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Introduction

In 1921 French woman Alice Milliat took the lead in setting up the *Fédération Sportive féminine internationale* (FSFI; in English, the International Women's Sports Federation). This was an organization designed to lobby and fight against the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and the International Amateur Athletic Federation (IAAF) for the inclusion of women's events in the Olympics and other international sports competitions, particularly in track and field events. Baron Pierre De Coubertin and his fellow members of the IOC and IAAF were well aware of FSFI feminism but were firmly against what they then saw as its abuses and deviations, let alone the whole-scale participation of women in the Olympics' most popular events. In response to the IOC's and IAAF's denial of women's participation, the first Women's Olympics were held in 1932 with great success, and were followed by three other Games that turned the attention of the world to women's athleticism. By 1934 the IAAF – and by extension, the IOC – came to the conclusion that the Women's Olympic Games were not going to disappear as they had hoped and began to incorporate women, in controlled and controlling ways that were not genuinely reflective of their capacity to participate in sport, into the Olympic Games (see Chapter 3 for further discussion of the FSFI).

In what is considered by many to be the best-known public protest in a sports arena, at the 1968 Mexico City Summer Olympic Games, Tommie Smith and John Carlos, raised their black-gloved fists during the playing of the US national anthem on the medal podium, in solidarity with the civil rights movement in the United States. In support of their protest, the silver medallist from Australia, Peter Norman, wore a human rights badge. All three athletes were criticized – in fact, vilified – for their actions. Smith and Carlos were condemned immediately by the United States Olympic Committee (USOC), the IOC and most of the international press for their 'politicization' of the Games, and they were expelled from the Games. Norman was reprimanded by the Australian Olympic Committee and media and was never allowed to compete again in the Olympics despite successful qualification times at subsequent Olympic trials (see Chapter 4 for further discussion of rights movements and sport).

More recently, large portions of the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games torch relay itinerary became the site of political protests – in favour of Tibet's autonomy from China, against exploitative working conditions in sporting goods manufacturing industries, against child labour and for the promotion of human rights in China and around the world. On the eve of the London 2012 Olympic

Games, hundreds of NGOs, global unions, and human rights and workers' organizations worldwide coalesced into a Play Fair campaign to protest against, among other issues, the poor working conditions in the subcontracting factories where clothing, souvenirs and apparel for the Games were to be produced (see Chapter 2 for more on the labour movement and sport).

What does each of these events have in common? They were all challenges to the economic and political order of sport. More precisely, they were all inspired by wider social movements: movements of resistance influencing sport, movements that use sport as an instrument to support their cause, or movements from within sport contributing to larger causes. Protests, boycotts, demonstrations, campaigns, petitions, town hall meetings, coalitions, lobbying, counter-initiatives, the forms of resistance to the sport social order are various and have been around for a long time, and with varying degrees of success. Indeed, historically, modern sport as an institution has always been challenged for sustaining different forms of discrimination and negative social impacts. In turn athletes, sport and social activists, engaged intellectuals and citizens have organized against these. From neighbourhood coalitions organizing against the building of a sport facility for professional sports teams subsidized by public funds, to global campaigns for equity for women in sport, to worldwide bans of apartheid regimes, sites and levels of protest, resistance and activism have been present throughout the history of sport. Contentious forms of collective actions are now ever more present in various forms at the local, the national and the global levels.

In this book, we focus on how and why sport connects with social movements. Conceptually, like Bourdieu (1984), we are interested in exploring the relationship between the political (field) and the sports (field). We recognize that political protest in sport is not new; social movements' involvement with sport is not new either. That said, we further recognize that sport is a field in which progressive social movements face serious difficulties, for two connected reasons. First the apolitical ideology that pervades sport often means that people interested in and involved in sport are often less concerned with, and sometimes actively resistant to, getting involved in the politics of sport to improve the social circumstances within which it takes place. This can be seen, for example in Chapter 2 where we discuss the labour movement and sport. Second and related, the ideology of sport's political neutrality reinforces the position of the dominant power holders in sport. Rhetorical tropes such as 'for the good of the game' and the 'Olympic family' espoused by the leading international sports organizations FIFA and IOC, respectively, help sustain the apolitical hegemony of the dominant sports order. Nonetheless we attempt in this book to demonstrate how this is contested. Sports mega-events such as the men's Football World Cup Finals and the Olympic Games, for example, continue to channel the energies of both the 'boosters' of the current order and the 'sceptics', critics and activists challenging it.

Hence we chart in this book the shift in social movements through what Touraine (1981) called ‘new social movements’ (NSMs) to global social movements associated with sport. Our contention is that social movements have not received enough attention in the scholarly analysis of sport and that given trends in social and political life, particularly around globalization in which one specific form of contentious political action or collective behaviour, global social movements have emerged, such analyses of sport and social movements are now necessary. Moreover, as an emerging literature focusing on various specific protests, activist campaigns and social movements in sport is now slowly growing, we developed this book as the first of its kind to provide a systematic and comprehensive analysis of sport and social movements.

It may be useful to clarify what we mean by social movements here. Examples of institutions and organizations from the world of sport that are sometimes considered to be social movements, but are not in our view, include the Olympic ‘Movement’, as underpinned by the IOC and the Sport for Development and Peace (SDP) sector. As the stewards of the Olympic Games and its brand, the IOC has often presented itself as the leader of a social movement named the ‘Olympic Movement’, underpinned by the philosophy of ‘Olympism’ as an approach to and a philosophy of life. Principle 3 of the IOC Charter (http://www.olympic.org/Documents/olympic_charter_en.pdf [accessed 14 May 2012]) declares for example:

The Olympic Movement is the concerted, organized, universal and permanent action, carried out under the supreme authority of the IOC, of all individuals and entities who are inspired by the values of Olympism. It covers the five continents. It reaches its peak with the bringing together of the world's athletes at the great sports festival, the Olympic Games. Its symbol is five interlaced rings.

However in social scientific terms, ‘Olympism’ and the ‘Olympic movement’ cannot be considered a social movement. While it is true that the Olympics, at least in the eyes of its modern founder de Coubertin, sought to effect change in social life by promoting the practice of sport which itself is described as a social good, the IOC is not, nor has ever been, a *dominated* actor which resisted marginalization and called for foundational social and political change. In fact, the historical evidence suggests that just the opposite is true (Horne and Whannel 2012, pp. 27–46). The IOC is an elitist, self-selecting club and one of the pre-eminent institutions that today governs a global sport order based on commodified sport (Perelman 2012). In turn, the IOC and the Olympic movement have no identifiable or dominant adversary nor is the IOC the bearer of a new progressive form of society or sport system. Indeed today, the IOC is a powerful force for the sporting status quo; as such we cannot consider the Olympic movement a social movement.

A second example of a recently popular ‘movement’ in sport that does not fit our definition of a true social movement is the burgeoning Sport

for Development and Peace (SDP) sector comprised of organizations that coordinate and mobilize sport to meet the goals of international development. The popularity of SDP, and its transformative ethic, has led to it being termed a social movement (see for example Kidd 2008). Its identification as such is undoubtedly more nuanced than in the case of the Olympics and IOC given that some initiatives that fall under the umbrella of SDP and ‘sport-for-development’ may be viewed as inspired by current issues and events that connect to other global social movements. The Homeless World Cup (HWC) football/soccer tournament is a good example of this. This initiative emerged out of the housing rights movement and was established by the International Network of Street Papers in 2003 (Sherry 2010). The HWC aims to ‘promote social opportunities, including access to support services and interaction with others, for participants experiencing homelessness and social disadvantage’ (Sherry 2010, p. 63). While the HWC has been found to benefit participants through the development of social capital (Sherry 2010) and to positively affect the attitudes of spectators towards homelessness (Sherry et al. 2011), like many sport-for-development initiatives, it has now become more institutionalized, slowly losing its emancipatory and resistive dimension.

Other initiatives within SPD are even more remotely connected to social movements. For example, the Fédération Internationale de Basketball Amateur (FIBA)’s and National Basketball Association (NBA)’s ‘Basketball Without Borders’ (BWB) initiative describes itself as a global basketball development and community outreach programme that unites young basketball players to promote the sport and encourage positive social change in the areas of education, health and wellness. However, workshops organized under this programme serve in many respects to identify new talent for the NBA and support the globalization of its brand and corporate outreach. As Millington (2010, p. 3) has argued, ‘BWB sits at the intersection of the emerging trends of SDP, and corporate philanthropy’ and therefore *aligns* with the dominant order and logic of global capitalism rather than resisting it or calling for reform. Indeed, SDP initiatives tend to eschew the identification of a dominant force or opponent against which they organize and campaign (Darnell 2012, p. 18/19); as such, we consider that it is inaccurate to theorize, identify or define SDP initiatives like BWB as social movements.

So, what do *we* mean by social movements and global social movements? As we shall see in the next chapter there is considerable debate in the social science literature about what social movements are. We find Diani’s (1992, p. 13) definition most useful: social movements are ‘... networks of informal interactions between a plurality of individual groups, or associations, engaged in a political conflict, on a basis of a shared identity’. Social scientists recognize that different types of social movements emerged at different historical stages: hence, there are old social movements, NSMs and finally global social movements. Global social movements we argue in this book, following

Wieviorka (2005) and others, are the latest forms of social movements, which are engaged in political conflicts of a global nature. They are mainly in conflict with the so-called neo-liberal 'Washington consensus', the most recent hegemonic model of economic globalization. They strive for more humane forms of globalization and coalesce around a larger movement, the 'movement of movements' or alter-globalization. Indeed, as we shall see in later chapters, alter-globalization refers to a large spectrum of global social movements supporting new forms of globalization based upon values of democracy, justice, environment and human rights rather than upon purely economic concerns (Pleyers 2010).

In other words, in this book, we are interested in investigating the relationships between sport and global social movements as a new and underdeveloped but important area of study. As we argue here, global social movements are the latest and growing form of contentious political action in our globalized world that pervades numerous areas of social life, including sport. Hence, this book addresses several key contemporary research questions. How are social movements and alter-globalization influencing the current sport order as well as the wider world order? How do the different forms of political actions spurred by these movements differ from previous forms in their reach and goals for change? Are there existing sporting forms or sport organizations whose goals participate or are in line with global social movements and alter-globalization? What actual or potential influences do these organizations have on the sport global social order?

Since the initial call for the study of global social movements and sport by Harvey and Houle in 1994, and a subsequent article (Harvey et al. 2009), an emerging literature addressing different aspects of social movements and sport has slowly begun to emerge. For example, Sage (1999) published a landmark paper on coalition advocacy groups protesting against working conditions in Nike's factories. Wilson (2002) published a study of the 'anti-jock' movement in the age of internet, and another one on new media and social movements (Wilson 2007). More, recently Wilson (2012) published a book focusing on sport and peace, with reference to the peace movement. Taking up an engaged academic stance, Lenskyj (2000; 2002; 2008) has published a series of books on different aspects of the 'power, politics and activism' against the Olympics, providing a participant overview of coalitions and movements resisting what she calls the current hegemonic 'Olympic industry'. From a different perspective, Davis-Delano and Crosset (2008) provide a discussion of the use of social movement theory to study local protests in sport, while Boykoff (2011) provided an assessment of the Vancouver 2010 anti-Olympics protests as a form of 'event coalition'. Most recently, framing her study within the social movement literature, Cornelissen (2012) offered an analysis of the forms of activism connected to the global workers movement that took place around the 2010 FIFA Men's Football World Cup Finals in South Africa.

One reason why there has not been much attention paid to global social movements in sport is the complexity and variety of forms of organizations that make simple classification difficult. Another may be that while sport scholars often prescribe radical social change in order to improve social conditions in sport, most of the movements focusing on sport in consumer culture tend to be pressure groups interested in achieving reformist goals or simply 'value for money' rather than wholesale social or political transformation. Just as there are multiple reactions to globalization and sport, a working typology of different organizations, groups and networks that directly or indirectly pose a challenge to the hegemonic global sport order under the alter-globalist paradigm will be similarly diverse (see Harvey et al. 2009 for a first attempt at this). There is a clear need for more studies of the most prominent global social movements, as well as the relationship between sport and movements. This book aims precisely at a wider examination of social movements in sport, through an analysis of what we consider the most salient global social movements today challenging the world sport order or having the most potential to influence it in the near future, and also challenging the wider world social order, from within or from outside sport.

Necessarily this book can only cover a number of possible social movements – workers, women's, human rights, peace and the environmental movements – partly in order to keep the project manageable but also because these are the leading social movements involved with sport. Hence our selection, although apparently limited in number, actually covers a wide scope of social life. Moreover as we will show, they intersect with each other and often act together on various issues that they are concerned with. First, the movements discussed in detail in this book illustrate the shift from the local to the national and to transnational organizing and campaigning in the development of global social movements. Second, the movements are the most prominent ones in the study of the politics of sport. Third, the movements were selected for pragmatic reasons; there was ready availability of data and documentation for these movements in the languages in which we conducted our research (English and French). Fourth and finally, these movements were ones for which we shared a collective research interest and expertise. Here in brief is an outline of the contents of the book.

The first chapter elaborates on definitions and theoretical trends in the study of social movements. The idea of alter-globalization as the 'movement of movements' is also discussed and the general theoretical framework structuring the empirical studies that follow is outlined. Chapters 2–6 constitute the core of the book. Each chapter focuses on one of the social movements selected for this book and follows a similar structure with small variations. In each chapter there is an introduction briefly outlining the relations between the movement and sport; a discussion of the relevant movement including the historical development of the movement and the politics of the movement's cause; and

then discussion of the relationship it has to sport and the relation of sport to the movement. A major focus of each chapter is to explain the development of their current forms of activism as global social movements in order to assess their potential for transforming the politics of sport in a globalized world. While each chapter is dedicated to one specific social movement, we have made a point of underlining the various intersections between these movements as they are interconnected in networks of different sorts as their form of activism has developed.

Chapter 2 deals with the labour movement. There are several reasons behind that choice. As will be explained in Chapter 1, social movements evolved over time and took several forms, aimed at different levels of society. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, the labour movement was the most prominent social movement and became a challenging force in the industrializing capitalist societies (Hobsbawm 1969; Thompson 1968). The labour movement was the first major social movement to become a challenging force in the industrializing capitalist societies from the mid-nineteenth century onwards (Hobsbawm 1969; Thompson 1968). The labour movement was at first mostly concerned with working conditions in factories and mining, but it grew extensively to be concerned with all aspects of workers' lives as capitalist social relations expanded. As arguably one of the oldest social movements, the labour movement is the best example to demonstrate the evolution of social movements as capitalism developed over time. Today, worker sport may be less prominent than it was but, in some countries, especially France and Italy, its organizations continue to provide an alternative to the mainstream sport order.

Chapter 3 is dedicated to the global women's movement whose antecedents draw from the activities of individuals and organizations at the national and international level but which, arguably, only became genuinely transnational with the United Nations' dedication of 1974 as the International Women's Year and 1975–85 as the Decade for Women (in concert with the actions and efforts of a wide variety of non-governmental organizations or NGOs). While often not a central focus of the global women's movement, advocacy for and activism around women's sport has enjoyed parallel development around with the broader movement; yet, today, women are still fighting for equal rights in sport and in society at large. The global women's movement intersects with other key social movements; as shown in Chapter 2, for example, women working in the clothing industry started what has become today the 'Clean Clothes Campaign' in coalition with the global workers movement. On the sports field, women's coalition groups are still questioning the current sport order and yet also trying to solidify their participatory and leadership space in the hegemonic sports model.

Chapter 4 expands on the previous one through an examination of the ramifications of other human rights movements, namely anti-racism and the civil rights movement, the disability rights movement and the Lesbian, Gay,

Bisexual and Transgender (LGBT) rights movement. Again while focusing on these three movements, this chapter provides another demonstration of the common roots and interconnections between what we here have divided into discreet movements.

Chapter 5 focuses on the peace movement and organizations associated with it, outlining the shifting goals and approaches of the movement since the late nineteenth century. It also provides an analysis of the ways in which some peace activists and peace movement organizations (PMOs) have connected to, and shaped sport, and how various athletes and sports organizations have come to approach and support struggles for peace. Most importantly the chapter makes special reference to the recent shift in focus in the peace movement towards generating a 'culture of peace' that has potential consequences for the transformative power of peace as a social movement.

Chapter 6 deals with the environmental movement. The chapter first outlines the history of the movement and the evolution of various forms of activism associated with environmentalism. The chapter then focuses on examples of organizations having a connection between sport and environment, including Surfers Against Sewage (SAS), and the Global Anti-Golf Movement (G'AGM).

Finally, in the concluding chapter, we review the most salient points of the book in a discussion of the potential transformative power of each of these movements under the current hegemony of the global sport social order. We also indicate the great potential for further research into (global) social movements and sport. Such research will enable us to better understand how global social movements operate in relation to sport and also to identify the global forces, connections and imaginations that underpin contemporary global social movements.