Sport, Refugees and Forced Migration: critical dialogues and questions amid diminishing rights and expanding borders

Chapter published in the Handbook on Sport and Migration (2024, Eds. Joseph Maguire, Katie Liston and Mark Falcous) Emerald Publishing: 295-306.

Nicola De Martini Ugolotti, Bournemouth University, United Kingdom; Associazione Frantz Fanon, Italy http://orcid.org/0000-0001-5149-7617

Introduction

In the last few years a wealth of publications has critically interrogated the relationship between sport and forced migration (e.g., Spaaij et al., 2019; Middleton et al., 2020; De Martini Ugolotti and Caudwell, 2021; Spaaij, Luguetti and De Martini Ugolotti, 2022; Michelini, 2023 to name a few overviews and books). This body of work has provided a much needed "critical turn" and calls for interdisciplinary research that has broadened the scope and relevance of sport-related analyses on the topic. Building on these perspectives, this chapter has two main objectives. The first is to provide an overview of key debates and themes on sport and forced migration from this literature and, notwithstanding a lively research dialogue and scholarship, identify any outstanding issues for scholars. The second is to consider how sport and leisure researchers can contribute to wider debates across academic, public, and applied domains addressing issues of forced migration and the politics of sanctuary and asylum. In doing so, I consider how the much-coveted policy relevance of (sport) research can be achieved by scholars addressing sport and forced migration, not just by reacting to existing policy-driven questions and buzzwords (see Spaaij et al., 2019; De Martini Ugolotti and Caudwell, 2021), but also by advancing novel domains of inter-disciplinary analysis and praxis. At the end of this chapter, I briefly explore three of these potential contributions: the theorisation of the spatial and temporal dimensions in asylum regimes and sport practices, the centrality of the body *across* sport and forced migration research and the relevance of sport and leisure within grassroots solidarity responses to harmful asylum policies.

First, however, a word on terminology. In public and political narratives migration is generally associated with the movement of people across borders, often motivated by economic reasons or a desire to improve one's conditions and thus often assumed to be a "choice". Forced migration is instead associated with people escaping war/conflict and

persecution related to "race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion" (UNHCR, 2020) who have the right under international law to apply for refugee status in signatory countries of the UN's Refugee Convention. Following these categorisations, a person seeking asylum is someone who has submitted a claim to be recognised as a refugee and is waiting for a response to such claim.

While it is important to be aware of these categorisations, research has shown that the reasons which compel individuals and groups to leave their homes in search of more viable and secure life alternatives often overlap. Furthermore, immigration categories are not fixed nor "objective", as they can change according to shifts in the framing of these definitions in various national legislation and migration policies (Crawley and Skleparis, 2018). As I will elaborate further in this chapter, sport scholars need to critically interrogate how humanitarian categories shape hierarchies of inclusion and exclusion in relation to issues of forced migration and asylum. For now, this chapter adopts the terminology of people seeking asylum, refugees and forced migrants to include people at all stages of the asylum process, unless when relevant to draw attention to the differences in legal entitlements produced by asylum policies.

In the following sections I thus provide an overview of what I consider the most relevant themes and contributions that recently emerged from the literature on sport and forced migration. These themes revolve around critical analyses of sport, integration and (non)belonging, post-colonial, de-colonial and intersectional perspectives, issues of ethics, voice, and participatory methods, and media representation of refugees and sport. These sections constitute only a heuristic division of topics that effectively overlap and in several cases link with further lines of enquiry that I will discuss in the second part of the chapter.

Interrogating Integration and (non)belonging in sport with refugees

A substantial strand of research has critically engaged with the notion of integration, as a term often evoked but rarely critically analysed in relation to sport and forced migration. Agergaard's work (2018a, 2018b) has been key in illuminating the "methodological nationalism" (Wimmer and Glick Schiller, 2002) that informs programmes and research which promote and "measure" the integration outcomes of sport initiatives with people seeking asylum. Drawing on Wimmer and Glick Schiller's (2002) critique of the conflation of society within the boundaries of the nation in migration research, Agergaard's work has shown how the focus on forced migrants' integration through sport in refugee-receiving

countries has often reduced integration outcomes with taken-for-granted national discourses, agendas, and loyalties. The results consist often in the conflation of discourses of integration with practices of assimilation (see also Jeanes et al., 2015; Dowling, 2020) and the systematic blindness to the complex experiences, meanings, and practices of forced migrants in sport that exceed such limiting methodological frames. Ugolotti and Caudwell (2022) have further pointed to the political and epistemological implications of the tendency to centre research on sport/leisure and forced migration around taken-for-granted, policy-driven themes. Drawing on key contributions in (forced) migration studies (Castles, 2003; Bakewell, 2008) they argued that policy-driven research tends to follow a circular logic. It accepts the problem definitions built into its terms of reference, with the danger of making issues that sit outside of immediate policy-making concerns "irrelevant", and therefore invisible in academic and public debates (Ugolotti and Caudwell, 2022, 2). According to Castles (2003) "policy-driven research can lead not only to poor sociology, but also to bad policy" (26), as the recommendations that emerge from research are often chosen from a narrow range of options acceptable to commissioning/funding bodies. As such, these critical interrogations of the notion of integration (and other policy buzzwords) pushed sport and leisure scholars to recognise how the concepts and assumptions we inherit and adopt—even while aiming to make "impactful" research—can (unwittingly) imply a reproduction of unequal knowledge regimes and power structures.

Expanding these analyses, authors highlighted the need to critically examine narratives of integration-through-sport amid the proliferation of state-sanctioned "best practices of exclusion" (Mountz, 2020, xx) that target people seeking asylum. Addressing one such project in Switzerland, Kataria and Ugolotti (2022) advanced the notion of the "integration spectacle" to illuminate the ambivalent position occupied by sport interventions within the politics and moral representations of asylum. The authors ask how and to what extent do sport-for-integration interventions reinforce, shift, or address changing distinctions between "deserving" and "undeserving" refugees that underpin the rhetoric of fairness and integration in Swiss (and other countries') asylum policies. Similarly, Jurkovic and Spaaij's (2022) multi-sited research in the "Balkan Corridor" in South-East Europe highlighted how the denial of rights for people seeking sanctuary was fuelled by state-sponsored marginality and significantly undermined any framing of sport as a context and means for integration of people seeking asylum.

In a related vein, several scholars have explored alternatives to the notion of integration "as both a policy and a concept" (Nunn, Spaaij and Luguetti, 2022, 43) by addressing the meanings and engagements of forced migrants (predominantly male) with sport through the lens of belonging (Spaaij, 2015; Woodhouse and Conricode, 2017; Waarderburg et al., 2018; Stone, 2018; Genovesi, 2023). Addressing gaps left by the narrow geographic and temporal focus of integration, these authors explored the dynamic, multi-layered, and situational nature of belonging for people seeking sanctuary amid bi-dimensional humanitarian representations, fraught asylum politics, and widespread processes of spatial and social exclusion. Waardenburg et al. (2018) examined how the temporal suspension and measures of control characterising asylum reception centres in The Netherlands impacted on the possibilities for people seeking asylum to "benefit" from sport's ascribed positive spill-overs, such as increased feelings of belonging. Understanding belonging as relational, place-based, and contested, the authors highlighted the importance of understanding the meanings of sport for people seeking asylum in places that are designed to "discourage feelings of being at home and attachment to the local community" (Waardenburg et al., 2018, 940). Conversely, Genovesi (2023) investigated grassroots football initiatives as means through which people seeking asylum and political activists in Italy negotiated place-based and affective forms of belonging at the scale of the everyday to counter the detrimental effects of restrictive asylum policies. I return to these later in the chapter.

Overall, despite offering relevant contributions, the focus of this research has been on *men* seeking asylum, with the unintentional danger of re-inscribing the status of refugee women (and non-binary people) as 'excluded exclusions' (Mountz 2011, 393) in research on the topic. Acknowledging this, scholars have called for research that can address the diversity of refugee populations, including in parts of the world where most refugees reside, and through theoretical perspectives looking at sport and forced migration beyond frames of analysis that are "authored and authorised" (Prakash, 1992, 8) in the West.

Intersectional, post-colonial and de-colonial analyses on sport and forced migration

The dangers and implications of depicting refugees as a "kind of people" in policy and research has been an important theme in refugee and forced migration studies (Malkki, 1995). More recently, sport scholars have called for the adoption of intersectional approaches that could address how displacement and resettlement are differently lived and negotiated by people seeking asylum across overlapping markers of gender, sexuality, racialisation,

ethnicity, age, disabilities, religion, and legal status (Spaaij et al., 2019; Ugolotti and Caudwell, 2021; Spaaij, Luguetti and Ugolotti, 2022). These perspectives highlighted how sport initiatives designed to benefit forced migrants can implicitly silence refugees' diversified meanings and practices of health, sociality and (self-)care. For example, in her study on sport and leisure programmes with "LGBTIQ+ refugees" in Brazil, Venturini-Trindade (2021) critically discussed how the diversified experiences and needs of this group were overlooked within existing funding approaches that rely on pre-determined, quantitative, and standardised measures of "social change". In Sweden, Collison and Ugolotti (2021) worked with Muslim refugee women attending *mandatory* trauma-sensitive yoga courses included in a government Civic Orientation programme. Their study showed how the mandatory yoga sessions reflected overlapping discursive regimes that intertwined health and individual responsibility as (bio)political frames of "good" citizenship, gendered assumptions on refugee women's vulnerability and perceptions of Muslim women as oppressed, hyper-visible "others" in Swedish body politics. These analyses illuminated how addressing the diversity of forced migration and resettlement experiences requires an understanding of intersecting forms of power structures such as racism, xenophobia, Islamophobia, patriarchy, homophobia, transphobia, and State-sanctioned marginality. Some authors have highlighted how the intersection of these matrices of power is also maintained through historically entrenched portrayals of refugees from the Global South as representatives "of disorderly backward societies with violent men and helpless victims, typically women and children" (Kipnis, 2022, p. 566). To this end, authors highlighted the relevance of post-colonial frameworks to understand the role of gender in constructing 'the other' in research and initiatives focused on sport for/with refugees. Kipnis (2022) drew on these perspectives to explain how the existence of a female multi-sports movement in Palestine is obscured by Orientalist perceptions and narratives that portray Palestinian women as voiceless, silent, submissive victims, or as terrorism enablers for resisting their dispossession. In Germany, Bartsch and Rulofs, (2020) called for the combined employment of post-colonial and intersectionality theories in training sport specialists to understand the origins of assumptions and perceptions surrounding young refugees. For the authors, the combination of these theoretical perspectives can support sport practitioners in recognising the colonial underpinnings of racialized and gendered constructions of "backward" non-Western refugees by the "modern" and "civilised" West, that remain unquestioned to this day in many sport settings (Bartsch and Rulofs, 2020). Expanding these analyses through a de-colonial lens, Mashreghi (2022) argued how performance- and assimilation-oriented physical education

approaches with young refugees can flatten the multi-faceted meanings and experiences of physical culture to pre-existing Euro-centric frames of reference (e.g., self-development, resilience, integration, etc.). Drawing on her work with Afghan unaccompanied minors seeking asylum in Sweden, Mashreghi (2022) called for de-colonial analyses that can address already existing but yet-to-be-considered ways of living physical cultural practices and their relationship to history, memory, ethics, and personhood.

Emerging research adopting post-colonial, de-colonial and intersectional lenses have expanded the critical tools of research on sport and forced migration. These studies importantly highlighted how colonial imaginaries of the "other" articulated with the racialised and gendered contours of (non)welcome and conditional inclusion that accompany the reception of people seeking asylum from different parts of the world (see also Agergaard, et al., 2022). Importantly, across the variety of theoretical perspectives in the studies discussed so far, these share an explicit ethical commitment to research that goes beyond institutional requirements to 'do no harm' through the critical engagement with participatory-based and emancipatory-oriented research designs.

Who speaks for and who benefits from sport and forced migration research? Issues of ethics, voice, and research design

In a recent review of the literature Spaaij and colleagues (2019) underlined how, despite few exceptions[1], sport and leisure scholars afforded limited discussion to ethical challenges and considerations in research with forced migrants, despite these issues constituting a prominent area of debate in refugee and forced migration studies. Therefore, Spaaij and colleagues (2019) argued that discussions about ethics, voice and reciprocal benefits of research constituted a vitally important issue for future research and debate in sport, leisure and forced migration.

Concurrently, and in response to these points, sport/leisure research informed by critical, intersectional, and post- de-colonial frameworks has addressed issues of iterative consent, reflexivity, and commitment to participatory processes of research in methodologies. Moreover, recently authors have also started to provide important insights into the ethical and methodological challenges to consider when enacting research agendas that aim to be relevant and responsive to the diverse needs, desires, and experiences of people seeking

[1] See Doidge (2018) Stone (2018); Mohammadi (2019).

asylum. Luguetti, Syngehebuye and Spaaij (2022a; 2022b) addressed the ethical ambiguities and dilemmas that emerged in participatory action research (PAR) with refugee-background young people in a grassroots football programme (Football Empowerment) in Australia. The authors and co-researchers reflexively eviscerated the difficulties of sharing power, and the accompanying fear of losing control over the research process, as key conversations to have in finding ways to navigate the tensions of building trust and rapport with participants/co-researchers. Relatedly, Smith, Mansfield, and Wainwright (2022) discussed the ethical dilemmas of conducting PAR with young people with refugee background in relation to their leisure and well-being during the Covid-19 pandemic. Their work highlighted how developing trust and reciprocal partnerships, as crucial premises of PAR, meant for Smith the need to set aside data collection objectives to sustain and support the young people they worked with, despite the institutional demands weighing on researchers especially when at early career stages. Similarly, Enderle-Mohammadi and Mashreghi (2022) discussed their role as "research insiders" sharing cultural references with some of the people they worked with and addressing a gap in PAR as a methodology that remains mostly conducted by "outside-researchers" from the Global North. The authors discussed the temporal challenges of PAR in tentatively bridging the different timeframes of lived lives in asylum systems and the demands of academic research. These discussions have provided crucial points to consider in addressing the complexities and messiness of participatory research beyond a romantic view that PAR will be an empowering experience for those involved (see also Venturini-Trindade, 2021; McSweeney et al., 2022; Middleton et al., 2022; Smith, Mansfield, and Wainwright, 2023). Importantly, these works have highlighted some key questions for sport and leisure scholars researching forced migration to consider in relation to "what is, and what is not, 'happening" (Fine, 1994, 72) in research with intended emancipatory aims in relation to forced migration domains and politics. These questions speak directly to some of the yet-to-be-fully considered issues on which I will focus in the second part of the chapter. First however, I will address emerging and relevant discussions on media representation of refugees and sport.

Mediatised Representations of Sport and Refugee Issues

To date, only a limited number of studies have critically addressed the portrayal of "refugee athletes" in the media. Yet, these topics are relevant as the representation of refugee athletes is never neutral in relation to wider perceptions and debates on forced migration. Expanding the focus on media representations of individual refugee athletes (Agergaard, 2019; Michelini

and Seiberth, 2022), Ariyo and Turcott, (2022) and Burdsey, Michelini and Agergaard, (2022) have recently discussed the media representation of the Refugee Olympic Team (ROT) in relation to wider narratives on forced migration. Analysing the ROT in international media coverage between 2015 and 2021, Turcott and Ariyo (2022) noted that a substantial part of the coverage functioned for the International Olympic Committee (IOC) as a form of "celebrity humanitarianism" (Kapoor, 2013): a self-serving image-branding that did not change the conditions of those it claimed to benefit (e.g., through a positive change in perceptions towards refugees). In contrast, only a minority of media coverage addressed the wider exclusions of refugees around the world, or the conditions of refugee athletes still living and training in refugee camps. In dialogue with this work, Burdsey, Michelini and Agergaard's (2022) analysis of the IOC's press releases highlighted that the IOC's self-representation tended to underline Western sport and the Olympic Games' "transformative power" and the importance of refugee athletes as people that inspire other refugees; the latter conveyed through a neoliberal narrative of "hard work can overcome all obstacles" (including refugees' plights). In addressing the "unsaid" in the IOC's communication about the ROT, the authors also pointed to the lack of concern and understanding about the ongoing conditions experienced by refugee athletes (e.g., when still in refugee camps) and the larger group of refugees from which they are drawn. In highlighting these points, these and other studies discussed in this chapter illuminated the spilling over of mythopoetic views about the "goodness of sport" (see Coalter, 2007; Ekholm and Dahlstedt, 2023, p. 10) in addressing issues of (forced) migration. Media analyses thus have an important, yet only emerging role in contextualising the skewed representations of refugee athletes amid political processes and public perceptions that are often far less hopeful and welcoming to people seeking asylum than the mediatised narratives about the "power of sport" to benefit refugees. Building on this point, the following sections will focus on important and key themes and issues that can further highlight sport and leisure scholars' contribution to advance novel and meaningful perspectives on issues of forced migration, resettlement, and sanctuary.

Issues for further research

Acknowledging the important contributions and discussions outlined so far, there remains some semi-unexplored, yet relevant, issues and domains for scholars addressing sport and forced migration to discuss. As mentioned above, sport and leisure scholars are increasingly recognising and addressing in their works the diversity of forced migration trajectories and experiences that exist within the label of "refugee" or "person seeking asylum". Yet, at

present and apart from recent exceptions there does not seem to be a sustained reflection and attention on the experiences and uses of sport amid expanding border infrastructures, ever-restricting asylum policies and the reduction of access to asylum for people seeking sanctuary globally (Mountz, 2020).

While apparently outside the usual domain of sport studies, these processes have substantial implications in considering the nexus of sport, refugees and forced migration, as people seeking asylum often occupy a far-from-clear position within the moral and arbitrary definitions of "credible" and "deserving" refugees and are increasingly excluded by these definitions (e.g., when coming from the 'wrong country', or in the 'wrong way') (Mayblin, 2020). In this sense, amid increasing reports of inhumane conditions in reception/detention camps, and the expanding numbers of nations that actively restrict, slow-down or withdraw the possibility to claim asylum depending on means of arrival and country of origin, it is thus worth for sport scholars to ask: how existing, racialised hierarchies of deservingness impact on the opportunities for co-creation of meaningful sporting and leisure domains with refugees? How does increased use of "warehousing" (e.g., in reception/detention camps, hotels, barges etc.) as a policy response to asylum-related arrivals influence the meanings, experiences, relevance and accessibility of sport in and outside of these sites? How does the relevance and possibilities of sport change according to *where it takes place*?

These issues and questions bring to the fore the importance of sport and leisure perspectives in relation to the spatial and temporal politics of asylum (Mountz, 2011). While the focus of few studies so far, addressing the nexus of bordering, spatial and temporal processes in forced migrants' sport and leisure experiences and practices can provide meaningful contributions to wider discussions on forced migration and asylum. Based on the findings of the few studies on the topic, such a focus can illuminate how the supposed benefits of sport are influenced by the spatial and temporal practices of asylum regimes (Waardenburg et al., 2018). At the same time, it can also better conceptualise and account for experiences of time and place that can reflect, exceed, and negotiate the spatial, and bureaucratic mechanisms of the border/asylum regimes (Webster and Abunaama, 2021; Mohammadi, 2021; Norrito and Mason, 2023).

These points link to a further dimension through which sport research can dialogue and contribute to wider scholarly, public and practitioners' domains; namely, by building on a well-developed focus of research in sport and physical cultural studies that addresses "the physical body—the way it moves, is represented, has meanings assigned to it, [as] imbued

with power" (Silk and Andrews, 2011, 6). Such a perspective can constitute a highly productive form of dialogue with forced migration studies as it would contribute to address a key issue in this field of research. In fact, although migration scholars have discussed how (forced) migration is a process that is inscribed *in and on* the bodies of people on the move (Sayad, 2004), some authors have observed how the embodiment of migration processes that scholars often theorise is too often left "as disembodied categories in their texts" (Mountz, 2020, p. xxiii). The productivity of such dialogue can be envisaged in the focus of some scholars on the nexus between bodies, emotions, affects and the politics of asylum in the sport and leisure practices of people seeking asylum (Webster, 2022; Koopmans and Doidge, 2022; Ugolotti and Webster, 2023) and in works that articulated phenomenological analyses of sport and leisure with experiences and trajectories of forced migration and resettlement (Collison and Ugolotti, 2021; Abooali, 2022). Therefore, sport and physical cultural studies' theorisations of the body as "a locus of politics and praxis" (Giardina and Newman, 2011, 524) can thus advance particularly relevant but still emerging interdisciplinary dialogues with (forced) migration scholars increasingly focused on the domains of the body and the everyday as contested sites where migration politics play out (Yuval-Davis et al., 2018; Mayblin, 2020).

The relevance and overlaps of the perspectives discussed in this section emerges clearly in a recent body of work that has addressed the co-creation of sport and leisure with people seeking asylum as part of "grassroots" (McGee and Pelham, 2018), or "vernacular" (Brković, 2023) humanitarian initiatives. Authors (McGee and Pelham, 2018; Brković, 2023) have described vernacular humanitarian initiatives as small-scale experiments in supporting refugees that do not fit neatly with more traditional frameworks of humanitarian work and organised political action. These initiatives often range from setting-up supply distribution centres, make-shift social spaces, health clinics and leisure/sport initiatives which often become crucial sites of support and solidarity for people seeking asylum amid increasing governmental inaction or outward hostility towards refugees in the wake of 2015 "long summer of migration". Amid a burgeoning literature on the topic in the social sciences, recent analyses addressed the co-creation of sport and leisure domains in these grassroots humanitarian initiatives as means to explore forms of sociality and solidarity enacted with refugees through mundane practices and encounters (McGee and Pelham, 2018; Webster and Abunaama, 2022; Schmidt and Palutan, 2022; Webster, 2022; Ugolotti and Webster, 2023; Genovesi, 2023).

A focus on these analyses thus shows the relevance of sport and leisure as entry points to address emerging responses to forced migration, sanctuary, and asylum but also in producing timely and impactful research. By analysing the productivity and contradictions of sport spaces where the need for social justice and the shared pleasure of movement meet, studies addressing sport and grassroot solidarity initiatives have thus highlighted the relevance of "engaged" perspectives that go beyond common understandings of sport as a straightforward solution for refugees' integration or health. This, while making visible *and* addressing the forms of exclusion that existing understanding of sport as a universal "force-for-good" for refugees can unwittingly contribute to conceal.

Together with other relevant research discussed in this chapter, these recent perspectives are thus providing emergent findings and approaches that are relevant for practitioners, organizations and policy-makers willing to implement initiatives that can attend to and engage with refugees' diverse needs, experiences, and capabilities in contemporary asylum and re-settlement contexts. In this sense, the emerging scholarship discussed here offers a range of examples of sport and leisure studies' possible contributions to inter-disciplinary dialogues on issues of forced migration, and the impact that sport research can have on how a defining issue of our historical present is understood, represented, and addressed.

Conclusions

This chapter has provided an overview of some of the key themes and issues that have emerged in the last years among a lively and critical body of scholarship addressing the relationship between sport and forced migration. These themes are testament to a much needed "critical turn" in sport-related analyses on the topic and indicate meaningful opportunities for further interdisciplinary contributions. While organised in separated sections, the themes identified and discussed here can hopefully be read as in critical and productive dialogue. The considerations offered here arguably address only some of the potential lines of enquiry that scholars could explore in relation to the topic. While not claiming exhaustivity for the trends and gaps identified here, across these themes one key point clearly emerged, often through the innovative work of early career scholars: the relevance of sporting and leisure domains in advancing socially relevant and impactful research does not sit *only* in its capacity to meet pre-defined objectives and questions (e.g., integration, social cohesion, health outcomes etc.). Rather, it lies in offering relevant questions and frameworks to address the shifting socio-cultural, and political dimensions of

forced migration. Some of these novel entry points already emerged through critical, yet "engaged" analyses committed to make visible and respond to refugees' diverse needs and experiences, rights, and capabilities. Others are yet to be imagined, and hopefully this chapter has provided some reflections that can be useful to consider in addressing the challenges and unresolved injustices that shape the relationship between contemporary geographies of displacement and sport.

References

Abooali, S. (2022), 'Exploring the somatic dimension for sport-based interventions: A refugee's autoethnography', *Sport in Society*, 25(3), 506–522.

Agergaard, S. (2018a), *Rethinking Sport and Integration: Developing a Transnational Perspective on Migrants and Descendants in Sports*. London: Routledge.

Agergaard, S. (2018b), 'Transforming methodological nationalism: The case of sports scholarship and policy towards migrants and descendants', in Thomas Carter, Daniel Burdsey, and Mark Doidge (eds), *Transforming Sport: Knowledges, Practices, Structures*, London: Routledge, pp.79–90.

Bartsch, F. and B. Rulofs, (2020), 'Intersections of forced migration and gender in physical education', *Frontiers in Sociology*, **5**, https://doi.org/10.3389/fsoc.2020.539020

Brković, C. (2023), 'Vernacular Humanitarianism: An Introduction', *Social Anthropology/Anthropologie Sociale*, https://doi.org/10.3167/saas.2023.310102

Burdsey, D., E. Michelini and S. Ageergard (2023), 'Beyond Crisis? Institutionalized Mediatization of the Refugee Olympic Team at the 2020 Olympic Games', *Communication and Sport*, https://doi.org/10.1177/21674795221110232

Collison, C., and N. De Martini Ugolotti (2022), 'Pain, Faith and Yoga: An intersectional-phenomenological perspective on Syrian Muslim women's experiences of resettlement in Sweden', in Nicola De Martini Ugolotti and Jayne Caudwell (eds.), *Leisure and Forced Migration: Lives Lived in Asylum Systems*, London: Routledge, pp. 121–138

Crawley, H. and D. Skleparis (2018), 'Refugees, migrants, neither, both: categorical fetishism and the politics of bounding in Europe's "migration crisis"', *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, **44**(1), 48–64.

De Martini Ugolotti, N. and J. Caudwell (eds.) (2022), *Leisure and Forced Migration: Lives Lived in Asylum Systems*. London: Routledge.

De Martini Ugolotti, N., and C. Webster (2023), 'Sites of intensity: leisure and emotions amid the necropolitics of asylum', *Leisure Studies*, https://doi.org/10.1080/02614367.2023.2173798

Enderle-Mohammadi, S. and S. Mashreghi (2022), 'Methodological challenges and opportunities in working within a participatory paradigm in the context of sport, forced migration and settlement: an insider perspective', *Sport in Society*, **25**(3), 469-484

Genovesi, F. (2023), 'Spaces of football and belonging for people seeking asylum: Resisting policy-imposed liminality in Italy', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, https://doi.org/10.1177/10126902231179624

Kapoor, I. (2013), *Celebrity Humanitarianism: The Ideology of Global Charity*. London: Routledge

Kataria, M. And N. De Martini Ugolotti (2022), 'Running for Inclusion: responsibility, (un)deservingness and the spectacle of integration in a sport-for-refugees intervention in Geneva, Switzerland', *Sport in Society*, **25**(3), 602–618.

Kipnis, H. (2022), 'We exist, play sports, and will persist: everyday lives of Palestinian sportswomen through the lens of the 'politics of invisibility'', *Sport in Society*, **25**(3), 566-581

Jeanes, R., J. O' Connor, and L. Alfrey (2015), 'Sport and the Resettlement of Young People from Refugee Backgrounds in Australia', *Journal of Sport and Social Issues,* **39**(6), 480–500.

Jurković, R. and R. Spaaij (2022), 'The 'integrative potential' and socio-political constraints of football in Southeast Europe: a critical exploration of lived experiences of people seeking asylum', *Sport in Society*, **25**(3), 636-653

Luguetti, C., L. Singehebhuye and R. Spaaij (2022a), 'A collaborative self-study of ethical issues in participatory action research with refugee-background young people in grassroots football', *Sport in Society*, **25**(3), 453-468.

Luguetti, N. Jice, L. Singehebhuye, K. Singehebhuye, A. Mathieu, and R. Spaaij (2022b), 'I know how researchers are […] taking more from you than they give you': tensions and possibilities of youth participatory action research in sport for development', *Sport, Education and Society,* https://doi.org/10.1080/13573322.2022.2084374

Malkki, L. (1995), 'Refugees and Exile: From 'Refugee Studies' to the National Order of Things', *Annual Review of Anthropology,* **24**(1), 495–523.

Mashreghi, S. (2021), 'Decolonial Stories of Forced Migrants in Physical Activity and Sport 'We the Afghan Kids', in Nicola De Martini Ugolotti and Jayne Caudwell (eds.), *Leisure and Forced Migration: Lives Lived in Asylum Systems*, London: Routledge, pp. 157–175.

McSweeney, M., R. Hakiza and J. Namukhula (2022), 'Participatory action research and visual and digital methods with refugees in Kampala, Uganda: process, ethical complexities, and reciprocity', *Sport in Society*, **25**(3), 485-505

Mayblin, L. (2020), *Asylum and impoverishment: Social policy as slow-violence*, London: Routledge.

Michelini, E. (2023), *Sport, Forced Migration and the 'Refugee Crisis',* London: Routledge.

Middleton, T., B. Petersen, R. J. Schinke, S. F. Kao, and C. Giffin (2020), 'Community sport and physical activity programs as sites of integration: A meta-synthesis of qualitative research conducted with forced migrants.', *Psychology of Sport and Exercise,* **51,** 101769.

Middleton, T., R. J. Schinke, D. Lefebvre, B. Habra, D. Coholic and C. Giffin (2022), 'Critically examining a community-based participatory action research project with forced migrant youth', *Sport in Society*, **25**(3), 418-433.

McGee, D., and J. Pelham (2018), 'Politics at play: Locating human rights, refugees and grassroots humanitarianism in the calais jungle', *Leisure Studies*, **37**(1), 22–35.

Mohammadi, S. (2019), 'Social inclusion of newly arrived female asylum seekers and refugees through a community sport initiative: the case of Bike Bridge', *Sport in Society*, **22**(6), 1082-1099

Mohammadi, S. (2022), 'A spatial-phenomenological analysis of asylum-seeking women's engagement in a cycling recreation program', in Nicola De Martini Ugolotti and Jayne

Caudwell (eds.), *Leisure and forced migration: Lives lived in asylum systems*, London: Routledge, pp. 35–51.

Mountz, A. (2011), 'Where Asylum-Seekers Wait: Feminist Counter-Topographies of Sites Between States', *Gender, Place & Culture*, **18**(3), 381–399.

Mountz, A. (2020), *The death of asylum: Hidden geographies of the enforcement archipelago.* University of Minnesota Press.

Norrito, A. and C. Mason (2023), 'Lampedusa, football and COVID-19: transitions at the border and the role of sport', *Contemporary Social Science*, 18(1), 26-40

Nunn, C., R. Spaaij, and C. Luguetti (2022), 'Beyond Integration: Football as a Mobile, Transnational Sphere of Belonging for Refugee-Background Young People', *Leisure Studies* **41**(1), 42–55.

Prakash, G. (1992), 'Postcolonial criticism and Indian historiography', *Social Text*, **31/32**, 8-19.

Sayad, A. (2004), *The suffering of the immigrant*. Polity Press.

Silk, M., and D. Andrews (2011), 'Toward a physical cultural studies', *Sociology of Sport Journal*, **28** (1), 4-35.

Smith, R., L. Mansfield, and E. Wainwright (2022), 'Should I really be here?': Problems of trust and ethics in PAR with young people from refugee backgrounds in sport and leisure', *Sport in Society*, **25**(3), 434-452.

Smith R., L. Mansfield and E. Wainwright (2023), 'Do know harm': Examining the intersecting capabilities of young people from refugee backgrounds through community sport and leisure programmes'*, International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, https://doi.org/10.1177/10126902221150123

Spaaij, R. (2015), 'Refugee Youth, Belonging and Community Sport', *Leisure Studies,* **34**(3), 303–318.

Spaaij, R., J. Broerse, S. Oxford, C. Luguetti, F. McLachlan, B. McDonald, B. Klepac, L. Lymbery, J. Bishara, and A. Pankowiak (2019), 'Sport, refugees, and forced migration: A

critical review of the literature', *Frontiers in Sports and Active Living*, doi:10.3389/fspor.2019.00047

Spaaij, R., C. Luguetti and N. De Martini Ugolotti (2022), 'Forced Migration and Sport: An Introduction', *Sport in Society*, **25**(3), 405–417.

Stone, C. (2018), 'Utopian community football? Sport, hope and belongingness in the lives of refugees and asylum seekers', *Leisure Studies*, **37**(2), 171–183.

Turcott, R., and E. S. Ariyo (2022), 'Disrupting the global refugee crisis or celebrity humanitarianism? Media frames of the refugee Olympic team at 2016 Rio and 2020 Tokyo summer Games', *Sport in Society*, **25**(3), 671–686.

Venturini-Trindade, N. (2021), 'Leisure Provision for LGBTIQ + Refugees: Opportunities and Constraints on Building Solidarity and Citizenship across Differences in Brazil', in Nicola De Martini Ugolotti and Jayne Caudwell (eds.), *Leisure and forced migration: Lives lived in asylum systems,* London: Routledge, pp. 85-104.

Waardenburg, M., M. Visschers, I. Deelen and I. van Liempt (2019), 'Sport in liminal spaces: The meaning of sport activities for refugees living in a reception centre', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, **54**(8), 938–956.

Webster, C., and K. Abunaama (2021), 'Informal Football Spaces and the Negotiation of Temporal Politics in the Lives of Forced Migrants', in Nicola De Martini Ugolotti and Jayne Caudwell (eds.), *Leisure and forced migration: Lives lived in asylum systems*, London: Routledge, pp. 20-34.

Webster, C. (2022), 'The (in)significance of footballing pleasures in the lives of forced migrant men', *Sport in Society*, **25**(3), 523–536.

Wimmer, A., and N. Glick Schiller (2002), Methodological Nationalism and Beyond: Nation-State Building, Migration and the Social Sciences. *Global Networks,* 2(4), 301–334.

Woodhouse, D., and D. Conricode, (2017), 'In-Ger-Land, in-Ger-Land, in-Ger-Land! Exploring the Impact of Soccer on the Sense of Belonging of Those Seeking Asylum in the UK', *International Review for the Sociology of Sport,* **52**(8), 940–954.