsblom, 1989, p.11) and the result is a stricter code of behaviour and a greater degree of consideration expected of others (Elias, 2000, p.69) which resonate with the discourses on the governance of Respect and sectarianism.

Shame and embarrassment are important mechanisms of self and social control, but their functions and effects is also evident at the macro scale (see Scheff, 2004). It has been argued that the *civilizing* of punishment in Western societies is closely related to the sense of shame and repugnance derived from a punitive penal regime and that a more ameliorative penal policy – a marker of civilisation - involves the removal of prisons 'behind the scenes' from urban to rural locations (Pratt, 1998). Shame is a powerful individual process but it also operates at collective levels, including those of nations in, evidenced most recently in the Australian governments apology to the 'stolen generation'

of indigenous Australians separated from their parents in the name of civilisation (see van Krieken, 1999) and the defining of sectarianism as Scotland's 'shame' (Devine, 2000).

The civilizing process denotes the *overall* trend of Western European societies and is only discernible from a long-term perspective, countered as it is by 'decivilizing spurts' that occur over shorter timeframes (see Mennell, 1990; Fletcher, 1997, and Wacquant, 2004). It would be wrong to interpret *The Civilizing Process* as an optimistic theory of human progress and the concept of *civilising offensives* developed by Eliasian scholars provides a complement to Elias's account of blind, unplanned processes by drawing attention to 'the active, conscious and deliberate civilizing projects of powerful groups' (van Krieken, 1999, p.303). Scholars have argued that civilization should be seen as an inherently *ambivalent* process, citing the contradictions of the colonial project which sought to spread "civilization" often through barbaric and violent means (Burkitt, 1996; van Krieken, 1999).

Elias argued that by the end of the Eighteenth Century civilisation as a concept had come to express 'the self-consciousness of the West' (2000, p.5) and was deemed a 'firm possession' of the middle classes. The goal then became the dissemination of civilisation: 'people only wanted to accomplish this process for other nations and...for the lower classes of their own society' (2000, p88). Thus, the concept of the civilising offensive resonates with a form of governance characterised by the explicit goal of 'improving' or 'correcting' the social conduct of certain sections of the population deemed to be unacceptable to the rest of the society (see Powell and Flint, 2009). Contemporary attempts to govern sectarianism in Scotland represent a manifestation of such a civilising offensive targeted at certain populations in particular social settings.

The civilizing process charts developments across the whole of society and while Elias goes into great detail about the dissemination of conduct across classes and groups, the diminishing contrasts in standards of behaviour between them, and the power struggles

therein, it is useful to turn to the theory of established-outsider relations for an appreciation of group relations in particular sites and settings (Elias with Scotson, 2004). The theory is important in illustrating the centrality of power and interdependencies as key determinants of group conflict and related processes of disidentification and stigmatization (see Powell, 2008).

Elias's theory of established-outsider was developed through his 1950s study with Scotson of community relations on a suburban housing estate in Leicester (given the fictitious name of Winston Parva). The estate was characterised by conflict between two distinct groups: the 'established' who had resided there for several generations; and the 'outsiders' who were relative newcomers. Elias observed the systematic stigmatization of the outsider group who were thought to lack the superior human virtues which the established group attributed to itself (Elias with Scotson, 1994). The two groups were similar in most other respects such as social class, ethnicity, nationality and religion with the only discernible difference relating to the internal cohesion of the two groups and the access to power and resources - both of which favoured the established. The result was a strong group orientation:

'In Winston Parva, as elsewhere, one found members of one group casting a slur on those of another, not because of their qualities as individual people, but because they were members of a group which they considered collectively as different from, and as inferior to, their own group' (Elias with Scotson, 1994, p.xx).

A key theme in established-outsider relations is the notion of group charisma (relating to one's own group) and group disgrace (the outsider group). A common group charisma is derived from what Elias terms the 'we-image' of individuals which enables a collective sense of higher human value from the sense of belonging to a group and adhering to internal norms. This impacts upon the control of behaviour as the 'self-regulation of

members of a closely knit group is linked to the internal opinion of that group' (p.xli). Group members deviating from the expected behaviour are likely to see their 'internal group opinion' diminish and this threat serves to keep them in check (Elias and Scotson, 1994). The integration and mutual identification outlined above in the civilising process were clearly lacking and as Rodger notes: 'in those circumstances where marginality, social exclusion or sectarianism emerges, the sense of empathy for the other and the mutual restraint on behaviour which are built by frequent social interaction are absent' (Rodger, 2006. p.129). An appreciation of the specificity of locational and social contexts and the internal group dynamics highlighted by Elias therefore offers insights into the expressions (and legitimisation) of sectarian views in certain settings (e.g. football grounds and religious parades).

de Swann (1995) uses the examples of Serb-Bosnian and Hutu-Tuutsi conflicts to illustrate the how the power of the internal group opinion that Elias identifies may be so strong, binding and long lasting as to resist the civilising offensives of elite governance processes, as conduction (face to face relations) outweigh the radiation of more socially distant mechanisms for shaping required conduct. This is very evident in the embedded forms of sectarianism in Scottish society and the active resistance amongst some groups to the realignment of their group identities.

In the case of *Winston Parva* the established 'had undergone a group process - from the past via the present towards the future – which provided them with a stock of common memories, attachments and dislikes' (Elias with Scotson, 1994, p.xxxviii). Building on this, Elias gives the example of 'declining nations' to show how past victories or glories are called upon by political establishments in order to invoke and maintain identifications (and by extension disidentifications): the group's special charisma is kept alive through the teaching of history (Elias with Scotson, 1994, p.xliv). This applies just as readily to other groups and identifications as it does to nations and there are arenas where this is

manifested with regard to sectarianism in Scotland. Also of particular relevance for the discussion that follows, is the interplay of multiple identifications. Elias argued that in an earlier period religious establishments were significant but now 'group charisma' is formed from 'a common social belief in a unique national virtue and grace' (1994, p.xli). This appears to be too simplistic in the case of Scottish sectarianism and, as we shall see, the groups involved call upon both national and religious identifications and refer to these in the context of past battles and victories.

This indicative discussion of Elias points to a substantial theoretical work grounded in empirical investigation which can illuminate contemporary processes and rationales of governance related to group dynamics and the changing concept and construction of 'civility' and 'respect' (for a fuller application of Elias's work to the Respect agenda see Powell and Flint, 2009).

Governing Sectarianism in Scotland

Given Elias' focus on the mechanism of shaming within the civilising process, it is noteworthy that the phenomena of sectarianism within Scottish society has been explicitly defined within a paradigm of national shame. The speech in 1999 by the composer James Macmillan that reignited contemporary civic society and governmental interest in the subject was entitled 'Scotland's Shame', a title shared by a prominent contemporary academic work on the issue (Devine, 2000) whilst the Scottish Executive has described sectarianism as 'a shameful fact of Scottish life for generations' (Scottish Executive, 2006a, p 1) which '*humiliates* everyone involved' (Scottish Executive, 2006b, p 3, our emphasis).

Since 1999 there has been increasing governmental activity acknowledging and attempting to address inter-Christian sectarianism in contemporary Scottish society. (For overviews of the historical and contemporary causes, definitions and manifestations of sectarianism in Scottish society and sources of further reading, see Devine, 2000 and Bruce et al, 2004). The Scottish Executive and local authorities have conducted evidence reviews (Nicolson, 2002; McAspurren, 2005; Scottish Executive, 2003; NFO Research, 2003) and the Scottish Executive has commissioned a review of religious parades (Orr, 2005). The Scottish Parliament has passed legislation introducing new categories of religiously-aggravated offences. The Scottish First Minister convened a National Summit on Sectarianism in 2005 and the Scottish Executive launched the national *Anti-social Behaviour Action on Tackling Sectarianism in Scotland* in January 2006 (Scottish Executive, 2006a).

The anti-sectarianism campaign in Scotland shares a number of similarities with the Respect agenda south of the border (see Flint, 2008 for a fuller account of these parallels). Indeed, tackling sectarianism is explicitly framed within a need to 'respect' different cultural traditions (Scottish Executive, 2005, p 2) or the fostering of mutual identification that Elias (2000) described. Sectarianism has also been conceptualised by some commentators as essentially a problem of 'urban incivility' (Bruce et al., 2004, p 173). Much of the emerging governance of sectarianism in Scotland is framed within an anti-social behaviour paradigm focused upon reducing its visible manifestations as displayed through verbal and physical violence, noise and drunkenness in urban public spaces, particularly in football grounds and on the routes of religious parades. Both the anti-sectarianism and Respect agendas may be classified as contemporary civilising offensives through which new mechanisms of governance are utilised to inculcate perceived decivilising elements within society. Both agendas represent a 'broadening, deepening and furthering' (Respect Task Force, 2006) of attempts to regulate and

challenge particular forms of 'shameful' social conduct and to inculcate 'a certain discipline and rigour in how [citizens] comport themselves' (Blair, 2007).

We now focus upon two social arenas that have been inherently linked to the conceptualisation of sectarianism in Scottish society: firstly, schools and education and secondly, football. We argue that these arenas reveal key parallels with the Respect agenda in their mechanisms of governance, including the incorporation of new institutions and actors into governing processes, a focus upon responsabilisation, self-policing and active citizenship, the new regulation of wider forms of behaviour, the use of contract and the explicit codification of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour and new forms of authority and legal techniques.

Emerging Arenas for the Governance of Sectarianism

Education

Most of the etiquette books that Elias (2000) studied were aimed at inculcating forms of desired behaviour in young people. Both the Respect and anti-sectarianism agendas' focus on achieving the 'cultural shifts' (Home Office, 2003, p 6) that characterise a civilising offensive conceptualise young people as a key population whose future habits and orientations may be more easily moulded towards desired norms: 'It is important that this process [tackling prejudice and bigotry] begins in pre-school when a child's view of the world is formed' (Scottish Executive, 2006a, p 2). Both the sectarianism and Respect action plans therefore identify schools and education as key sites and mechanisms for ensuring that 'young people have the necessary values and attitudes' (Scottish Executive, 2006b, p 2).

The Scottish Executive launched the *Sectarianism: Don't Give It, Don't Take It* web-based educational resource (available at: www.ltscotland.org.uk/antisectarian), produced a training DVD for teachers and youth workers and funded anti-sectarianism project work in schools (Scottish Executive, 2006a and 2006c). Roles in the governance of sectarianism in Scottish society are thereby created for teachers, youth workers and young people themselves in the same way that the Respect agenda has increasingly implicated a range of actors including housing officers, teachers, private landlords and publicans in governing anti-social behaviour. The Scottish Executive also introduced a One Scotland-Anti-Sectarianism Award category within the Scottish Education Awards. This award is 'about eradicating religious divides in communities' (Scottish Executive, 2006c, p 4). The establishment of this award symbolises the onus upon active citizenship and the responsabilisation of new actors in the governance of sectarianism, similarly to how the 'Taking a Stand' (in England and Wales) and 'Standing Up to Anti-social Behaviour' (in Scotland) awards operate within the Respect agenda.

Higher and further education establishments are also included in this widening governmental apparatus, with the National Union of Students Scotland launching a 'Stamp Out Sectarianism: Give it the Boot' campaign (National Union of Students Scotland website) This campaign defines a new population (students) and new sites (college and university campuses) where sectarianism is acknowledged to exist and required to be regulated. One component of the 'Stamp Out Sectarianism' campaign is the use of a 'pledge' mechanism. Students are asked to pledge 'To challenge sectarianism when I see it amongst my friends' and 'not to take part in sectarian behaviour or use sectarian language'. (National Union of Students Scotland website). This mechanism symbolises key motifs of the new governance of social conduct, including the formalised and symbolic acts of engagement required through signing a pledge (just as in the signing of Acceptable Behaviour Contracts) and the emphasis upon the proactive governance and challenging of others as well as the self.

The anti-sectarianism campaign in Scotland has also focused upon 'building friendships and strengthening communities' between denominational (Roman Catholic) and non-denominational schools (Scottish Executive, 2006c). The presence of Roman Catholic schools in Scotland, with no parallel Church of Scotland schools structure, has long been a key site of contestation in definitions of sectarianism in Scottish society (see Bruce et al, 2004; Devine, 2000, Flint, 2007). What is important in the context of a civilising offensive is that, whilst the Scottish Executive and its Scottish Government successor continues to defend the state funding of Roman Catholic schools, it has increasingly sought to mitigate the perceived social and symbolic segregation arising from them. Its two principal mechanisms for doing so have been a programme of shared campus construction where two schools share the same site and twinning initiatives through which pupils and staff from denominational and non-denominational schools are brought together in a range of educational, sporting and leisure activities (Scottish Executive, 2006c).

These initiatives highlight three important elements of contemporary civilising offensives. Firstly, the construction of shared campuses, for example in North Lanarkshire, has been fiercely contested by the Catholic Church and many parents, illustrating how top-down 'civilising' initiatives can be met with resistance by their intended subjects and demonstrates the limitations of central state power. Secondly, the shared campus at Dalkeith in Midlothian received considerable media attention for alleged disorder and conflict between pupils and staff, indicating how state-facilitated new sites for interaction can generate as well as mitigate localised social conflicts. Thirdly, the complexity of governing state-sponsored institutional diversity in the school system demonstrates the strengths of historical cultural and social identities and the constraints that governments face in attempting to reconfigure or realign the manifestations of these identities. As Elias (2000) argued, contemporary exhortations to populations to realign their identities or social practices do not in the short term bring about fundamental shifts in individuals'

orientations or values. This is particularly the case when what actually constitutes 'legitimate' expressions of cultural identity as opposed to 'obvious' sectarian disrespect is subject to so much contestation (religious icons in schools, Union Jack or Tricolour flags or Orange parades as examples). In these instances a narrative of traditional behaviour being 'uncivilised' becomes much more difficult to sustain.

Football

Football in Scotland, and particularly the Old Firm institutions of Glasgow Celtic and Glasgow Rangers and the matches between them are inherently defined within the sectarianism problem in Scottish society (see for example Bradley, 2004 and Burdsey and Chappel, 2003), mirroring the connection between urban disorder and largely white working class populations that characterises the discourse around the Respect and anti-social behaviour agendas. In 2006 the Scottish Executive published its *Calling Full Time on Sectarianism* strategy, arguing that 'tackling sectarianism in football is central to creating [a] truly multi-cultural and multi-faith Scotland' based on 'mutual respect' and suggesting that 'it is time to eradicate it [sectarianism] from Scottish football' (Scottish Executive, 2006b, p 2-3). This central government strategy had been preceded by a range of initiatives aimed at addressing sectarianism in the sport, including those of Celtic and Rangers football clubs' 'Pride Over Prejudice' and 'Bhoys Against Bigotry' campaigns and their joint 'Old Firm Alliance' initiative⁴, Glasgow City Council's 'Sense Over Sectarianism' funding programme and anti-sectarianism charities such as Nil By Mouth.

The evolving regime for governing sectarianism in Scottish football illustrates many of the key techniques that characterise the wider civilising offensive against the problem, and the linked phenomena of anti-social behaviour, in Scottish society. The first of these is the incorporation of a wider range of institutions into the attempts to enhance civility and an

⁴ The Old Firm Alliance is an educational programme for children in Glasgow aimed at improving health and fitness and tackling sectarianism and anti-social behaviour. This initiative illustrates how football clubs are also involved, as well as schools, in mechanisms of education as a means of tackling sectarianism.

attempt to require these institutions to focus upon sectarianism. For example, the Scottish Football Association introduced a National Club Licensing Scheme which required professional Scottish football clubs to demonstrate clear policies against sectarianism. This mirrors the new licensing schemes for private landlords in England and Wales which requires them to tackle anti-social behaviour. These licensing schemes embed non-state organisations within governmental regimes and formally enshrine their responsibilities to regulate certain forms of problematic conduct that previously they were not required to do so.

The embedding of football clubs within the anti-sectarianism agenda has been further facilitated through the establishment of the *Kick Out Bigotry* campaign, co-ordinated by the Football for All charity. The campaign aims to: 'tackle religious bigotry and sectarian attitudes and behaviour, in, and associated with, Scottish football' (Kick Out Bigotry website). In common with the Respect agenda on anti-social behaviour, a key component of the campaign is to 'Assist and empower football supporters' organisations to tackle religious bigotry' (Kick Out Bigotry website). This mirrors the attempts to 'empower' individuals to tackle anti-social behaviour and in both cases, the empowerment of individuals is located within a contractual framework which emphasises their responsibilities and appeals to acts of citizenship to facilitate the self-policing of social conduct (Home Office, 2003). Such techniques involve the creation of non-state 'surrogate regulators' within a widening of the governmental capacity for addressing 'unacceptable' behaviour (Crawford, 2006).

Two mechanisms are used to enact these forms of active citizenship amongst football supporters. As with the National Union of Students Scotland campaign, supporters are encouraged to sign an on-line pledge committing them to 'use all available means to advise fans attending football matches that bigoted behaviour will not be tolerated' and to 'work in partnership to identify and deal with individuals whose behaviour is bigoted and

unacceptable' (Kick Out Bigotry website). These techniques require an engagement by individuals into a contractual arrangement whereby they will be active in the education and governance of themselves and others, in much the same way as tenancy agreements in social housing, Acceptable Behaviour Contracts, Good Neighbour Agreements and Parenting Orders necessitate a voluntary and proactive engagement by individuals in order to police not only themselves but also to become implicated in the regulation of the conduct of others, including family members and neighbours. Secondly, as with anti-social behaviour policy, this organic self-policing is complemented by attempts to strengthen the interaction of individuals with traditional forms of 'official' policing, with the Kick out Bigotry website providing a 'sectarian incident notification' from where incidents may be reported to the authorities, similar to the plethora of anti-social behaviour telephone hotlines, incident report forms, witness diaries and other new bureaucracies for reporting and tackling unacceptable conduct.

An examination of how Rangers Football Club attempts to govern sectarianism illuminates many of these techniques and dilemmas of governance. We focus on Rangers here due to space constraints, but it should be noted that Celtic Football Club have been equally involved in anti-sectarianism campaigns, such as Bhoys Against Bigotry, and adopt similar governance mechanisms (see Celtic website), as do other Scottish football clubs. Rangers' 'Follow with Pride' campaign 'recognises the rights and responsibilities of being a Rangers fan' (Rangers Football Club website) and thereby frames supporters' conduct in the same contractual paradigm of wider anti-social behaviour policy (e.g. Home Office, 2003). The campaign is also based upon a 'continued self-policing drive by supporters groups to tackle inappropriate behaviour' (Rangers Football Club website).

The formal codification of conduct and a written articulation of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour that Elias (2000) describes as central to civilising processes is also evident. Within the wider framework of the Scottish Football Association and the

Scottish Premier League issuing detailed definitions of 'unacceptable' conduct, Rangers have issued 'The Blue Guide' (Rangers Football Club, undated) which sets out 'what is expected' of supporters and has also produced 'The Wee Blue Book' (Rangers, Football Club, undated) which prescribes authorised songs that may be sung within Ibrox in an attempt to prevent the articulation of sectarian sentiments. Both of these documents represent modern variants of the books of etiquette Elias studied and correspond to the expansion in the use, within the Respect agenda, of Acceptable Behaviour Contracts and Good Neighbour Agreements which aim to prescribe required forms of daily conduct within residential neighbourhoods.

The emerging governance of sectarianism in Scottish football results in an extension of new mechanisms of governance to wider forms of behaviour and new populations. These include the use of undercover stewards to eject supporters engaging in sectarian abuse in football grounds, the use of Football Banning Orders (which have similarities to Anti-social Behaviour Orders) against those engaged in sectarian behaviour and licensing enforcement action against street traders selling sectarian and paramilitary materials outside football stadia (Scottish Executive, 2006a). This new regime of governance epitomises a state-sponsored civilising offensive through which traditionally tolerated, if not officially condoned, forms of conduct are deemed unacceptable and become the subject of governmental intervention.

There is also evidence that, as Elias identified, civilising processes evolve and change their focus. It is clear that some campaigns that began with a focus on sectarianism have broadened into wider attempts to inculcate wider forms of civility. For example, Rangers Pride over Prejudice initiative with its overt focus on tackling sectarianism has been succeeded by the 'Follow with Pride' campaign aimed at promoting 'family, friendship and sportsman ship' (Rangers Football club website) with Rangers supporters expected to be 'ready to show respect and courtesy to the general public in the street, on public transport

and in the community at large' (Rangers Football Club, 2003). The arenas in which supporters are expected to conduct themselves in certain ways and will be regulated is therefore extended well beyond the immediate locality of a football ground, in the same way that the regulation of social housing tenants in relation to anti-social behaviour has been extended from their home to the 'immediate locality' of home and subsequently to their wider neighbourhood (Hunter, 2006). Similarly, the True Hearts Against Bigotry campaign states that Heart of Midlothian Football Club⁵ 'have recognised that the *boorish* behaviour of some elements amongst football fans is hindering them from creating the family atmosphere where everyone can enjoy an afternoon's sporting entertainment that they aspire to (True Hearts Against Bigotry website, our emphasis). The governance of sectarianism thereby is extended to other incivilities such as swearing and drunkenness. These processes mirror the evolution of the Respect agenda towards the 'deeper, broader and wider' regulation of social conduct from prohibiting criminal offences to the promotion of 'civility and good manners' (Respect Task Force, 2006, p 5) through for example the use of Good Neighbour Agreements that extend to prohibiting some non-criminal forms of conduct and advocate neighbourliness and volunteering in the community.

The governance of sectarianism in Scottish football, as with anti-social behaviour policy, is an ambitious project aimed at changing cultural values and identities as well as the manifestation of these identities in public space. However, Elias' argument that such changes in cultural orientations and conduct actually occur over very longer historical processes is relevant here. As one example, although Rangers' Pride over Policy Statement defines the club as a 'multi-cultural, multi-denominational and non-political organisation' (Rangers Football Club, 2003) the Blue Guide defines supporting Rangers as being about 'pride, history and tradition.' This history and tradition is partly built upon an

⁵ The True Hearts Against Bigotry campaign was launched in the aftermath of the disruption and abandonment of a minute silence to commemorate the death of Pope John Paul II before the Scottish Cup semi-final at Hampden between Hearts and Celtic in April 2005. This illustrates the extent to which sectarian articulations are not limited to the Old Firm. The debate following the incident was framed within the parameters of 'respecting' diversity and religious affiliation.

overt sectarian expression of identity. Whilst Rangers supporters are encouraged to sing 'traditional songs which glorify the history of the Club' whilst 'rejecting obscene or bigoted words which cause offence' many of these 'traditional' songs are inherently about the historical political and religious conflict in Ireland. Similarly, whilst the Pride Over Prejudice External 10-Point Plan (Rangers, Football Club, 2003b) requires Rangers supporters to 'carry only legitimate flags, ideally Saltires and Union Jacks, reflecting we are a Scottish Club that's proud to be British' this connection with British identity is one dimension of the sectarian conflict in the same way that Celtic's dual Scottish/Irish identity is. What these examples illustrate is that whilst civilising offensives attempt to accelerate a process of cultural and behavioural change, Elias argues that such processes actually occur over more protracted historical periods. This explains a common view that changing sectarianism in Scotland will 'take at least a generation' (McLaughlin, 2007).

Governing Sectarianism and Respect as Civilising Offensives

Both the sectarianism and Respect agendas are examples of civilising offensives characterised by a renewed governmental focus upon the 'automatic behaviour and values' of individuals and the 'habits of everyday life' (Respect Task Force, 2006, p 5). They exemplify key characteristics that Elias identified in civilising processes, including the problematisation and shaming of some existent forms of behaviour, the gradual expansion in the range of actors and institutions involved in the regulation of habits, the importance of the written and formal codification of acceptable and unacceptable behaviour and the attempts to facilitate the internalisation of self-policing mechanisms amongst individuals.

There is, however, one fundamental difference between the sectarianism and Respect agendas. Whilst the Respect agenda attempts to re-establish social norms and habits

that are perceived to have previously existed in society and is aimed at '*bringing back* a proper sense of respect (Blair, 2005, our emphasis) the sectarianism agenda aims to challenge habits and values that 'have been a shameful fact of Scottish life *for generations*' (Scottish Executive, 2005: 1, our emphasis) and 'are *still* prevalent... and have *long* poisoned the lives of people in many parts of Scottish Society' (NUS Scotland website, our emphasis). In this sense, the sectarianism agenda is closer to Elias' account of a civilising process gradually requiring new standards of conduct and a rejection of behaviours that were traditionally unremarkable or tolerated, rather than the attempt to return to historical forms of etiquette within the Respect agenda.

Although the discourse underpinning both agendas locates problematic behaviour in the minority of the population and as Elias illustrates, thereby makes distinctions and classifications between sections of society, there is an acknowledgement that 'Sectarianism is still deeply engrained in many areas of Scottish society' (Scottish Executive, 2006b, p 3) and 'firmly entrenched in Scottish life' (Scottish Executive, 2006a, p 1). It is this 'engraining' and 'entrenching' of sectarianism that makes Elias' work so relevant in rethinking our analysis of the governance of problematic social conduct. For despite the ambitious rhetoric in the sectarianism and Respect agendas about achieving 'cultural shifts' in populations (Home Office, 2003) 'putting sectarianism in the dustbin of history' (Scottish Executive, 2006a, p 1) or 'eradicating' the problem (Scottish Executive, 2006c, p 5) the focus of these civilising offensives has primarily been on habits and conduct rather than values. As one example, in relation to sectarian singing at football matches the Scottish Executive (2006a, p. 6) argues that 'fans sometimes go along with [sectarian singing and chanting] without really considering the effects of what they are saying'. Like Rangers Football Club's regulation of flags, this negates the fact that conduct is also a manifestation of historical and still strongly-held social and cultural identities. There is therefore a need to combine the analysis of government documentation and techniques presented in this chapter with an understanding of the complex processes

through which certain values and forms of conduct, including sectarian acts, become embodied within individuals (see for example Charlesworth, 2000 and Leonard, 2006).

Although Elias focused his studies on court societies and thinkers influenced by him have defined civilising offensives as essentially elite (and often state)- sponsored projects of social reform, both the anti-sectarianism and Respect agendas are characterised by an attempt to implicate problematised (white working class) populations in the governance of their own and others' behaviour. However, far more research is required to understand to what extent individuals' actually modify either their values or behaviour in response to these civilising offensives (see for example a recent evaluation suggesting the limited impact of anti-social behaviour publicity campaigns in Scotland, mruk Research, 2007). There is a further need to identify new sites and processes which may emerge for sectarian behaviour to be enacted as the governance of 'traditional' arenas such as football grounds intensifies. A very good example of this is the growing prevalence of sectarian interfaces on the internet (see Leonard, 2006 and O' Dochartaigh, 2007).

Elias also identifies how civilising processes are inherently characterised by attempts to magnify distinctions between social classes. This is apparent in the gaze of the governance of sectarianism in Scotland which to date has emphasised visible urban disorder involving largely working class populations in particular public arenas. Hence the focus has been upon verbal and physical violence, damage to property and disturbance to local communities. This focus on episodic manifestations of sectarianism such as football matches and religious parades negates more mundane forms of urban sectarian disturbance, for example the continual vandalism of green traffic lights in some Lanarkshire towns (McLaughlin, 2007). Additionally, although there is a focus upon verbalised forms of sectarianism (hence for example, the anti-sectarianism charity being named Nil By Mouth) the emphasis on public disorder also diverts governance attention from other forms of sectarianism that may be present in Scottish society, for example in

the middle class professions. As with anti-social behaviour, sectarianism becomes equated with particular populations, in specific locations at certain times.

Conclusions

This chapter has illustrated how a 'respect' paradigm of addressing incivility and urban disorder is apparent in the governance of a range of social phenomena in the UK, including sectarianism in Scotland. We have sought to show how the Respect and anti-sectarianism agendas share commonalities in governance rationales and the techniques deployed to change the habits of particular sections of the population in targeted social arenas.

We have also sought to illustrate that the social theory of Norbert Elias provides an important analytical framework for examining civilising offensives such as the Respect and anti-sectarianism projects of government. In particular Elias requires us to focus upon the historical and social contexts within which civilising offensives are constructed and enacted and the complexity of the internal and external individual and group processes through which sectarianism and anti-social behaviour come to be manifested in urban societies. In identifying the breadth of ambition evident in government attempts to bring about cultural shifts in the habits of populations in order to 'eradicate' sectarianism and other forms of incivility, we have also sought to illustrate the complex interplay between techniques of governance, shaming processes, social identities and behaviour which characterised Elias' work. The future research agenda on respect should, as Elias teaches us, focus equally on the social dynamics underpinning sectarianism and anti-social behaviour as well as upon the civilising offensives of governance regimes being erected to tackle these problems.

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