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From Workers' Sport to Alter-Sport and Global Workers' Rights

As we saw in Table 1.1 in the previous chapter, the labour movement – the focus of this chapter – can be considered as one of the oldest social movements and the dominant one for a large part of the twentieth century. As we shall demonstrate in this chapter, its influence on sport today is still strong in certain countries but also complex and shifting. The labour movement is now global and since its emergence, has advocated for the improvement of the lives and employment conditions of working people, as well as for the transformation or even overthrowing of capitalism worldwide. Applying Touraine's (1977) three key characteristics of social movements, its identity is that of the movement of workers under capitalism, its adversary is capitalism as a system of worker exploitation, and as for its social project or totality, the movement has seen divisions along political and strategic lines, ranging from the goal of reformist state socialism to revolutionary communism. As we shall see, consistent with Tilly's claims about the evolution of social movements, it has also gone through major changes in its overall orientation and forms of activism over time.

The sphere of labour movement activity has historically been wide, covering almost all areas of workers lives including their leisure and sports: consequently, the labour movement is the first social movement to be discussed in this book. Moreover, it is the best example by which to illustrate the historical transition of social movements developed in the previous chapter. The history of the labour movement also demonstrates how social movements have been transformed as the history of capitalist societies evolved through different stages of 'historicity' (Touraine 1981). Finally, as Riordan (1996) argued worker sport as an emanation of the larger labour movement is by no means insignificant for sports history and the history of the overall labour movement. In the 1930s it united more than four million workers worldwide: '... making it by far the largest working-class cultural movement', (Riordan 1996, p. vii). Worker sport comprised sport and gymnastic clubs which were linked to the labour movement, designed in order to provide workers and their families opportunities for sport participation with their fellow workers outside of (and against) 'bourgeois' amateur sport. Worker sport was also a site for the reproduction and promotion of the ideals of socialism and communism among

workers participating in these initiatives. Worker sport was therefore both a sport initiative and a political instrument for the promotion of a post-capitalist society.

Why and how did the labour movement get involved in sport? How, accordingly, over time, have the forms of activism of the labour movement in sport evolved? What are its current forms of activism and what influence does this movement have on sport? How does it intersect with other global social movements and on what types of issue? These are the questions that will be addressed in this chapter. In the first section, we outline in broad strokes the origins and developments of the labour movement and sport up until the beginnings of the Cold War in the 1950s; this corresponds roughly to the first phase of our periodization of social movements in Table 1.1. Analysing the evolution of the labour movement worldwide and of worker sport within it during such a long period is well beyond what is possible to cover in this chapter (for a broad view of the history of the labour movement see Fantasia and Stepan-Norris 2004 and for an overview of the history of worker sport in several countries see Krüger and Riordan 1996). Our discussion here is centred on the study of one specific case, the *Fédération sportive et gymnique du travail*, (FSGT) based in France. Indeed, its almost 100-year history provides a useful lens through which to study worker sport not only in France, but also at the international level, because of its extensive relationships with sister organizations in other countries such as the *Unione Italiana Sport per Tutti* (UISP; the Italian Sport for All Union) and its involvement within international workers organizations. In the second and third sections of the chapter, we focus our attention on the contemporary period in order to sketch a picture of the impact of the labour movement in sport, with special attention paid to its influence on alter-globalization and sport. The second section continues with our analysis of the FSGT in order to illustrate what became of what was once called ‘worker sport’ and is now labelled ‘sport populaire’ or ‘sport travailliste’. In the third section we introduce another facet of the relationship between the labour movement and sport: the new forms of global activism for the rights of workers worldwide, and particularly those working in manufacturing industries supplying sports equipment, clothing and footwear. To illustrate this aspect, we discuss the example of the Play Fair campaign organized around sports mega-events, such as the Olympic Games and the FIFA Men’s Football World Cup Finals.

Uniting workers through sport or providing sport for workers

Arguably, the origins of the international labour movement can be traced to the formation of the First International in 1864, an international organization

aimed at regrouping socialist, communist and other leftist groups, and of the Second International from 1889 to 1916, which resumed the tasks of the first one and whose strong influence continued well into the whole twentieth century. During the same period, the first phase of struggles for civil rights emerged with, for example, the beginnings of women's rights in different countries that coalesced in 1888 with the founding of the International Council of Women. The international labour movement's 'emergence' phase lasted up until the early twentieth century. This was due to the fact that, from one country to another, the evolution of industrialization and of democratic reforms that shaped the historical conditions for the formation of working class consciousness and consequently the rise of labour movements in specific nation states occurred at different times and thus took different forms in different places. As is well known, the history of the labour movement and of the political parties they created in support of their cause is replete with divisions, factions and groups of many political stripes, which can be divided into two broad camps. On the one hand, Socialists, also called reformists, considered that in democratic states socialism could be achieved by gaining power through winning elections. On the other hand, for communists or revolutionaries, socialism could only be achieved by overthrowing capitalism through revolution led by the working class. In this chapter, the term reformism specifically refers to socialist movements and parties, and therefore bears a slightly different meaning from that in chapter 1.

In several countries, the evolution of worker sport followed similar lines. For example, the *gymnastics* society in *Germany*, better known as the *German Turner* movement or *turnverein*, became crucial to the development of the *German* nation-state. In 1859, the *Deutsche Turnerschaft* was created, regrouping close to 2,000 clubs including social democratic organizations (Krüger 1996). In the early 1890s, members of different social democratic organizations discussed the creation of workers' Turner associations. From 1895 until 1911, the young *Arbeiter Turner-Bund* membership grew significantly (Krüger 1996). According to Krüger (1996), the political life of the nascent German worker sport organizations – such as *Solidarity*, a Leipzig-based national worker association created in 1893 – were subject to anti-association legislation that prevented them from flourishing. Nevertheless, German worker sport grew rapidly until banned under the Nazi regime in the 1930s. German worker sport did not reappear after World War II.

In England, by contrast, socialist workers' organizations were already numerous by the end of the World War I and worker sport was then adopted by organized labour (Jones 1996). For example, the Clarion Cycling Club, created in 1894, had a clear socialist character. One of its aims was '... to propagate Socialism and Good fellowship' (Jones 1996, p. 99). At the initiative of the Clarion club and members of the Labour Party, the British Workers' Federation for Sport was created in 1923 in order to 'further the cause

of peace between nations'. (Jones 1996, p. 101). The workers' sport movement in England was indeed strongly influenced by the presence of the socialist reformist inclined Labour Party which became prominent at the beginning of the twentieth century.

In Canada, by contrast, immigrant groups such as Finns and Ukrainians as well as Jewish people were the front-runners of worker sport as they reproduced institutions from their country of origins. These served as a means to socialize among fellow immigrants as much as to practice sport and gymnastics (Kidd 1996). In Italy, on the other hand, worker sport did not emerge until after World War II, as a result of the condemnation of sport as a bourgeois institution by the Italian left (Pivato 1994). In France, the roots of worker sport reached back to the birth of the first national worker sport organization in the country, the *Fédération sportive athlétique du travail* (FSAT), a section of the socialist party (SFIO). One of its founding members published a short manifesto in the leftist newspaper *l'Humanité* revealing the vision behind its creation:

. . . [the organisation] will recruit its members among those of the Party, as well as their children. There are numerous advantages to this creation. Here are some: to develop the muscular force and to purify the lungs of the young proletariat; to give youth healthy and joyful entertainment which will be a palliative to alcoholism and bad acquaintances; to bring young comrades to the party; to advertise for the party (quoted by Borrel 1999, p. 29; our translation).

In short, the goal of the initiative was to provide healthy pursuit opportunities to members of the Party, but also to attract new members. Soon after other socialist-inclined sport initiatives saw the light of day and united into a new organization, the *Fédération sportive du travail* (FST) inaugurated in 1914. The FST affiliated with the socialist-inclined (reformist) *Lucerne Sport International* (LSI), established a year earlier, and which was the first international organization for worker sport to be created. For a detailed account of the birth of the two main international worker sport organizations, see Gounot (1994).

The Bolshevik revolution in Russia in 1917 and the creation of the Third international (Communist) in 1919 created a major schism over the leadership of the labour movement and resulted in an open war between socialists and communists. As far as worker sport was concerned, the schism materialized with the creation in 1921 of the Moscow-based *Red Sport International* (RSI) whose mandate was to attract workers to the communist party through sport and to use sport as an instrument to transform workers into soldiers for class struggle and communism (in contrast with the LSI whose mandate was first to provide sport for workers and after that try to get them involved in the socialist movement). With the RSI, Moscow wanted to create '... a worldwide worker sport and gymnastic organization in charge, to spread the experiments of the Russian proletariat to all countries, and to form, with the help of these experiments, a sufficient reserve of revolutionary combatants for the decisive

struggles'. (International Communist congress, 1920, quoted by Gounot 1994, p. 236). In France, in 1923, under the leadership of Jacques Doriot, a former socialist militant converted to communism as well as former secretary of RSI, communists took over the FST, which then switched affiliation from the LSI to the RSI (Gounot 1999). As a result of the takeover, socialists created a new organization, the Union des Sociétés Sportives et Gymniques du Travail (USSGT) in 1926. Ironically, after years of confrontations and divisions, the two competing organizations merged in 1934 to create the FSGT, as around the industrialized world leftist parties regrouped in order to fight fascism in Europe. From 1936 the FSGT benefited from the newly elected Front Populaire government in France, most especially from Léo Lagrange the Minister of Sport, who channelled significant state funding into the organization. As a result, the FSGT thrived and its membership grew significantly up until the occupation of the country by Nazi Germany.

The period between the two world wars can thus be seen as the golden age of worker sport (Riordan 1996). As shown above, during that period, worker sport was divided along the same lines as the larger labour movement. On the one hand, socialist organizations were mostly interested in social reforms in order to create more democratic and equal societies. Their peaceful internationalism was most importantly inclined towards a solidarity among workers for economic and democratic reforms and solidarity with colonized peoples. On the other hand, under the strong hold of Bolshevism and later Stalinism, communist parties and their affiliated organizations were striving for the universalization of the communist revolution. Their pacifism and internationalism was motivated by a solidarity with workers worldwide against capitalist imperialism and in favour of a communist world order under the guidance of the USSR.

The internationalism of each of these two leftist opponents manifested itself through their global initiatives. One of the prominent events organized by the LSI was the Workers Olympics, an anti-bourgeois sport initiative (i.e. against the games of the 'bourgeois' IOC). Games were held in Frankfurt in 1925, which attracted some 1,000 athletes and 40,000 spectators, and in Vienna, in 1931, which attracted even more athletes and spectators (Gounot 1994). Opening ceremonies included a parade of 100,000 worker athletes in the streets, some of them holding banners 'for world disarmament and universal peace', while others raised their fist making an anti-fascist salute. These games were strongly condemned by the RSI, because of the exclusion of all non-socialist organizations. The Communists replied with the creation of their own Workers Olympics, the Moscow 'Spartakiads' which were staged only once in 1928. Since then, several forms of sports have gathered under the name of 'Spartakiads' with many still organized, but none have had the same goal of forming a counter-Olympics (Edelman 2006). A 'Peoples' Olympics' was also planned for Barcelona in 1936 but was cancelled because of the Spanish civil

war. Although they both fought each other up until 1936, the LSI and RSI joined forces in their strong opposition to the IOC's bourgeois Olympics and were particularly active in the campaign to boycott the Olympic Games in Berlin (often referred to as the Nazi Olympics). As a result of their alliance, organizations affiliated with both the LSI and RSI participated in a third and final Workers Olympics held in Antwerp in 1937.

During World War II, worker sport largely ground to a halt as attentions turned to the global fight against fascism. The victory of the allies led to the dawn of a new world order. After the war, economic and democratic transformations eventually led to the emergence and prominence of NSMs. Post-war reconstruction in Western industrialized countries led to new forms of government intervention in the economy and society, often heralded as the 'welfare state'. The development of welfare states resulted in the democratization of mass education and increased opportunities for workers in numerous areas of social life, including state-funded universal health services and leisure and sport facilities, especially at the local level. Workers' conditions of living improved as they reaped some of the benefits of the nascent consumer society.

The end of World War II also marked a major shift in international politics that impacted severely upon workers sport. Indeed, the two main allies that defeated Nazi Germany became enemies virtually as soon as the war ended. The Cold War between Western capitalist countries and the Eastern Bloc associated with the USSR lasted from the early 1950s until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989 and the demise of the USSR in 1991. During the Cold War, mass organizations of the communist parties in most Western industrialized countries became treated with suspicion by democratic capitalist governments. From one country to another, depending on the composition of the political spectrum and class divisions, labour-associated organizations had a different fate. For example, in the United States in the 1950s, under McCarthyism, all left leaning organizations were automatically assumed to be agencies of communist propaganda for the USSR and came under attack from government, federal agencies and the police. However, in several European countries where the labour movement had been historically stronger, workers' sport organizations were able to survive and grow as mass organizations of communist or socialist inclined political parties.

Such was the case with the FSGT, which had suffered during the Nazi occupation of France. After liberation, several of its leaders who had been complacent during the occupation were removed and communists took back control of the organization. The FSGT became a mass organization again attached to the Parti Communiste Français (PCF; French Communist Party) and would remain so until the mid-1970s (Sabatier 2011), despite renewed claims of the 'neutrality' of the organization by the leaders of FSGT, themselves members of the PCF (Borrel 1999). During the Cold War, as a result of its links to the PCF, FSGT's state financial support was cut for several decades and the organization

went into a long period of stagnation as the communists' social capital, gained by their participation in the resistance against German occupation, slowly declined (Borrel 1999). Another major factor that influenced worker sport after World War II was the complete change of strategy by the USSR, in the context of the Cold War, as it decided to join the 'bourgeois' Olympics in 1955. On the one side, the USSR and other countries of the Eastern Bloc embraced the Olympics in order to show the world the supremacy of their revolutionary regimes through the performances of their state-funded athletes. On the other side, through its affiliated communist parties and worker sport organizations in Western countries, Moscow continued to use sport as a tool through which to attempt to export the communist revolution to the Western world. The influence of the Communist parties progressively declined however.

In sum, there were three major factors that influenced worker sport, both at national and international levels. First, the history of worker sport was strongly influenced by the divisions within the labour movement between socialists and communists. These divisions resulted in the creation of several organizations competing to attract workers within their ranks, a situation that arguably prevented worker sport from growing. In addition to these internal divisions within the labour movement, worker sport was not the only type of organizations competing to attract workers. In France and Québec in Canada for example, as well as in other countries where Roman Catholicism was strong, church-run sport organizations were put in place in order to keep youth under control (Harvey 1988). In the Protestant religious world, organizations like the YMCA and YWCA played a similar role. At the beginning of the twentieth century, nascent professional sport started to attract working-class youth. Moreover, from the 1920s onwards, several business leaders put in place sport and leisure opportunities for their workers and their families in order to ease their relationships with their employees and prevent them from getting involved in organized labour (Melchers 1988). Finally, as the Olympic Games became more and more prominent, amateur sport federations progressively opened their doors to working-class athletes – as a way to gain more Olympic medals, a way to compete against worker sport successes and a way to fight against the development of professional sport. Given this context of intense competition to attract workers, the huge successes of workers' sport in attracting workers between the two world wars are notable. However, despite the impressive number of participants, mostly in European countries, workers' sport was never a successful tool through which to recruit militants for their larger political projects, since most of the workers who became involved did so mostly for the sport participation opportunities provided, rather than for anything else. (Borrel 1999; Kidd 1996). Nevertheless, worker sport formed a thriving vehicle for the extension of workers' rights to participate in sport as well as a means to foster the larger rights of the working class and, therefore arguably, has constituted a significant part of labour movement history.

From sport for all to alter-global sport

Despite the fact that the golden age of worker sport was the interwar period, the movement survived in many countries outside of North America and, from the 1970s onwards, it strove to maintain a significant membership worldwide. A measure of this trend is the revival of the former LSI in 1946 under a new name, the Comité sportif international du travail (CSIT) – an organization that still exists today with 43 union members in 32 countries, boasting some 230 million individual members worldwide (CSIT 2012). We return later in the chapter to consider the most recent actions of the CSIT. Hence, worker sport is still alive today, although in new clothes. Worker sport has become an ‘... international multi-sport organization based on the ideas of the international labour movement: equality and solidarity in sport’ (CSIT 2002). Moreover, CSIT defines itself as an organization that aims at broadening workers’ sport worldwide and thus developing into a world-wide movement. (CSIT 2012). While heralding its inheritance from workers sport, since the 1970s CSIT and its union members often use different words to describe their social project with labels like ‘sport populaire’ (sport for the people) and ‘sport for all’. The ‘sport for all’ objectives of CSIT and its fellow members are mainly to provide positive and healthy sport experiences for people who normally do not have access to sport, encouraging openness and human understanding despite their skill levels and giving importance to the pleasurable aspects of sport and its health-related benefits. (CSIT 2012) In order words, the CSIT sought to find new ways of doing sport in less competitive and more recreative ways. These objectives are carried out through promoting ‘... sport activities for the sake of social, cultural and healthy aims with no or little regards for results’ (CSIT 2012).

One way to see more concretely how this general social project is carried out locally by CSIT member organizations is to return to our earlier example, the FSGT, which is today an active member of CSIT. FSGT still defines itself as a multisport ‘*fédération affinitaire*’ (a federation of clubs sharing common social values, our translation) with a 260,000-person strong membership and a presence in 75 of the 96 French administrative departments. On its website, FSGT promotes its new motto: ‘from a sport gathering to a human gathering’. FSGT defines ‘sport populaire’ as:

Quality sport: through a critique of elite sport and the adaptation of rules to foster collaboration in competition

Affordable: through extensive involvement of volunteers

Democratic and secular: through non-hierarchical civic governance

Conviviality: by the cultivation of human relationships and an ethic of sharing and caring in the activity. (FSGT 2012; our translation).

The philosophy of the FSGT according to its statement of goals and beliefs is:

- Involvement in solidarity against social inequalities
- Rejection of hierarchy in the organisation of the sport governing body itself
- Refusal to limit oneself to the technical aspects of sport
- Against the domination of the weak by the strong
- Rejection of commodified sport
- Building of a more humane world and heightened citizenship
- Solidarity in the perspective of universality. (FSGT 2012; our translation)

FSGT's vision is to develop an alternative to current hegemonic competitive and commodified sport. In a recent special issue of its periodical *Sport et plein air* entitled 'Another competition is possible', FSGT further explained its social project. Competition is now synonymous with elimination sport. Another form of competition would be one without losers, a competition becoming a '... form of co-operation within a team and with its opponents that would connect back to its Latin etymology *cum petere*, "researching together"' (FSGT 2011, p. 16). In the same issue, FSGT identified seven key conditions for 'alter-competitions': extensive play time for each; equality of chances to win; democratic play (i.e. no elimination); socialization through convivial sport; players taking on responsibilities with regard to the organization and unfolding of the game; opening up the rules to participants to adapt; and minimal cost – human and financial (FSGT 2011, p. 16). Finally, FSGT argues that '... as long as the central issue remains play for the sake of play, competition can be educational and formative for all' (FSGT 2011, p. 17). This vision of alter sport offers an explicit criticism of commodified sport where cheating, violence, exclusion and doping are considered to be widespread. It takes several forms that we discuss below.

One concrete example of such an alter-sport form is 'alter-foot' or 'foot at 7'. This alternative form of football is played on a half-size soccer pitch with the following rules: there are a maximum of five replacement players per team; sides are permitted the unlimited changeover of players; there are no off-sides; no tackling is allowed; and the match is self-refereed (i.e. the players themselves referee the game). The sport is now spreading quickly and, in 2012, there were 350 teams alone in Paris (Seckel 2012). At the core of FSGT, life is a constant reflection on how to develop a more inclusive and healthy sport within its affiliated clubs: this is thus one of the forms of activism of the contemporary FSGT.

A second form of FSGT activism is its constant efforts at lobbying the state, for recognition of its activities as a public service that deserves state funding, as well as for sport reform. The strategy here is to try to reform sport from inside. In line with this form of action was the campaign of the FSGT to earn election onto the CNOSF (the French National Olympic Committee), which it succeeded in doing in 2009.

A third form of FSGT activism is its open international peace solidarity campaign for oppressed people around the world. The internationalism of the FSGT has manifested itself through involvement in Palestine since 2000. Here among other sport development projects, they have exported 'foot at 7'. International exchanges of players are organized from year to year, sport leaders are trained, and specific initiatives to provide girls with sport participation opportunities are conducted in refugee camps.

A fourth form of FSGT activism is its involvement in the global diffusion of 'sport populaire' through its membership and participation in CSIT along with its Italian sister organization UISP and others. UISP also has deep roots in the labour movement. Like the FSGT, at the end of the 1970s, UISP went through a process of detaching itself from the political parties it was affiliated with. It was recognized in 1974 by the Italian Olympic committee (CONI) as a sports promotion organization. In the 1990s, UISP also reoriented itself as a 'sport for all' association. At its 50th anniversary in 2008, UISP claimed over one million active members and 14,000 affiliated clubs (UISP 2008). UISP actively works for 'alter sport' and, in 2004, it organized a conference under what it now claims is the core of its mission: 'Un altro sport è possibile' or 'another sport is possible'. The UISP co-organized two workshops within the 2006 World Social Forum held in Nairobi, Kenya, as well as a 'marathon race among the slums for human rights'. One of the two workshops was entitled 'Sport of Peace: Playing against War' where the role of sport as a mediator of conflicts or as a way to re-create dialogue between different cultures was discussed. The other workshop was entitled 'Champions of Freedom or Slaves of the Millennium' and touched on the dual role that sport can play for youth. UISP (2008b, para. 1) argues that sport can make people free but can also bring about new forms of slavery: '... managers without scruples explore the poorest areas of the world for finding possible talents to bring to Europe. A real draft of human persons' (see, for example, Darby 2012). UISP is also active in different networks of organizations and specifically with Libera, an anti-mafia organization, the World Wildlife Organization and Amnesty International. Most recently, in May of 2011, UISP – in collaboration with a variety of national and international organizations – presented the European Charter of Women's Rights in Sport to the European Parliament as part of its involvement in the Olympia Project, an initiative designed to encourage women's participation in sport and to provide 'equal opportunities via and within sport' (retrieved from <http://www.olympiaproject.net/?p=187#more-187> [last accessed 13 January 2013]).

Both FSGT and UISP have become deeply involved in an alternative form of sports event under the umbrella of CSIT, the 'World Sport Games'. Indeed, the first World Sport Games were in Rimini (Italy) under the leadership of IUSP. They were followed by a second Games in Tallinn, Estonia, in 2010, and a third Games in Varna, Bulgaria, scheduled for June 2013. The Rimini Games were attended by 2800 participants from 20 different countries. Included in

the programme were such disciplines as gymnastics, football, tennis, athletics, as well as 'sport for all' activities. These games distinguished themselves from the Olympics and single sport world championships by their inclusiveness and their lack of commercialism. Indeed, following the 'sport for all' objectives of the CIST and its affiliates, the Rimini games were heralded as the 'non-commercial games of the people' ('sportif populaires et amateurs').

A fifth and final form of activism of the FSGT is participation in the larger labour movement campaigns for the rights of workers worldwide and in particular in the sport manufacturing industry, such as the Play Fair campaign, which will be discussed in the next section. Indeed, the June 2008 issue of *Sport et plein air* featured articles both about the exploitation of workers in Chinese manufacturing and about the larger issue of human rights in China by Amnesty International. Moreover, in the streets of Paris during the pre-2008 Olympic Games torch relay, the FSGT participated in the demonstrations against workers exploitation in the sport manufacturing industries (Renou 2012).

In this section, through a historical overview of the examples of the CSIT, the FSGT and the IUSP, we have sketched a picture of one aspect of the contemporary action of the labour movement as it connects to sport. We noted how worker sport before World War II gradually transformed from an instrument of communist and socialist parties into a reformist practice. In the next section, we examine more contemporary struggles for workers' rights within the sports industry.

Sports mega-events as a platform for promoting workers' and human rights

Arguably the most visible aspect of the presence of the labour movement in contemporary global sport today is the campaigns against the exploitation of workers in the sports manufacturing industry. What began in the 1990s as global union and NGO campaigns against worker exploitation aimed specifically at a small number of major sports brands, such as Nike (Sage 1999), has progressively grown larger to target sports mega-events such as the Olympic Games and the FIFA Men's Football World Cup Finals, as well as governments in order to halt the exploitation of workers worldwide.

As we argue in the following pages, several campaigns for the rights of workers have emerged in the last 20 years using the visibility of the Olympics and other sports mega-events. Some of these campaigns are interconnected and reinforce each other, as they bring together networks of organizations that have workers' rights as their overall goal. They also interconnect with other rights groups concerned with, for example, women's rights, children's rights and the rights of indigenous peoples (see also Chapter 3). The struggle against exploitative working conditions in manufacturing industries dates

from the beginnings of the labour movement but under contemporary neo-liberal globalization these campaigns have become global. Arguably, one of the first organized networks was the transnational advocacy network ('TAN') that began in 1994 in protest against working conditions in Nike factories (Sage 1999). Today, new coalitions and networks link human rights NGOs, global unions, women's groups, religious groups, consumers, as well as citizens groups, fighting against capitalist exploitation and for a better form of globalization. Here, we will briefly discuss the Play Fair Campaign as a concrete example of those actors that have used sports mega-events as a platform to fight for their cause, alongside human rights NGOs like Amnesty International and environmental groups like Greenpeace. The Play Fair campaign illustrates network-like coalitions between diverse actors acting both at the local and at the global levels. Through these coalitions, we see how several global social movements (workers, women, human rights, etc) intersect with each other and form alliances around specific struggles.

In the context of the then forthcoming Athens Olympics, the first Play Fair Campaign was officially launched on 4 March 2004 (Play Fair 2004). A press release entitled 'Betraying the Olympic Spirit' called for 'sportswear companies to clean up their act'. The main argument put forward was that indeed: 'Giant sportswear brands are violating the rights of millions of workers around the world in order to fill shops with the latest and cheapest sports shoes, clothes and accessories in time for the Athens Olympics'. (Play Fair 2004). The press release spelt out the main claims of widespread denials of basic workers' rights (such as long hours, unpaid forced overtime, below living wages, non-recognition of union rights and no maternity leave). The campaign was aimed at the sportswear brands Fila, Puma, Nike, Adidas and Lotto, as well as at their subcontractors, but also called on the IOC to challenge the abuses of its sponsors and licensees. Finally, the campaign called on governments to resist the pressure from the companies and ensure labour legislation was enforced to protect the rights of the workers. In short, the first Play Fair campaign sought to challenge injustices in the global labour supply chains that underpin sporting events, to improve conditions for workers and eliminate exploitation and abuse in the global sporting goods industry.

The first Play Fair Campaign was spearheaded by the Clean Clothes Campaign (CCC), global unions, and Oxfam, along with a myriad of associated local coalitions such as, for example, in Canada, the 'Coalition québécoise contre les ateliers de misère' (the Quebec Coalition Against Sweatshops). Based in Amsterdam but active worldwide, CCC lies at the core of a network of more than 250 organizations according to Sluiter (2009). It began in 1988 with a demonstration by women picketing in front of a C&A store in protest against the production of clothes using sweatshop labour. This, in turn, illustrated that the CCC has also had a strong connection to the women's movement (Sluiter 2009). Rapidly, the campaign that started in the Netherlands went global with,

according to Sluiter (2009), two goals in mind. First, the clothing and garment industry is highly mobile mainly composed of leading brands (such as Nike, Puma, Adidas, etc.) and a myriad of subcontracting companies. Second, the majority of the workers in the industry were poorly paid women (Enloe 1995). The strategy of the CCC has four targets: brands and retailers, consumers, governments and workers themselves (Sluiter 2009, p.17). In this grand strategy, brands are held responsible for the way their merchandize is produced (i.e. according to the CCC code of conduct); consumers are educated in the hope they will adopt responsible buying behaviour, governments and politicians are lobbied for the development of transparent laws and regulations that protect the rights of workers; and garment workers in the industries of the Global South are supported financially and through actions of solidarity between the North and the South (Sluiter 2009). Thus, the first Play Fair campaign displayed a wide range of tactics organized both at the global and at the local levels by affiliated local groups and coalitions. These included demonstrations in the streets, particularly during the Athens Olympic torch relay, press releases, posters and meetings with policy-makers.

A second Play Fair campaign was organized around the Beijing Summer Olympics in 2008 and addressed 'four hurdles' faced by workers: limits to freedom of association; insecurity as a result of the high mobility of the industry; forms of abuse in the work place; and wages paid below the cost of living (Play Fair 2012). In preparation for the campaign, the CCC investigated workers' rights abuses by four Chinese companies licensed to produce Olympic goods (Sluiter 2009). Again the second campaign was structured as a coalition led by CCC, the International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC) and the International Textile, Garment and Leather Worker's Federation (ITGLWF). Additionally, it was connected to a wide variety of organizations worldwide ranging from trade unions, women's groups, North-South solidarity networks and it included the FSGT. The FSGT, as mentioned earlier, organized protests to coincide with the Olympics Torch Relay itinerary in France, displaying a series of white tables with faceless humans dressed in white in front of white sewing machines in Paris as a gesture of solidarity with workers in the South.

Such campaigns have continued. A third Play Fair campaign targeted the 2010 World Cup in South Africa with a special focus on the working conditions of construction workers. Most recently, the Play Fair campaign was organized around the 2012 London Olympic Games in order to challenge the London Organising Committee of the Olympic and Paralympic Games (LOCOG) to '... ensure that the Games are not tainted by the exploitation of workers' (Play Fair 2012, p. 7). This campaign again regrouped a renewed wide coalition of global and local actors, including War on Want, a British NGO created in 1952 that focuses on the global fight against poverty. Collectively, this coalition argued that sportswear and athletic footwear companies, the IOC, National Olympic Committees (NOCs), as well as national governments

should take steps to eliminate the exploitation and abuse of workers in the global sporting goods industry. They urged these organizations to act in the spirit of the Olympics and demonstrate to the world how the principles of *fair play* can and should be extended to the workplace (Play Fair 2008). In this latest campaign, Play Fair convinced LOCOG to adopt a code of conduct in the procurement of goods and services for the Games, as well as to sign an agreement to act on the protection of workers' rights (Play Fair 2012). In its report, Play Fair recognized that LOCOG had taken unprecedented steps to protect the rights of workers, but also argued that much more still needs to be done. Indeed, Timms (2012, p. 365) outlines the difficulties facing the implementation of this code of conduct. First, it was difficult for the suppliers to respect the code for the LOCOG merchandize in factories that otherwise do not live up to these standards for the rest of their production. Second, without knowing where the factories are located, it is difficult for the suppliers to verify if the standards are protected. Third, it is difficult to monitor whether the new standards in these factories will be upheld after the manufacturing of Olympic merchandize is completed. Fourth, there is no official mechanism of complaint attached to the code. Nevertheless, despite these challenges, the fact that this code was adopted by LOCOG speaks to the relative success of the previous campaigns and London 2012 in particular for drawing attention to the rights of workers. As Price noted (2008, pp. 100–1), the Play Fair campaign before the 2008 Olympics in Beijing skilfully used the rhetoric of the Olympic Movement and has 'appropriated an officially proclaimed narrative of Olympic decency and then sought to hold those involved to their articulated high standards'.

The question remains, why did the CCC and its coalition allies choose the Olympics and other sports mega-events as platforms for protest? According to Timms (2012, pp. 358–9), 'the garment industry represent a significant portion of the global labour market . . . including some of the poorest and less organized and protected workers, who are disproportionately women'. This fact, combined with the high profile of the Olympic Games, makes such events an effective target for coordinating labour activism. Additionally, 'ethical campaigning on supply chains has had some success in establishing responsible governance as an issue companies have to address'. (Timms 2012, p. 359). Finally, Timms (2012, p. 359) adds, 'its global reach, its system of procurement and its ethos' make the Olympics not only a prime site for international marketing of its sponsors, but also at the same time an ideal opportunity to promote workers' rights.

Conclusion

As we have seen in this chapter, the labour movements' relationship to, and influence on, sport has a long and complex history. While the workers movement no longer plays the role of the dominant social movement in the

world, it still represents a significant force. Some of the worker sport national organizations regrouped under the CSIT remain very active and represent a significant challenge to dominant sporting forms and offer an alternative voice that questions the current hegemonic world order of sport based on neo-liberal philosophy and organized by groups like the IOC. Sport organizations such as the FSGT and UISP are still connected to a form of international solidarity and linked to alter-globalization as a 'movement of movements'. According to these groups, the IOC has sacrificed the original philosophy of the Olympic Games on the altar of global capitalism and global media conglomerates. Are these workers' sports groups likely to be able to exert significant influence over the IOC? It is interesting to note that while they have defined themselves against the domination of IOC, most of these organizations have also sought, or have become organizations recognized by national Olympic committees and the IOC. Can we deduct that these movements are in the process of being institutionalized? As a result are they progressively losing their emancipatory potential? Although a clear answer to this question would require further investigation, one possible hypothesis is that recognition by the IOC and National Olympic Committees could add new opportunities for reforming sport, this time from inside the system. Indeed, their recognition has not stopped organizations like the FSGT and UISP continuing to fight for alternatives to the dominant sport order.