Bulls Markets: Chicago's Basketball Business and the New Inequality by Sean Dinces (review)

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famous white clubs. Finally, to close out this first section, Hendrik Snyders returns to examine how baseball, as a segregated sport, was both a tool for colonization and a locus for decolonization.

The volume's second part begins with William Pick discussing the production of his book *One for the Chuck*, which delves into cricket's trajectory from a colonizer's "gentleman's game" into a site of progressive resistance. Next, Sigi Howes looks into the ways in which child diarist Iris Vaughan's life intersected with South Africa sport history, highlighting the need for researchers to engage unconventional sources when attempting to uncover the topic's buried history. Chares Beukes follows this theme by suggesting that social media can be an important tool for researching sport history and connecting with past athletes. The work concludes with a series of personal accounts from athletes and administrators on their experiences with sport in apartheid South Africa.

Overall, *Exploring Decolonising Themes in SA Sport History* accomplishes what it sets out to do: demonstrate that decolonized narratives of South African sport history are possible and that the evidence needed to achieve this objective, although deliberately obfuscated and consequently sparse, exists for the dedicated researcher. Given the theoretical pretensions in the introductory chapters, some readers may be disappointed to find that the content in the first section is relatively rudimentary, while the material in the second consists primarily of unfiltered, firsthand accounts. If one considers this volume a launching point for further study, however, then its value toward reclaiming a South African history that has been denied for decades becomes unmistakable.

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Dinces, Sean. *Bulls Markets: Chicago's Basketball Business and the New Inequality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2018. Pp. 336. Appendices, index, charts, maps. $45.00, hb.

In *Bulls Market*, Sean Dinces analyzes how Michael Jordan and the Chicago Bulls of the 1990s altered the global image of Chicago and transformed the city's urban landscape in the postindustrial era of twentieth century. At the heart of Dinces's analysis lies the Bulls' stadium, the United Center, which reveals the political and economic consequences of neoliberal urban development in American cities. Instead of the complicated scholarly notions of neoliberalism, Dinces contends that a "New Gilded Age" emerged in the late 1970s in which sport franchises like the Bulls—and corporate America at large—participated in "exclusionary capitalism." Masked by the fervor of Jordan and the championship Bulls, political influence and wealth were redistributed upward in favor of the elite at the expense of the lower and middle classes. Chicago was shaped by urban capitalists' desires for urban revitalization, with a new stadium being at the center. In six chapters, Dinces explores how and why the resurgence of exclusionary capitalism emerged in the Windy City, only to exacerbate the problems of gentrification and wealth stratification.

Bulls Markets opens with an analysis of how local politicians, the press, and businesses used the Bulls "as symbols of a new urban identity" to reshape the Chicago's spatial history

and to erase its reputation "as the epitome of decline and disorder" (25). According to Dinces, a Bulls identity helped redefine the meaning of community in Chicago that often overlooked economic inequality and placed the collective support for the Bulls at the forefront. Local mayors like Richard M. Daly and private capitalists like sports owner Jerry Reinsdorf (White Sox) and Bill Wirtz (Blackhawks) saw tourism, leisure, and entertainment economies as the way to revitalize the downtown Loop and its neighborhoods. The *Chicago Tribune*, *Sun-Times*, and other newspapers praised the Bulls for unifying Chicagoans, despite race, class, and geographical differences. As Dinces shows, however, politics and economics determined who had access to certain places and spaces in the community.

The chapters that follow focus on the United Center and how team owners cultivated exclusionary capitalism that intensified economic inequality in Chicago. Although team owners positioned the United Center as the anchor to the revitalization of Near West Side, these chapters explore the tensions that arose between government and sport owners, sport owners and residents, and residents themselves over development plans. Ultimately, redevelopment led to "the removal of those most in need" and exploitation of the government, while Bulls owners and their constituents benefited and were recipients of multiple tax breaks (117).

The allure of a new stadium built without public funding for upfront construction costs, the money donated to schools, and the partnerships between city officials, owners, and neighborhood organizations to rebuild housing and small businesses, Dinces argues, were facades. Under exclusionary capitalist practice, low-income and longtime residents were displaced. Schools, neighborhoods, and social welfare programs were underfunded, and local entrepreneurs were removed from sidewalks by the construction and operation of the United Center. Despite mounting profits and justified by players' salaries, increased ticket prices left the luxurious arena experience to the elite and professional classes, while low-income residents and people of color were granted "second-class spectatorship" to championship rallies in outside spaces like Grant Park, forging community over economic inequality (80).

Nonelite Chicagoans were not passive to the changes that took place in the city where they worked and lived. When city officials considered a new Bears stadium, Near West Side resident Loretta Roland, for instance, proposed public ownership and a share in profits for residents. Illuminating issues of race and race policing, Dinces acknowledges that African Americans led much of the resistance to urban development and exclusionary capitalism. They resisted their displacement into segregated neighborhoods outside the Loop and the exclusion of black peanut vendors. Black mothers organized the Horner Mothers Guild and sued the Chicago Housing Authority in protest of their removal from the Horner Annex housing project. African American vendors like Charlie Beyer filed lawsuits against the United Center coalition, which saw them as competitors. In the 1980s, Black Chicagoans also exercised their voting power to help elect Chicago's first black mayor, Harold Washington, who redisposed Community Development Block Grant funds to struggling neighborhoods.

The promise of the United Center to bring inclusive revitalization to Chicago failed. Like most stadiums, the United Center was a "poor engine of economic growth" (3). Along with maps and charts to illustrate levels of inequality, Dinces provides statistical data from

Chicago Central Area Committee, for example, to conclude that American cities are better off without sport franchises. *Bulls Markets* is a welcoming addition that extends the debate on sports stadiums and serves as a caution to sports fans. More than the stadium, Dinces concedes, it was the glory of the championship Bulls that determined Chicago's prosperity, or lack thereof.

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Featherstone, David, Christopher Gair, Christian Høgsberg, and Andrew Smith, eds. *Marxism, Colonialism and Cricket: C. L. R. James's "Beyond a Boundary."* Durham, NC: Duke University Press. 2018. Pp. viii + 295. Notes, index. $99.95, hb. $26.95, pb.

It is hard to think of cricket, that game of the stately home, the aristocracy, the white flannels, played for up to five days for a single game as a revolutionary activity, striking a blow against Empire. Yet C. L. R. James's 1963 *Beyond a Boundary* makes it just that, as the lapsed Trotskyist, continuing Marxist historian, political analyst, journalist, teacher, novelist, and revolutionary spends much of his most well-known book celebrating the British intelligentsia and the popular alongside West Indies independence. What is more striking is that fifty-five years after its first publication, here is a sports book still in print, in multiple editions, selling consistently well, and widely held to be not only the finest book about cricket ever written but one of the finest sports books ever and a foundational text of postcolonial cultural criticism. It carries a heavy burden and has been the subject of much analysis and discussion. There is little in that wider body of literature that would challenge this collection.

This collection emerges from a fiftieth anniversary conference: the book and James emerge as problematic, celebrated, and inspirational. The collection is theoretically, culturally, and politically demanding, critical and affectionate, full of insight and aware of its limits, and acutely engaged with the *Beyond a Boundary*'s significance and signification. Many of the essays accentuate James's Britishness. Selwyn Cudjoe locates him in the nineteenth- and twentieth-century Caribbean intellectual tradition shaped by a British education system, whereas Christian Høgsberg critiques his ambiguous sense of Britishness-through-sport, building his critique to draw a wider set of literature including cricket writing by Neville Cardus and Tony Collins's grounding of modern sport in capitalism. The tension between these two chapters reflects both the tensions of the collection and of James himself—the Caribbean classical intellectual (Cudjoe) who must be understood in the context of 1950s British New Left (Høgsberg). Elsewhere we see these contradictions of Britishness in Roy McCree's exploration of the publication process where agency is shaped by the relative metropolitan and colonial economic and political power and in Clare Westall's reading of the book through an aesthetic of the Victorian *bildungsroman* alongside the image of key West Indies cricketers as Hegelian, world-historical tragic heroes.

The corollary of highlighting James's Britishness is absences. Minkah Makalani's decolonial reading and David Austin's critique of James's modernity both extend the exploration