



LEEDS  
BECKETT  
UNIVERSITY

---

Citation:

Thangaraj, S and Ratna, A and Burdsey, D and Rand, E (2018) Leisure and the Racing of National Populism. *Leisure Studies*, 37 (6). pp. 648-661. ISSN 0261-4367 DOI: <https://doi.org/10.1080/02614367.2018.1541473>

Link to Leeds Beckett Repository record:

<https://eprints.leedsbeckett.ac.uk/id/eprint/5438/>

Document Version:

Article (Accepted Version)

---

This is an Accepted Manuscript of an article published by Taylor & Francis in *Leisure Studies* on 04 Nov 2018, available online: <http://www.tandfonline.com/10.1080/02614367.2018.1541473>

The aim of the Leeds Beckett Repository is to provide open access to our research, as required by funder policies and permitted by publishers and copyright law.

The Leeds Beckett repository holds a wide range of publications, each of which has been checked for copyright and the relevant embargo period has been applied by the Research Services team.

We operate on a standard take-down policy. If you are the author or publisher of an output and you would like it removed from the repository, please [contact us](#) and we will investigate on a case-by-case basis.

Each thesis in the repository has been cleared where necessary by the author for third party copyright. If you would like a thesis to be removed from the repository or believe there is an issue with copyright, please contact us on [openaccess@leedsbeckett.ac.uk](mailto:openaccess@leedsbeckett.ac.uk) and we will investigate on a case-by-case basis.



## Leisure and the Racing of National Populism

Journal:	<i>Leisure Studies</i>
Manuscript ID	RLST-2018-0257.R1
Manuscript Type:	Special Issue Paper
Keywords:	race, Ethno-nationalism, Populism, leisure, Resistance

SCHOLARONE™  
Manuscripts



## **Leisure and the Racing of National Populism**

This is the introduction to the Special Issue on “Leisure and the G/local Challenges to National Populist Politics”

Authors: Stanley Thangaraj, Aarti Ratna, Daniel Burdsey, and Erica Rand

Stanley Thangaraj, Assistant Professor of Anthropology, City College of New York,  
[sthangaraj@ccny.cuny.edu](mailto:sthangaraj@ccny.cuny.edu)

Aarti Ratna, Senior Lecturer of Sociology and Leisure Cultures, Leeds Beckett University, Leeds,  
[A.Ratna@leedsbeckett.ac.uk](mailto:A.Ratna@leedsbeckett.ac.uk)

Daniel Burdsey, Reader, Centre for Spatial, Environmental and Cultural Politics, University of Brighton, [D.C.Burdsey@brighton.ac.uk](mailto:D.C.Burdsey@brighton.ac.uk)

Erica Rand, Whitehouse Professor of Art and Visual Culture and Gender and Sexuality Studies, Bates College, [erand@bates.edu](mailto:erand@bates.edu)

### **Openings**

We introduce this special issue on “Leisure Cultures and G/local Challenges to National Populist Politics” with a particular example: the exhibition of Deborah Roberts’ artwork *O! Say Can’t You See*, which featured in the show *Sidelined* at Gallerie Lelong and Co. in New York City in 2018. It illustrates the complex circumstances and rich forms in which the challenges, ambiguities and resistances we focus on in this collection play out in/through the realm of leisure.

1  
2  
3 The visit of one of us (Stanley Thangaraj) to the gallery offered a timely and provocative way with  
4  
5  
6 which we start this paper. Lelong is the New York branch of an international art business. It boasts  
7  
8 that it “diversifies dominant understandings of modern and contemporary art”  
9  
10 (<http://www.galerielelong.com/gallery>), while making its money by representing lucrative well-  
11  
12 established artists. It is located in the gentrified area of Chelsea, where working-class communities,  
13  
14 immigrants, and communities of color once lived alongside large industries and factories, and near  
15  
16 the river piers that once famously served as gay cruising spots (Manalansan 2005; Matthew 2005).  
17  
18 The area has now been strategically transformed and sanitized—the stately gallery itself is a  
19  
20 converted factory—becoming a major retail, art, and financial district serving the needs of  
21  
22 corporate capital and bourgeois white sensibilities. We begin the discussion of this paper with a  
23  
24 deliberate interrogation of *Sidelined* as a way to reference the ways that leisure, national populism,  
25  
26  
27 and protest spill into other arenas; to capture the dialectical relationship between power, resistance,  
28  
29 and leisure cultures; to demonstrate how processes of national populism and its relationship to  
30  
31 leisure bleed into every day representational and cultural spaces; and to address the ways that  
32  
33 leisure provides a space for representation of key social phenomena and significant social actors.  
34  
35  
36 Whereas sport is often seen and removed from the realm of art, beginning with a review of the art  
37  
38 exhibit extrapolates the links between art, representation, pleasure, and power (Pringle *et al*, 2015).  
39  
40 In particular, the art exhibit, *Sidelined*, allows us to decipher both a micro-level and macro-level  
41  
42  
43 analysis of leisure and national populism.  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49

50 While the location and aesthetic of the gallery bespeak and invite white-dominated art  
51  
52 consumption as a leisure activity, *Sidelined* itself references a different realm of activity, cultural  
53  
54 production and politics (see Saha, 2018). The installation was inspired by the protests of the  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 National [American] Football League's (NFL) Colin Kaepernick (Burin, 2018; Thangaraj, 2017).

4  
5  
6 In 2016, in conversation with and informed by the BlackLivesMatter movement, Kaepernick (then  
7  
8 of the San Francisco 49ers) refused to kneel during the pre-game US national anthem as a way to  
9  
10 call attention to serious racial issues in United States society. This, in turn, inspired others –  
11  
12 athletes and non-athletes – to follow his lead. The title of the art show, *Sidelined*, refers at once to  
13  
14 the location of players' protests (which took place at the edges of the gridirons by the team  
15  
16 benches); to the sidelining of Kaepernick's career (given that NFL team owners have refused to  
17  
18 sign him since); and to the ways through which Donald Trump, NFL owners, white nationalists,  
19  
20 and everyday people have dismissed, or sidelined, acts of protest and calls for justice (Flaherty,  
21  
22 2017; Futterman & Mather, 2018; Willingham, 2017). In different ways, Roberts and the other  
23  
24 artists in the show address this dialectical relationship between power and protest, conjuring up  
25  
26 the many ways that sport and leisure spaces, cultures and structures become one site for the  
27  
28 articulation and contestation of politics locally, nationally, and globally (Carrington, 2012;  
29  
30 Hartmann 2003; James 2005; Rand, 2011).

31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38 Roberts' *O! Say Can't You See*, a mixed media artwork on paper (2017, reproduced at  
39  
40 <http://www.galerieelong.com/exhibitions/sidelined/selected-works?view=slider#2>), disrupts and  
41  
42 queers the historical and sporting archive by assembling divergently gendered and raced black  
43  
44 sporting bodies. Roberts presents what appears to be a young black girl's face atop a dress made  
45  
46 out of African-inspired fabric and a skirt suggesting the stripes of the U.S. flag. Limbs and feet  
47  
48 extend out. The legs could belong to the young girl, but the feet and one arm, adult-sized and  
49  
50 varied in skin tone, anatomically cannot. The parts and the whole gesture in different directions.  
51  
52 The arm with the fist, for example, calls up Black Power, but also suggests Adam's fist on  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 Michelangelo's Sistine Ceiling, with an odd suggestion of limp-wristedness on the muscled form.  
4  
5

6 The ring on the girl's eye suggests injury, although her gaze is steady. Roberts writes in the artist's  
7 statement on her website that she is "interested in the way young girls symbolize vulnerability but  
8 also a naïve strength" (<http://www.deborahrobertsart.com/artist-statement/>).  
9  
10

11  
12 The title of Roberts' work, especially in the context of *Sidelined*, invites us to think about  
13 the gendered and raced body in the nation state. *O! Say Can't You See* plays on "O' say can you  
14 see?", the opening line of the US national anthem that refers to the US flag, and hence to the US  
15 itself, prevailing through military battle. Significantly, the national anthem is central to the role of  
16 sporting protest, for it is during its performance that notable acts have taken place, from the African  
17 American athletes on the Olympic medal podium in 1968 to Kaepernick and other leading sport  
18 stars, such as soccer star Megan Rapinoe, at the current time. Roberts' work asks us to consider a  
19 number of questions: What can or cannot the girl see as she looks out? What forces structure her  
20 gaze, her possibilities? Is it overreaching to see in the tangle of black bodies the forces of the birth  
21 to prison pipeline and the athletic industrial complex? What do we see in leisure practices when  
22 we look at her, with her? What cannot we see? What can we create, embody, envision, and do?  
23  
24 These matters of looking, spectatorship, activity, and action—and the ways that race, racism, and  
25 racialization necessarily factor in—shape the possibilities and limits of time and activities  
26 understood as leisure and their contexts. Leisure presents possibilities for simultaneously seeing  
27 and not seeing the socio-historical context aligned with national populism (be it progressive or  
28 conservative). Roberts' work invites us to look beyond the meritocracy of leisure and sport to see  
29 the larger structure of race and gender in political formations.  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 The papers in this special issue spotlight practices of power and resistance with particular  
4  
5 attention to the layers of racism and racialization to which this image, in context, gestures. We  
6 focus, in particular, on the sometimes predictable, sometimes contradictory and conflictual, uses  
7  
8 of leisure by a wide array of actors in order to garner or challenge a populist agenda. As US and  
9  
10 UK based scholars, our examples of this relationship are specific to our local contexts. We are  
11  
12 informed by these examples, while trying to expand the relationship between leisure and national  
13  
14 populism on a global scale. For instance, to entrench his national populist agenda, Donald Trump  
15  
16 has been on the offensive by highlighting the actions of Colin Kaepernick and protesting athletes  
17  
18 – which are framed by Trump and his acolytes as unpatriotic and disloyal to the military and  
19  
20 uniformed services – to amass public, especially conservative, white supremacist support. Most  
21  
22 notably, in September 2017, Donald Trump ranted about the protests and called Colin Kaepernick  
23  
24 a “son of a bitch” (Legum, 2017; Porter, 2017). Through such discourses, Trump mobilizes long  
25  
26 histories of racism in the United States through the uber-patriotic realm of sport to demean the  
27  
28 protests by chastising #BlackLivesMatter through the racialized othering of black mothering,  
29  
30 children, and kinship. Artists, writers, musicians, and some of these protesting athletes, on the  
31  
32 other hand, have played a pivotal role in eliciting support for the BlackLivesMatter campaign in  
33  
34 order to challenge the racial stratification of US society (Price, 2016; Orejuela & Shonekan, 2018;  
35  
36 Taylor, 2016; Zirin, 2016). Securing populist support (and forms of resistance) through various  
37  
38 forms of leisure illustrates how hegemony and counter-hegemony operate across various g/local  
39  
40 contexts (Laclau & Mouffe 1985), which we hope to unravel and deconstruct in this special issue.  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51

### 52 **Framing the papers: authoritarian and populist political times**

53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60



1  
2  
3 In framing the issues and problems addressed in this collection of papers, we wanted to highlight  
4  
5  
6 both their inveterate genealogies, *and* the multitude ways that they are influenced and responsive  
7  
8 to the nuances of the contemporary political conjuncture. For this reason, we situate current  
9  
10 developments with a frame of authoritarian politics, populism, and increasing public resentment  
11  
12 and violence towards racialized and nationally-excluded Others.

13  
14  
15 Thirty years ago, Stuart Hall wrote, with typical prescience, about an emerging populism  
16  
17 in British politics. Populism, for Hall, was:

18  
19 something more than the ability to secure electoral support for a political programme, a  
20  
21 quality all politicians in formal democracies must possess. I mean the project, central to  
22  
23 the politics of Thatcherism, to ground neoliberal policies directly in an appeal to “the  
24  
25 people”; to root them in the essentialist categories of commonsense experience and  
26  
27 practical moralism – and thus to construct, not simple awaken, classes, groups and interests  
28  
29 into a particular definition of “the people” (Hall, 1988, p.71).

30  
31  
32 While Hall himself would caution against any superficial application of his ideas across different  
33  
34 historical epochs and geographical sites (Hall, 1979, 1990), the relevance of the above statement  
35  
36 to contemporary, global ‘unsettling times’ (Ahluwalia & Miller, 2016, p.454) is apparent. What  
37  
38 he offers us is a useful and provocative model with which to name how conceptions of “the people”  
39  
40 emerge in our current historical moment through a national populism that relies on, demands, and  
41  
42 secures sites of leisure.  
43  
44

45  
46 Since the election of President Trump in the United States and the Brexit vote in the UK,  
47  
48 along with the rise of radical-right movements in a significant number of European states (Gidron  
49  
50 & Hall, 2017) and in parts of the Global South, populism has increasingly been subject to scholarly  
51  
52 debate (see e.g. Dodd *et al*, 2017; Freedon, 2017, Ouellette & Banet-Weiser, 2018). However, the  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 meaning of populism remains contested and ambiguous, related to a range of ideological positions,  
4  
5  
6 discourses and practices. As Bart Bonikowski (2017) notes, populism has been conceptualized  
7  
8 variously as an ideology, a method of political mobilization, and a discursive category. There is a  
9  
10 degree of agreement among scholars as to its fundamental principles though. He states that:

11  
12  
13  
14  
15 Fundamentally, populism is a form of politics predicated on the moral vilification of elites  
16  
17 and the veneration of ordinary people, who are seen as the sole legitimate source of political  
18  
19 power. The specific elites targeted by populists vary depending on the populists'  
20  
21 ideological predilections. While elected politicians are often the immediate targets,  
22  
23 populism just as often focuses on economic leaders, civil servants and intellectuals, who  
24  
25 are seen as exercising undue influence on politics in the pursuit of their own self-interest  
26  
27  
28  
29 (Bonikowski, 2017, p. 184).

30  
31 In the case of protest in sport, we see how political and corporate elites vilify the racialized  
32  
33 minorities, women, and queer athletes who challenge the racial, gender, and sexual stratification  
34  
35 in western nations. The athletes are conjured to have only self-interest and thus not speak to the  
36  
37 masses. As a result, Trump strategically uses the case of protesting athletes as antithetical to the  
38  
39 needs of “everyday” people, whereby creating (a)venues for governing (racial) national politics  
40  
41 through affect (Berlant, 1997). Critically, nonetheless, populism does not provide the only  
42  
43  
44  
45 intellectual explanation for the phenomena under analysis here. Bonikowski (2017) notes that  
46  
47 while populism has become the preferred label to describe contemporary right-wing parties, this  
48  
49 can actually obscure other important elements that underpin and emerge from radical-right politics,  
50  
51  
52 such as ethno-nationalism and authoritarianism. As Rogers Brubaker (2017, p.1191) argues, ‘the  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 present conjuncture is not simply populist; it is (with a few exceptions) national-populist' (see also  
4  
5 Gusterson, 2017).

6  
7  
8 In fact, the processes of ensuring and securing a populist agenda have often required  
9  
10 mobilizing various racial projects to re/construct imaginaries of the nation (Omi & Winant, 1994).  
11  
12 In a Western European context, this has increasingly been taken up through far-right fascist  
13  
14 ideologies in the name of "ordinary" white working-class communities: the so-called "left-  
15  
16 behinds" (Bhabra, 2017). This rhetoric is evident in the politics and policies of Tom Van  
17  
18 Grieken's Vlaams Belang Party in Belgium, Geertz Wilder's Dutch Party for Freedom in the  
19  
20 Netherlands, and Marine Le Pen's National Rally (formerly National Front) in France (Cammaerts,  
21  
22 2018; Harsin, 2018). "Exploiting the public's ignorance and ethnic and religious resentments"  
23  
24 (Judis, 2016, p.120), they present an image of white working-class communities forced into silence  
25  
26 by "femi-nazi" and/or anti-racist campaigners, and the so-called irrational, leftist "politically  
27  
28 correct brigade" (Cammaerts, 2018). Such ideological posturing fosters a public sense of relief; a  
29  
30 populist form of emotional affirmation and healing that the political elites are *finally* listening to  
31  
32 the needs of "ordinary people" (Fraser, 2008). But this type of populist catharsis is merely  
33  
34 symbolic (Azmanova, 2018). It does very little to disrupt the financial and social precariousness  
35  
36 of those living in poverty, whether they be white working-class communities or people of color.  
37  
38 Blaming socio-economic inequalities on people of colour and migrants is not only a falsification  
39  
40 of material conditions, but also arguably serves to mask state machinations of neoliberal, white,  
41  
42 able-bodied and hetero-patriarchal forms of social control and power (Fraser, 2008; Shilliam,  
43  
44 2018; Valluvan, 2017). By combining vertical (elites versus the people) and horizontal (insiders  
45  
46 versus outsiders) axes of power, "internal outsiders" are re/cast as threats to the financial and social  
47  
48 security of the nation (Brubaker, 2017).  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 For instance, whilst the Dutch Party for Freedom has narrated a long-history of openness  
4  
5  
6 to difference and liberal attitudes towards gender, sexuality, and drug cultures, the arrival of  
7  
8 immigrants – particularly those of Muslim faith – nevertheless, has been used to demarcate the  
9  
10 allochthonous (not from here) and the autochthonous (of here). For example, Dutch nationalist  
11  
12 politician, Geert Wilders, racialized Moroccan immigrants as “scum” and thus *dangerous* “matter  
13  
14 out of place” (Douglas, 2002) from within the nation-state (Goldman, 2017). The language utilised  
15  
16 is significant; evoking racial, ethnic and religious differences in a form of what Wallerstein and  
17  
18 Balibar (1991) call “cultural racism”, whilst simultaneously masking “race” as a marker of national  
19  
20 inclusion and exclusion (Cammaerts, 2018; Valluvan, 2016). In addition, a form of pink-washing  
21  
22 is at work here: the use of surface-level support for various civic and human rights, e.g. gay rights  
23  
24 and gender rights (see Harsin, 2018; Hatfield, 2018; Puar, 2007) which abet and camouflage  
25  
26 regressive politics. In this case, the presentation of a progressive and enlightened nation and  
27  
28 national culture is used to vilify Muslim communities, purportedly eroding the nation from within  
29  
30 by their supposedly “backward” fundamentalist values (see Abu-Lughod, 2013; Leneis &  
31  
32 Agergaard, 2018 [this volume]). We also recognize the rise in authoritarian and fundamentalist  
33  
34 rule in places including India, Syria and the Philippines (Thangaraj, 2017), where religious and  
35  
36 ethnic insularity and discrimination have given rise to a pernicious politics of division (Valluvan  
37  
38 and Kapoor, 2016). These discords and manifestations of dispossession have fueled a rise in  
39  
40 demands for redistribution of wealth and land based on citizenship rights or one’s socio-historical  
41  
42 location within newly formed nation-states.  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 The demarcation of racial, ethnic and religious insiders from outsiders in and through state  
4  
5 authoritarian politics and policies thus gives rise to *ethno*-nationalist forms of populist politics.

6  
7 Bonikowski (2017, p.184) summarizes:

8  
9  
10  
11  
12 exclusionary forms of populism—that is, those that infuse populism with ethno-nationalist  
13  
14 content—often employ more restrictive definitions of the polity, based on ethnic, racial, or  
15  
16 religious criteria. In such formulations...it is not only elites who are vilified, but also  
17  
18 various scapegoated minority groups, who  
19  
20 are seen as having co-opted the elites for their  
21  
22 own nefarious ends. It is in contrast with these unwelcome groups that the identity of the  
23  
24 ‘true’ people becomes crystallized.

25  
26  
27  
28  
29 This entails the displacement of the values and content of race away from white working-class  
30  
31 (stereotyped) bodies (e.g. as welfare scroungers) onto those of people of color and/or immigrants.  
32  
33 Through this performative act, we see how, at least in the case of North America and the UK, the  
34  
35 “mythical norm” (Lorde, 1984) works to secure racial affinity between white communities and the  
36  
37 powers of the nation-state. To further illustrate, mainstream LGBT movements and queer  
38  
39 organizing have often been complicit in perpetuating white supremacy, racial capitalism, and, as  
40  
41 Puar (2007) emphasizes, homonationalism and homonormativity: that is, the promotion of the  
42  
43 good gay citizen as white, gender-normative, Christian, cisgender, and male (see also Harsin,  
44  
45 2018; Hatfield, 2018).

46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52 Populist slogans, e.g. “British jobs for British workers” (Shabi, 2017) also summon a desire  
53  
54 for closing borders, recalling a “past-truth” when the nation was imagined as racially pure (read:

1  
2  
3 white), free from the “wrong” types of migrants (meaning: those positioned as unassimilated to  
4  
5 the dominant “values” of the nation). But, significantly, these slogans and connected border  
6  
7 control policies are based, in Trumpian language, on “alternative facts” (Bradner, 2017) and  
8  
9 inadequate accounts of the past. They do not address the long histories and presence of people of  
10  
11 color, the indigenous communities destroyed through forms of settler-colonialism across Western  
12  
13 nations, nor the hetero-patriarchal capitalist systems that fuels globalization and drives further  
14  
15 g/local inequalities. Sadly, as Azmanova (2018, p.401) argues:

16  
17  
18 even the most derided forms of recent populist mobilizations (those by the anti-immigrant  
19  
20 far right) have used successfully the channels of electoral politics, which has allowed them  
21  
22 to affect not only specific policies, but to influence the whole policy agenda in Western  
23  
24 democracies.  
25  
26

27  
28  
29 No longer the out-dated politics of “the nasty party” (e.g. the British political parties of UKIP and  
30  
31 the BNP), anti-foreigner sentiments have become mainstream, as fear of losing electoral votes has  
32  
33 effectively forced many centre-left and centre-right parties to absorb them (Valluvan, 2017). Thus,  
34  
35 hosted by the institutional framework of liberal democracies, the radical (and racist) voice of  
36  
37 populism is having real political purchase; it is effectively regenerating the dynamics of  
38  
39 supposedly fair, democratic politics.  
40  
41

42  
43 In a supposedly fair, “post-racist” society, the ongoing denial of racism and white  
44  
45 supremacist ethno-nationalist discriminatory politics is evidence of what Lentin and Titley (2011)  
46  
47 call “post-racialism”. They argue that post-racialism situates race as an empty signifier, and  
48  
49 residual acts of racism as free from any deeper racial context. It resembles, as Bonilla-Silva  
50  
51 (2007), Burdsey (2016), and Meghji and Saini (2018) remind us, the premise of racism without  
52  
53 racist. Through the (problematic) logic of post-racialism, race is evacuated at the very moment of  
54  
55

1  
2  
3 its emergence; that is, as a foundational element of ethno-national populist politics. Both those in  
4  
5 power *and* subjugated communities can also potentially embody the mythical norm of post-  
6  
7 racialism in ways they do not even often realize (Lorde, 1984). In and across various sites of  
8  
9 leisure, people of colour and migrants become key actors in the reproduction of racist ethno-  
10  
11 national populist politics. For example, as Ratna (2018) argues, first-generation Gujarati Indian  
12  
13 citizens of the UK must continue to negotiate their precarious senses of citizenship even although  
14  
15 their legal status has already been granted (see Bhabra, 2017), using dominant supposedly non-  
16  
17 racial tropes about citizenship, belonging and “values” of the nation (see also Jones *et al*, 2017) in  
18  
19 and through their engagements in walking as an informal leisure pastime. Some racialized groups  
20  
21 in turn use ethno-nationalist and individualised discourses as a tactic to continually reproduce their  
22  
23 citizenship as hard-working “good” migrants rather than supposedly lazy and welfare-scrounging  
24  
25 “bad” ones. In the British context, at different moments of time, and in differential ways, those  
26  
27 people may include Muslim communities, Eastern Europeans, African, African Caribbean groups,  
28  
29 and lower-class and lower-caste South Asian groups (whoever they, respectively, may be imagined  
30  
31 to be). Thus, even practices of resistance unintentionally can incorporate and reinforce  
32  
33 exclusionary language and racialised systems of power. Conversely, we have also seen the rise of  
34  
35 the Democratic Football Lads Alliance, which represents a sport and leisure based manifestation  
36  
37 of white populist politics. This organization claims to be “protesting against ‘returning jihadists’,  
38  
39 ‘thousands of Awol migrants’, ‘rape gangs and groomers’ and ‘veterans treated like traitors’”, but  
40  
41 has been identified by anti-racist groups as, in reality, propagating racism, Islamophobia, and a  
42  
43 supposed war against terror (Gayle, 2018). Critically navigating post-racial logics during  
44  
45 neoliberal times can be tricky, and it is not our intention to reduce racisms to simply the actions of  
46  
47 rogue or self-serving individuals (and/or collectives), but to view them as systemic, complex, and  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 connected to wider geo-political conditions and evolving histories (Alexander, 2016; Valluvan,  
4  
5  
6 2016). We concur with Valluvan's contention (2016), that neo-liberal post-racist times are, in fact,  
7  
8 captured through the proposition "racisms without racism". In other word, masking the  
9  
10 continuities of cultural and biological racisms, and, as we would add, institutional racisms.

11  
12  
13  
14 This timely special issue is situated within, and writes against, a contemporary  
15  
16 consolidation and expansion of white supremacist, ethno-nationalist, anti-immigrant, neoliberal  
17  
18 and neoimperial / neocolonial regimes and discourses across Europe, in the United States, and in  
19  
20 many countries in the Global South. The papers in this special issue showcase the constant tension  
21  
22 and unfinished (racial, classed, gendered, ethnic, and sexual) projects embedded in national  
23  
24 populist politics. They consider on-the-ground analyses of power asymmetries and forms of  
25  
26 populism that manifest and are resisted in/through leisure, uncovering and critically analyzing  
27  
28 macro-micro levels of resistance, the management of power, and localized experiences of  
29  
30 solidarity, conviviality and pleasure.  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38

### 39 **(Re)politicizing race, racism and resistance in leisure studies**

40  
41 We must take into account and understand the power asymmetries and forms of national populism  
42  
43  
44 through a critical engagement with the materialities of race. By politicizing and naming race,  
45  
46 racism, leisure studies, and national populism, we foreground race as central to the production of  
47  
48 nation, populism, and belonging in this sphere of popular culture (Alexander, 2016; Burdsey,  
49  
50 2016). Thus, we, as the co-authors and co-editors, underscore race as one key facet of leisure and  
51  
52 its relationship to national populism. "If we are correct about the depth of the rightward turn,"  
53  
54 writes Stuart Hall (1979, p.15), "then our interventions need to be pertinent, decisive and  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60



1  
2  
3 effective.” We locate leisure as a significant and timely medium, means, and method for these  
4  
5  
6 interventions to take place. In this special issue, we, the co-editors, along with the authors, are  
7  
8 specifically interested in existing and new forms and cultures of leisure, sport and physical activity  
9  
10 that remake, reframe, and interrogate racial belonging locally, regionally, nationally, and globally.  
11

12  
13  
14 We also perceive this special issue of *Leisure Studies* as an opportunity both to *foreground* and  
15  
16 *(re)politicize* the debate around race and racism in leisure studies (Carrington, 2004, 2012), which,  
17  
18 we would argue, is often ignored and/or treated uncritically in the contemporary field; unnamed  
19  
20 or subsumed within concepts such as nation, culture, identity and super-diversity (see also Nayak  
21  
22 and Meer, 2015). It is critical to centralize and name race in relation to the contemporary socio-  
23  
24 political conjuncture as a site and setting for leisure for a number of reasons. The conditions of  
25  
26 austerity re/produced and reinforced by these politics have a disproportionate negative effect on  
27  
28 people of color (Bhambra, 2017). More worryingly, in the UK, for example, the post-Brexit  
29  
30 climate has seen a rapid and substantive rise in racially motivated hate crimes. As Jon Burnett  
31  
32 (2017, p.89) notes, “the racist violence that has followed the [Brexit] referendum is not a just a  
33  
34 ‘spike’, a ‘jump’ or a ‘spate’, as the mainstream consensus has it. It is the literal manifestation of  
35  
36 the political climate which sustains it”. Placing race at the center of our analysis is also required  
37  
38 to write against the interpretative sleight-of-hand that has sought to deracialize the rationales and  
39  
40 underpinnings of contemporary populism. As Gurminder Bhambra (2017) identifies astutely, the  
41  
42 ways in which the so-called socio-economic “left-behinds” – the communities erroneously held  
43  
44 (solely) responsible for the Brexit vote and Trump election – are racialised as white, has significant  
45  
46 consequences. Not only are minority ethnic groups and people of colour erased from any notion  
47  
48 of working-class consciousness or politics (Shilliam, 2018; Virdee, 2014), but this rhetoric “further  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 displaces structures of racialized inequality from the conversation, seeking, as it does, to make  
4  
5  
6 white working-class identity, and not structural issues of relative advantage and disadvantage, the  
7  
8 primary issue in explanations of the outcome” (Bhambra, 2017, p.218-19); see also Valluvan,  
9  
10 2017). Put simply, we are living in/through an epoch where race structures a majority of  
11  
12 contemporary despotic regimes and g/local conversations, and the role of academic work in  
13  
14 illuminating, mapping, and challenging them is paramount.  
15

16  
17 By underscoring race, we aim to highlight the ways in which leisure practices incorporate  
18  
19 various axes, categories, and mediums to invigorate and substantiate racial classifications –  
20  
21 including those that work outside the western lexicon of race and intelligibility. In the process of  
22  
23 foregrounding race, we aim to highlight how it gains traction through the interjection of class,  
24  
25 gender, sexuality, religion, and multiple politics of location. Beyond the high-profile example from  
26  
27 professional sport we discussed to begin this conversation, the role and significance of broader,  
28  
29 grassroots forms of *leisure* in resisting (or indeed reinforcing) contemporary forms of populism,  
30  
31 authoritarianism, and ethno-nationalism is arguably not yet fully explored and understood  
32  
33 analytically. This is perhaps surprising, given the myriad other forms of resistance we have  
34  
35 witnessed over the last couple of years, popular cultural or otherwise (Boone *et al*, 2018; Thangaraj  
36  
37 2015; Thangaraj *et al*, 2016). As Diana Parry and colleagues articulate, “leisure is a context where  
38  
39 people can create changes that may bring about a more socially just world, and the research we  
40  
41 conduct brings visibility to these efforts” (Parry *et al*, 2013, p.83). For us, emphasizing notions of  
42  
43 resistance, racial and non-racial, in this special issue is of utmost importance – *intellectually* and  
44  
45 *politically*. As Susan Shaw (2006: 533) articulates:  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 The idea of leisure as resistance raises questions about the political nature of leisure, and  
4  
5 particularly about human agency, power, and social and cultural change. In this sense,  
6  
7 resistance is not a neutral term that can be easily added to or dropped from the analysis of  
8  
9 leisure at will (as in “add resistance and stir”). Rather, it forces researchers to address not  
10  
11 only theoretical questions about paradigmatic assumptions, but also political questions  
12  
13 about the purpose and role of social research, about social action, and about praxis.  
14  
15  
16  
17  
18  
19

20  
21 With this in mind, the questions, challenges and opportunities addressed in this collection expand,  
22  
23 rather than restrict, the connection between leisure and national populism while making sure not  
24  
25 to center the West as the only site of knowledge production. In the process, readers will uncover  
26  
27 the various ways through which the authors challenge not only leisure in the Global North but also  
28  
29 western epistemologies.  
30  
31  
32

### 33 34 **Overview of the papers**

35  
36  
37 The papers in this special issue address leisure in a multitude of ways. Ali Greey (2018) focuses  
38  
39 on white supremacist tendencies within the supposedly liberal tradition of LGBT Pride events  
40  
41 through a consideration of both queer and mainstream media responses to a BlackLivesMatter  
42  
43 protest at 2016’s Pride Toronto march. Despite having been designated an “Honoured Group” by  
44  
45 Pride Toronto in 2016, members of BLM-Toronto were categorized as criminal, “terrorist,”  
46  
47 aggressive outsiders for holding a non-violent sit-in at the Pride parade, where they demanded  
48  
49 more resources for black queer and trans people, and the dis-inclusion of police officers in the  
50  
51 parade. Using Queer of Color Critique (Ferguson, 2004; Johnson, 2003; Manalansan, 2003; Reddy,  
52  
53 2011), Greey exposes the racist politics of exclusion, especially of queers of color, that structure  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 the event in concept as well as outcome. In the process, Greey carefully underlines the nefarious  
4  
5  
6 homonationalist and homonormative politics that govern the leisure spaces of gay parades, while  
7  
8 importantly accounting for racial politics within the LGBTQI community.

9  
10 When “alternative facts” become commonsensical and taken-for-granted realms of  
11  
12 “truth”, spaces of leisure offer the venue to shore up or challenge neoconservative ideologies.  
13  
14  
15 As Gabby Yearwood (2018) illustrates in his analysis of the University of Texas-Austin game  
16  
17 song and corresponding rituals, institutional narratives transform myths into socio-historical facts  
18  
19 that gain the power of “truth” through the force of tradition. Such acts, as also shown in the  
20  
21  
22 work on collegiate and professional mascots in the U.S. sporting landscape (Guiliano, 2015;  
23  
24 King, 2016; Spindel, 2006), validate the performance of tradition while suppressing forms of  
25  
26 protest. Through the voices of African American players, fans, cheerleaders, and other sport  
27  
28  
29 participants, Yearwood provides a critically important intervention into how white supremacist  
30  
31 anti-black rhetoric is transformed and differently coded to foreground university tradition and  
32  
33 state pride.

34  
35  
36  
37  
38 Brian Kumm and Corey Johnson focus upon a different leisure space altogether: the domestic  
39  
40 and informal leisure space of “the next-door neighbour’s lawn”. Using a post-qualitative  
41  
42 enquiry, they offer a narrative that “plays” with the lived affects of neoliberal populism in the  
43  
44  
45 U.S. In framing this often taken-for-granted realm of leisure, they make visible (and audible)  
46  
47 how patterns of everyday life (Duneier, 2000), street-level rhythms, sounds, smells, spaces,  
48  
49 politics and racial scripts (Anderson, 2000) offer the opportunity to decipher and resist  
50  
51  
52 manifestations of national populist politics. Through the trickster character Phillip, and a  
53  
54 musical interlude, they alert the reader to the experiential level of embodying and evoking social  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 change. The authors provide a compelling narrative, arguing how close attention to lived racial  
4  
5  
6 (and intersectional) affects, of themselves and the matters around them (where the human is just  
7  
8 one form), everyday flows of power can be more consciously re-played in different and  
9  
10 subversive ways. Their invitation to play is part of a broader disciplinary and political dialogue  
11  
12 to generate ways of knowing which, crucially, challenge the everyday racial sediments of  
13  
14  
15 national populist politics in/through the context of leisure.

16  
17 Similarly addressing localized spaces of leisure, Verena Lenneis and Sine Agergaard  
18  
19 (2018) focus upon community action as a means to challenge municipal control and policy-  
20  
21 making. Their post-colonial feminist interrogation reveals how both white Danish and Muslim  
22  
23 citizens' access to women-only public swimming sessions is limited by municipal policies about  
24  
25 the antithetical relationship between religious modesty and Danish liberalism (across both left-  
26  
27 wing and right-wing party positionings). Their analysis, during this time of the “global war on  
28  
29 terror” (Rana, 2011), provides critical interventions for understanding the local, national, and  
30  
31 global context of Muslim bodies and Muslim aesthetics (Abu-Lughod, 2013). Their analysis  
32  
33 makes vivid how different women's leisure is limited by critically exposing the ethno-nationalist  
34  
35 populism embedded within official records of municipal policy-making processes.  
36  
37  
38

39  
40 Veena Mani and Mathangi Krishnamurthy (2018) write on football and space (Sen, 2015)  
41  
42 in the South Indian state of Kerala, where grassroots organizing challenged the city corporation's  
43  
44 and state government's aim to replace the football pitch with a slaughterhouse. While the  
45  
46 fundamentalist Hindu national government (headed by the Bharatiya Janata Party) in India has  
47  
48 pushed for neoliberal policies coded through the language of regaining Hindu rights, the protest  
49  
50 by football fans shows a vibrant space of “active citizenry” to resist top-down dictates during a  
51  
52 time of increased Hindu, upper-class, and upper-caste fundamentalism (Kamath, forthcoming). As  
53  
54

1  
2  
3 Mani and Krishnamurthy show, critical analysis of national populism must account for g/local  
4  
5 challenges and forms of protest. The non-essentialist character of leisure and national populism  
6  
7 also requires that we expand upon how we conceptualize protest.  
8

9  
10 Heather Sykes and Manal Hamzeh (2018) intervene against accounts of leisure that  
11  
12 naturalize the nation and nation-state by foregrounding indigeneity and histories of settler-  
13  
14 colonialism, and locate the colonial epistemologies within the western academy that further silence  
15  
16 native, First Nation, and indigenous truths, histories, and claims to land. They adopt four different  
17  
18 ways of theorizing anti-colonialism and decolonialization, offering a critique of how the  
19  
20 construction of leisure and mega-sporting events involves various types of forgetting and amnesia.  
21  
22 By doing so, they offer a method of researching leisure using a decolonial, anti-essentialist  
23  
24 framework (Smith, 2002) that attends to longer histories, contemporary populist formations in  
25  
26 sport, and struggles for identity. In the process, while situating the importance of anti-colonial  
27  
28 perspectives to provide important critique to settler-colonialism, they foreground the importance  
29  
30 of the land and redistributing it back to native communities as the important work of  
31  
32 decolonialization.  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38

39 The article by Rodrigo Tramutolo Navarro, Daniella Tschöke and Simone Rechia (2018)  
40  
41 provides a timely consideration of the relationship between urbanization, public space and leisure.  
42  
43 Using a case study of the implementation of the Praça de Bolso do Ciclista in the city of Curitiba,  
44  
45 Brazil, this paper reveals how the construction of even a small leisure space can challenge the  
46  
47 hegemony of neoliberal planning practices and dominant discourses about uses of, and rights to,  
48  
49 the city. Notably, Navarro and colleagues highlight the role of two cycling groups in the process  
50  
51 of creating this space, the CicloIguaçu – Association of Cyclists of Alto Iguaçu, and Bicicletaria  
52  
53 Cultural. Using a range of qualitative methods – including documents and reports, observations,  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 visual records and interviews – to trace the participatory process through which the Praça de Bolso  
4  
5  
6 do Ciclista was planned and implemented, this article illuminates how collective power can lead  
7  
8 to the transformation of social space in the city. In doing so, it reminds us the subversive potential  
9  
10 of leisure practices and participants in resisting contemporary globalised neoliberal urban politics  
11  
12 (Harvey, 2006; Soja, 2010).  
13  
14  
15  
16

### 17 **Re-Imagining National Populist Projects**

18  
19 At the time of completing this introduction to our special issue, in September 2018, Colin  
20  
21  
22 Kaepernick was selected by sports apparel manufacturers, Nike, as one of its icons for the 30th  
23  
24 anniversary celebrations of its ‘Just Do it’ campaign (Carrington and Boykoff, 2018). When even  
25  
26 the man who has become a g/local figurehead for confronting the long history of racism in the US  
27  
28  
29 is “bedfellows” with a transnational, corporate, capitalist and patriarchal sports manufacturer  
30  
31 known for the exploitation of workers from the Global South, the following question emerges:  
32  
33 how as individuals, communities and citizens can we resist and fight the seeming ubiquity of  
34  
35 neoliberal and racialised forces of control and power? While Kaepernick and Nike’s relationship  
36  
37  
38 does bring about greater awareness of BlackLivesMatter and the rights of athletes, this is a complex  
39  
40 situation. At this time, the cultural critique and politics of Stuart Hall (and others) seem to be more  
41  
42 poignant than ever before (Carrington, 2018). In proposing a vision for society after neoliberal  
43  
44  
45 (national populist) political times, Hall *et al* (2015) argue that this will not necessarily be achieved  
46  
47 by a single means (or by one elite individual/sportsperson); rather, it will take forms of action that  
48  
49 address the multiple, social and economic complexities of “common-sense” populism as expressed  
50  
51  
52 across different g/local sites, spaces of leisure, work, culture and everyday life, by various  
53  
54 institutions and agents. Breaking the omnipresent forceful lock of radical right/mainstream ethno-

1  
2  
3 nationalist politics calls for – in the words of Deleuze and Guattari (1987) – “a thousand plateaus”;  
4  
5  
6 an infinite number of spaces and places “within which a society’s future can be imagined, fought  
7  
8 over, and determined” (Hall *et al* 2015, p.219). In adding our voices to this mission through the  
9  
10 context of leisure, and those of the contributing authors – through our united, separate and diverse  
11  
12 academic activisms, scholarship and community work – we too seek to challenge, struggle for, and  
13  
14 overturn contemporary fruitions of commonsense “values” of “the people” to advocate for a  
15  
16 philosophy of “deep democracy” (*ibid.*); that is, arguing for a society based on shared notions of  
17  
18 fairness and economic redistribution as well as historical, racial, intersectional, political  
19  
20 recognition and representation (see also Fraser, 2008). The papers that we present participate in  
21  
22 that project by naming the national populist movements in various sites while offering us, through  
23  
24 such critique, a space to organize, struggle, and reimagine leisure as spaces for justice, equality,  
25  
26  
27  
28 and equity.  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37

### 38 **Acknowledgments**

39  
40 We thank the editors of *Leisure Studies* for giving us the opportunity to put together this special  
41  
42 issue. It has been such a thrill for Stan, Aarti, Dan, and Erica working as a guest editorial team of  
43  
44 four scholars with such different theoretical, methodological, and historical backgrounds. The  
45  
46 chance to work with the authors of the papers in this special issue and see the interventions they  
47  
48 are making was such a pleasure. LaLa Zannell (2018) and Urooj Shahzadi (2018), authors of the  
49  
50 collection’s Foreword and Afterword, respectively, are models of ethical, engaged leadership and  
51  
52 we are grateful for their work. We want to offer thanks to many individuals who helped us  
53  
54  
55  
56 formulate, review, organize, and make sense of the special issue.  
57  
58  
59  
60



## **References**

- Abu-Lughod, L. (2013). *Do Muslim women need saving?* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Ahluwalia, P., & Miller, T. (2016). Brexit: the way of dealing with populism. *Social Identities*, 22(5), 453-454.
- Alexander, C. (2016). The culture question: a view from the UK. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39(8), 1426-1435.
- Anderson, E. (2000). *Code of the street: decency, violence, and the moral life of the inner city*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company.
- Arnaldo, Jr., C. (2016). Manny 'Pac-Man' Pacquiao, the transnational fist, and the Southern California ringside community. In S. Thangaraj, C. Arnaldo, Jr., & C. Chin (Eds.), *Asian American sporting cultures* (102-124). New York: New York University Press.
- Azmanova, A. (2018). The populist catharsis: on the revival of the political. *Philosophy and Social Criticism*, 44(4), 399-411.
- Berlant, L. (1997) *The Queen of America Goes to Washington City* Durham: Duke University Press.
- Bhambra, G.K. (2017) 'Brexit, Trump, and "methodological whiteness": on the misrecognition of race and class', *British Journal of Sociology*, 68, S1: 214-32.
- Bonikowski, B. (2017) 'Ethno-nationalist populism and the mobilization of collective resentment', *British Journal of Sociology*, 68, S1: 181-213.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2007). *Racism without racists: color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in the United States*. New York: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Boone, G., Secci, J., & Gallant, L. (2018). Resistance: active and creative political protest strategies. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 62(3), 353-374.
- Bradner, E. (January 23, 2017). Conway: Trump White House offered 'alternative facts' on crowd size. *CNN*. Retrieved from <https://edition.cnn.com/2017/01/22/politics/kellyanne-conway-alternative-facts/index.html>
- Brubaker, R. (2017). Between nationalism and civilizationism: the European populist moment in comparative perspective. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 40(8), 1191-1226.
- Burdsey, D. (2016). *Race, place and the seaside: postcards from the edge*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Burin, E. (Eds.) (2018). *Protesting on bended knee: race, dissent and patriotism in 21st century America*. Grand Forks, ND: Digital Press at the University of North Dakota.

- 1  
2  
3  
4 Burnett, J. (2017). Racial violence and the Brexit state. *Race and Class*, 58(4), 85-97.
- 5  
6  
7 Cammaerts, B. (2018). The mainstreaming of extreme right-wing populism in the Low Countries:  
8 what is to be done? *Communication, Culture and Critique*, 11(1), 7-20.
- 9  
10 Carrington, B. (2004). Introduction: race/nation/sport. *Leisure Studies*, 23(1), 1-3.
- 11  
12 ---- (2012). Introduction: sport matters. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 35(6), 961-970.
- 13  
14  
15 ---- (2018). Who's afraid of cultural studies? Recovering the sociological project through  
16 C. Wright-Mills and Stuart Hall. Paper presented at *Undisciplining: conversations from the edges*,  
17 The Sociological Review Foundation conference, The Baltic, Gateshead, 19<sup>th</sup>-21<sup>st</sup> June.
- 18  
19 Carrington, B. & Boykoff, J. (2018). Is Kaepernick's Nike deal activism – or just capitalism. *The*  
20 *Guardian*. Retrieved from [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/sep/06/colin-](https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/sep/06/colin-kaepernick-nike-activism-capitalism-nfl)  
21 [kaepernick-nike-activism-capitalism-nfl](https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2018/sep/06/colin-kaepernick-nike-activism-capitalism-nfl)
- 22  
23  
24 Deleuze, G. & Guattari, F. (1987). *A thousand plateaus*. London: Continuum.
- 25  
26  
27 Dodd, N., Lamont, M., & Savage, M. (2017). Introduction to BJS special issue. *British Journal of*  
28 *Sociology*, 68(S1), 3-10.
- 29  
30 Douglas, M. (2002). *Purity and danger: an analysis of the concepts of pollution and taboo*. New  
31 York: Routledge.
- 32  
33  
34 Duneier, M. (2000). *Sidewalk*. New York: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux.
- 35  
36 Ferguson, R. (2004). *Aberrations in black: toward a Queer of Color critique*. Minneapolis:  
37 University of Minnesota Press.
- 38  
39 Flaherty, B. (September 24, 2017). From Kaepernick sitting to Trump's fiery comments: NFL's  
40 anthem protests have spurred discussion. *The Washington Post*. Retrieved from [URL  
41 REQUIRED]
- 42  
43  
44 Fraser, N. (2008). *Scales of justice: reimagining political space in a globalising world*. Cambridge:  
45 Polity Press
- 46  
47  
48 Freedon, M. (2017). After the Brexit referendum: revisiting populism as an ideology. *Journal of*  
49 *Political Ideologies*, 22(1), 1-11.
- 50  
51 Futterman, M., & Mather, V. (May 23, 2018). Trump supports NFL's new national anthem policy.  
52 *The New York Times*. Retrieved from [https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/23/sports/nfl-](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/23/sports/nfl-anthem-kneeling.html)  
53 [anthem-kneeling.html](https://www.nytimes.com/2018/05/23/sports/nfl-anthem-kneeling.html)
- 54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

- 1  
2  
3 Gayle, D. (2018). Anti-fascists block route of Democratic Football Lads Alliance London march.  
4 *The Guardian*. Retrieved from [https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/oct/13/anti-](https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/oct/13/anti-fascists-block-route-of-democratic-football-lads-alliance-london-march)  
5 [fascists-block-route-of-democratic-football-lads-alliance-london-march](https://www.theguardian.com/world/2018/oct/13/anti-fascists-block-route-of-democratic-football-lads-alliance-london-march)  
6  
7  
8  
9  
10  
11  
12 Goldman, R. (February 18, 2017). Geert Wilders, a Dutch Nationalist politician, calls Moroccan  
13 immigrants 'scum'. *The New York Times*. Retrieved from  
14 [https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/18/world/europe/geert-wilders-netherlands-freedom-](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/18/world/europe/geert-wilders-netherlands-freedom-party-moroccan-immigrants.html)  
15 [party-moroccan-immigrants.html](https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/18/world/europe/geert-wilders-netherlands-freedom-party-moroccan-immigrants.html)  
16  
17  
18  
19  
20  
21  
22  
23  
24  
25  
26  
27  
28  
29  
30  
31  
32  
33  
34  
35  
36  
37  
38  
39  
40  
41  
42  
43  
44  
45  
46  
47  
48  
49  
50  
51  
52  
53  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60
- Gidron, N., & Hall, P., (2017). The politics of social status: economic and cultural roots of the populist right. *British Journal of Sociology*, 68(S1), 57-84.
- Greedy, A. (2018) Queer inclusion precludes (Black) queer disruption: media analysis of the Black lives matter Toronto sit-in during Toronto Pride 2016. *Leisure Studies*, DOI: [10.1080/02614367.2018.1468475](https://doi.org/10.1080/02614367.2018.1468475)
- Guiliano, J. (2015). *Indian spectacle: college mascots and the anxiety of modern America*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Gusterson, H. (2017). From Brexit to Trump: anthropology and the rise of nationalist populism. *American Ethnologist*, 44(2), 209-214.
- Hall, S. (1979). The great moving right show. *Marxism Today*, January, 14-20.
- (1988). *The hard road to renewal: Thatcherism and the crisis of the Left*. London: Verso.
- (1990). Cultural identity and diaspora. In J. Rutherford (Ed.), *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference* (222-237). London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Hall, S., Massey, D., & Rustin, M. (2015). *After neoliberalism? The Kilburn manifesto*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Harsin, J. (2018). Post-truth populism: the French anti-gender theory and cross-cultural similarities. *Communication, Culture and Critique*, 11(1), 35-52.
- Hartmann, D. (2003). What can we learn from sport if we take sport seriously as a racial force? *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 26(3) 451-483.
- Hatfield, J.E. (2018). Toxic identification: #Twinks4Trump and the homonationalist rearticulation of queer vernacular rhetoric. *Communication, Culture and Critique*, 11(1), 147-161.
- Harvey, D. (2006). *Spaces of global capitalism: towards a theory of uneven geographical development*. New York: Verso.
- James, C.L.R. (2005). *Beyond a Boundary*. London: Yellow Jersey Press

- 1  
2  
3 Johnson, E. P. (2003). *Appropriating blackness: performance and the politics of authenticity*.  
4 Durham: Duke University Press.  
5  
6  
7 Jones, H., Gunaratnam, Y., Bhattacharyya, G., Davies, W., Dhaliwal, S., Forkert, K., Jackson, E.  
8 & Saltus, R. (2017). *Go home? The politics of immigration controversies*. Manchester:  
9 Manchester University Press.  
10  
11 Judis, J.B. (2016). Rethinking populism. *Dissent*, Fall, 116-122.  
12  
13  
14 Kamath, H.M. (forthcoming). *Im/personations: the artifice of Brahmin masculinity in South Indian*  
15 *dance*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.  
16  
17 King, R. (2016). *Redskins: insult and brand*. Omaha: University of Nebraska Press.  
18  
19 Kumm, B.E. & Johnson, C.W. (2018). In the garden of domestic dystopia: racial delirium and  
20 playful interference. *Leisure Studies*, DOI: [10.1080/02614367.2018.1501413](https://doi.org/10.1080/02614367.2018.1501413)  
21  
22  
23 Laclau, E. & Mouffe, C. (1985) *Hegemony and socialist strategy: towards a radical democratic*  
24 *politics*. London: Verso.  
25  
26 Legum, J. (2017). Trump delivers unhinged rant on NFL, calls Colin Kaepernick a 'son of a bitch'.  
27 *Think Progress*. Retrieved from [https://thinkprogress.org/trump-delivers-unhinged-rant-on-](https://thinkprogress.org/trump-delivers-unhinged-rant-on-nfl-calls-colin-kaepernick-a-son-of-a-bitch-f6d6298516ad/)  
28 [nfl-calls-colin-kaepernick-a-son-of-a-bitch-f6d6298516ad/](https://thinkprogress.org/trump-delivers-unhinged-rant-on-nfl-calls-colin-kaepernick-a-son-of-a-bitch-f6d6298516ad/)  
29  
30  
31 Lenneis, V. & Agergaard, S. (2018). Enacting and resisting the politics of belonging through  
32 leisure. The debate about gender-segregated swimming sessions targeting Muslim women  
33 in Denmark. *Leisure Studies*, DOI: [10.1080/02614367.2018.1497682](https://doi.org/10.1080/02614367.2018.1497682)  
34  
35  
36 Lentin, A. & Titley, G. (2011). *The crisis of multiculturalism: racism in a neoliberal age*. London:  
37 Zed Books  
38  
39 Lorde, A. (1984). *Sister outsider*. Berkeley, CA: Crossing Press.  
40  
41 Manalansan, M. (2003). *Global divas: Filipino gay men in the diaspora*. Durham: Duke University  
42 Press.  
43  
44 ---- (2005). Race, violence, and neoliberal spatial politics in the global city. *Social Text*, 23(3-4),  
45 84-85.  
46  
47  
48 Mani, V. & Krishnamurthy, M. (2018). Making a locality: the politics of land and football in North  
49 Kerala. *Leisure Studies*, DOI: [10.1080/02614367.2018.1480651](https://doi.org/10.1080/02614367.2018.1480651)  
50  
51 Matthew, B. (2005). *Taxi! Cabs and capitalism in New York City*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.  
52  
53  
54 Meer, N. & Nayak, A. (2015). Race Ends Where? Race, Racism and Contemporary Sociology.  
55 *Sociology*, 49(6): NP3-NP20.  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

- 1  
2  
3 Meghji, A. & Saini, R. (2018). Rationalising racial inequality: ideology, hegemony and post-  
4 racialism among the Black and South Asian middle-classes. *Sociology*, 52(4), 671-687.  
5  
6  
7 Navarro, R.T., Tschöke, D., & Rechia, S. (2018). Public leisure space and community-based  
8 action: the case of Praça de Bolso do Ciclista of Curitiba/Paraná/Brazil. *Leisure Studies*,  
9 DOI: [10.1080/02614367.2018.1535613](https://doi.org/10.1080/02614367.2018.1535613)  
10  
11 Omi, M. & Winant, H. (1994). *Racial formation in the United States*. New York: Routledge.  
12  
13  
14 Orejuela, F. & Shonelan, S. (2018). *Black Lives Matter and music: protest, intervention, reflection*.  
15 Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.  
16  
17 Ouellette, L. & Banet-Weiser, S. (2018). Special issue: media and the extreme right, editor's  
18 introduction. *Communication, Culture and Critique*, 11(1), 1-6.  
19  
20  
21 Parry, D., Johnson, C., & Stewart, W. (2013). Leisure research for social justice: a response to  
22 Henderson. *Leisure Sciences*, 35(1), 81-87.  
23  
24 Porter, T. (September 23, 2017). Trump wants 'son of a bitch' NFL players fired but Colin  
25 Kaepernick – and his mom – are fighting back. *Newsweek*. Retrieved from  
26 [https://www.newsweek.com/trump-wants-nfl-police-brutality-protesters-colin-kaepernick-](https://www.newsweek.com/trump-wants-nfl-police-brutality-protesters-colin-kaepernick-sacked-heres-670001)  
27 [sacked-heres-670001](https://www.newsweek.com/trump-wants-nfl-police-brutality-protesters-colin-kaepernick-sacked-heres-670001)  
28  
29  
30 Price, L. (August 12, 2016). How The Weeknd, Kim Kardashian West and more stars have  
31 supported Black Lives Matter. *People*. Retrieved from [https://people.com/celebrity/how-](https://people.com/celebrity/how-celebrities-have-supported-black-lives-matter/)  
32 [celebrities-have-supported-black-lives-matter/](https://people.com/celebrity/how-celebrities-have-supported-black-lives-matter/)  
33  
34  
35 Pringle, R., Rhinehart, R., & Caudwell, J. (2015). *The sporting significance of pleasure*. Abingdon:  
36 Routledge.  
37  
38 Puar, J. (2007). *Terrorist assemblages: homonationalism in queer times*. Durham: Duke University  
39 Press.  
40  
41  
42 Rand, E. (2011). *Red nails, black skates*. Durham: Duke University Press.  
43  
44 Ratna, A. (2018). Unpacking everyday multiculturalism through the pedestrian speech acts of Gujarati  
45 Indian walkers in London. Paper presented at Media, Culture and Sport Stream Plenary,  
46 British Sociological Association annual conference, Northumbria University, 11<sup>th</sup> April.  
47  
48  
49 Reddy, C. (2011). *Freedom with violence: race, sexuality, and the US state*. Durham: Duke  
50 University Press.  
51  
52  
53 Saha, A. (2018). *Race and the cultural industries*. Cambridge: Polity Press.  
54  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60 Sen, R. (2015). *Nation at play: a history of sport in India*. New York: Columbia University Press.

- 1  
2  
3 Shabi, R. (2017). 'British jobs for British workers' is back, a fascist incursion into mainstream  
4 politics. *The Guardian*. Retrieved from  
5 [https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/sep/08/british-jobs-workers-fascist-](https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/sep/08/british-jobs-workers-fascist-government-brexite-plan)  
6 [government-brexite-plan](https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2017/sep/08/british-jobs-workers-fascist-government-brexite-plan)  
7  
8  
9 Shahzadi, U. (2018). A commitment to the task at hand. *Leisure Studies*, DOI:  
10 [10.1080/02614367.2018.1535616](https://doi.org/10.1080/02614367.2018.1535616)  
11  
12 Shaw, S. (2006). Resistance. In C. Rojek, S. Shaw, & A.J. Veal (Eds.) *A handbook of leisure*  
13 *studies* (533-546). Basingstoke: Palgrave.  
14  
15 Shilliam, R. (2018). *Race and the undeserving poor*. Newcastle upon Tyne: Agenda.  
16  
17 Smith, L. H. (2002). *Decolonizing methodologies: research and indigenous peoples*. New York:  
18 Zed Books.  
19  
20 Soja, E. (2010). *Seeking spatial justice*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.  
21  
22 Spindel, C. (2006). *Dancing at halftime: sports and the controversy over American Indian mascots*.  
23 New York: New York University Press.  
24  
25 Sykes, H. & Hamzeh, M. (2018). Anti-colonial critiques of sport mega-events. *Leisure Studies*,  
26 DOI: [10.1080/02614367.2018.1532449](https://doi.org/10.1080/02614367.2018.1532449)  
27  
28  
29 Thangaraj, S. (2015). *Desi hoop dreams: pickup basketball and the making of Asian American*  
30 *masculinity*. New York: New York University Press.  
31  
32 ---- (2017). Say her name! Confronting erasure and rethinking possibilities for a democratic future.  
33 *Tropics of Meta: Historiography for the Masses*, [https://tropicsofmeta.com/2017/07/13/say-](https://tropicsofmeta.com/2017/07/13/say-her-name-confronting-erasure-rethinking-possibilities-for-a-democratic-future/)  
34 [her-name-confronting-erasure-rethinking-possibilities-for-a-democratic-future/](https://tropicsofmeta.com/2017/07/13/say-her-name-confronting-erasure-rethinking-possibilities-for-a-democratic-future/)  
35  
36  
37  
38 Thangaraj, S., Arnaldo, C. Jr., & Chin, C. (eds.) (2016). *Asian American sporting cultures*. New  
39 York: New York University Press.  
40  
41  
42 Taylor, K.-Y. (2016). *From #BlackLivesMatter to Black liberation*. New York: Haymarket Books.  
43  
44  
45 Virdee, S. (2014). *Racism, class and the racialized outsider*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.  
46  
47 Valluvan, S. (2016). What is 'post-race' and what does it reveal about contemporary racisms?  
48 *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 39(13), 2241-2251.  
49  
50  
51 ---- (2017). Defining and challenging new nationalism. *Juncture*, 23(4), 232-239.  
52  
53 Valluvan, S. & Kapoor, N. (2016). Notes on theorizing racism and other things. *Ethnic and Racial*  
54 *Studies*, 39(3), 375-382.  
55  
56  
57  
58  
59  
60

1  
2  
3 Yearwood, G.M.H. (2018). Heritage as hate: racism and sporting traditions. *Leisure Studies*, DOI:  
4 [10.1080/02614367.2018.1497683](https://doi.org/10.1080/02614367.2018.1497683)

5  
6 Wallerstein, I. & Balibar, E. (1991) *Race, nation, class: ambiguous identities* New York: Verso.

7  
8 Willingham, AJ. (August 15, 2017). Trump made two statements on Charlottesville. Here's how  
9 white nationalists heard them. *CNN*. Retrieved from  
10 [https://edition.cnn.com/2017/08/14/politics/charlottesville-nazi-trump-statement-](https://edition.cnn.com/2017/08/14/politics/charlottesville-nazi-trump-statement-trnd/index.html)  
11 [trnd/index.html](https://edition.cnn.com/2017/08/14/politics/charlottesville-nazi-trump-statement-trnd/index.html)

12  
13  
14 Zannell, L. (2018). The white open. *Leisure Studies*. [DOI REQUIRED]

15  
16 Zirin, D. (July 8, 2016). 6 times athletes spoke out in support of #BlackLivesMatter this week. *The*  
17 *Nation*. Retrieved from [https://www.thenation.com/article/6-times-athletes-spoke-out-in-](https://www.thenation.com/article/6-times-athletes-spoke-out-in-support-of-blacklivesmatter-this-week/)  
18 [support-of-blacklivesmatter-this-week/](https://www.thenation.com/article/6-times-athletes-spoke-out-in-support-of-blacklivesmatter-this-week/)