

NOTES

INTRODUCTION

1. Bush was making an effort to try and point out that he *had* shown up for flight training while in the Texas Air National Guard and thus quell media reports that had recently suggested that he had been AWOL from his Texas Air National Guard service.
2. Russell's observations mirror those reported by Mike Allen and Liz Clarke (2004) of the *Washington Post*, who noted the words of "Thomas," a 58-year-old self-employed contractor attending the race: "[Bush is] like me. His swagger, his confidence—I can relate to his thinking."
3. Of course, our use of the term "national culture" is not meant to signify either a singular, monolithic national culture shared by all self-identified "Americans," nor a cultural sphere limited only to the political, economic, or geographic boundaries of the United States of America. Rather, we are suggesting that for many self-identified "Americans," "America" is an inwardly and nonreflexively constituted free-floating, abstracted, and contested discursive formation through which the national narrative is framed. Further, our use of the terms "America" and "American" is specifically utilized through the text not to suggest that "America" is synonymous with the United States of America and its politics, culture, and economy—as to do so would problematically dismiss the multiplicities of the "Americas" and the privileged position the United States is often afforded in discussions thereof—but to evoke the homogenizing processes by which the national imaginary is often subjected and brought to life.
4. In the early part of the decade, NASCAR was lauded as North America's "fastest growing sport" in terms of the upsurge in gate receipts, television coverage, fan organizations, and sales of licensed merchandise when compared with other major professional sports leagues in recent decades (Rybacki & Rybacki, 2002). We detail this hypercommercialization of NASCAR later in the book.
5. Wright's aforementioned text, as well as Neal Thompson's (2006) concise cultural history of the early days of NASCAR, *Driving with the Devil: Southern Moonshine, Detroit Wheels, and the Birth of NASCAR*, being two exceptions.
6. And, of course, there is a plethora of mainstream press that focus in some fashion on NASCAR. These include such books as celebrity profiles of various drivers (e.g., Larry Cothren's series featuring Jeff Gordon, Dale Earnhardt, Sr., Tony Stewart, and others), fans' guides to auto racing (e.g., Mark Martin's [2000] *NASCAR for Dummies*),

or general automotive histories (e.g., Joe Menzer's [2001] *The Wildest Ride: A History of NASCAR [or How a Bunch of Good Ol' Boys Built a Billion-Dollar Industry out of Wrecking Cars]*).

7. A fantasy league is a virtual competition, usually hosted on a major sports-themed website such as ESPN.com, between contestants who select a set of drivers to make up their "team." Order is determined by the composite results of each contestant's team over the course of the NASCAR season.
8. Of course, our research did not exist in isolation from NASCAR's corporate practices, but rather in dialogue with them.
9. It is important to note that we *did* speak with administrators and other individuals within NASCAR's corporate hierarchy. In the best practices of critical ethnography, however, we did so in dialogue with the empirical conversations that we had with the folks consuming their events—never sharing any information about the people with whom we spoke, nor of their opinions or experiences at NASCAR events.
10. In practice, this meant spending entire weekends in NASCAR Nation—sleeping in local motels, eating sausages, and drinking beers hours before each event, wandering about (or what Guy Debord [1981c] refers to as "*dérivé*") the spaces and spatial practices of NASCAR, speaking with various strategically identified and randomly selected cultural agents along the way—all the while performing the role of "researcher-fan" (and thereby not contesting or stepping outside the normative boundaries of fan conduct).
11. The student of society will undoubtedly recognize that there is no distinct chapter devoted to NASCAR's gender politics in this book. In its place, gender themes, issues, and problematics can be found "popping up" throughout the text, and specifically in discussions found in Chapters Four, Five, and Six. As issues of gender, patriarchy, and sexuality intersect across axes of consumerism, racism, fundamentalism, and militarism, we thought it best to weave this thread across, rather than in isolation of, these themes. That being said, we feel that in the future such a focused, protracted analysis of NASCAR's politics of gender and sexuality would certainly prove more than useful.
12. In the final chapters of this book, we extrapolate the untenable imperatives of both missile-guided and Wal-Mart commodified U.S. expansion, what Arundhati Roy refers to as the "checkbook and cruise missile" dynamic (Roy & Barsamian, 2004).

1 SPORTING AUTOMOBILITY: CONTEXTUALIZING NASCAR NATION

1. With regard to this autonomous auto patriarchy, David Gartman (2004) writes:

[C]ar ownership and operation were considered culturally appropriate mainly for men. However, even when women in this early

period gained access to automobility, gender ideology segregated them in a different type of automobile, the electric car. Gasoline-powered cars were said to be too smelly, noisy, powerful, and difficult to operate and maintain for women. Cars driven by electric motors were considered more appropriate for women, for they were quieter, cleaner and less mechanical. (p. 174)

In short, the car—and the knowledge and fortitude to master its capabilities—reconstructed the norms of a burgeoning modern technological masculinity (Hall, 2002).

2. Which was roughly a quarter of the price of all other automobiles. The point is often made that Ford's assembly line efficiency and revolutionary processes of standardization and mass production transformed the exchange of commodities within the American marketplace. Equally important, yet oft overlooked, is that by paying his employees what was then an unprecedented wage of \$5 per day, and offering various forms of buyer incentives, he simultaneously incited a revolution of middle-class *consumption*. When considering the residual effects of this regime of mass accumulation, it becomes all the more obvious why domestic automobile manufacturers of the neoliberal condition are unable to compete in the global marketplace (more on this in Chapter Seven).
3. For example, the largest public works project of the postwar period was the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1956, which dedicated an initial \$25 billion (roughly \$200 billion in 2010 dollars, adjusting for inflation) for the construction of 41,000 miles of interstate highway construction. As a result, by the late-twentieth century, 50 percent of the Los Angeles' (for instance) topography was covered with automobile-dedicated pavement
4. This critique of automobility is neither new nor unique to Urry. For example, in his novel *Second Generation*, Raymond Williams (1964) describes the *auto paralysis* consequential of this automobility. Writing from a British context, he offers a series of observations on traffic congestion within an industrial city located in the north of England. He maps the contradictions of movement, mobility, and flow offered by the automobile; whereby social order is determined (by backlog, limited navigation, roadway controls) and yet within the car—and its air-conditioned, musical ambience—the car-driver is seemingly afforded a limitless pursuit of self-determined private purposes. And hence myth and reality become one, whereby the car is both the conduit to freedom and the apparatus by which one's freedom (on the road, in traffic, at a stop light, etc.) is constricted. To drive a car was, and continues to be, an act of *engagement* (with capital, with modernity, with consumer culture, etc.) and of *disengagement* (from spatial and temporal constraint, from the social malaise of the transportive world, from the strictures of footpath or railway interdependency).

5. The examples are far-reaching and diverse in structure and design. In Nazi Germany, for example, the authoritarian regime was able to administrate the street space in spectacular ways and in so doing suppress the democratic and socialist resistance movements it had betrayed. More recently in the United States, corporate intermediaries, such as those at automobile manufacturer General Motors, have successfully become entrenched in the street planning and policy arms of the federal government, and in so doing configure public funding and programming to maximize the nation's auto centrality and hence GM's profitability. (As an example of U.S. automobile manufacturers' investments in free market political economics, GM famously distributed thousands of copies of Friedrich Hayek's *The Road to Serfdom* to workers, patrons, and policymakers in Detroit and Washington during the 1940s and early 1950s.)
6. In his novel *Crash*, which was later made into an Oscar-winning film, J. G. Ballard (1973) described the almost sensual fetish for the road and automobility as "a huge metallized dream" enlivened by "our sense of speed, drama and aggression, the worlds of advertising and consumer goods, engineering and mass manufacture, and the shared experience of moving together through an elaborately signalled landscape" (quoted in Wollen, 1993, p. 16).
7. The Bible Belt is an informal term referring to the Southern and Southwestern part of the United States where socially conservative evangelical Protestantism is a dominant feature.
8. Here, of course, we are referring to the scientific management theories of F. W. Taylor. Taylor is often lauded as the father of the modern science of production efficiency, with his 1911 book *The Principles of Scientific Management* often hailed by business scholars as a seminal text in management theory. His impetus for workplace efficiency is largely based on the scientific study of the task management and intensive work training: divide up the worker's discrete task, and divide work nearly equally between managers and workers, so that the managers apply scientific management principles to planning the work and the workers actually perform the tasks.
9. In building the largest, fastest track on the circuit, architects had neglected to address banking issues that created an impossible combination of speed and maneuverability.
10. The Mason-Dixon Line was demarcated by Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon in the 1760s to resolve a border dispute between British colonies in Colonial America. It forms a boundary line between four U.S. states, forming part of the borders of Pennsylvania, Maryland, Delaware, and West Virginia (then part of Virginia). During the U.S. Civil War, it became an important boundary that distinguished Confederate and Union territories.
11. For example, all but three of NASCAR's top 20 drivers for the 1964 season hailed from states east of the Mississippi River. During that

- same period, just 9 percent of NASCAR's races were held outside of the Old Confederacy; namely North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, and Alabama (Pillsbury, 1974).
12. Along with the aforementioned shifts toward unionization in the major North American sport leagues, teams in South America (such as the popular Brazilian club Corinthians) and Europe (most celebrated in the restructuring of Barcelona Football Club) were undergoing radically democratic transformations in the wake of the 1968 transnational workers' movement.
 13. We saw similar inklings of NASCAR driver-celebrities openly supporting Republican politicians a few years earlier, in 1976, when Richard Petty served on Gerald Ford's Steering Committee for President in North Carolina. However, the public engagement with NASCAR personalities had not yet reached the explicit levels we document later in this book.
 14. The derisive reaction to Clinton escalated in 1995, when as president he moved to ban cigarette advertising at sporting events as part of a larger policy move aimed at curbing teen smoking rates (at the time, NASCAR was sponsored by R. J. Reynolds Co., the maker of Winston cigarettes, from whence NASCAR's Winston Cup Series was named). Although some fans legitimately worried that such restrictions could have a deleterious impact on NASCAR, given its immense sponsorship agreements with RJR, Christopher Sullivan (1995) suggests that more was afoot, writing:

Some [fans] were mad out of loyalty to the tobacco company sponsors "that brought us here"... But most were mad at something larger. Mad at Big Government. Mad about losing rights. Mad at the FDA. And President Clinton. And his wife, Hillary, for that matter. And just plain mad that a bunch of law-abiding, family-oriented, hard-working, six-pack-in-the-Igloo folks like themselves were getting jerked around again. (p. 1)
 15. An "unofficial" poll commissioned by Maxwell House Racing in October 1992 showed that Bush had the support of 83 percent of NASCAR drivers, Clinton 10 percent, and third-party candidate H. Ross Perot 7 percent. ("Drivers Place Bush in 'Poll' Position," 1992).
 16. On the other hand, some Southern "centrists" (read: neoliberals with a "moderate" social agenda) have found modest success among the NASCAR faithful, as former Florida senator Bob Graham, U.S. Representative Heath Shuler (D-NC), and former Virginia governor (now senator) Mark Warner were each able to ingratiate themselves with the sport and its followers in the run-ups to their respective elections.
 17. Based on our archival research, NASCAR Nation was widely ignored during the 1996 Bill Clinton-Bob Dole election, save for a few appearances at NASCAR events by Dole, and the aforementioned tobacco sponsorship flare-up. Rather, the so-called Soccer Moms constituency

- ruled the popular-political debate. In 2000, candidates made appearances at various races—John McCain, for example, drove a few laps around the track at Darlington prior to the South Carolina Republican primary—but it was not generally a large media spectacle.
18. Bush attended a March 1999 Winston Cup Primestar 500 race in Ft. Worth, Texas. Although Meserve refers to Bush as a “presidential hopeful,” Bush did not actually declare himself a candidate until June 1999.
 19. This nichefication of contemporary politics is obviously nothing new. Anna Greenberg (1998), in fact, reminds us that every presidential election since 1992 has had its own thematic frame organized or bracketed off by race or gender. She notes, for example, that, “[in] 1992, the ‘Year of the Woman’ was fueled by anger over the Anita Hill/Clarence Thomas hearings; in 1994, the ‘Angry White Male’ apparently elected a Republican Congress; and in 1996, the ‘Soccer Moms’ were responsible for the re-election of Bill Clinton” (p. 1).
 20. David von Drehle’s (1992) essay on the intersection of politics and NASCAR, which appeared in the *Washington Post*, provided one of the more raw examples of the racial dynamic in place at NASCAR events: “‘You notice there’s not many blacks here,’ a race fan from Florence, S.C., observed, touching on another quality of stock car culture. Only he didn’t say ‘black’” (p. A10).

2 THE ROAD AND SERFDOM: THEORIZING THE CULTURAL POLITICS OF NEOLIBERALISM

1. For example, take the BP oil spill of 2010. Prior to the catastrophe, U.S. policymakers feuded for decades over whether oil-producing activities should be subjected to greater government regulation. Hayek’s acolytes, from both political parties but certainly from the Right, argued that BP should be free to operate in the company’s best interest. Conversely, opponents suggested that the company’s sole interest was maximizing profits for its shareholders, and as such secondary and long-term interests such as environmental sustainability or safety would be important only if it affected the quarterly bottom line.
2. We should note here that Hayek’s neoliberalism is not the exclusive enterprise of neo-conservatism or paleo-conservatism. In fact, many of the great free market reforms of recent decades were introduced by Left or “progressive” politicians such as Bill Clinton or Barack Obama. Here we are simply connecting U.S. free market ideologies to the political ideologues most pervasive in their construction.
3. Many observers from outside North American boundaries would shudder at the idea of “U.S. centrism,” in that the “American” body politic has moved dramatically Rightward in recent decades. For what is today framed as “Center-Left” in U.S. political rhetoric would, in most developed nations, be considered Right to “Far-Right.” Right-leaning

political beings within the United States are equally consternated at the sparse common ground, and disjointed viewpoints, of “conservative” stalwarts such as media personalities Rush Limbaugh, Ann Coulter, Sean Hannity, and Glenn Beck, and Tea Party–supporting politicians such as Sarah Palin, Rick Perry, and Michele Bachmann.

4. Consider a sampling of their publicly stated views, which would seem archaic to most readers in 2010: Paul holds a view of civil rights in which “while the federal government can enforce integration of government jobs and facilities, private business people should be able to decide whether they want to serve black people, or gays, or any other minority group” (Marsh, 2010); Miller stated in an interview with CNN’s John King that, were he to be elected, he would be in favor of outright abolishing Social Security for those not already in the system or near to entrance in it in favor of a privatized, investment-oriented system (King, 2010 [September 1]); Buck has implied that the 1950s U.S. education system was the best in the world prior to government intervention (and by this it is clear he means 1954, as in, *Brown v. Board of Education*) (Milhiser, 2010); and Angle has supported everything from the abolition of federal funding for education, the revocation of unemployment benefits (which she has said “doesn’t really benefit anyone”), and an extreme view of a women’s right to choose her own reproductive health-care, such as when Angle—who is against abortion even in the case of rape and incest—callously “insisted that a young girl raped by her father should know that ‘two wrong don’t make a right,’” calling instead for making “a lemon situation into lemonade” (Stein, 2010).
5. It is important to point out however, as Chomsky (2009) did in a speech to The Commonwealth Club of California, that the wider Tea Party constituency does have *real* anger and resentment. Discussing Beck, Limbaugh, and others cut from the same cloth who drive this narrative, Chomsky stated:

I’m thinking about the part [of the right-wing media] that has substantive content—crazy content—but it *is* substantive. It does give answers, to the people who for the last thirty years have seen their wages, income, stagnate or decline, benefits decline, services, decline, there’s nothing for their children, world’s out of control. These are the people who on polls, maybe 80 percent of them, say the country’s going in the wrong direction, the government’s run by the few and the special interests, not the people, and so on—you know, *they’re not wrong*. This *is* all happening to them. And the answers that they’re getting, from say, you know, Rush Limbaugh, Michael Savage, and the rest of them are, well, we have an answer: the rich liberals own everything, they own the corporations, they run the government, they run the media, and they don’t care about people like you, they don’t care about the flyover people between the East Coast and the West Coast.

They only care about giving everything you worked for away, to illegal immigrants, or gays, or something. So we gotta protect ourselves from them. And furthermore they run the government, when they put up a health program, it's not to give you health care, it's to kill your granny. And that's an answer to something. It's a terrible answer. But it *is* an answer. And if you do suspend disbelief, if you forget about what's happening in the world, really, it's a coherent answer. Now they're not hearing anything else. (Emphases in original)

6. Andrew Sullivan (2009) makes this point in very concise terms, noting that

This axiom, while useful, has a problem. It is untrue. And this “country” that White Americans are allegedly losing is not, in fact, a country. It is merely a self-serving and solipsistic illusion of a country that some White Americans *feel* they are losing. From its very beginning, after all, America was a profoundly Black country as well. (emphasis in original)

7. In January 2009, *Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs* senior fellow Jonathan Clarke (2009) summarily outlined the “main characteristics of neo-conservatism” as follows:

1. a tendency to see the world in binary good/evil terms;
2. low tolerance for diplomacy;
3. readiness to use military force;
4. emphasis on U.S. unilateral action;
5. disdain for multilateral organizations;
6. focus on the Middle East; and
7. an Us versus Them mentality. (p. 1)

8. In 2010, the Obama administration dramatically revised the *National Security Strategy of the United States of America*, shifting the language away from that of military might and preemptive strike in favor of “economic, moral, and innovative strength” in pursuing “a strategy of national renewal and global leadership—a strategy that rebuilds the foundation of American strength and influence” (quoted in DeYoung, 2010).
9. “Crises” that many scholars argue are brought about by a “restless” capitalist class seeking further expansion of their regimes of accumulation.
10. Many contemporary economists agree that the commitment to this balanced strategy (of growth, regulation, and social welfarism), even by the most conservative political regimes, resulted in the United States' ascent as a global power in the middle-to-latter half of the twentieth century (cf. Harvey, 2005a).
11. Milton Friedman was able to popularize an updated *laissez-faire* theory by skillfully guiding his adherents into high-ranking political spheres and capitalizing on Reagan's skilled campaign stylings.

12. In so doing, he rejected Adam Smith's famous declaration regarding working-class welfare, deskilling of labor, and state intervention. We quote at length:

The man whose whole life is spent in performing a few simple operations, of which the effects are perhaps always the same, or very nearly the same, has no occasion to exert his understanding or to exercise his invention in finding out expedients for removing difficulties which never occur. He naturally loses, therefore, the habit of such exertion, and generally becomes as stupid and ignorant as it is possible for a human creature to become. . . . It corrupts even the activity of his body, and renders him incapable of exerting his strength with vigour and perseverance in any other employment than that to which he has been bred. . . . His dexterity at his own particular trade seems, in this manner, to be acquired at the expense of his intellectual, social, and martial virtues. But in every improved and civilized society this is the state into which the labouring poor, that is, the great body of the people, must necessarily fall, unless government takes some pains to prevent it. (Smith, 1776/1966, p. 782)

13. Friedman and a cadre of his colleagues and students (who came to be known as "the Chicago Boys") would go on to form an organization to promote neoliberal values in 1947 called the Mont Pelerin Society. This confluent group would outline a generation of economic theory that has come to influence American political activity over the past 40 years. Contorting the rudiments of Adam Smith's self-regulating, "invisible hand" doctrine with Darwinian prudence, Friedman and his adherents steadily rose to positions of prominence within government cabinets in Chile, Argentina, New Zealand, Brazil, the United Kingdom, and the United States of America (Munck, 2005). On the ground, and intent on eliminating the regulatory vestiges of the Keynesian "welfare state" (Hetzl, 2007) in these countries, Friedman and his Chicago Boys systematically redoubled a broad-sweeping demolition of Keynesian infrastructures and the collapse of macroeconomic plurality under the throws of a singular marketized global interconnectivity (Borzutzky, 2005; Carcamo-Huechante, 2006; Cowen, 2006; Klein, 2007; Nelson, 2007).
14. Historically speaking, the late-twentieth century fall of the Leftist governments in South America, Europe, and East Asia signaled the pinnacle of this new form of market empire (Ferguson, 2005; Hardt & Negri, 2000). According to numerous economists and political scientists, the end of the Cold War brought about a new macroeconomic hegemony—a new world order marshaled by leaders of Western capitalist nation-states (namely Chile under the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet, the regimes of Margaret Thatcher in Great Britain, Roger Douglas in New Zealand, Joao Goulart in Brazil, General Suharto in

Indonesia, Deng Xiaoping in Communist China, and Reagan in the United States of America) who, in the years prior, had supplanted social welfare systems with the corporate capitalist imperatives of profit-first *laissez-faire* free marketization.

15. In the United States, the catalyst for this course of neoliberalization came in 1979, when then-chairman of the Federal Reserve, Paul Volcker, implemented a series of deregulatory measures—namely in the form of tax cuts for corporations, a reduction in trade regulations and corporate taxation, and severe cuts in the federal interest rates—each meant to curb inflation, and in turn reempower the corporate sector. By most accounts, these new policies brought about an epoch of unfettered, and unparalleled, capital accumulation in both the domestic American and the globally interconnected global economies (Roach, 2005; Treaster, 2004). In effect, by programmatically absolving the Federal Reserve of its commitment to full employment and refocusing its purpose on inflation control and corporate growth, Volcker was able to dismiss the Keynesian traditions that had moderated economic activity in both domestic and global markets during the preceding decades and usher in a new era of corporate-first “trickle-down economics.” Seen at the time as a consequence of growth, the maneuvers also brought about the highest rates of unemployment the country had experienced since the Great Depression (Harvey, 2005a, 2005b). As further consequence, the relative influence of American workers, labor unions, and welfare advocates diminished and these neoliberals ushered in an age of market bullishness and worker disempowerment. Median salaries were slashed, middle-class jobs were downsized and ultimately outsourced to third world labor markets, major unions were busted or simply disappeared, and U.S. multinationals were allowed to “gallivant” across the globe in search of new consumer markets (Appadurai, 2001; Castells, 2000; Grzanic, 2007; Lechner & Boli, 2000; Wallerstein, 2000).
16. In the introduction to Virilio’s (1977/2006) seminal work, *Speed and Politics*, Benjamin Bratton (2006) describes the concept of dromology as the “government of differential motility” (p. 8).
17. The phenomenon of speculative excess has less to do with free markets than with high profits. “When the profits of trade happen to be greater than ordinary,” Adam Smith (1776/1976) once wrote, “overtrading becomes a general error” (p. 438). And rate of profit, Smith claimed, “is always highest in the countries that are going fastest to ruin” (p. 266).

3 CONSUMING NASCAR NATION: SPACE, SPECTACLE, AND CONSUMER-CITIZENSHIP

1. We call into question the processes through which normative American nationalism(s)—in recent years gleaned from what Antonio Gramsci might refer to as the “common sense,” “average American,” imaginary

“new New South” (Cobb, 1992)—are articulated to the contemporary neoliberal condition.

2. According to the ISC 2009 annual report (p. 13), total revenues have decreased in each of the past two years for which data is available: to \$787 million in 2008, and to a five-year low of \$683 million in 2009. We return to this point in Chapter Seven.
3. In 2006, for example, global brands such as Anheuser-Busch, General Mills, and Home Depot spent a total of \$650 million to sponsor the top 35 teams in NASCAR’s premier circuit (Gage, 2006). By way of comparison, North America’s most popular professional sports entity, the National Football League, at the same time commanded a total of only \$485 million in sponsorship revenues per season (Gage, 2006). Nextel, the “title sponsor” of the championship cup, alone remunerated \$700 million in 2003 for 10 years’ worth of sponsorship rights (a significant increase from the \$200 million over 5 years paid by the previous sponsor) (Elliott, 2004).
4. The “Big Three” faction rationalizes the large expenditures on stock car racing by selling consumers, employees, investors, and stockholders on the “win on Sunday, sell on Monday” mantra. “The idea, popularized in the 1960s, was that success on the racetrack translated quickly into success in the showroom for General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler, with the respective automakers seeing a surge in sales when one of their driver won a big race” (Jensen, 2009, p. 1). “Those closest to the racing action [in Detroit] demanded that their executives spend more and more money on racing, because, as the mind-set [goes], money equals wins, and wins equals more cars sold” (Margolis, 2008). Manufacturers utilize NASCAR racing programs as test environments to develop new safety gear, technical innovations, chassis designs, and to conduct engineering education and experimentation. “The same holds true for oil companies, tire companies, and pretty much any company that makes performance parts or cars that wind up on race tracks around the world” (Lemasters, Jr., 2005, p. 1).
5. Amidst the Great Recession of 2008–2009, revenue from gate receipts decreased slightly at first (from \$253 million in 2007 to \$236 million for 2008), then rapidly crashed (from \$236 million for 2008 to \$195 million in 2009). We explore this and other earnings trends for NASCAR in Chapter Seven.
6. McCarthy’s prediction did not come to pass, however, as most business publications would by 2010 consistently rank Apple, Amazon, and Google among the most important U.S. brands.
7. We have chosen to forego the anthropological act of referencing every single conversation or observation as “fieldnotes.” Unless otherwise stated, all quotes from race fans or observations pertaining to the physical environment of the NASCAR spectacle are to be presumed to have come from our notes.

8. In its marketing information, NASCAR has also made a point to illustrate that children under the age of 18 are more likely than other professional sports' young fans to consume sponsoring brands.
9. These sponsorships change frequently in the form of multiyear, year-to-year, or sometimes even week-to-week agreements, based on both driver performance and corporate sponsorship agenda (or lack of sponsorship monies). In turn, most fans are well versed in the etymology of most drivers' corporate symbols. In 2010, for example, Mark Martin fans could be distinguished by their race-day-adornment of GoDaddy.com merchandise. However, NASCAR aficionados will also likely recognize that a fan donning weathered U.S. Army, Kraft, or Viagra merchandise will likely have ties to Martin as well.
10. Here we take our understanding of space from the work of Michel de Certeau (1984), who posits that it is best understood as a kind of locus, specifically as "a plane, which is the order in accord with which elements are distributed in relationship of coexistence" (p. 117). Place, by contrast, is the cognitive, dynamic, representational, codified, and signified mechanism of meaning in practice. In *The Practice of Everyday Life*, de Certeau (1984) surmised that "place is constituted by a system of signs" (p. 117). In navigating the relation between place and space, de Certeau located the notion of space as a frequented system of the experienced, mobilized by and understood as an "intersection of moving bodies" (cf. Augé, 1995). In one sense, then, space is a physical and imagined geography constituted by dynamic elements that meet, intersect, unite, cross each other, or diverge. Or, as de Certeau (1984) posited, "space occurs as the effect produced by the operations that orient it, situate it, temporalize it, and make it function in a polyvalent unity of conflictual programs or contractual proximities" (p. 117). Taken together, the relationship between space and place can be described in this way: Place is a "fixed position," and space is a "realm of practices" (Crang, 2000, p. 138); or, more simply put, "*space is practiced place*" (de Certeau, 1984, p. 117; emphasis in original).
11. On the temporal nature of fashion and consumer culture, Barry Smart (2010) writes: "While a semblance of identity may now be purchased through individualized consumption, any sense of self-achievement in this manner is destined to be temporary, for the consumer process, and advertising, marketing, fashion, and popular culture lifestyle in particular, effectively contribute to the instability of identity through the perpetual generation and relentless promotion of new products, images, and values suggestive of further possible new identities and lifestyle choices" (p. 44).
12. To reproduce the power embedded in the spectacle, Debord (1994) asserts that the spectacular society must reinvent itself, always making and remaking itself as something new, something yet to be attained. For the spectator, the distance between what one has and what one wants, who one is and who one wants to be, and so on, is always availed through the spectacle; forever interpellating, impossible to achieve.

13. Although some might argue that they are really only being promised the “freedom to be formed and normed” (Iverson, 1997).
14. Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002) have similarly argued that this type of consumption does not offer “freedom of choice,” but rather “insight into the fundamental incompleteness of the self” (p. xxi). In other words, this culture of consumption brings with it the mystification of the autocratic self—an economy of signs that transmits the myths of individual freedom.
15. These are contractions Marx problematized nicely in his *Sixth Thesis on Feuerbach*: “the human essence is no abstraction inherent in each single individual. In reality it is the ensemble of the social relations” (p. 23).
16. Beck and Beck-Gernsheim (2002) make this point clear: “the spiral of individualization destroys given foundations of social coexistence. So—to give a simple definition—‘individualization’ means disembedding without re-embedding” (p. xxii). Once inside the spectacle, the relationships of consequence are those between commodity and individual consumer, rather than individual consumer and the individual producer.
17. Bourdieu (1998a) explains the productive nature of insecurity in these times in this manner:

One thus begins to suspect that insecurity is the product not of an *economic inevitability*, identified with the much heralded “globalization,” but of a *political will*. A “flexible” company in a sense deliberately exploits a situation of insecurity which it helps to reinforce: it seeks to reduce its costs, but also to make this lowering possible by putting the workers in permanent danger of losing their jobs. The whole world of production, material and cultural, public and private, is thus carried along by a process of intensification of insecurity. (p. 84, emphasis in original)

18. Ironically, those who least ascribe to Darwin’s theory of evolution are also those most likely supportive of a Darwinian economic system.
19. Again, the work of Bourdieu (1998b) is useful in understanding this point:

Competition is extended to individuals themselves, through the individualization of the wage relationship: establishment of individual performance objectives, individual performance evaluations, permanent evaluation, individual salary increases or granting of bonuses as a function of competence and of individual merit; individualized career paths; strategies of “delegating responsibility” tending to ensure the self-exploitation of staff who, simple wage laborers in relations of strong hierarchical dependence, are at the same time held responsible for their sales, their products, their branch, their store, etc. as though they were independent contractors. This pressure toward “self-control” extends workers’

“involvement” according to the techniques of “participative management” considerably beyond management level. All of these are techniques of rational domination that impose over-involvement in work (and not only among management) and work under emergency or high-stress conditions. And they converge to weaken or abolish collective standards or solidarities.

20. Foucault’s definition of “subject position” highlights the productive nature of these forms of disciplinary power—how it names and categorizes people into hierarchies (of normalcy, health, morality, etc.).

4 NASCAR AND THE “SOUTHERNIZATION” OF SPORTING AMERICA

1. Although confessing his “non-Southern roots,” Horwitz’s (1999) rigor and reflexivity take on a deeply invested perspective of a self-professed “non-Southerner” who nonetheless identifies with the cultures of the region. Furthermore, he maintains a reflexive voice throughout his travels and writings on “the South” and the people he meets.
2. NASCAR claims that more than 20 percent of its fans are “ethnic minorities.” When given this piece of information, race fans with whom we spoke (confirming our own observations) suggested that this number seems an incredible exaggeration, at least in terms of the proportions of African American, Hispanic, and ethnicized “Others” attending races.
3. Taibbi continues, in rather pointed terms:

The individuals in the Tea Party may come from very different walks of life, but most of them have a few things in common. After nearly a year of talking with Tea Party members from Nevada to New Jersey, I can count on one hand the key elements I expect to hear in nearly every interview. One: Every single one of them was that exceptional Republican who *did* protest the spending in the Bush years, and not one of them is the hypocrite who only took to the streets when a black Democratic president launched an emergency stimulus program. (“Not me—I was protesting!” is a common exclamation.) Two: Each and every one of them is the only person in America who has ever read the Constitution or watched *Schoolhouse Rock*. (Here they have guidance from [Richard] Arme, who explains that the problem with “people who do not cherish America the way we do” is that “they did not read the Federalist Papers.”) Three: They are all furious at the implication that race is a factor in their political views—despite the fact that they blame the financial crisis on poor black homeowners, spend months on end engrossed by reports about how the New Black Panthers want to kill “cracker babies,” support politicians who think the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was an overreach of

government power, tried to enact South African-style immigration laws in Arizona and obsess over Charlie Rangel, ACORN and Barack Obama's birth certificate. Four: In fact, some of their best friends are black! (Reporters in Kentucky invented a game called "White Male Liberty Patriot Bingo," checking off a box every time a Tea Partier mentions a black friend.) And five: Everyone who disagrees with them is a radical leftist who hates America.

4. The notion of a "visible" quality to whiteness, or more accurately the physical propagation of centralized identity politics around whiteness, is briefly introduced in Derald Wing Sue's (2004) article on "ethnocentric monoculturalism."
5. The distinction between racialism and racism is made quite clearly by David Theo Goldberg (2009) in his book titled *The Threat of Race: Reflections on Racial Neoliberalism*, and particularly in the opening chapter.
6. This dialogue between the omnipresent Southern signifiers, such as the Confederate flag and the proliferation of white bodies in NASCAR spaces, has created two interrelated arcs of interpretation and consumption for spectators allied with NASCAR. In relation to the meaningfulness of the Confederate symbol, both supporters and critics of the flag's public presence at NASCAR events agree that the meaning of the "Southern Cross" (as the flag is often referred to in the South) is neither fixed nor absolute but rather a malleable discursive formation through which ideologies have flowed since the first star was stitched onto the cotton banner. The flag has at once, and throughout its history, been a source of pride for Southern heritage groups, a marker of identity for white supremacist organizations, and a symbol of racial oppression for the marginalized peoples of the South (Newman, 2007c).
7. Although popular counternarratives of the flag as marginalizing, oppressive, iniquitous, symbolically violent symbol is gaining credence within the public sphere (e.g., the declarations offered by old-time sport icons such as University of South Carolina head football coach Steve Spurrier), such a discourse of resistance is noticeably absent from NASCAR spaces.
8. This colonization, or confederation, of space—by no means exclusive to races held in the South (races in Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Delaware are as equally saturated with these signifiers)—greet the consumer-spectator-subject the moment he or she enters the parking lot. On race days, these otherwise blank geometric canvasses are made meaningful through a sea of RVs, SUVs, trucks, and other automobiles casting images of the battle flag of the Confederacy, POW- and military-themed insignias, banners sporting the colors of popular NASCAR drivers, and a variety of American pennons.
9. It must also be pointed out that the uncontested, normalized nature of the Old South symbolic and the unequivocal white exclusivity in these

spaces are undoubtedly not lost on nonwhite subject-spectators who en masse stay away from these events.

10. A race held on the eve of the midterm U.S. elections that saw a sweeping voter swing back toward the paleo-conservative polity on offer by the likes of Kentucky's Rand Paul, Alabama's Jefferson Beauregard Sessions, South Carolina's Tim Scott, Texas' Rick Perry, or Louisiana's Jeff Landry.
11. Prior to a South-wide revitalization of Confederate History Month celebrations in 2009, Virginia's 1997 Confederate History Month celebration—initiated under that state's much-maligned, epithet-espousing former governor George Allen—was a rare exception to the otherwise eradicated practice in recent years.
12. Pierre Nora (1989) takes this line of thinking one step further, noting that history is often seen to hold a deathly quality; it comes to haunt our social lives through the processes of remembering. Over the course of some 40 texts on the subject, Nora (1989) develops the notion of “national memory”—broadly conceived (in order) as “founding memory” (or the period of defining and affirming the existence of the sovereign state); state-memory (circulations of representations of the state); “national-memory” (the recentering of national memories around collective machinations of the nation); and “citizen-memory” (the sense of “belonging to” the nation is diffused through the internalizing processes of the atomized masses). In his theorizing of French national memory, Nora contemplates the state as a generational mythology upon which modernity's longings for “place” are thrust unto the national imaginary.
13. In this instance, the neo-Confederate stylization presents itself as “the unique self-construction of the newest in the medium of what has been” (Benjamin, 1999, p. 64). And thus the re-articulated fusion of Confederate aesthetic and the “eternal return” of Old South public whiteness extended, and continues to extend, beyond fashion as *recherché*—what Walter Benjamin (1999) described as the “always vain, often ridiculous, sometimes dangerous quest for a superior ideal beauty” (p. 66)—into the realms of aesthetic governance and adornment as disciplinarity. The unreal bodies of the Confederate dead thus operated on, and continue to discipline, the active subjects of NASCAR Nation. To counter these racialized (and racist) historical renderings and imaginaries, Goldberg (2009) argues, requires a critical historical memory, one through which we recall “the conditions of racial degradation and relating contemporary to historical and local to global conditions” (p. 21).
14. Another popular example of this mass mediated absolution of stock car racing's racial and cultural homogeneity can be found in the 2006 film *Talladega Nights: The Ballad of Ricky Bobby* (see also Chapter Five). The movie follows the trials and tribulations of Ricky Bobby (played by *Saturday Night Live* alum Will Ferrell), a driver on NASCAR's top

circuit. Following a series of life-altering comedic highs and lows—each playing to overblown stereotypes of a bucolic, Southern, white, working-class vernacular (divorce and infidelity, lack of education, caricatured faith, overprivileging the kitsch aesthetic, etc.)—Ricky Bobby faces the definitive moment of his racing career: a return to the fabled Talladega Super Speedway in his last act of racing redemption. In spite of the fact that the Talladega venue is notorious in NASCAR circles as one of the most Confederate-flag-saturated tracks on the circuit, the symbol is absent from Hollywood mediations of the space. Moreover, the track is transformed into a site of tolerance rather than of exclusivity in the film—as the protagonist reconciles his homophobic jingoism in the film’s *dénouement* (a gay, French Formula One driver of Middle Eastern ethnic heritage named Jean Girard, played by famous English comedian Sacha Baron Cohen of *Borat* and *Bruno* fame).

15. Grant has said she followed the chain of command all the way to Nationwide Series director Joe Balash, but stopped short of telling human resources because she had been reprimanded by that department (for a separate incident) two weeks after lodging her complaint. She said she viewed the reprimand, which included a threat of termination, as retaliation for complaining to Balash (Hinton, 2008).
16. NASCAR’s point of response to this critique would likely be to identify a recent upsurge in “minority ownership” in the sport. “Self-made” athletes from other sports (namely gridiron’s Randy Moss, and basketball’s Magic Johnson, Brad Daugherty) currently hold some investment in a racing team. This is roughly 5 percent of the total ownership of NASCAR teams. Nonetheless, in 2009 NASCAR felt it necessary to commission Bill Kimm to author a self-congratulatory article whereby the sport had proclaimed that these minority owners had helped “put the race issues in the rear view” (Kimm, 2009). In neoliberal parlance, Art Shelton, owner of an “all-minority” racing team in one of NASCAR’s lower circuits, recently declared: “Trail Motorsport will race as a team that happens to be minority,” Shelton said. “We’re going to race as a team that’s going to be competitive and happens to be minority. If you want to label that as diversity, yes. But we diversify only for the point of being successful. That’s the only standard” (quoted in Kimm, 2009).
17. We would hasten to add that it is counterproductive and anti-intellectual to assume that those opposed to, say, affirmative action, are simply “racists” or “bigots,” as a good number of those on the mainstream left seem to be offering up of late. Rather, the fear of losing one’s job—or one’s imagined “place” in society—to someone else (whether “Northern elite” or “unseen terrorist”) was callously exploited by Bush for partisan political gain. As Larry Grossberg (2006) maintains, the answer to Thomas Frank’s question (“What’s the matter with Kansas?”) is, simply, *nothing*. The problem, rather, lies in the morally corrupt political strategies seeking to further divide the nation along ideological grounds.

18. Grossberg (1996) proposes that scholars must escape the conventions of oppression, both the “colonial model” of “the oppressed and the oppressor” and the “transgression model” of “oppression and resistance” (p. 88). Rather than think in terms of binaries of oppression or forces of oppression versus forces of resistance, he proposes that we re-articulate the question of identity into a “question of constructing historical agency” (Grossberg, 1996, p. 88).

5 RACING FOR JESUS: SPORT IN THEOCRATIC AMERICA

1. Newberry’s (2004) analysis runs counter to the vast majority of journalistic musings and scholarly research on the sport that remain committed to exploring the increased relevance of stock car racing in the North American sporting popular—if not specifically fixed on its economic possibilities—in a decidedly banal tenor. In spite of the obvious labors of cultural and political intermediaries to construct a discursively and materially constituted cultural apparatus within speedway spaces, during television broadcasts, and in the print media coverage—one that carries with it a spectacular set of images, practices, institutions, rituals, commodities, and identities—there is but a scant critical discourse devoted to interrupting NASCAR as an important neo-conservative cultural technology within contemporary American society.
2. This religiosity is further compounded by a constant dialogue race car-drivers have with their own mortality. As racings fans new and old alike will concur, there is a palpable sense of *danger* shared by drivers and fans at a NASCAR event. This omnipresent anxiety is abetted by the fact that since 2001, some of racing’s most-beloved icons—such as Dale Earnhardt, Sr., and Adam Petty (progeny of the Petty-family racing legacy), as well as lesser-known drivers Kenny Irwin and Tony Roper—have suffered life-ending injuries while competing in the NASCAR circuit. When asked why deaths in auto racing were six times more common than deaths in football, Bill France famously proclaimed: “because we go six times faster!” (quoted in Zweig, 2007, back cover). In the parlance of race car culture, a hard crash into “Turn Four” is all “that stands between these drivers and their maker” (see Newman & Giardina, 2009, p. 56).
3. Almost a decade after his death, Earnhardt’s image—on T-shirts, flags, etc.—at any given speedway remains one of the most prevalent of all drivers (past or present).
4. Importantly, some fans point to Earnhardt’s last act, whereby he effectively died protecting his son’s place in the race (Junior went on to finish the race in second place) as the great sacrifice of a proud father.
5. As membership in groups such as the Promise Keepers has continued to rise over the past decade, the contentious ideologies propagated therein

have come under heavy scrutiny in both orthodox and nonorthodox circles:

the discourse of masculinity found within conservative religious movements, such as the Promise Keepers... is inherently political. Any masculinity project aimed at restoring or reclaiming a “traditional” male role for privileged white, heterosexual males has a political impact within the tapestry of class, race, and gender power. (Schindler, 1998)

6. It is of no coincidence that Huckabee’s views of same-sex marriage are equally regressive.
7. In recent years, many fans have turned on these inheritors of stock car racing lionization. Consider, for example, one fan’s diatribe regarding Dale Earnhardt, Jr. in a January 2003 issue of *Scene Magazine*:

Call me crazy, but I’m just not buying the hype about Dale Earnhardt, Jr.... Granted, he has the name only, no real natural talent, just the name.... I don’t understand why everyone is cheering him. I cheer for drivers because they’re good, clean racers and good clean guys. Junior doesn’t personify either of those characteristics. I’m just not buying it. (January 23, 2003, quoted in Hugenberg & Hugenberg, 2008, p. 646)
8. Among other things, Palin has called prochoice feminists a “cackle of rads.” For more see Jessica Valenti (2010), “The Fake Feminism of Sarah Palin” (*Washington Post*, May 30).
9. Similar hateful declarations were made by the very same individuals in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina’s devastation of New Orleans in 2005; in other words, that the devastation was caused by God as a rebuke against the people of New Orleans for their perceived cultural excesses.
10. According to its Wikipedia entry, South Barrington is one of the wealthiest towns in the United States, with a per capita income of \$76,078, a median household income of \$170,755, and a median home value of \$689,200. Demographically speaking, the town is exceedingly White (~95 percent of residents). City-data.com and the 2000 U.S. census offer similar portraits of South Barrington.
11. A good friend of one of the authors was a member of the Willow Creek congregation; he attended several services with her in 2006.
12. Willow Creek has been consistently ranked as one of the largest and most (politically) influential churches in the United States for much of the 2000s. Its 7,000+ seat Worship Center was constructed in 2004 at a cost of more than \$70 million, and contains massive 14’x24’ high-definition LED screens and other state-of-the-art accoutrements that would seem to be more at home at STAPLES Center in Los Angeles (home to the NBA’s Lakers and Clippers, and the NHL’s Kings) or CONSOL Energy Center in Pittsburgh (home to the NHL’s Penguins)

- than a place of worship. Speakers to its annual Leadership Summit have included Bill Clinton, Colin Powell, Jimmy Carter, and U2's Bono.
13. For a detailed examination of the specific religious politics of various racing teams like that of Morgan Shepherd and Joe Gibbs, see Newman and Giardina (2009). For an example of this synergy in action, see Shepherd's website <http://www.racewithfaith.com>
 14. In and of itself, there is nothing inherently problematic with a racing team being aligned with religion or deploying religion as part of its promotional agenda (Will Leitch makes this point very nicely in his [2008] book *God Save the Fan*). Rather, we seek to unravel how religion comes to be understood within the semiotic geometry of the track space at a particular point in history.
 15. This brand of self-serving theocratic American exceptionalism is similarly found in the collective orgasm experienced by Republican politicians for all-things Ronald Reagan, and is mirrored in the title of Mitt Romney's (2010) *No Apologies: The Case for American Greatness* (a book that, as Chris Good's [2010] review in *The Atlantic* makes clear, reveals Romney to be "an inhabitant of fantasyland" when it comes to the realities of foreign policy in the present moment).
 16. Just as George W. Bush and his cabinet had done two years prior, George Allen's politico-religious stumpings were an attempt to capitalize on NASCAR's pedagogies of belonging to a shared political ideology, to a collective religious movement, to the imagined spectatorship of NASCAR. That he was not reelected speaks more to his bigoted public pronouncements during the campaign than it does of a failing of the NASCAR constituency to support him. Also, his opponent, Jim Webb, was a centrist Democrat palatable to the Virginia electorate, and without the political baggage of Allen.
 17. With the possible exception of the post-9/11 seventh-inning stretch renditions of "God Bless America" performed instead of "Take Me Out to the Ballgame" during Major League Baseball games in 2001 and 2002. Of note is the fact that the New York Yankees have continued this tradition through the 2010 season.
 18. Where the living conditions are most desperate, particularly in the U.S. South, is where these evangelic modalities are most concentrated (Hedges, 2007). The stress to accumulate livable capital is more pronounced through the heightened demands of two-worker families in the context of a postindustrial rural labor climate. As the main employers of these regions tend to be Wal-Mart, Ruby Tuesday, and Exxon (or similar derivations thereof in the retail, food, and energy sectors), the wage labor is often suppressed and laborer oppressed. As a consequence, "Red States," and particularly those that are said to have the highest concentration of self-identified Christian fundamentalists, invariably have higher rates of murder, illegitimacy, teenage births, and divorce rates (Hedges, 2007).
 19. The following two paragraphs are taken from Newman and Giardina (2009, p. 74).

6 PART I: NASCAR NATION AS/IN PETROL EMPIRE; PART II: MILITARIZING NASCAR NATION

1. Oil has the best physical characteristics of any energy resource as it can exist in three different forms: solid, liquid, or gas. These forms can be given an “energy grade” and when measured against all other forms of energy, oil possesses more capability than any other similar resource.
2. Generally speaking, the lower and more stable the price of a barrel of oil, the greater the market will rally. This comes with two notable exceptions: in 1973, when the market experienced “stagflation,” and in 1987, when a sharp rise in oil was offset by the Fed’s pumping of sufficient money into the economy.
3. Consequently, those powerbrokers who retain strategic possession of the valuable commodity are beneficiaries of the *U.S. energy economy*—an economy that revolves around the continuous inexpensive flow of oil, petroleum, and natural gas products, but a highly lucrative industry within the broader economic infrastructure. From Rockefeller’s Standard Oil monopoly at the height of U.S. industrialization, through the Seven Sisters’ panics and oligopolization, and later the OPEC petrol hegemony during the postindustrial global transformation of the late twentieth century, one thing has been clear: those who have controlled the precious commodity have accumulated significant social, political, and economic capital. The oil industry had been quite profitable for petroleum producers historically, and by the 1990s, 7 of the top 20 wealthiest corporations in the world were in the business of petroleum (Yergin, 1991) with ExxonMobil, Royal Dutch Shell Group, ConocoPhillips, ChevronTexaco, and British Petroleum situated as the biggest of all big businesses in the world.
4. Interestingly, as Palast (2006) makes clear in *Armed Madhouse*, the language of a “peak-oil crisis” has been driven in large part by oil giants themselves. Of the logics of Chevron’s PR efforts in particular, which have taken the form of billboards and multipage spreads in magazines such as *Harper’s*, he writes: “The new oil Chevron is finding ‘requires a greater investment to refine.’ In other words, don’t bitch about high prices—we need your cash to mix your next fix of crude” (p. 337).
5. There are, at present, differing interpretations and several schools of thought within Marxian political economy on interpreting crisis formation (Harvey, 2007). Indeed, Marx presents several modes of crisis formation in *Capital*: profit squeezes (labor organization and scarcity drives down rate of profit); underconsumption (deficiency of effective demand); overaccumulation (barriers to profitable surplus absorption); and the more controversial falling rate of profit crisis that sees labor saving innovations replace living labor in production.
6. There is debate among Marxists whether ecological Marxism constitutes a departure from all other previously mentioned formations of crisis, or

whether it is merely a subdivision of the profit squeeze crisis focusing on raw material capital inputs in commodity production rather than Marx's more emphasized labor power organization. For the purpose of this document, environmental destruction and raw material depletion is treated as an independent form of Crisis—a crisis external to the system.

7. Some might argue that the deliberate selection of fuel (in)efficient, eight-cylinder “gas hogs” becomes a means of (sub)cultural identification or badge of citizenship for partisans of NASCAR Nation. When asked if they would consider trading in their large truck for a fuel efficient hybrid vehicle, one NASCAR enthusiast responded: “Hell no! True NASCAR fans don’t drive them. That’s what [wimps] drive.” Taking pride in these petrol-laden codes and rituals, attendants systematically rejected “alternative” fuel-saving technologies. Consider the following: Using NASCAR as a platform to showcase its own technological advancements, the Ford Motor Company, at a race in Martinsville, selected its newly designed Ford Fusion hybrid as the “official pace car vehicle” to escort competitors to the green flag. The propetroleum/antienvironment reactionary discourse was evident as a hundred thousand muscle car enthusiasts in attendance lustfully booed the fuel-saving hybrid as it paced the field.
8. Another automobile interactive experience, this time by Ford Motor Company, was erected at Daytona International Speedway in the days leading up to the 2009 Daytona 500 (Pockrass, 2009).
9. Indeed, NASCAR has a long history of these sponsorship-driver linkages as the sports’ most successful and iconic driver-celebrity, seven-time champion Richard Petty, was sponsored by, and a prominent endorser of, STP motor oil.
10. Sunoco’s interest in this is, of course, not coincidental. Prior to the 2004 race season, Sunoco Inc. replaced ConocoPhillips’ Unocal “76” brand as the exclusive fuel supplier for NASCAR’s highest touring series (Montgomery, 2003). Sunoco, the largest independent petroleum refiner/marketer in the United States, is currently entered into a 10-year agreement with NASCAR worth an estimated \$100 million to supply fuel to over 30 regional touring series and furnish more than 400 national race tracks to an endless mean (Smith, 2008d).
11. With a field of 43 drivers for 10 races per weekend and stock cars averaging 4.5 miles per gallon on races that last on average 200 miles, we estimate that the weekly gasoline consumption approaches 400,000 gallons. This total surpasses 11 million gallons of gasoline annually for NASCAR’s highest profile leagues. This, of course, does not include necessary supplementary petrol products such as motor oil and fuel additives that are vital to stock car engines. Still others—NASCAR columnist Marty Smith (2008d)—projects a much more conservative estimate calculating the number of gallons of gasoline is around 135,000 per year.

12. We found those residing in camping villages to be the most loyal and fervent stock car racing supporters—and there were quite a lot of them. The mobile camping and accommodation grounds stretched long into the distance at most venues, with all vehicles—almost without exception—saturated in their favorite driver’s numbers, colors, and sponsors.
13. Examples of such externalities would be earth’s natural features: the atmosphere, vegetation, and streams, lakes, and oceans. In addition, O’Connor identifies infrastructure and space as another source of destruction.
14. Only after a period of intense scrutiny from the environmental community and the threat of an investigation by U.S. Congress did NASCAR move in the direction of much safer unleaded gasoline.
15. Evidence supporting this claim could be referenced against the race team balance sheets that responded to recent petroleum increases. When, for instance, the average price of a gallon of diesel fuel increased from \$1.29 to \$4.14, it was easy to see how transporter fuel costs were up 15.4 percent and jet fuel consumption was up 15.9 percent for stock car teams (Smith, 2008d). Ty Norris, team director for Michael Waltrip Racing, claims that his race team’s travel budget has increased over 35 percent as a result of rising fuel prices—a direct reflection of surging petroleum prices (Smith, 2008d).
16. Although the so-called Black Monday crash of 1987 yielded only a 508-point drop, it represented a 22.6 percent loss for the day. On May 6, 2010, the DJIA witnessed a 998.50-point drop (or 9.2 percent) in intra-day trading, before regaining most of its loss later in the day.
17. Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld, Britain prime minister Tony Blair, and White House press secretary Air Fleischer (speaking on behalf of G. W. Bush) are all on record stating that the war in Iraq had nothing to do with oil (all quoted in Phillips, 2006, p. 69). However, an array of critical scholars and political journalists (Briody, 2004; Engdahl, 2004; Klare, 2004; Klein, 2007; Miller, 2006; Phillips, 2006) and academics (Chomsky, 2003a; Chomsky, 2003b, 2007; Denzin & Giardina, 2007b; Giroux, 2004b; Giroux, 2008; Harvey, 2003, 2005a; Kellner, 2003; Rutledge, 2005) have argued that oil was at least, below the surface, a major impetus for the military invasion of Iraq. Indeed, the Bush administration was well aware that any form of a peak-oil crisis “posed strategic dangers far beyond those publicly acknowledged” (Phillips, 2006, p. 69).
18. Vice President Cheney himself subscribed to the serious threat of proliferating energy scarcity when in 1990 he is quoted as saying: “by some estimates, there will be an average of two percent annual growth in oil supply demand over the years ahead, along with conservatively a three percent natural decline in production from existing reserves. That means by 2010 we will need on the order of an additional 50 million barrels a day” (see Phillips, 2006).

19. Indeed it was an inner circle comprising several petroleum power brokers who at one time either worked in the oil industry (e.g., Secretary of State Condeleeza Rice, Commerce Secretary Don Evans, and Bush himself) or in the case of Dick Cheney, continued to receive annual deferred salary and stock options from his (current) former employer Halliburton (Engdahl, 2004).
20. Europe, Japan, and developing East and Southeast Asia are all dependent on Gulf oil, and controlling its delivery to world markets accords valuable political-economic power (Harvey, 2003).
21. The Carter Doctrine is pretext for current U.S. petroleum policy. In 1979, President Jimmy Carter responded to the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan by informing the Congress that Washington would use any means necessary, including military force, to preserve free-flowing petroleum in the U.S. economy (Klare, 2004). The Carter Doctrine as it is often referred to has guided America's geopolitical policy in the Persian Gulf since its formation; the creation of Central Command (CENTCOM) in 1983, whose singular aim is to maintain the continued supply of oil in the Persian Gulf through the unlimited use of all military resources (Klare, 2004).
22. Following World War II, Secretary of State George C. Marshall unveiled a rebuilding plan for Europe to reconstruct cities, factories, and railroads that had been destroyed by a decade of conflict. In short, the United States provided the financial resources, while Europe was expected to provide the plan. Instead of American businesses dictating terms, they worked in cooperation with European nations to supply essential provisions and building materials.
23. Because Halliburton received no-bid contracts, they were able to exploit all Iraqi oil production to a large degree. "A Department of Defense audit in 2003 showed that Halliburton was charging \$2.27 per gallon for more than 56 million gallons brought into Iraq, from Kuwait, since the war began. That figure was \$1.09 higher per gallon than the government was paying for the gas itself from another contractor. The result was a difference of \$61 million" (Briody, 2004, p. 234).
24. One interrelated consequence of the removal of troops in Iraq will be the sudden shrinkage of America's more reliant, and profitable industry. Put simply, withdrawal from Iraq would mean the United States' most profitable economy bubble would burst (or at the least suffer a major set-back).
25. Options for policing the crisis so as not to threaten, contest, or overthrow the capitalist system are threefold. First, there lies the selection of devaluing commodities. But as most corporations and wealthy elite are unlikely to voluntarily lower the value of their assets or net worth. This is most often the last resort. The second solution is utilizing macroeconomic control measures through institutionalized or state policies and regulation. This is achieved through fiscal and monetary practices of Keynesian regulatory measures such as adjusting interest rates or an

adoption of Keynesian investment in public infrastructure and welfare state. However, this process is at one and the same time highly political and ineffective in massive market crises. These two choices are not without their own limits and ephemeral praxis. Thus, Harvey (2007) discusses spatiotemporal displacement as a temporary (and most likely) means for surplus absorption.

26. Giroux's (2004b) six characteristics that distinguish profascism from its predecessor are these: a cult of traditionalists and reactionary modernists; ongoing corporatization of society; rampant nationalism; government regulation of the mass media; alterations to language, sound, and image; and the enmeshing of the church and state.
27. The Marines and Air Force were the first to arrive in 2000; the Navy in 2001; the Army in 2003 along with the Air National Guard; the Coast Guard in 2004 (Bernstein, 2005).
28. One thing must be pointed out, however, about these lucrative sponsorships inside the stridently conservative, pro-Republican space: the money funding the Department of Defense's advertising comes from taxpayers—many of whom are “outsiders” to NASCAR and (may) stand in opposition to U.S. militarism.
29. To ensure that the memory of the combative spectacle endures long after the race concludes, weapons and military arms are given as trophies to victorious drivers. At Texas Motor Speedway, the winners of the 500-mile pursuit were presented with twin Beretta cowboy pistols and celebrated their Texas conquest by donning a cowboy hat and spraying (blank) bullets into the nighttime sky—much to the enjoyment of anti-gun legislation activists in attendance—as 2007 race winner and two-time Spring Cup Champion Tony Stewart did (Ryan, 2007a).
30. The choice of which driver to sponsor is rather strategic; their end goal is driving enlistments, and, as we have argued elsewhere, it is important for corporations to select a driver and race team with the correct “matchup” to their “target market” (Braunstein et al., 2008). It is, of course, not coincidental that the U.S. Army has chosen to sponsor Aric Almirola, the only other nonwhite Hispanic driver on the NASCAR circuit (other than Juan Pablo Montoya). It is quite clear that this partnership is intentionally directed toward hailing young Latinos ages 18–24, who are disproportionately represented in the front lines of the war in Iraq (Roy, 2004). That the NASCAR-military partnership is remarkably successful in influencing impressionable young fans into enlistment is somewhat alarming; as one new recruit responded when asked what convinced him to sign up, “I saw David Stremme driving the Navy race car and I went down and saw the Navy recruiter” (quoted in Pate, 2008, p. 1).
31. Comedian Dave Chappelle once had an especially revealing riff about his decision to endorse both Coca-Cola and Pepsi at different times in the course of his career: whichever one was paying him at the time was the one he said tasted better.

32. These militarized spaces are highly effective means of recruitment, as each race produces nearly 2,000 new enlistment leads weekly, amounting to nearly 40,000 a year (Bernstein, 2005; Osunsami, 2005). This proliferation of prowar spaces at NASCAR events encourage men and women to “enlist” to play with the latest warfare technologies and to prove if they “can be all that they can be.” Parents encourage their children to participate in these experiences at alarming rates, as the line to enter the Army Experience is usually one of the longest at any stop outside NASCAR track. Once inside, individuals are herded together in pep-rally-style celebrations for the military, and then cordoned off from one another in order to speak with recruitment officers. With events that routinely host over 100,000 fans over a three-day period with nothing much to do in the lead up to the event, army recruiters such as Col. Tom Nickerson envisage “a rich environment for soldiers and recruiters to talk to influencers and prospects. Influencers are parents and others who have influence over a military prospect’s decision” (quoted in Bernstein, 2005, p. 1).
33. The categories listed on the laminated card read as follows—“HOT: Priority 1: High school junior, senior, grad, or college student who expresses an interest in the army AND has asked to be contacted by a recruit. Age = 17–29); Priority 2: High school junior, senior, grad, or college student who 1) expresses an interest in the Army or Army Reserves or 2), a career in the Armed Forces, or 3) in ROTC, AND has *not* opted to be contacted by a recruiter. Age = 17–29; Priority 3: High school grad, college student, college who expresses an interest in an Army career. Age = 29–41; AMEDD: College student or grads who express interest receiving more information on Army Medicine (AMEDD). *HOT AMEDD Prospect!*; ROTC: Interested in ROTC, high school junior through College Sophomore. *HOT ROTC Prospect!*” (Note: all grammar, spelling, and punctuation in original).
34. It is worth noting that the flight simulator’s graphics engine was quite limited by the standards of high-end home video game consoles such as Playstation 3 or Xbox 360. Thus, the violence, of whatever form, was effectively limited in visual scope, not nearly approaching that of best-selling games like *Medal of Honor* and *Call of Duty*. However, the violent implications remain consistent despite the limited visual appeal.
35. This response—both by fan and researcher—also exists outside of the NASCAR environment. Attending an NFL game in Jacksonville, Florida in 2010, one of us witnessed four fighter jets do a pregame fly-over at a similarly low altitude. Instead of “Git R Done,” the common fan response was “Yeah, let’s get some!”
36. For example, the NASCAR organization was a recipient of the Armed Forces Foundation’s 2010 Bill and Beverly Young Humanitarian Award. Said Brian France on receiving the award: “patriotism and support for our troops goes into everything we do” (“Armed Forces Foundation’s

Annual Tribute Event Draws Support from NASCAR and Fox Sports,” 2010).

37. The press release from Lowe’s Motor Speedway highlighting the prerace spectacle before the annual Memorial Day stock car race read as follows:

Continuing a Memorial Day weekend tradition that started 30 years ago, Lowe’s Motor Speedway’s pre-race spectacular for the Coca-Cola 600 Nextel Cup Series race on Sunday, May 27, will celebrate the men and women of the U.S. Military and pay tribute to those who have served their country. The program begins with performances by the 82nd Airborne Division Chorus and the U.S. Army Drill Team, followed by the arrival of the U.S. Army Golden Knights parachute team. The U.S. Army will then “secure” the frontstretch during a demonstration that will include troops in full combat gear, military ground vehicles, helicopters and the firing of an M109 Howitzer gun. Once the frontstretch is “secured,” 1,500 uniformed troops from Fort Bragg will march into the track and assemble at the start/finish line. Following driver introductions, the Fort Bragg Honor Guard will present the colors prior to the playing of Amazing Grace and the firing of a 21-gun salute. (Printed in Salem-News.com, 2007)

38. Klare (2007) sums up the features of energo-facism in this manner:

...increasing state involvement in the procurement, transportation, and allocation of energy supplies, accompanied by a greater inclination to employ force against those who resist the state’s priorities in these areas. As in classical twentieth century fascism, the state will assume ever greater control over all aspects of public and private life in pursuit of what is said to be an essential national interest: the acquisition of sufficient energy to keep the economy functioning and public services (including the military) running. Either we will be compelled to participate in or finance foreign wars to secure vital supplies of energy, such as the current conflict in Iraq... This is not simply some future dystopian nightmare, but a potentially all-encompassing reality whose basic features, largely unnoticed, are developing today. (p. 1)

7 SELLING OUT NASCAR NATION

1. In 2004, for instance—and much to the derision of NASCAR’s traditionalists—the new, “mainstream Jr.” took members of his pit crew to see Michael Moore’s polemic *Fahrenheit 9–11* (Moore, 2004).
2. In recent years, NASCAR has become further ensconced in the national popular by way of various popular films (e.g., Disney’s animated feature film *Cars*).

3. And the “global vision of NASCAR” extends beyond the scope of NAFTA countries: “[We were] in Shanghai, talking to some people about international opportunities in the Far East,” France noted in 2007. “Nothing to report other than every time I get on the road and talk to people they’re very familiar with what we’re doing, like our style, like our brand of racing, lots of interest. . . . we’ll be looking at building our international platform” (quoted in Lemasters, 2007, pp. 1–2).
4. Studies unequivocally show that, in spite of popular belief to the contrary, the economic “development” (in terms of jobs, ancillary consumption, and tourism) brought about by the construction of new publicly subsidized sports stadia and arenas will never amount to the (fiscal and opportunity) costs paid by taxpayers.
5. The development of this new track has been met with tremendous resistance from many members within the community. To help their campaign, NASCAR launched a campaign lauding that a NASCAR track could restore the city’s livelihood in the wake of 9/11.
6. The racing league had previously increased its profit margins, particularly in the mid-2000s, from surges in consumer activity in nontraditional markets in the western United States, Canada, Australasia, Mexico, and Europe (Miles, 2005; Spencer & Grant, 2005).
7. The “Car of Tomorrow,” or CoT, was a standardized car design mandated by NASCAR starting in 2007. NASCAR claims the CoT is safer, costs less to maintain, and is intended to make for closer competition (due to numerous restriction in the weighting, instrumentation, and make-up of the car’s engine). The CoT has received heavy criticism due to the initial outlay of capital required by racing teams, and namely those fringe teams, to conform its standards.
8. NASCAR president Mike Helton compounded this considerable ire of the sport’s legions of “Southern-identified” fans when, just before the 2006 Daytona 500 race, he declared: “the old Southeastern redneck heritage that we had is no longer in existence” (quoted in Thompson, 2006, pp. 8–9). While his declaration was in response to mounting concerns within the public sphere about the primary role of the Confederate flag and lack of diversity within the NASCAR spectacle, it also echoed the organization’s rhetorical shift away from the provincial “heritage” that they had long-mobilized in marking and marketing the sport’s cultural boundaries.
9. The March 2010 Bristol race, for instance, failed to ‘sell out’ for the first time in more than 25 years ending a 55-race streak.
10. Two points should be noted here: (1) this inevitable feature of *laissez-faire* economics (that of overspeculation) is nothing new to the American economy. For a more detailed lesson on its effects, see the stock market crash of 1929 and the subsequent conditions of the Great Depression (Chancellor, 2000); and (2) this spectacular intensification

of the speculative financial sector was concomitant to the 1990s boon of the information technology sector (namely Internet-related commerce). Never was there a more perfect industry to build such a speculative empire; consumption was untraceable, the product intangible, expenses immeasurable, and market potential untenable.

11. The Gini Coefficient, named after Italian statistician Corrado Gini, is used to measure the inequality of a distribution. It is commonly used, as cited here, as an indicator of national income distribution and disparity. In this instance, the higher Gini Coefficient is indicative of an increased gap between the rich and the poor.
12. Writing in the *Monthly Review*, Minqi Li (2008) explained how the American working-class is learning to deal with this “age of transition”; redoubling their fiscal expectations for a nefarious state of economic well-being that threatens the neoliberal *pax Americana* by which neo-conservatives and “progressives” alike had come to understand the place of the nation-state within the global economy. As the next generation of outsourcing consumes the managerial sensibilities and investment machinations of market-savvy capitalists—a systematic relocation of semi- and highly skilled biotech, financial, and military-industrial-complex labor—many Americans find themselves contemplating their future within the global economy. This state of unrest is heightened by the omnipresent mediations of “threats” (Jihadism, universal health care, to the liberties that were seemingly afforded them by the “free market”).
13. We see this as the practice of “voucher programs” has come into fashion across the nation, lower levels of education have been re-articulated as consumable services.
14. In only a few years, the U.S. government successfully flipped the New Deal on its head. Many critics have argued that, in effect, the neoliberal hegemony has left the American people dispossessed of the democratic fulcrum (e.g., Zinn, Chomsky, Arundhati Roy, Anthony Arnove, Peter McLaren, Henry Giroux). Likewise, this process is by no means exclusive to the United States. In fact, the most lucrative public sell-offs have evolved out of the collapse of former Communists and Socialist states such as the former Soviet Union. The streets of modern-day Moscow are now overflowing with bulletproof BMW and Mercedes-Benz luxury cars taxiing former mafia bosses-turned-post-Soviet magnates through the city’s brutally impoverished neighborhoods (Appel, 2004). Immediately following the days of *perestroika*, these entrepreneurs were able to secure government subsidies to purchase grossly underpriced, state-held energy, transportation, and resource-mining companies. As these companies “went public,” the free market revalued these companies at millions, and often billions, of dollars more than their purchase price (Goldman, 2003).
15. Montoya is actually from Colombia, not Mexico.

16. Never mind that Montoya's highly talented and well-known aggressive driving style (the primary reason Montoya failed to achieve long-term success in Formula One racing) was more representative of NASCAR cult hero Dale Earnhardt Sr. than most drivers currently claiming NASCAR as home, Montoya's polarizing character was displayed in his first victory, a NASCAR Busch Series international race in Mexico City in March of 2007 (Anderson, 2007). Montoya passed 18 cars in 26 laps including spinning out his own teammate, Scott Pruett, with 8 laps remaining to claim a controversial victory (Anderson, 2007).
17. At the end of the broadcast, Griese said: "Juan Pablo Montoya, he's one of the best drivers in NASCAR. Just want to apologize for the comment I made earlier in the ballgame."

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

1. In which seemingly the only voice of reason on television is not NBC or CBS news anchors Brian Williams or Katie Couric, but rather Jon Stewart, comedian and host of the "fake news" program *The Daily Show on Comedy Central*, whom the *New York Times* referred to as having the cultural currency to be this era's Edward R. Murrow.
2. As of this writing (December, 2010), the U.S. Congress had an overall approval rating of only 13 percent (Gallup Poll, December 10–12, 2010) as it headed into its "lame-duck" session following shocking gains in the 2010 midterm elections that saw the Republican Party retake control of the House of Representatives.
3. This logic of self-governed freedom as consumer/embodied/aesthetic acts in this way to create power—power through which populations can be governed:

The new governmental reason needs freedom; therefore, the new art of government consumes freedom. It must produce it, it must organize it. The new art of government therefore appears as the management of freedom, not in the sense of the imperative: "be free," with the immediate contradiction that this imperative may contain... [T]he liberalism we can describe as the art of government formed in the eighteenth century entails at its heart a productive/destructive relationship with freedom. Liberalism must produce freedom, but this very act entails the establishment of limitations, controls, forms of coercion, and obligations relying on threats, etcetera. (Foucault, 2008, p. 63)

In this way, neoliberalism constitutes a new mode of "governmentality," a "manner, or a mentality, in which people are governed and govern

themselves. The operative terms of this governmentality are no longer rights and laws but interest, investment and competition” (Read, 2009, p. 29). This form of governmentality “is not a matter of a dominant force having direct control over the conduct of individuals; rather, it is a matter of trying to determine the conditions within or out of which individuals are able to freely conduct themselves” (Hamann, 2009, p. 55).

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