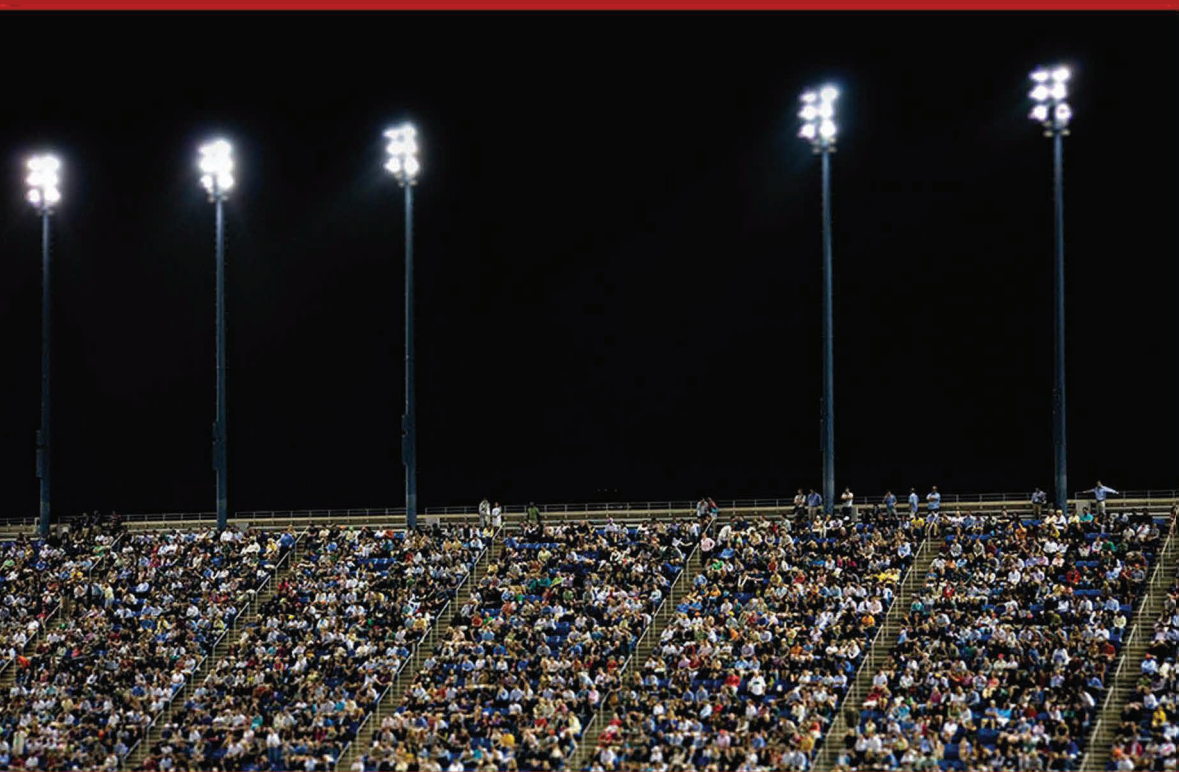# Sport and Crime
Towards a Critical Criminology of Sport

Peter Millward, Jan Andre Lee Ludvigsen and Jonathan Sly

SPORT AND CRIME

This is the first book to explore fully the connections between sport studies and criminology, opening up critical new frontiers in the study of sport and crime.

Rooted firmly in established critical criminological traditions, the book also employs insights from emerging theoretical frameworks such as cultural criminology, governmentality theory and critical security studies to make better sense of a range of transnational and contemporary cases, events and trends that reveal, in different ways, the crimes and harms that are present in sport. Empirically grounded, including case studies of the 2022 World Cup in Qatar and the Tokyo 2020 Olympic Games, it explores emerging themes in contemporary sport, including but not limited to corruption, doping, youth crime, terrorism, violence and transgression, and human rights abuses. *Sport and Crime* consciously pushes the boundaries of what might be considered the critical criminology of sport.

This is an essential text for any course on sport and crime, and invaluable reading for any student or researcher with an interest in the sociology of sport, sport development, sport policy, the politics of sport, critical criminology or socio-legal studies.

Peter Millward is Professor of Contemporary Sociology at Liverpool John Moores University, UK. His main research interests are in the areas of sport, social movements, cultural relational sociology and, here, critical approaches to understanding crime, criminality and harm. He has undertaken several research projects funded by the UKRI and European Commission. He is joint editor of the Routledge book series *Critical Research in Football* and serves on the editorial board of a number of internationally leading journals, including *Sociology*.

Jan Andre Lee Ludvigsen is Senior Lecturer in International Relations and Politics with Sociology at Liverpool John Moores University, UK. Broadly, his main research areas are within the social and political study of sport, and his research on sport mega-events, security, risk and fandom has been published in journals such as the *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, *Journal of Consumer Culture*, *Leisure Studies* and *Journal of Sport and Social Issues*. He has also authored *Sport Mega-Events, Security and Covid-19: Securing the Football World* (Routledge, 2022).

Jonathan Sly is Lecturer in Applied Criminology at Canterbury Christ Church University, UK. His research interests focus on contemporary manifestations of aggressive masculinity. This includes sports-related violence and associated subcultures globally, subjective inter-personal violence and street culture in late-modern Britain, and the links between transgressive practices and social class in the contemporary era. He also has a broader academic interest in the social scientific analysis of crime and deviance, contemporary illicit substance markets and consumer culture, sport management and sports fandom, reflexive and biographical qualitative research methodologies, and critical debates and new directions in criminological theory.

Frontiers of Sport
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Sport is ubiquitous in the modern era. As such, it is engaged with by exponents of other academic disciplines and professional groups. This innovative series explores the close relationships that exist between sport and other disciplines and professions, and traces the theoretical and professional boundaries that they share. Each book in the series introduces the key themes, topics and debates that define a particular discipline and its engagement with sport – such as sport and sociology, or sport and politics – offering an invaluable overview for all students and scholars working in sport and each mainstream discipline.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Finally, whilst we'd like to emphasise that any errors are entirely those of the authors, we remain hopeful and confident that *Sport and Crime: Towards a Critical Criminology of Sport* will represent an important addition to its fields.

1

INTRODUCTION

Sport, Crime and Criminology: Introducing a Complex Relationship

It is now well-established that sport matters in the social world (Dunning, 1999; Morgan, 2006). Indeed, George Orwell (1945) described serious sport as 'war minus the shooting'. For Orwell, international sport was conflictual and packed with hatred, violence, jealousy and disregard for all rules. Whereas this seems to suggest that sport matters for many of the 'wrong' reasons, we can currently see the social scientific study of sport has steadily progressed into new avenues and experienced the rise of new academic subdisciplines (Malcolm, 2012). For example, the sociology of sport was recently described as a 'burgeoning subdiscipline' of the twenty-first century (Tian and Wise, 2020) and had previously been dubbed the 'liveliest and most fruitful' of all sport's academic subdisciplines (Dunning, 2004: 17). It must be emphasised that this has not always been the case. Giulianotti and Brownell (2012: 211) highlight how sport, despite its importance in modern public life, has 'tended to be treated as an insufficiently "serious" subject for scholars in the social sciences, arts, and humanities'. Now, however, it is highly regular to speak of a sociology of sport (Dunning, 2004; Malcolm, 2012), sport geography (Bale, 2003), sport history (Mandell, 1984), sport law (Parrish, 2003; Thornton, 2011), the politics of sport (Allison, 1986, 2004), the political sociology of sport (Gilchrist et al., 2015) and physical cultural studies (Silk and Andrews, 2011).

A distinctive, energetic and burgeoning *criminology of sport* has, notwithstanding, remained underdeveloped, and perhaps somewhat conflated *with* the mentioned subdisciplines of the sociology of sport or sport law. That is *not* to say, however, that scholars have not noticed or realised the sheer potential for a distinctive criminology of sport (Groombridge, 2017; Corteen, 2018; Meek, 2013; Nichols, 2010) – or that academics have outright failed to tackle, either theoretically or empirically,

the manifold of issues related to crime, social control, punishment or harm that occur within, throughout or via sport (Samatas, 2007; Kelly, 2011; Kennedy and Silva, 2020). Though, as Finley (2013) asserts, criminological research exploring sport has primarily done so in relation to 'crimes' committed by athletes or fans. To be sure, we argue that whereas the 'crimes' of sport have been critically zoomed in on by researchers, such explorations have too seldom applied critical criminological theoretical lenses – a challenge we explicitly pick up and correct in this book.

Preceding our book, Nic Groombridge's (2017) *Sports Criminology: A Critical Criminology of Sports and Games* marked an important moment. In his monograph, Groombridge provides the first critical criminological perspective of sport. Throughout his work, contemporary criminological issues situated in sport – including crime prevention, criminal justice and social control – are explored through cases of, inter alia, boxing, motorsport and football. Importantly, his main intention is to 'say something to and about criminology more generally' (p. 155). Brisman (2019) reviews *Sports Criminology: A Critical Criminology of Sports and Games* and concludes that it 'seem[s] more like an opening bell or a starting pistol' than the development of a field' (p. 384). He further argued that 'Groombridge comes across in this chapter [Chapter One of the text] as a father wanting acknowledgment of paternity without the responsibilities of child-rearing' (p. 373). We offer a much warmer reception, but clearly there is space to theme and understand discussions according to critical criminological themes, to stretch the concepts and add value to them using examples from sport, as we do here. A key value of Groombridge's (2017) contribution lies in its creation of a momentum for an emerging field. And, as he states, his book sought to do exactly that; 'to encourage more engagement' (p. 12) in the field. Adding to this, Corteen (2018) proposed a critical criminology of professional wrestling and sports entertainment. She argues that this would form a part of 'sports criminology – *a very new area* of exploration within critical criminology' (p. 149, emphasis added). Furthermore, Jump's (2020) *The Criminology of Boxing, Violence and Desistance* represents another important, yet recent contribution in the field. The momentum that clearly has been built up, we seek to tie into, capitalise on and boost further by bringing together the social study of sport with critical criminology. In that sense, *Sport and Crime: Towards a Critical Criminology of Sport* makes an important and timely contribution to a field that arguably has the potential to be both lively and fruitful as a subdiscipline (cf. Dunning, 2004), which is powerfully demonstrated by recent the contributions mentioned earlier.

As Groombridge (2017) notes in relation to the earlier literature, criminological issues in sport have typically been approached from a sociology of deviance perspective. Within the prior work, he specifically outlines the work of Atkinson and Young (2008) and Blackshaw and Crabbe (2004) as two contributions that have 'come close to sports criminology' (Groombridge, 2017: 7). Indeed, in the preface of *Deviance and Social Control in Sport* (2008), Atkinson and Young do reflect on a longstanding 'frustration' over the 'missed opportunities to develop and expand sociological understandings of sport deviance through cross-fertilization between these two subdisciplines' (p. vii), referring to the sociology of sport and criminology.

Atkinson and Young argue that, throughout the 'subfield criminology, deviance, and social control, sport is rarely considered seriously, despite the many and varied controversies, corruptions, and illegalities *out there*' (ibid., original emphasis). Primarily concerned with 'deviance' in sport, Atkinson and Young made important advances towards a criminology of sport, with their use of criminological perspectives as applied to deviant sport communities, deviant athletic bodies and the popular mediation of sport-related deviance. However, they do not necessarily intend to advance the criminology of sport as a field itself. Rather, they help us understand how the theoretical tools from criminology clearly can assist the sociology of sport. Meanwhile, Blackshaw and Crabbe (2004) remain principally concerned with the consumption of sport that can be seen as 'deviant'. The core of their argument is captured by their statement that:

> Our somewhat depressing point is that in the age of consumer capitalism, when those experiences come into contact with celebrity, they become commodity forms which are presented performatively, glamorised and, like the prospect of weapons of mass destruction, sexed up for our consumption.
>
> *(p. 182)*

Thus, Crabbe and Blackshaw present a central plank that parallels 'deviance' in sport to consumption, mediatisation and 'moral panics' (Cohen, 2002; Critcher, 2002).

Ultimately, a bridge-building between sport and critical criminology, as well as theoretical refreshment exercises have been called for by scholars positioned within the two disciplines (Atkinson and Young, 2008; Armstrong and Hodges-Ramon, 2015; Corteen, 2018). Furthermore, within the academic spheres, we can also observe that sport have come to feature in, for instance, special sections of criminological journals (see *Criminal Justice Matters*, 2012, 88(1), 14–33, for a subsection on 'sports and 'harm'). Meanwhile, London's housing for the 2012 Summer Olympics was in the spotlight of the *British Criminological Association*'s summer newsletter (see Millie et al., 2012).

So, there seems to be a general acceptance that there is a powerful and dynamic link between 'sport' and 'criminology'. Notwithstanding, it may still be argued that scholarly investigations into 'crime', 'social justice', 'social control', 'deviance' and 'harm', when examined through sport, tend to feature in outlets whose aims and scopes are chiefly oriented towards the sociology of sport. For example, to date, there is – to the best of our knowledge – still not an international journal fully dedicated to the criminology of sport and, arguably, the social scientific area of Criminology has not been made the most of in the academic study of sport, whether that is grassroots or elite sport. Indeed, a scan of key journals such as the *British Journal of Criminology*, *Criminology & Criminal Justice*, *Theoretical Criminology*, *Critical Criminology* and *Crime, Media, Culture* also confirms that sport, with some important exceptions (e.g. Stott et al., 2012; McBride, 2020), has been often ignored despite its criminological relevance.

Even though the relative infancy of the criminology of sports may suggest otherwise; it is important to emphasise that the relationship between 'sport' and 'crime' is not exclusive to, or a product of the twenty-first century. It must, therefore, be placed in a socio-historical frame. Further, this complex relationship is inherently *broad*, given the manifold of existing definitions of both 'sport' and 'crime' and the disciplinary developments of criminology (Chapter 2). For example, sport has been a site for deviant acts of 'terrorism' (Cleland, 2019; Atkinson and Young, 2008), football-related violence and 'hooliganism' (Pearson, 2012), athletes breaking the law (see Lamothe and Barbie, 2020), doping (Moston and Engelberg, 2021; Yar, 2014) and corruption (Boykoff, 2016; Jennings, 2011; Sugden and Tomlinson, 2017; Numerato, 2016). Thus, sport, Armstrong and Hodges-Ramon (2015) write, has become a *nexus* for criminal activity and incidents.

Often, such incidents and behaviours have attracted widespread media and public attention, and subsequent policy or criminal justice responses. For example, in the 1980s, the then British Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, waged a 'war' on football 'hooliganism' (*The Independent*, 2016). Meanwhile, the post-9/11 global 'war on terror' epoch has massively impacted 'security' and 'surveillance' complexes at sport stadia and mega-events around the globe (Giulianotti and Klauser, 2010). Sport, hence, has commonly found itself at the very heart of political or state responses to 'crime' and 'criminal' or 'deviant' behaviours found on both the 'inside' and 'outside' of sport. Moreover, in recent years, the controversial and dubious practices of sport governing bodies, including the International Olympic Committee (IOC) and *Fédération Internationale de Football Association* (FIFA), have been subject to increased attention, as episodes of systematic bribery and corruption have been uncovered in the bidding processes for some sport mega-events (Boykoff, 2016).

Despite this, it is still our contention that the 'crime-sport' nexus is not – and must not be approached as – synonymous with 'high-profile' cases, exceptional and catastrophic disasters or behaviours that often generate sensationalist headlines. Indeed, Groombridge (2017: 12), who encourages more engagement with criminological issues in sport, notes that:

> That engagement goes beyond football hooliganism and athlete deviance. It can move from the criminalisation of kids playing street games, to events on pitch, into board rooms and on to the exclusive hotels favoured by international sports associations when deciding the venue for the next sporting mega-event and back to the dreams and merchandise sold to those street kids.

Ultimately, what we see here is that 'crime' or 'deviance' in sport also relates to far more 'mundane' and 'lower-profile' acts. The socio-spatial boundaries of 'crime' and 'deviance' in sport are far-reaching and diffuse. It may relate to criminalised, alternative lifestyle choices of sport and leisure, risk-taking and underground subcultures (Chapter 6). For example, between 1978 and 1989, the use, sale and ownership of skateboards were – by law – banned in Norway. For more than a

decade, skateboards were seen as a public menace, and it was not until 1989 that skateboarding was finally decriminalised in Norway. The skateboarding ban had subsequently led skateboarders to set up secret ramps to avoid the attention of law enforcements (Olympic Channel, 2020). This sheds a light on how sport may be a site wherein risk cultures and subcultures can emerge (Giulianotti, 2009) as a response or resistance to regulatory practices or laws and modern life more generally (Chapter 6). Moreover, sport can provide a platform for resistance or social justice movements on local, national and transnational levels (Boykoff, 2020; Scraton, 2016). Boykoff's (2020) recent study of socialist anti-Olympic activists in Los Angeles and Tokyo demonstrates this exactly. Essentially, it can be suggested that Carrabine et al.'s (2020) insistence that 'criminology' can have multiple meanings is accurately encapsulated by sport and, fundamentally, sport provides new fields for a critical criminological investigation and imagination, because the relationship between 'crime' and 'sport' is so *diffuse*, *contested* and *broad*.

This book advances the critical criminology of sport. Central to the critical criminological understanding is societies' power relations, and how the 'powerful' create, administer and enforce laws that the 'less powerful' are subjected to and regulated by (Corteen, 2018). This, again, causes or perpetuates inequality, social injustice and harms. Thus, advancing the critical criminology of sport, we will adapt critical criminological approaches to the study of a wide array of different sports, sporting structures and institutions, and cultures in sport. These sporting practices, structures and cultures can all reveal, or express wider power relations found in the modern world, we argue.

Ultimately, as the next section highlights, we are mainly concerned with how theories of critical criminology can assist, nuance or extend the social scientific understanding of 'crime', 'deviance' and 'criminality' in sport. From a social scientific standpoint, this is both timely and important for at least four key reasons. First, as has been discussed, scholars have over the recent years proved the potential of and encouraged more scholarly work in this area (Groombridge, 2017; Atkinson and Young, 2008; Corteen, 2018). As such, a basic yet concurrently indispensable starting point for this book is that we respond to and reflect on these proposals for further research in the field.

Second, as Francis (2012: 15) argues, 'sport is and always will be harmful . . . because of the rivalries it generates, the competitive element that it embodies and the close physical contact that involvement in it often demands'. Such argument speaks to the continued importance of studying an *ongoing* – possibly *eternal* – criminological issue. If sport will always be 'harmful', as Francis suggests, then social researchers must consequently be alive to this and seek to understand and critically engage with the social worlds and structures that allow for such 'harms' to (re)circulate and preserve over time. Such a commitment also lies at the very core of this book.

Third, as elite sport's commercial drive and neoliberal underpinnings continue to expand globally, so do the (un)intended and (in)visible consequences of this perpetuate. Indeed, we examine this, for example, in the case of the Qatar 2022

World Cup's construction projects (see Chapter 7), which according to *The Guardian* (2021) has caused thousands of deaths and harm to migrant workers hired to construct the new World Cup stadiums. The 'harms', generated through sport thus, do not merely impact those *directly involved* in the athletic side or dimensions of sport. Similarly, the efforts to 'secure' sport mega-events, in the post-9/11 context (Chapter 5), have proved to exclude and marginalise certain social groups, like local and homeless youth, and local residents of different host cities (Kennelly, 2015; Boykoff, 2020). As such, the 'harms' and apparatuses of 'social control' that emerge and, indeed, co-exist within sport cut right across the wider society and do not always make distinctions between 'sporting' and 'non-sporting' settings, people or social groups. Hence, the 'crimes of sport' exceed sporting spheres and collectively call for criminological investigation.

Fourth, as Chapter 2 discusses, the several meanings of critical criminology have become increasingly diffuse and subject to continual development and revision. As such, a prudent question to ask may be 'what exactly is critical criminology?' Broadly, critical criminology can be seen as a theory of understanding criminality and criminalisation, an academic discipline and an ideas-based movement, as we discuss in Chapter 2. One of the fundamental pillars of critical criminology includes a commitment to critically approach the power relations and the narratives of the 'powerful' surrounding 'crime' or 'criminalisation'. Yet as Corteen (2018: 138) reminds us, '[n]o standard definition of critical criminology exists; rather various branches of critical criminologies co-exist'.

This remains important and, in that sense, we endeavour to capture this. And, by using sport as a novel entry point, we feel that we thereby partake in the wider critical criminological (re)imagination and co-existence, by shedding a light on one very important area of criminology – that is, *sport* – which has been left largely under-appreciated and under-theorised from a critical criminological standpoint, with some important exceptions (Groombridge, 2017; Atkinson and Young, 2008). As Groombridge (2017: 157) rightfully concludes, '[d]rug use, fraud, bribery and international law and policing are the stuff of modern sport, and so need criminological examination'. This is a succinct argument which we agree with upon proceeding. And, in that sense, we simultaneously subscribe to an idea that whilst criminological approaches can be made the most of to improve the social scientific sensemaking of sport, it concurrently possesses the ability to reveal wider trends speaking to 'crime', 'harm', 'social justice' and 'social control', and indeed the shortcomings of the criminal justice system (see e.g. Scraton, 2004).

Aims and Rationales of This Book

This section will address this book's key aims and rationales. Our aims must, however, be viewed in context of the previous discussion which sets the scene and agenda for advancing the criminology of sport further and for adding to the scholarly contributions of Groombridge (2017), Jump (2020), Atkinson and Young (2008) and Blackshaw and Crabbe (2004). Our first and most central aim in this

book is, fundamentally, to showcase the wide yet under-utilised repertoire of critical criminological approaches to the social study of sport. Our goal is to show exactly why the application of criminological theory is at the forefront of sport in the present-day and thereby make an important contribution to the existing literature.

However, there is little uniformity in the theoretical approaches of criminological research, and our master perspectives throughout this text are taken from the critical criminological branch and the range of critical perspectives that could be positioned under this banner. The conceptual basis of many of the approaches we will draw upon can be traced back to the work of Taylor et al. (1973, 1975) and borrow a range of conflict perspectives from sociology – including Marxism, Feminism, Left Realism and Critical Theory – to argue that the genesis of 'crime' and the nature of 'justice' are based within a complex structure of class and status inequalities.

Law, punishment and mechanisms of social control are part of a system of social inequality and serve to produce and perpetuate it. Critical criminologists recognise a range of inequalities that are reinforced through criminalisation and typically seek to challenge them. In this book, we will do this in the context of sport. To do this, we will also draw on other useful critical concepts and approaches, including zemiology, which extends the previous analyses to consider crime as a form of 'social harm' that must be understood in the context of local, national and global political economy; (post) Foucauldian governmentality studies, which provide a different set of critical tools for analysing ways of thinking about, and techniques for securing, the 'conduct of conduct' within, but also beyond, the state; and cultural criminology, which explores how cultural forces interweave with crime and crime control, conceptualised as cultural products that carry multiple meanings

Thereby, we apply ideas new to sport in the form of current criminological theories to empirical examples and case studies that are novel to criminology. Ultimately, the key rationale behind this aim is attached to an underlying but important idea that *if* the frontiers of 'sport' and 'criminology' – both separately and in tandem – are to be advanced, then ideas have to emerge from outside the existing intellectual boundaries. Simultaneously, our application of current criminological perspectives also allows for rethinking exercises of cases and examples in sport that may have been explored by researchers, but that is yet to be criminologically analysed.

Our second key aim is intertwined with the first aim but must be seen as ambitious by itself. With this book, we seek to add to the field with a burgeoning research agenda. Indeed, we have already touched upon our intention to add to the recent vibrancy in this subfield and utilise the aforementioned momentum that has been created over the last few years. As such, our main arguments also feed into this emerging research agenda which we ignite. Whilst we seek to showcase the several critical criminological theories that may be applied to sport, there are still a range of other theoretical perspectives and tools within critical criminology that can be applied to new sporting contexts, cases and controversies. These will be highlighted throughout, but mainly in our final chapter (Chapter 8). Here, we

outline research agendas speaking to green and feminist criminologies of sports, and emerging questions in light of the catastrophic COVID-19 pandemic.

In that sense, we also aim to encourage social scientists to make full use of the broad spectrum of critical criminological theoretical and conceptual tools in their future investigations into the broad spectrum of sport and sporting practices. Crucially, as Stubbs (2008) submits, further developments within critical criminology are likely to be influenced by inter-disciplinary work. Fruitful and constructive conversations with other disciplines indeed remain vital and, in that respect, our emerging research agenda (Chapter 8) is inter-disciplinary by its very nature and directed at academics and students possessing an interest in 'crime' or 'sport' or, of course, the intersections between the two.

Structure of the Book: A Summary

In this book, we argue that the application of critical criminological theories should be located at the frontiers of sport. Therefore, throughout this book, we use established and emerging theoretical frameworks and apply these to different areas of contemporary sporting practices that warrant further examination, debate or revisitation. The book advances to fill the gaps in the literature between 'criminology' and 'sport' and is divided into eight main chapters including this introduction chapter. In each chapter, we apply a critical criminological lens and therefore, Chapter 2 seeks to provide an overview of the key developments within critical criminology. It discusses the foundations of critical criminology and maps the contours of critical criminology as a school of thought, a mobilisation and as a social theory that allows for advancing the study of 'crime', 'criminal activity' and 'criminal behaviour' within and through sport.

Then, Chapter 3 examines 'white-collar crime' and the 'crimes of the powerful' (Croall, 2001; Whyte, 2009) in elite sport's highly commercialised contexts. Here, we deploy Sutherland's (1939) concept of 'white-collar crime' and explore how this is manifested in sport. Drawing largely upon the pioneering and investigative work of Jennings (2011), Sugden and Tomlinson (1998, 2003) and Boykoff (2016, 2020), this chapter's focus is on how the practices of sport's governing bodies, such as IOC and FIFA, can assist in understanding of corruption and 'white-collar crime' in sport. So, this chapter explores the intersections between networks of powerful elites, corporate sponsorships and cases of bribery, including the 2015 FIFA corruption case.

Youth programmes involving sport form part of the crime reduction strategies in several countries. Hence, Chapter 4 explores the connections between sports-based interventions (SBIs) and 'crime'. Whilst it is often (optimistically) assumed that sport presents an 'effective' crime reduction tool which can deter 'anti-social behaviour' or 'criminal activity' (Coalter, 2007), this chapter critically challenges this notion utilising some of Foucault's ideas around governmentality. This chapter reviews the existing literature on SBI's effectiveness and critically analyses SBIs in relation to wider strategies of governance (Kelly, 2011) and social control (Spaaij,

2009). This chapter argues that isolated cases of 'success' exist but extends existing views holding that SBIs and existing policies may, in fact, work to govern young people and their communities, reproduce social inequalities and categorisations that are masqueraded behind the façade of sport's alleged 'positive' social and individual impacts.

Chapter 5 is concerned with 'security' and surveillance' in sport. We position these broad concepts as modes of governance and social control. We specifically explore how post-9/11 security developments have intensified sport mega-events' securitised environments. Here, we draw upon insights from Critical Security Studies (CSS) which advocate the position of individuals as referent objects for 'security' rather than the state (Wyn Jones, 1999). This chapter explores how sport mega-event 'security' and 'surveillance' practices and technologies may remain in communities, post-event, as so-called 'security legacies'. Further, as concerned with the meaning of 'security' at sport mega-events, we argue that this cannot equate with the exercise of influence by the 'powerful' actors involved in a sport mega-event's securitisation, like the police, authorities, security agencies or sport governing bodies, on less 'powerful' populations like fans or residents of host cities. Finally, this chapter explores three typologies of surveillance in sport, with a particular focus on the surveillance of athletic bodies and performances vis-à-vis drug testing and policies.

In Chapter 6, we explore the multiple meanings of crime within the present-day Western society, as we employ cultural criminology to understand 'transgression' in sport. Following Ferrell et al. (2015), we outline how critical criminology may be applied to sports such as mixed martial arts, bare-knuckle boxing and other 'extreme sports', and the presentations of these behaviours in popular culture. We also revisit the closely related theory of 'edgework' and its relevance in sport and leisure contexts. This chapter thus positions transgression in sport within late-modernity's changes within consumption and culture.

Chapter 7 critically investigates the case of the 2022 FIFA World Cup to be staged in Qatar. Since 2010, the 2022 World Cup has been surrounded by controversy (Millward, 2017). Indeed, a recent *The Guardian* (2021) report suggested that over 6,500 migrant workers from India, Pakistan, Nepal, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka had died since 2010 in relation to the event's stadium projects. In this context, this chapter draws upon the critical criminological 'social harm' perspective (see Hillyard et al., 2004; Hillyard and Tombs, 2007). This perspective is synthesised with conceptual insights from 'relational sociology' (Crossley, 2012). Hence, in relation to the 2022 World Cup's stadium constructions, these insights are used to explore the themes of responsibility, mistreatment and harm with regard to migrant workers. Our emerging argument here is that the narratives of migrant construction workers in Qatar exemplify the social harms that are experienced in contemporary sport.

Finally, Chapter 8 ties together the book's themes and key arguments. It addresses how the stated aims of this book are accomplished through a summary of the book. We also provide a timely and emerging research agenda which can

assist the continual development of the 'criminology of sport' as an academic field. Essentially, we argue that other criminological theories can – and should – be applied to the diverse field of sport. As we argue, this book's themes and recent events, including the COVID-19 pandemic, have demonstrated exactly why the application of criminological theory is and will remain at the frontier of sport. In the present day, researchers therefore face an important but potentially rewarding challenge in bringing the social study of 'sport' and 'crime' *even* closer on both theoretical and empirical levels.

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