UNIVERSITY OF
GLOUCESTERSHIRE

This is a peer-reviewed, post-print (final draft post-refereeing) version of the following published document, This is an Accepted Manuscript of an article published by Taylor & Francis in Sport in Society on 22nd February 2018, available online:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/10.1080/17430437.2018.1434457>. and is licensed under All Rights Reserved license:

MacLean, Malcolm ORCID: 0000-0001-5750-4670 (2018) Sport, protest and globalisation: stopping play. Sport in Society, 21 (9). pp. 1489-1491. doi:10.1080/17430437.2018.1434457

Official URL: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/17430437.2018.1434457>

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/17430437.2018.1434457>

EPrint URI: <https://eprints.glos.ac.uk/id/eprint/5627>

Disclaimer

The University of Gloucestershire has obtained warranties from all depositors as to their title in the material deposited and as to their right to deposit such material.

The University of Gloucestershire makes no representation or warranties of commercial utility, title, or fitness for a particular purpose or any other warranty, express or implied in respect of any material deposited.

The University of Gloucestershire makes no representation that the use of the materials will not infringe any patent, copyright, trademark or other property or proprietary rights.

The University of Gloucestershire accepts no liability for any infringement of intellectual property rights in any material deposited but will remove such material from public view pending investigation in the event of an allegation of any such infringement.

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR TEXT.

Jon Dart & Stephen Wagg (eds) *Sport, Protest and Globalisation: Stopping Play* (London, Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) pp373+x. £65.00. ISBN: 978-1-137-46491-0.

The conservative demand that we 'keep politics out of sport' has taken a battering in recent years. Of course, politics has always been central to sport with national anthems played at the beginning of international events and in some settings the regular round of weekly competition, or as table tennis players presage shifts in geopolitical arrangements. We see it in footballers who at Christmas stepped out into the muddy space between their battle lines to defy, just once, the instruction from their powers that be to do their best to kill each other – literally, not just in the hyperbole of the commentator. We see it in the way athletic success and successful athletes define what it is to be manly, and therefore to be socially powerful – but none of these is what the 'keep politics out of sport' mantra is about. That, undoubtedly, is an elision of the statement's actual meaning: keep lefty/dissident politics out of sport – which is exactly what the cases in this engaging and valuable book refuse to do.

Covering over a 100 year period from the sport-related protests of Britain's Suffragettes to the organising against and around mega-events in recent Olympic and football Men's World Cup activism, Dart & Wagg have drawn together an impressive array of voices to explore moments and movements where sport and activism met in ways that were at times unexpected, at times Sisyphean and on a few occasions successful. Of the 14 cases considered, 10 occurred during or after 1968 and 8 (including 2 from the earlier period) deal with Olympic Games or World Cups, but even though these are largely cases that are well known, many of the pieces offer new insight, revisionist analyses and in some of the more recent cases substantively new issues for further exploration and analysis. Alongside this array of topics there is a welcome diversity of voices, with three pieces (John Minto on Aotearoa/New Zealand's anti-apartheid movement, Anita Pleumarom on the Global Anti-Golf Movement and Christopher Gaffney on resistance to the FIFA Men's World Cup in Brazil) writing as activists from within those movements.

Alongside this range of voices, there is also a diversity of approaches and concerns. Several of the papers deal with a single or specific movement: notably Carol Osborne on the Suffragettes and the contributions by Minto, Pleumarom and Gaffney. Included in this group is Stephen Wagg's paper on the 2012 Paralympics and the politics of disablement, Jon Dart's in the debates concerning sports boycotts of Israel and Helen Jefferson Lenskyj's on the Women's Olympics/Women's World Games of the 1920s and 1930s. Alongside these there are several papers exploring not so much a movement as a moment, including Osborne's which turns around Emily Wilding Davidson's attempt to attach a suffrage ribbon to the king's horse at the 1913 Epsom Derby, an attempt that ended with her death. This group also includes Celeste González de Bustamente's discussion of the differences in the way the Tlatelolco Massacre in the days before the 1968 Mexico Olympics plays a role in Mexican memory work and Jon Dart's paper on Trenton Oldfield's disruption of the 2012 Boat Race as an anti-austerity protest. Of all the papers, this one of Dart's is among the more theoretically innovative, drawing on the Situationist theory of the spectacle highlighting the risk of action isolated from a broader movement.

Other chapters explore multiple moments of activism, including Helen Jefferson Lenskyj's paper on accommodation and resistance at and around the Sochi Olympics in 2014 and Christine

O'Bonsawin's on years of Canadian Olympic politics taking in the Montreal games in 1976 and the Calgary games in 1988 as well as the Toronto bid in 1996. Similarly, both Minto and Pleumarom highlight campaigns running over many years with several different focal points and moments of activism. The fourth set of chapters deal with tactical aspects of protest, notably David Clay Large and Joshua Large on protests and the boycott call around the 1936 Olympics in Berlin and Kostas Zervas's discussion of the Chicago 2016 and Rio 2016 Olympic bids. Tactical questions are also at the centre of both of Dart's essays on the Palestinian led Boycott/Divestment/Sanctions campaign and on Trenton Oldfield's swim. Finally, and significantly two chapters explore cases where the sport itself is the protest: Lenskyj on the Women's Olympics/Women's World Games and Russell Field's essay the 1963 Games of the New Emerging Forces (GANEFO) as part of the Non-Aligned Movement.

Several of these papers stand out as doing more than just working to raise the profile and present cogent analyses of sport-related political activism. Carol Osborne's discussion, centred on but not limited to Emily Wilding Davidson, spirals out from that single event to provide a rich overview of the Suffragette's sport-focused direct action, and in doing so recasts Davidson's fatal feat as part of a wider tactical approach that sought to disrupt sites of cultural and political power. Christine O'Bonsawin's chapter, perhaps more than any other, pushed me to step back from detail – I knew well much of the material she discussed, although some of the 1976 aspects were new – to consider new forms of periodisation of Olympic activism on the Canadian context as well as consider the effects of the ways she weaves together the local, the global and the indigenous. John Minto, Anita Pleumarom and Christopher Gaffney, as noted earlier, enrich the collection by providing activists' voices. Alongside O'Bonsawin's emphasis on 4th World (Indigenous) voices, Russell Field, Celeste González de Bustamente and Gaffney provide majority world perspectives, rupturing the 1st and 2nd world centric approach that characterises too much of the work we see in sport studies.

Despite these strengths, there are some things that could be done better. The proof reading is uneven leading to some jarring moments. Dart and Wagg have provided a good introduction that provides a clear overview of the book and its chapters, but I would have liked to have seen them kick off a wider conceptual discussion of the sport/politics/protest nexus (there are major proofing errors here where in several cases authors, chapter titles and discussion do not align). A conclusion pulling together the themes and perhaps suggesting areas for further work would also have been welcome. There is, however, one glaring error that needs correction. In her essay on Sochi, Lenskyj states that "18000 Uzbek migrant workers died on Olympic construction sites" (p323), which as a follower of data on worker injury and death in mega-event construction surprised me. The evidence is much more subtle: 48,500 Uzbeks died in Russia between 2010 and 2014, 42% of whom (approximately 18,000) died on Russian construction sites (this is still a horrific figure) at least 120 of whom died on Olympic sites.[1] Taking this 120 from just one of the Central Asian Republics that continue to serve as a labour pool for Russia suggests the likelihood of much higher death rate at Sochi than the three previous Games – Beijing, Vancouver and London – and perhaps not unlike the figures currently being cited for the building projects for the Qatar 2022 Men's Football World Cup. The figure of 18,000 is wrong and needs correction, although the likely real figure is still alarmingly high.

In the big picture though these errors are fairly minor: this is an impressive and important collection that makes a significant contribution to the field and should be widely used in programmes based in the social sciences and politics of sport as well as in politics, social science and history programmes

more widely. Hopefully it will also stimulate more work in the field enriching our understanding of the sector.

Malcolm MacLean
University of Gloucestershire

[1] Craig Shaw, Roman Anin and Lina Vdovii (2014) 'The Ghosts of Sochi' in *The Black Sea* at <https://theblacksea.eu/index.php?idT=88&idC=88&idRec=1184&recType=story> accessed 01.07.17)