Race, Politics and Sports History: 1960-1980

By

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THESIS APPROVAL

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Abstract

This thesis project encompasses the overlap of sports, political, and social history. This provides a unique insight into issues of racial inequality and how they relate to larger geopolitical context of the 1960s into the 1980s. Political engagement appeared at international events, including the Olympics. At the 1968 Olympic Games, for instance, athletes here used symbolic protests to address social unrest. In the transition into the 1970s, athletes continued to engage with issues of equality. African American athletes used domestic and international competitions in order to articulate protests against discrimination. Those athletic events held some level of politicization stemming from the Cold War. The United States used the Olympic Games to project a political stance by leading sixty-five nations by leading a boycott of the 1980 Olympics. Meanwhile, in the United Kingdom, two soccer fans, Riaz Khan and Mark Kelly provide insight into themes of sports violence, racial discrimination and other challenges within the same timeframe considered. They paradoxically engaged with hooliganism through anti-social behavior in order to find acceptance into society. This research explores how the athletes and fans used athletic competitions in domestic and international settings to critique and find new ways of coping with social inequality. The realm of sports provides a space for belonging and worthiness through community, culture and empowerment for underrepresented communities.

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Chapter One: Introduction

This thesis shows how sports activism inherently exists in a politicalized space and provides a platform for understanding how and why athletes and fans of color engage with issues of equality. This research explores the connection between sports history, themes of race, belonging and activism during a period characterized by Civil Rights activism and the politicization of the Olympics. Civil Rights issues, the politicization of the Olympics, and unique perspectives appear too. With a primary source base that includes interviews with athletes and fans, archival sources, and government documents, this research considers marginalization, belonging and struggles for inclusion through the perspective of sports history. To strive for belonging, inclusion and social equality, the fans and athletes considered provide instances of those themes addressed. This research demonstrates the importance of race, class, gender, and political perspectives to sports history from the 1960s to the 1980s. Both professional athletes and fans appear for the sake of representation of diverse perspectives too.

The research provides an overview, and brief historiography for the following chapters to recognize existing scholarship in related fields of study. Each chapter includes a more expansive overview, historiography, and the sources listed to provide more context on the particular themes. Moreover, this overview offers instances of issues of gender discrimination, racial discrimination, and other social challenges that existed in sports history. However, these instances provide examples and not definitive explanations for those themes.

Sports history provides an insight into social issues of the 1960s and 1970s, considering space, race, and identity in connection to sports history. For example, social activists in the United States struggled with racial equality, gender equality, and social equality. Meanwhile, in the United Kingdom, challenges with sports violence and gender equality, among other issues,

also appeared. The concept of identity reoccurs within the research to various degrees. Sports history shows insight into some social challenges within Western society, especially racial and gender dynamics. For example, through anti-social actions, some fans found the possibility for inclusion through otherwise unacceptable behavior. Meanwhile, others found means to express frustration with unjust social circumstances, including discrimination based on race. In any case, this research considers how underrepresented groups engage with issues of belonging.

The sources considered show how athletic events domestically and internationally held significance for those marginalized communities in that they provided a venue for engagement during the politically charged times, especially for communities of color. The final chapter considers distinctive anti-social behavior, hooliganism, and violence themes. Violent expressions fandom link further with questions belonging to mainstream society for the narrative considered. Sports history, race and ethnicity, and international factors also appear in this research. The following sections consider sources foundational to this research. The project emphasizes marginalized communities and the concept of belonging in an effort to build upon existing works.

This thesis focuses on the diversity of perspectives, social challenges, and the political setting associated with sports history from the 1960s to the 1980s. While it includes a wide range of historical studies, the chapter considers racial, gender, and identity issues that connect to sports history in the United States and the United Kingdom for the given period. In addition, sports history reflects the significant social issues of the time considered within the United Kingdom and the United States. The multifaceted nature of the research finds identity and the emergence of empowerment and social change for various groups and identities.

The research aims to consider various points of view on sports history and signifies some of the diverse challenges for multiple identities. In the 1960s and 1970s, activists turned to sports for another venue as their activism. Their efforts including gender and racial equality, and aimed to bring general awareness to these issues through sports. For example, activism occurred on a spectrum including the fan base and professional athletes. The broad range of sources recognizes the complex social, political, and cultural dynamics associated with sports activism and change in the United States and the United Kingdom following the 1960s and 1970s. Moreover, this considers prominent factors, including the geopolitics and general social dynamics of the United States and the United Kingdom. Some of the connecting points for this thesis provide instances of how sports history interlinks with those critical social issues.

While this thesis focuses mainly on 1960s-1980s, the foundation of sports history for this research existed before the timeframe considered. For example, *Triumph: The Untold Story of Jesse Owens and Hitler's Olympics* by Jeremy Schaap establishes a significant and public Olympic event that involves some of the themes of this thesis.[1] This research expands on previous research, with the consideration of decades prior. For instance, the consideration of race, international concerns, and challenges with discrimination all exist in professional sports. The Olympics provide an example of international speculation for sports and the factors of racial and political dynamics. More than that, the recognition of the geopolitical landscape connected with sports history through the example of the 1936 Berlin Olympics.[2] Organized discrimination, too, existed for various groups targeted by the Nazis, which carried over into professional sports too.[3] In turn, Schaap recognized the effort to counter racism and discrimination from Owens,

[1] Jeremy Schaap, *Triumph: The Untold Story of Jesse Owens and Hitler's Olympics* (Boston: Mariner Books, 2008), 131.
[2] Schaap, *Triumph: The Untold Story of Jesse Owens and Hitler's Olympics*, 76.
[3] Schaap, *Triumph: The Untold Story of Jesse Owens and Hitler's Olympics*, 86-87.

among others involved in the 1936 Olympics.[4] Regardless, challenges with racism and bigotry continued to exist on both the American and international professional sports levels. Owens provides an instance of a successful and resilient American athlete of color who helped with the emergence of integration into sports. Schaap differs from Heather L. Dichter's work titled *Bidding for the 1968 Olympics: International Sport's Cold War Battle with NATO* in that Schaap focuses on a narrow aspect of sports history.

Heather L. Dichter's *Bidding for the 1968 Olympic Games* elaborates on the interconnection between geopolitics and sports history.[5] Dichter's carefully considers sports history but follows the theme of the Olympics. The book generally includes historical and social events within the title's timeframe. Dichter leans heavily on the historical political, and cultural narrative of the Cold War and provides the groundwork for the 1968 Olympic Games.[6] Furthermore, Dichter includes a wide range of information on propaganda and its interconnection with politics and sports. For example, she demonstrates the significance of hockey for the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, among other communist nations of the time, and how tense dynamics existed associated with sports, especially in the early 1960s.[7] Dichter's emphasis on political and sports history lacks a depth consideration that the role that race (among other factors) played in Olympic politics.

More than that, Dichter directly ties the political context with sporting events, which again establishes the needed political and social context.[8] For example, the author includes information on the complex geopolitical dynamics of East and West Germany via sports events

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[4] Schaap, *Triumph: The Untold Story of Jesse Owens and Hitler's Olympics*, 90-91.
[5] Heather L. Dichter, *Bidding for the 1968 Olympics: International Sport's Cold War Battle with NATO* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2021), 1.
[6] Dichter, *Bidding for the 1968* Olympics, 1.
[7] Dichter, *Bidding for the 1968 Olympics*, 52-53.
[8] Dichter, *Bidding for the 1968 Olympics*, 53.

in the context of a more significant political divide.[9] *Bidding for the 1968 Olympics: International Sport's Cold War Battle with NATO* even includes information from the International Olympic Committee and their struggles with political and social challenges of the 1960s and 1970s.[10]

In a similar manner, Erin Elizabeth Redihan, *The Olympics and the Cold War, 1948-1968: Sports as Battleground in the U.S.-Soviet Rivalry* further reaffirms sports and the Olympics in a significant way for the context of sports history.[11] The author of *The Olympics and the Cold War, 1948-1968: Sports as Battleground in the U.S.-Soviet Rivalry*, includes information on the big picture social dynamics that have propaganda. Moreover, a connection between Redihan's work and Dichter exists between the Olympics and the pressures of the Cold War. Redihan focuses on the International Olympic Committee, the overseer of the Olympic Games, and its challenges in navigating the tense political climate that bled into professional sports. More than that, *Bidding for the 1968 Olympics* includes the circumstances for the popularity of the use of the Olympics as a proxy to push political agendas.[12] That theme resonates with Dichter's findings, who also shared interests in the interconnection of political and sports history. Redihan continued to emphasize how both athletes and governments realized the influence of professional sports. The author also expands on the global circumstances and tense atmosphere of the Cold War and builds a connection with sports history through the use of the Olympics in a historical context.[13] While politics hold a significant role in this research, the thesis builds upon existing scholarship to emphases marginalized communities.

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[9] Dichter, *Bidding for the 1968 Olympics*, 61.
[10] Dichter, *Bidding for the 1968* Olympics, 128-129.
[11] Erin Elizabeth Redihan, *The Olympics and the Cold War, 1948-1968: Sports as Battleground in the U.S.-Soviet Rivalry* (Jefferson NC: McFarland Publishing, 2017) 20.
[12] Redihan, *The Olympics and the Cold War*, 213.
[13] Redihan, *The Olympics and the Cold War*, 168-169.

Including these secondary sources recognizes inspirational and prior research for the consideration of sports history. That provides a contrast for how this research differs from existing works. In another instance, Redihan comments on the significance of the intensity of the 1968 Olympics, in part due to geopolitical tension between the United States and the Soviet Union.[14] At that point, politics and sports intertwined on the global stage, with social commentary from people like John Carlos, and Tommie Smith.[15] In some cases, athletes commented on political and social issues of the time. For instance, both Carlos and Smith protested at the 1968 Summer Olympics in Mexico City to display social commentary on racial issues in the United States.[16] Their actions signified public resistance to the status quo at the Olympics and in the broader public in a way that drew international attention. The author noted the pressure put on the International Olympic Committee with the combination of geopolitical influences and protests on American Civil Rights issues.[17] Carlos and Smith used their position of power to protest the ongoing discrimination and civil challenges many people of color endure. The author highlights their actions and recognizes their courage at the 1968 Mexico City Olympics.[18] *The Olympics and the Cold War* consider political, social, and sports history and provide the needed historical context for the information provided. Social turmoil on the American home-front amplified the tension.[19]

Like Redihan and Dicter's work, Toby C. Rider, and Kevin B. Witherspoon's *Defending the American Way of Life: Sport, Culture, and the Cold War*. Similar to Redihan's *The Olympics and the Cold War*, or Dichter's *Bidding for the 1968 Olympics*, the book expands on the cultural

[14] Redihan, *The Olympics and the Cold War*, 189.
[15] Redihan, *The Olympics and the Cold War*, 189-190.
[16] Redihan, *The Olympics and the Cold War*, 189-190.
[17] Redihan, *The Olympics and the Cold War*, 191.
[18] Redihan, *The Olympics and the Cold War*, 191.
[19] Redihan, *The Olympics and the Cold War*, 192-193.

history that surrounded the unique sports setting of the Cold War.[20] Concerns with global affairs influenced the social dynamics for the western cultures especially and manifested at sporting events. However, this research differs from the two previous sources emphasizes empowerment for underrepresented communities through engagement with sports.

Rider and Witherspoon discuss Wilma Rudolph, an American woman athlete of color who excelled in athletics and an ambassador role too.[21] Rudolph gained fame when she won three gold medals at the 1960 Rome Olympics.[22] Her achievements provided inspiration while also drawing attention to the hardships for athletic women of color. Rudolph inspired others with her status of success among running enthusiasts and traveled for professional and social events.[23] She served as a State Department Goodwill Ambassador position to Africa.[24] Rider and Witherspoon expand on the notion of political concerns with a blend of gender, race, and political history too. The inclusion of gender expands on the works of Dichter and Redihan too. Rider and Witherspoon emphasized on the cultural changes that occurred during the Cold War. Cultural divides emerged along sides of the global spheres of influence.[25] Rider and Witherspoon noted the cultural impact sports held on American society.[26]

This research includes themes on gender; however, it focuses mainly on research areas including, violence and anti-social behavior. Regardless, this section provides a brief overview of the connection between gender and sports history to recognize that area of historical study for the same time frame considered. For instance, Anne M. Blaschke wrote an article titled "Running the Cold War: Gender,

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[20] Toby C. Rider and Kevin B. Witherspoon, *Defending the American Way of Life: Sport, Culture, and the Cold War* (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 2018), 17.
[21] Rider, et al, *Defending the American Way of Life: Sport, Culture, and the Cold War*, 141.
[22] Anne M. Blaschke, "Running the Cold War: Gender, Race, and Track in Cultural Diplomacy, 1955–1975," *Diplomatic History* 40, no. 5 (2016), 827.
[23] Blaschke, "Running the Cold War: Gender, Race, and Track in Cultural Diplomacy, 1955–1975," 830.
[24] Blaschke, "Running the Cold War: Gender, Race, and Track in Cultural Diplomacy, 1955–1975," 830.
[25] Rider et al, *Defending the American Way of Life: Sport, Culture, and the Cold War*, 16.
[26] Rider et al, *Defending the American Way of Life: Sport, Culture, and the Cold War*, 16.

Race, and Track in Cultural Diplomacy, 1955–1975."[27] The report from Blaschke considers the dynamic of gender and race in the period covered in this thesis project. The interconnection between sports history and gender history existed along-side the various struggles for equality. The author implies that black women, for instance, struggled for equal access to sports during the time written on.[28] The politicization of sports often also represented domestic social changes. Propaganda, gender equality, and geopolitical challenges appeared within sports history, especially for the two decades mentioned by Blaschke.[29]

Moreover, the author focuses on the significance of track from the American perspective on the global stage. Similar to football or soccer, the accessibility, and popularity propelled the sport into a platform for political and social discourse. For instance, Title IX and the inclusion of women's sports in a more meaningful way signified social changes on the global stage.[30] More access to professional sports provided a symbol of legitimacy for female-identifying athletes and more opportunities to compete too.[31] The author mentioned Wyomia Tyus, a black woman athlete, who lived with both racial and gender discrimination.[32] Even at the professional and collegiate levels, the home front remained strenuous for many people.

Politics, racial dynamics, and sports history are often interconnected on the international level, symbolically and socially. Jean Williams considers global issues associated with "An Equality Too Far? Historical and Contemporary Perspectives of Gender Inequality in British and International Football."[33] Williams wrote on the dynamics associated with football's history through the British

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[27] Blaschke, "Running the Cold War: Gender, Race, and Track in Cultural Diplomacy, 1955–1975," 827.
[28] Blaschke, "Running the Cold War: Gender, Race, and Track in Cultural Diplomacy, 1955–1975," 827.
[29] Blaschke, "Running the Cold War: Gender, Race, and Track in Cultural Diplomacy, 1955–1975," 827.
[30] Blaschke, "Running the Cold War: Gender, Race, and Track in Cultural Diplomacy, 1955–1975," 827.
[31] Blaschke, "Running the Cold War: Gender, Race, and Track in Cultural Diplomacy, 1955–1975," 828.
[32] Blaschke, "Running the Cold War: Gender, Race, and Track in Cultural Diplomacy, 1955–1975," 828.
[33] Jean Williams, "An Equality Too Far? Historical and Contemporary Perspectives of Gender Inequality in British and International Football," *Historical Social Research / Historische Sozialforschung* 31, no. 1 (115) (2006): 151–69.

lenses. Similar to Blaschke, gender constitutes a focus of Williams' work. However, they differ in national direction and social settings. While a different point of view, the British, too, experienced changes in gender dynamics in their sports history. The Women's Football Association was established in 1969, with Patricia Gregory, among other founding members.[34] Football provides an example of discrimination against women in sports for Europeans and globally. But football did exist for women at various levels in the British. The Women's Football Association emerged alongside other significant social changes.[35] The formation of the Women's Football Association held significance in that a ban on women's organized football had previously existed.[36] Moreover, on the American side, social dynamics associated with gender and sports history shifted too to counter discrimination.

Following that, J. Zeitz's article, "Rejecting the Center: Radical Grassroots Politics in the 1970s — Second-Wave Feminism as a Case Study."[37] Unlike William's, Zeitz expands on the social movement more than sports-related information. The acknowledgment of feminism, and women's movements, recognizes some of their struggles for social equality around the same period as other works for equality in sports history. Moreover, gender remained a social point of significance with both sports activism and social concerns.

Continuing with challenges for women in connection with sports history, Julie Dicaro's, *Sidelined: Sports, Culture and Being a Woman in America* provides more information on gendered issues.[38] Similar to Zeitz's work, the author recognizes the woman's experience in

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[34] Williams, "An Equality Too Far? Historical and Contemporary Perspectives of Gender Inequality in British and International Football," 153.
[35] Williams, "An Equality Too Far? Historical and Contemporary Perspectives of Gender Inequality in British and International Football," 153.
[36] Williams, "An Equality Too Far? Historical and Contemporary Perspectives of Gender Inequality in British and International Football," 153.
[37] J. Zeitz, "Rejecting the Center: Radical Grassroots Politics in the 1970s — Second-Wave Feminism as a Case Study," *Journal of Contemporary History* 43, no. 4 (2008): 673–88.
[38] Julie Dicaro, *Sidelined: Sports, Culture and Being a Woman in America* (New York: Dutton, 2021).

dealing with contemporary social challenges. Dicaro acknowledges different points of view to draw a connection between sports and gender dynamics. Furthermore, Susan Ware's *Billie Jean King and the Revolution in Women's Sports* recognizes the changes in gender dynamics in the transitional timeframe considered in this research, especially concerning professional sports.[39] Ware builds on the other sources, including William's and Blaschke. Gender signifies another dynamic considered in sports history research in the United Kingdom and the United States. While not the main focus of this research, including these sources helps recognize some of the complex issues that coexisted in sports history for the period considered.

USA Boycott of the 1980 Olympics

When a communist bloc state hosted the Olympics, it prompted changes in the United States and United Kingdom dynamics associated with international sports. It show how those dynamics and the political association with international sports changed. This expands on the manifestation of the connection between politics and sports internationally. More than that, it establishes the political setting for the research considered. The 1980 Olympic Boycott provides a climax for this research in that politics did emerge at the Olympics.

In addition to those issues, the use of sports for political agendas occurred in the lead up to the 1980 Moscow Olympic Games. The international context provides a historical setting and is related to both politics and sports. The Moscow Games, for example, culminated in the geopolitical tension around ideological divisions and international projection of power.[40]

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[39] Susan Ware, *Billie Jean King and the Revolution in Women's Sports* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

[40] Aki Hietanen and Varis Tapio, "Sport and International Understanding: A Survey of the Structure and Trends of International Sports Cooperation," *Current Research on Peace and Violence* 5, no. 2/3 (1982): 93.

Concerns captivated the American sports world with issues of racial dynamics, geopolitical factors, and the projection of American power.[41] The decision to boycott the 1980 Olympics signified a strong connection between geopolitics and the significance of the sports world.[42] Some American officials thought that a sanction sent a powerful message to the Soviet Union in the form of punishment for their invasion of Afghanistan. In addition, American international influences impacted other allied nations in that an American boycott signified the status of global tensions.[43] With that, some of the other American allies expressed less enthusiasm for a boycott of the Olympics.[44] The international element existed on a committee level, with the conversation on the validity of the proposed boycott. Lord Killanin, the president of the International Olympic Committee, opposed joining in on the American proposed boycott.[45]

Even with pressure from the United States, some American allies continued to commit to the 1980 Olympics. However, hesitation from those allies to fully support a boycott signified the importance of the Olympics to societies at that time.[46] On the global stage, sporting events like the Olympics allowed for alternative political and social pressure outside traditional conflict. In this instance, using the Olympics to push forth a political agenda signified the deliberation of that effort.

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[41] Hietanen and Tapio, "Sport and International Understanding: A Survey of the Structure and Trends of International Sports Cooperation," 93.
[42] Leonard Downie Jr., "Allies Back Off Olympic Boycott: NATO Nations Backing Away from Boycott of Olympics," *The Washington Post*, Jan 03, 1980, 1.
[43] Downie, "Allies Back Off Olympic Boycott," 1.
[44] Downie, "Allies Back Off Olympic Boycott," 1.
[45] Downie, "Allies Back Off Olympic Boycott," 1.
[46] Downie, "Allies Back Off Olympic Boycott," 2.

Geopolitical factors influenced the boycott, in part due to the popularity of the Olympic Games.[47] For instance, the Soviet Union hosted the 1980 games in Moscow, which provided an opportunity for the USSR to showcase its athletic power. Television worked both ways for the spread of influence and propaganda efforts.[48] Mainstream media sources amplified awareness and attention for the Olympics and the 1980 Olympics in particular. Sports provided a surrogate for aggressive measures in a way that provided entertainment and intertwined political speculation and commentary. The Americans and the Soviet Union recognized the cultural impact that existed alongside the prevalent use of television and other media sources. Even with the American boycott, American media still existed at the Olympics and provided a unique opportunity for the communist to showcase their sports teams.[49]

International and domestic organizations experienced pressure from the ongoing politicization of the Olympic games. Nations and people used the international attention the Olympics brought to further push agendas, especially within the 1980 Olympics. For instance, the International Olympic Committee needed help finding the balance between its goals and the agendas of other sporting organizations that acted in the self-interests of their respective nations.[50] Some of those political issues existed outside of the United States and USSR rivalry. However, the geopolitical tensions amplified awareness of those issues.

According to Stephen R. Wenn, a dispute over media amplified into a more tense situation: a potential American boycott loomed over the 1980 Olympics.[51] Political alignments, finances, and ambition for the Olympics all factored in. One of those issues, television, remained

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[47] Stephen R. Wenn, "A Turning Point for IOC Television Policy: U.S. Television Rights Negotiations and the 1980 Lake Placid and Moscow Olympic Festivals," *Journal of Sport History* 25, no. 1 (1998): 87.
[48] Wenn, "A Turning Point for IOC Television Policy: U.S. Television Rights Negotiations and the 1980 Lake Placid and Moscow Olympic Festivals," 87.
[49] Wenn, "A Turning Point for IOC Television Policy," 87.
[50] Wenn, "A Turning Point for IOC Television Policy," 87.
[51] Wenn, "A Turning Point for IOC Television Policy," 87.

at the forefront of conversation between the International Olympic Committee and the National Olympic Committees.[52] The gradual process of hosting the Olympic Games allowed for publicity and propaganda, especially within the context of the rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union. Within the larger geopolitical context, the British, too, engaged within their alliances and served their self-interest through sports. Access and control over media encompassed an aspect of the tension between the two allied communities.

The United Kingdom held close political ties with the United States politically and within the sports world. The Olympics provides an instance of how both of those concepts interconnected the two nations. Oversite from British officials expanded with the additional development of professionalism and the Sports Council, which was formed in 1972 to establish further control.[53] Sports provided an element of popularity and empowerment for disadvantaged groups or those seeking power. In the case of the British in the 1980s, sports provided access for both. That concept also applied to other nations that existed around the two superpowers of the time. In either case, the United Kingdom used its teams for empowerment and promoting nationalism through regulating their teams.[54] That tool reoccurred for others like the United States and the Soviet Union too.

Within the organizational level, pressure existed for athletes to promote national self-interests, which also existed within the British Olympic Committee.[55] At the committee level, pressure from government officials existed too. Public and state opinion held an important place for the 1980 Moscow Olympics, signifying the first communist host of an Olympic game.[56]

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[52] Wenn, "A Turning Point for IOC Television Policy: U.S. Television Rights Negotiations and the 1980 Lake Placid and Moscow Olympic Festivals," 89.
[53] James Riordan, "Great Britain and the 1980 Olympics: Victory for Olympism," *Current Research on Peace and Violence* 5, no. 2/3 (1982): 145.
[54] Riordan, "Great Britain and the 1980 Olympics: Victory for Olympism," 145.
[55] Riordan, "Great Britain and the 1980 Olympics: Victory for Olympism," 148.
[56] Riordan, "Great Britain and the 1980 Olympics: Victory for Olympism," 146.

Global implications for that intensified the politicization of sports history for the 1980 Olympic Games.

The concept of a major nation, the United States, boycotting the Olympics added to the existing tension. Those political implications continued to arise within the Moscow 1980 Olympics, rooted in rivalry. At the same time, it provided the communist an opportunity to show their power, and the other nations that continued to compete stood out from the American overreach into their sports organizations. The invasion of Afghanistan contributed to the reasoning for participation in a boycott of the Moscow Olympics.[57] That factor further tied in the element of politicization for the nations who considered the boycott. Some leaders projected their power onto their national sports organizations to interfere with the Olympic Games for their national gain. Those gains included monetary gain, the spread of influence, and the opportunity to showcase national power internationally.[58]

For instance, Margaret Thatcher suggested that the United Kingdom host the Olympic Games to substitute the Soviet Union and avoid a boycott.[59] The mentioned interjection sidestepped those issues; however, the idea has yet to gain serious traction. More than that, the International Olympic Committee remained steadfast in its decision to host the Olympics in Moscow, and domestically hesitation in boycotting existed.[60] That shows an instance of attempted power grabs for a state's interests through the use of hosting the Olympics. Recognition of the social influence of the games resonated with the British Prime Minister, who made suggested an alternative host in the United Kingdom. Whatever motivations existed for

[57] Riordan, "Great Britain and the 1980 Olympics: Victory for Olympism," 147.
[58] Riordan, "Great Britain and the 1980 Olympics: Victory for Olympism," 147.
[59] Riordan, "Great Britain and the 1980 Olympics: Victory for Olympism," 147.
[60] Riordan, "Great Britain and the 1980 Olympics: Victory for Olympism," 147.

Thatcher, potential government intervention shows an instance of the politicization of the Olympic Games.[61]

With committees formed and political discourse on the topic, the 1980 Olympic Games stood out with tense levels of politicization at the international level.[62] Even South Africa felt the politicization from the United Kingdom with their exclusion from the games, but inclusion into the world of football of professional soccer.[63] National and domestic agendas for power spread out into the world for the British through the use of sports—control over sports influenced outward and projected control onto others. Regardless, the chairmen of the Sports Council, Deek Jeeps, even directly commented on how the Olympics played a role in political agendas.[64]

On March 17th, 1980, the House of Commons held talks and discussed the Soviet Union's invasion of Afghanistan.[65] Lord Privy Seal called for a boycott in response to the invasion and to show an adverse reaction from the British to the Soviet Union internationally.[66] Lord Seal also noted that the Olympic Games held solid political ties to a host nation and therefore provided further justification for the condemnation of an invasion.[67] He commented that the British held a moral responsibility to boycott the games in response to the invasion, further tying in the notions of politics and sports history.[68] Political discourse on the Olympics also shows insight into the spectrum of geopolitical implications. After all, the British discussed an American boycott of

[61] Riordan, "Great Britain and the 1980 Olympics: Victory for Olympism," 147.
[62] Riordan, "Great Britain and the 1980 Olympics: Victory for Olympism," 150.
[63] Riordan, "Great Britain and the 1980 Olympics: Victory for Olympism," 150.
[64] Riordan, "Great Britain and the 1980 Olympics: Victory for Olympism," 150.
[65] "House of Commons, Deb 17 March 1980 vol. 981 cc31-169", https://api.parliament.uk/historic-hansard/commons/1980/mar/17/olympic-games, accessed May 10, 2023.
[66] "House of Commons, Deb 17 March 1980 vol. 981 cc31-169," accessed May 10, 2023.
[67] "House of Commons, Deb 17 March 1980 vol. 981 cc31-169," accessed May 10, 2023.
[68] "House of Commons, Deb 17 March 1980 vol. 981 cc31-169," accessed May 10, 2023.

games held in Moscow in response to an invasion of Afghanistan.[69] The implication of moral authority further justified the British boycott concept.

In addition, condemnation provided a means to express political discourse on the international stage. In one instance in the United Kingdom, J. Enoch Powell even noted the connection with political discourse and athletics.[70] Powell previously made a speech on race which provides an instance of the uneasy social environment in the United Kingdom in regards to racial dynamics in the 1960s into the 1970s.[71] With that, Powell transitioned to less commentary on race publicly in the 1970s in the years following the 'Rivers of Blood' speech.[72] At least within the context of the example from the *Tribune*, Powell's influence faded in regards to public opinion on race.[73] Concerns over propaganda from the Soviet Union existed too, with conversation on those issues including television viewership.[74]

In the case of the Olympics and the Cold War, opposition to communism motivated some of those who opposed the spread of communist influence. The decision for Moscow to host piqued the interest of those states who opposed communism. In this context, the United States and the United Kingdom debated the topic in their respective governmental organizations. With the Olympics and otherwise, the athletic competition proved a valuable tool for projecting political agendas and influence. The Olympics, in particular, also allowed for the projection of political agendas onto an international audience. Especially for the United Kingdom, their influence lingered in the sports world through football in particular. Football, for instance, resonated with British influence and remained a source of political efforts within sport history.[75]

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[69] "House of Commons, Deb 17 March 1980 vol. 981 cc31-169," accessed May 10, 2023.
[70] "House of Commons, Deb 17 March 1980 vol. 981 cc31-169," accessed May 10, 2023.
[71] David Stephen, "Racism and the Mass Media Paul Hartmann and Charles Husband," *Tribune*, March 29, 1974, 6.
[72] Stephen, "Racism and the Mass Media Paul Hartmann and Charles Husband," 6.
[73] Stephen, "Racism and the Mass Media Paul Hartmann and Charles Husband," 6.
[74] "House of Commons, Deb 17 March 1980 vol. 981 cc31-169," accessed May 10, 2023.
[75] For this section, football means soccer. The British sources use football for what Americans consider soccer.

More than that, the Olympics, too, experienced similar treatment from British officials. The House of Commons discussion promotes the concept of interlinked sports and political history. For instance, Britain and the United States shared a similar use of politics and sports for the period between the 1960s and the 1980s.

Congress, too, held similar conversations on the notion of an American boycott.[76] Chuck Sutton, a Black American activist, participated in the 1968 Olympic Boycott Movement. [77] Congress recognized the social contributions of an activist years later in order to show respect for the efforts made.[78] The Olympics proved helpful in political pressure and expression internationally and domestically too. Internally, political expression signified engagement with significant political and social issues. Similar to the House of Commons, the House of Representatives further established the trend of the interconnection of domestic and foreign politics in connection to sports history.

For the Americans, the internal challenge of racial equality spilled over into sports, especially with the Olympics.[79] The external geopolitical challenges amplified awareness of that interconnection. Similarities existed in terms of how governments used boycotting to address international issues. More than that, the concept of controlled violence coexisted alongside those other concepts for boxing and other sporting organizations too. Sports provided a venue for controlled violence and engagement with social challenges. On the international level, concerns over the spread of influence and the politics associated with the Olympics emerged.

Chapter Two Overview

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[76] "In the House of Representatives, Concurrent Resolution, H. CON. RES.68," https://www.congress.gov/bill/111th-congress/house-concurrent-resolution/68/text?s=1&r=1&q=%7B%22search%22%3A%5B%22%5C%22Olympic+Boycott%5C%22+AND+%5C%221980%5C%22%22%5D%7D, accessed May 10, 2023.
[77] "In the House of Representatives, Concurrent Resolution, H. CON. RES.68," accessed May 10, 2023.
[78] "In the House of Representatives, Concurrent Resolution, H. CON. RES.68," accessed May 10, 2023.
[79] "In the House of Representatives, Concurrent Resolution, H. CON. RES.68," accessed May 10, 2023.

From the 1960s into the 1970s, Muhammad Ali was a key historical figure because of his political commentary on his anti-war stance, the importance of Black empowerment, and his connection with activism. Moving into the Vietnam War era, many black athletes recognized social and political activism, with the leadership of people like Muhammad Ali, among many others.[80] Ali, in particular, remains a focus for chapter two, in that he provides an excellent example for the issues covered. In addition, his political and social commentary also signifies a connection with sports history.

In addition to the focus on Ali, the formation of the Olympic Project for Human Rights further pushed the narrative of political engagement from Olympic athletes.[81] Organization and planning proved successful for their efforts in sports activism. For instance, concepts for organized black boycotts, protests, and use of platforms for sporting events occurred.[82] In one example, John Carlos and Tommie Smith gained international attention with their peaceful protest efforts at the Mexico City Olympics in the 1960s.[83] Their actions also symbolize a connection between political commentary and sports history at the Olympic level. Their actions signify an intentional effort to use international sporting events to promote peaceful political protests. The geopolitical setting amplified awareness of international sporting events, partly due to the rivalry established between the United States and the Soviet Union.

Chapter Three Overview

Chapter Thesis

Chapter three focuses on the social unrest associated with racial dynamics and the connection with sports history. This research builds upon chapter two with the consideration of

[80] Blaschke, "Running the Cold War: Gender, Race, and Track in Cultural Diplomacy, 1955–1975", 832.
[81] Blaschke, "Running the Cold War: Gender, Race, and Track in Cultural Diplomacy, 1955–1975", 823.
[82] Blaschke, "Running the Cold War: Gender, Race, and Track in Cultural Diplomacy, 1955–1975", 873.
[83] Blaschke, "Running the Cold War: Gender, Race, and Track in Cultural Diplomacy, 1955-1975", 873.

other athletes, too—for instance, the inclusion of Marvin Hagler. Key American athletic figures include John Carlos, and Muhammad Ali, among others. All of the athletes in chapter three engage with the social challenges of the time to some degree. Chapter three expands on those in the United States, associated with professional sports. The goal for the chapter, to show the social, racial and political dynamics in the United States and to illustrate how sports history fits into a larger narrative. This section covers the historical narrative for context, and then expands on the social commentary from athletes on the larger social circumstances in the 1960s and the 1970s. For instance, some of the sources that cover this topic include information on social dynamics for the given time period.

Another source establishes the racial dynamics within the United States in particular, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*, by Mary L. Dudziak. The book considers racial dynamics for the United States during the time period covered in chapter III. The author provides some context for the racial tension that existed in the 1960s and 1970s, with the emergence of social pressure for the emergence of racial equality in the United States. Dudziak provides an overview for major events associated with the Civil Rights Movement, and includes sections on both the geopolitical landscape and the struggles for activists too.[84] The author follows those major historical events, and expands on the thoughts and actions of activists of the time. For example, the author used *Brown V. Board of Education*.[85]

Following that, an article from S. Kaazim Naqvi titled, "O-H! I-O! Black Students, Black Athletes, and Ohio State Football, 1968-1976.", considers the college level athletics for American

[84] Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press 2008).
[85] Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*, 99.

racial dynamics in connection to sports history in the United States.[86] Unlike Durham, Naqvi moves away from the individual, and more towards a community. The article may provide some insight for the challenges that athletes of color endured while attending American universities related to the racial challenges in American society. Also, the author recognizes the connection with sports history and challenges of racism and racial dynamics. Moreover, the source also provides insight into another popular area of sports history, college sports.

Racial dynamics reoccur for an influential and significant aspect of sports history. Racial dynamics in the United States, and the United Kingdom both underwent changes via social influences. For instance, the popularity of media and television spread social commentary on contemporary social issues.[87] More than that, black students, along with supporters, organized to protest low enrollment for black students.[88] The author implied challenges for the black student population limited their involvement in activism in some cases.[89] Despite setbacks from outside pressures, some black students remained engaged with racial equality and access to both schools and sports too.[90] Regardless, the author argues that many black student athletes did in fact engage with protests while attending Ohio.[91] The level of involvement and dedication to social reform connects sports history with the contemporary social issues of the time.

Youth not only knew of the systems of oppression, but acted to create change.[92] In another instance, an article from Rob Waters titled, "Black Power on the Telly: America, Television, and Race in 1960s and 1970s Britain" expanded on the strong hold media had on both the United States and the

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[86] S. Kaazim Naqvi, "O-H! I-O! Black Students, Black Athletes, and Ohio State Football, 1968-1976." *Journal of Sport History* 40, no. 1 (2013): 111–26.
[87] Naqvi, "O-H! I-O! Black Students, Black Athletes, and Ohio State Football, 1968-1976," 111-126.
[88] Naqvi, "O-H! I-O! Black Students, Black Athletes, and Ohio State Football, 1968-1976," 112.
[89] Naqvi, "O-H! I-O! Black Students, Black Athletes, and Ohio State Football, 1968-1976," 112.
[90] Naqvi, "O-H! I-O! Black Students, Black Athletes, and Ohio State Football, 1968-1976," 112.
[91] Naqvi, "O-H! I-O! Black Students, Black Athletes, and Ohio State Football, 1968-1976," 113.
[92] Naqvi, "O-H! I-O! Black Students, Black Athletes, and Ohio State Football, 1968-1976," 111-126.

United Kingdom. Both Naqvi and Waters share an interests for the culture that surrounds their topics. Moreover, the article considers media's widespread influence in the United Kingdom, in connection to social challenges for the United Kingdom too.[93] The purpose for the inclusion of the article from Waters, to recognize the historical evaluation of the growth of public influence and the interconnection of awareness for social issues for the United Kingdom especially.

Moreover, television represented an aspect of the global and national awareness for those political and social topics.[94] Media amplified attention for social issues, hooligan engagement, and spectator awareness for those social issues. Access to better education and sports provided meaningful options for the efforts with racial equality. At the same time, hardships remained commonplace for the changes in racial dynamics in both sports and education.[95] The author puts forth the concept that various levels of activism occurred, and not just major events represent all levels of activism or engagement.[96] Some student athletes engaged in ways possible for their means. Resistance existed on that spectrum of public engagement for college sports.

Chapter Four Overview

Chapter Thesis

Chapter four continues with the consideration of the paradox of engagement of behavior in anti-social behavior in order to establish a form of belonging. Social challenges that connect with football or soccer for the United Kingdom in particular. Of course, many other sports existed, however, football held a unique position in the public sphere. For this chapter, identity remains an important theme in connection with sports history, especially with the consideration

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[93] Rob Waters, "Black Power on the Telly: America, Television, and Race in 1960s and 1970s Britain," *Journal of British Studies* 54, no. 4 (2015): 947–70.
[94] Waters, "Black Power on the Telly: America, Television, and Race in 1960s and 1970s Britain," 947-70.
[95] Naqvi, "O-H! I-O! Black Students, Black Athletes, and Ohio State Football, 1968-1976," 111-126.
[96] Naqvi, "O-H! I-O! Black Students, Black Athletes, and Ohio State Football, 1968-1976," 113.

of gender and race too. Social unrest occurred sometimes at sporting events, for different reasons. Regardless, themes within that, including concepts of masculinity, appear along with hooliganism to .highlight feelings of belonging. Ironically, through violence. Attention, belonging, and a sense of community contributed to the negotiation of belonging.

Historiographical overview of chapter four

Chapter four examines racial dynamics for sports, with an emphasis on football or soccer in the United Kingdom. The reasoning for the emphasis on football, the popularity and cultural significance for many people in the United Kingdom. With widespread popularity, many social issues appear in connection with football's history. For instance, class challenges, racial dynamics and gender roles reoccur for themes in chapter four. Moreover, the chapter also considers the social issues associated with hooliganism, an especially thriving social event for the United Kingdom. Historical works that consider hooliganism include the following sources:

H. F. Moorhouse wrote an article, "Football Hooliganism and the Modern World", to cover some of the diverse aspects of hooliganism.[97] For instance, the author implies that hooliganism occurred often at football or soccer games in the 1970s and the decades that followed in various degrees of unrest that coexisted along with football. With that, deep rooted social issues coexisted along with hooliganism, and in some cases appeared with hooligan outbursts at football matches. Hooliganism existed on a spectrum of both violence and participation for the sports fans, and varied greatly. Even those who participated in violence did so on a spectrum of engagement in that violence, and instances varied from situation to situation. Accessibility, and popularity in particular influenced the reflection of contemporary social issues in the United Kingdom.[98]

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[97] H. F. Moorhouse, "Football Hooliganism and the Modern World" *International Review of Modern Sociology* 32, no. 2 (2006): 257–75.
[98] Moorhouse, "Football Hooliganism and the Modern World," 257-75.

Another source that elaborated on hooliganism, John H. Kerr's *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism*, builds on the understanding of the hooligans and their actions.[99] Kerr's work differs from Moorehouse, in that Kerr expands more on the collective nature of hooligan groups. For instance, Kerr expanded on the group mentality of gangs, among others who participated in violent acts that occurred with hooligans.[100] The author recognized the diversity of actions that happened among the hooligans, and a spectrum of actions and violence.[101] Not all hooligans engaged at the same level of participation. Moreover, social challenges influenced some of the participation in hooligan activities, especially for the time frame elaborated on.[102] Kerr puts an emphasis on the deep connection with hooliganism and football.[103]

Furthermore, Anthony King wrote an article titled, "The Postmodernity of Football Hooliganism.", which included intellectual concepts on the social aspects of hooliganism with a focus on a postmodern lens in particular.[104] Both King and Kerr share interests in the cultural phenomenon of hooliganism. The rowdy fans often occurred in unprecedented ways for the United Kingdom with their sports fans, in part due to social challenges media attention.[105] Violence occurred often with the hooligans, who lingered around the football stadiums in large numbers. A mixture of devote fans, social issues, among other social issues, appeared often in connection with hooligan outbursts. Equally important, King's analysis for the hooligans considers the factors of media influence, societal values, and frustrations expressed through acts of violence.[106] More than that, King stated how the media

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[99] John H. Kerr, *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism*, Open University Press, 1994. 1-123.
[100] Kerr, *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism*, 63.
[101] Kerr, *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism*, 1-123.
[102] Kerr, *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism*, 1-123.
[103] Kerr, *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism*, 1-123.
[104] Anthony King, "The Postmodernity of Football Hooliganism," *The British Journal of Sociology* 48, no. 4 (1997): 576–93.
[105] King, "The Postmodernity of Football Hooliganism," 584.
[106] King, "The Postmodernity of Football Hooliganism," 584.

attention the surrounded hooliganism amplified the desirability for people to engage in hooligan activities.[107]

Another intellectual concept mentioned by King, the idea of a space that accepted and encouraged hooligan activities.[108] The football matches welcomed large opposing fan bases, which also factored into the tense atmosphere. Fandom and local sports team loyalty too amplified those emotions. King also mentions the significance of the masculine identity in the 1960s, combined with the atmosphere, amplified violent tendencies.[109] The author implies a deeper connection with the contemporary social issues of the 1960s and 1970s in the United Kingdom in particular. More than that, King expands on the power dynamics, masculinity and fandom urged fans to participate in hooligan activities and or violence in some cases.[110] A masculine identity continued to exist in a socially significant position for many fans in the United Kingdom. Moreover, the hooligans and their violent actions gained momentum and popularity in the 1960s especially.[111]

The interconnection with the masculine identity and violence provided by King shares a powerful insight into the mindset of hooligan people through a process of asserting that masculinity to others with their hooligan status.[112] A connection with both hooligan violence and masculinity existed in the 1960s and forward for many hooligans. King implied that notoriety, popularity, and a moment to shine motivated some people to turn towards hooliganism. Accessibility too, with many people able to attend football matches. Many working class people, for instance, did in fact possess the power to attend games. Moreover, the public display of masculinity at football matches established status and a

[107] King, "The Postmodernity of Football Hooliganism," 584.
[108] King, "The Postmodernity of Football Hooliganism," 585.
[109] King, "The Postmodernity of Football Hooliganism," 585.
[110] King, "The Postmodernity of Football Hooliganism," 585.
[111] King, "The Postmodernity of Football Hooliganism," 585.
[112] King, "The Postmodernity of Football Hooliganism," 585.

level of social power, otherwise not always available for masculine people of working class backgrounds in particular.[113]

King implies that taunts and antagonistic chants too provided a more casual form of hooligan involvement with ease of accessibility.[114] For instance, sexualized taunts, slurs, antagonistic behaviors and chants existed meant to enraged opposition occurred often at professional football matches.[115] Those too varied in degree for involvement. Some of the chants referenced insults aimed to rile up the opposition team's fan base. Symbolism, identity and masculinity remained important for many of the hooligans. Identification with the team, fellow fans, and even with hooligans created a space for engagement with those concepts.[116] Moreover, media representation of hooligan football fans influenced the popularity and social status associated with involvement.[117] Sometimes, press coverage led to more awareness for notoriety of violent actions. For instance, negative public opinion amplified people's interest in football hooliganism.[118]

Hooliganism includes a spectrum of meaning, and may include violence, gang activity, and or rowdy fans. While not all participated in hooligan violence, many people engaged with hooliganism to some extent across the spectrum of involvement. King also noted the cultural significance that local football stadiums held in the culture for the British people, for both community and for self-pride.[119] More than that, King builds upon the concept of the enhancement of how masculine spaces for the rowdy hooligan behavior encouraged and amplified that same behavior. The mindset, and social

[113] King, "The Postmodernity of Football Hooliganism," 585.
[114] King, "The Postmodernity of Football Hooliganism," 585.
[115] King, "The Postmodernity of Football Hooliganism," 586.
[116] King, "The Postmodernity of Football Hooliganism," 586.
[117] King, "The Postmodernity of Football Hooliganism," 585.
[118] King, "The Postmodernity of Football Hooliganism," 584.
[119] King, "The Postmodernity of Football Hooliganism," 586.

circumstances all influenced what hooligan participants considered acceptable actions at football matches.[120] Furthermore, social dynamics, concepts of masculinity, and racial tensions occurred within the range of sports history.

Conclusion and overview

The aim of this research, to show a new lens for the evaluation of the history of social change with the connection of sports history. Many of the themes overlap with relevant historical events for context of why social change occurred, and the larger setting of those social events. Moreover, each chapter considers a different aspect of how social change occurred within social and sports affiliations, for both the fan base and professionals themselves. The evaluation aims to show changes over time for the two nations, and follows along a similar timeline around the timeframe of the 1960s and 1970s. Into the 1980s, officials sought to create change for the issues with violence, and hooligans adjusted for the new environments.[121] Those changes occurred gradually, and varied in success too. Furthermore, identity remained a significant factor of influence for sports history for the United Kingdom and the United States in the 1960s and 1970s, with their struggles and social challenges. Social injustice and activism remained at the forefront for social issues and social change for the time period considered.

Some of the historical narrative provides context for the social change and struggles with social dynamics through the lenses of professional sports. In some instances, those concepts interconnect with the research established on the subject for both professionals and or fans too. Sometimes citizens of both countries expressed social frustrations at sporting events on local and international levels. While people engaged with their issues differently, identity remained a key focal point of sports activism.

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[120] King, "The Postmodernity of Football Hooliganism," 586.
[121] King, "The Postmodernity of Football Hooliganism," 388.

Chapter Two Muhammad Ali and sports activism

Introduction

"We beat you bastard!" stated an unnamed bystander towards Muhammad Ali after a defeat.[122] Even Muhammad Ali, a formidable Olympic boxer, endured racist taunts after a loss. Regardless of his success, challenged existed for the Olympic level athlete. Muhammad Ali achieved a notable level of popularity with his athletic achievements. He politicized sports with protesting the Vietnam War, and when he took a firm stand against systemic racism in the United States. In the setting of the Cold War, African American Olympians protested social injustices and even war, a move that undermined perceptions of the United States in some cases. Based upon a series of sources, this chapter considers a series of interviews, photos and news articles that accounted for the experiences of famous and successful athletes of color. They expanded on the experience, hardships and the social impacts of politics and sports. Those sources elaborate on the significance of protest, and the experience of some of the athletes of color in the United States.

This paper evaluates the connection in history of the Olympics during the Cold War and the connection with racial, social and political issues of the 1960s in the United States. One of the goals for this project is to find a connection with the various American athletes, and find their connection with social issues in the United States like with Black Power, Civil Rights, and the anti-war movement. The paper also examines the political landscape of the Cold War with race, geopolitics and war. For example, Muhammad Ali used his success to address racial issues within the United States. Even at the highest level of success at the Olympics, the social climate

[122] Muhammad Ali with Richard Durham, *The Greatest: My Own Story* (Los Angeles: Graymalkin Media, 1994), 18.

of the United States promoted racism.[123] Regardless of his success, Muhammad Ali lived with the systemic racism, and frequently opposed systems of oppression and American imperialism.

Regardless of those oppressive factors, African American athletes rose to the top of athletic performance at the Olympic level. Many used their positions of influence to stand for social justice. They outright disproved racist ideology, and used their platforms to expose racism and discrimination. The use of the Black Power salute also appeared at the Olympics in the 1960s, sparking international attention to the racial issues in the United States. In an interview with John Carlos, a bronze medal champion, he reflected on his inspiration for protesting the social climate in the United States. These issues connect with how American athletes used their own created power to expose and hold the United States accountable for their social injustices.

During the Cold War, athletes of color turned to protest Civil Rights issues in the United States. In order to bring international attention to the ongoing racial and social injustices, they often spoke out on those issues in the United States. With limited options, successful athletes turned to propaganda, media and political navigation to project their power. Sports embodied a connection with all three of those ideas. It allowed for a community of people to create better circumstances for people of color in the United States. Americans used the power of their voice to draw attention to the ongoing political and social issues in the United States and abroad. Olympians of color used their position of power to advance the Civil Rights Movement, and to counter a culture of racism and to address social injustice in the United States.

Analysis of historical context

Historians often examined racial, political or sports history. A few, however, do examine all three in the timeframe of the Cold War. This research intended to expand on the racial

[123] Ali, *The Greatest: My Own Story*, 21.

perspective of the Olympics for this paper. The concept of politics and sports connects Black Power, Civil Rights, and the international nature of the Cold War with the frequent use of self-empower and imitative on the part of athletes. The element of activism often tied in with the frequent use of protests and organization by African American Olympians to protest systemic racism in the United States. All of those points intertwined for the social dynamic of the Cold War timeframe. This proved successful with the combined use of sport to protest racism, and other tactics that attained attention for racial and political issues in the United States in the time frame of the Cold War.

Mary L. Dudziak, looked at the political and social history.[124] Dudziak, wrote *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy*, wrote a detailed analysis of race and the Cold War in the United States. The author considered various aspects that influenced American society. The book examined the formation of the NAACP or the National Association of the Advancement of Colored People, and general concerns for racial equality.[125] The formation of the Congress of Racial Equality or CORE, focused on racial issues.[126] In the years that followed the Second World War, national concern for the international perception of America and racism developed.[127] Racism threatened the American goal of a monopolization on international power and influence.[128] Dudziak examined the Civil Rights movement first, and then the Cold War.[129]

The strengths of this book include the detailed analysis of the political history of the Cold War, and documentation of social history of Civil Rights. In particular, the examination of the

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[124] Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton University Press, Princeton and Oxford, 2000), 2.
[125] Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 5.
[126] Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 5.
[127] Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 8.
[128] Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 6.
[129] Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 18.

social circumstances of the 1960s for African Americans.[130] Dudziak provided a deep dive into the complex social challenges of the decade, and how people addressed those social issues in the United States with more awareness of those social issues.[131] In one example Dudziak stated, "The State Department's preoccupation with American race discrimination during the Cold War years and the volume of diplomatic cable traffic on the issue would seem to belie that point."[132] Racial issues in the United States took center focus for the American people. At the same time, fear of communism and concerns over the Vietnam War existed.

The political climate of the time also influenced sports too. Erin Elizabeth Redihan wrote, *The Olympics and the Cold War, 1948-1968: Sports as Battleground in the U.S.-Soviet Rivalry* to consider the social and political setting of the cold war and how it connected with the Olympics. Meanwhile, Kenneth Kahn, Lew Irwin, Don Sommese, Ron Ridenour, Barbara Cady, Angela Keys Douglas, Jack Anderson, et al., created a source titled the "Political conflict at the Olympic games." This article considered the connection with politics and the Olympic Games. Another source that covers aspects of Muhammad Ali, "The Black Scholar Interviews: Muhammad Ali.", looked at the power position Ali created with his athletic career within a racist society. Muhammad Ali took a strong stance to support people of color. Those six sources share a connection with the general timeframe considered for this research and contribute different perspectives.

For example, the Olympics provided an opportunity to showcase power and to directly compete without bloodshed. Within that, African Americans used the Olympics to project their own power and influence to further their agenda of racial equality. Americans and communist

[130] Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 79.
[131] Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 80.
[132] Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 81.

states recognized the political influence possible at the Olympics, which attracted more media attention. Athletes of color used that enhanced attention. The transition from Kennedy to Johnson further developed and entrenched American political positions on the Cold War, which indirectly expanded awareness of social issues.[133] Some of the athletes built on the existing tension around the Olympics, with greater public awareness from the Cold War culture.

This research aims to build upon existing historical works, with the interconnection of the different themes addressed. For example, the unique geopolitical circumstances of the 1960s into the 1980s, domestic and international challenges for racial equality through the lens of sports history. With that, the sources used reflect in part, some of the aspects considered in this research, with an emphasis on people like Muhammad Ali. More than that, Ali signified a cultural impact for the 1960s and 1970s especially.[134] Ali faced politicization for key aspects of his life, including activism, anti-Vietnam War stance and his religious status.[135] He, among others, engaged with the different themes included. Other athletes also engaged with issues of racial equality in a public way.

One of those methods included peaceful protests. For instance, Douglas Hartmann wrote *Race, Culture, and the Revolt of the Black Athlete*, to address the history of the complexity of sports history in connection to issues of racial equality.[136] Hartmann recognizes the engagement with Civil Rights issues via peaceful protests from Tommie Smith and John Carlos at the 1968 Olympics.[137] Hartmann further claimed that Smith and Carlos engaged with other activists, including Stokely Carmichael.[138] Carmichael popularized the phrase Black Power through a

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[133] Combs, *The History of American Foreign Policy from 1895*, (New York, Routledge Publishing, 2012), 287.
[134] Elliott J. Gorn, *Muhammad Ali: The People's Champ*, (Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 1995), 6.
[135] Gorn, *Muhammad Ali: The People's Champ*, 6.
[136] Douglas Hartmann, *Race, Culture, and the Revolt of the Black Athlete: The 1968 Olympic Protests and their Aftermath* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 3.
[137] Hartmann, *Race, Culture, and the Revolt of the Black Athlete*, 12.
[138] Hartmann, *Race, Culture, and the Revolt of the Black Athlete*, 13.

publication in an effort to address racial injustice in the United States.[139] More than that, his book *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation*, further expanded Black historical studies.[140] Smith and Carlos showed a deliberate effort to address racial issues in the United States in particular.[141] More than that, the example of Carlos and Smith shows a connection between activism and sports history with their affiliations with other Black activists.[142]

Geopolitics and sports

In addition to this, *Bidding for the 1968 Olympic* Games, by Heather L. Dichter, examined those Olympic games within a Cold War context. This source built upon the political aspect of the Cold War along with the issues that followed.[143] For instance, Dichter claimed that a significant link between sports and politics existed, especially within the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.[144] Another significant point, the transformation of media, and the power behind media, encouraged nations to invest in sporting events. In addition to this, the complex nature of the German states compelled their allies to invest in public opinion.[145] This book excels with the examination of sports history and political history in the Cold War, especially with the consideration of international organizations.

Moreover, Dichter examined the connection with NATO and the politicization of the 1968 Olympics in particular.[146] Increased political awareness connected with the increased attention at the Olympic Games. The author brought up questions over the stability of the German teams, and how the allies looked to secure the Olympics in their own nations. The goal

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[139] Peniel E. Joseph, *Stokely; A Life* (New York: Civitas, 2014), 232.
[140] Joseph, *Stokely, A life*, 232.
[141] Hartmann, *Race, Culture, and the Revolt of the Black Athlete*, 13.
[142] Hartmann, *Race, Culture, and the Revolt of the Black Athlete*, 13.
[143] Heather Dichter, *Bidding for the 1968 Olympic Games, International Sport's Cold War Battle with NATO* (Amherst and Boston: University of Massachusetts Press, 2021), 1.
[144] Dichter, *Bidding for the 1968 Olympic Games*, 2.
[145] Dichter, *Bidding for the 1968 Olympic Games*, 4.
[146] Dichter, *Bidding for the 1968 Olympic Games*, 118.

to host an Olympic game not just within NATO, but within each member state.[147] The author also clearly identifies the political challenges the International Olympic Committee endured with organizations like with NATO. In addition to this, Dichter claimed that the various states of NATO looked out for their own interests in sporting events at times, and often different cities looked to host the Olympic games.[148] While Americans intended to lead the organization, the states acted independently, especially early on in the expansion of the organization for their own political gain. Individual states also invested in their own interests at the same time. That interest from international community amplified the attention around the Olympic Games. With greater awareness of sports, Olympians of color took advantage of the new attention to sports. Each member state looked to host an Olympic game for their own gain, within the NATO group.[149]

At the same time, the International Olympic Committee intended to limit the political aspirations of a host state, and the politics associated with larger alliances.[150] Meanwhile, large alliances deeply divided the world. Within the complex political setting, African Americans looked for opportunities to expand their rights and agency. While many people of color in the United States lacked social and political power, some athletes of color recognized the opportunity for social justice protests that amplified along with the Olympic games. Reforms in media and sports expanded the general audience, and in turn drew the attention of state organizations. The International Olympic Committee juggled potential interference from both communist and American allied states, with the goal of a separation of sports and politics. Athletes continued to politicize sporting events. With or without support from the United States government, athletes created their own opportunity to stand for social justice.

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[147] Dichter, *Bidding for the 1968 Olympic Games*, 199.
[148] Dichter, *Bidding for the 1968 Olympic Games*, 119.
[149] Dichter, *Bidding for the 1968 Olympic Games*, 91.
[150] Dichter, *Bidding for the 1968 Olympic Games*, 90.

Racial issues and the Civil Rights

This section examines the racial issues in the global context, to tie into the Olympics. International organizations, for example, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights formed in the late 1940s to establish standards for equality among various points of identity, including sex and race.[151] International committees allowed for the Soviet Union to expose and identify ongoing racial issues in the United States.[152] In addition to this, Americans also evaluated their own social conditions. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People or NAACP, formed to support Americans of color and to represent the movement politically and socially.[153]

Furthermore, President Lyndon B. Johnson moved the Civil Rights Movement forward with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 with ongoing social pressure from protests.[154] According to Combs, "By 1965, the Vietnam War had driven even more American Blacks into opposition against U.S foreign Policy."[155] Even with social progress, Civil Rights Activists looked for more social change for all Americans.[156] Furthermore, national attention for Civil Rights pressured Americans to reexamine the social circumstances for racial issues.[157] Athletes in particular created a new route for the Civil Rights Movement to expand into. The expansion of rights urged Americans to further demand social justice and reforms.

The United States and Soviet rivalry expanded into sports, which included the Olympics too. The Americans looked towards to Tokyo Olympics for regional influence they hoped to

[151] Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 43.
[152] Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 43.
[153] Combs, *The History of American Foreign Policy from 1895*, 278.
[154] Combs, *The History of American Foreign Policy from 1895*, 279.
[155] Combs, *The History of American Foreign Policy from 1895*, 279.
[156] Combs, *The History of American Foreign Policy from 1895*, 279.
[157] Combs, *The History of American Foreign Policy from 1895*, 280.

establish and expand on.[158] The Soviet Union proved themselves a notable adversary for the United States in sports at the Olympics.[159] According to Redihan, the 1964 Olympics represented a significant representation for nationalism and national pride at the Olympics.[160] Even in situations where the United States won events at the games, the Americans continued to worry about any internationally perceived success from the Soviets.[161] The International Olympic Committee even reached out to NATO, to address concerns over the politicization of the 1964 Olympics.[162] Internationally, Americans connected politics, war and sports all together.[163] At the same time, internally, American athletes took to sports to protest and counter the racist culture. An article from the *Los Angeles Free Press*, titled "Political conflict at the Olympic Games", explored the connection with politics and the Olympic Games.[164]

Outside of the American point of view, Kenneth Kahn et al, implied the significance of the compromise from the IOC over the inclusion of Rhodesia.[165] Allegedly, Rhodesia still segregated their Black athletes prior to the Olympic Games, which inspired other nations to prompt a potential withdraw from the games if Rhodesia attended.[166] That signified some of the international awareness of racial discrimination and racial inequality represented through Olympic sports.

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[158] Redihan, *The Olympics and the Cold War, 1948-1968, Sports as Battleground in the U.S.-Soviet Rivalry* (Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland & Company, INC., Publishers, 2017), 165.
[159] Redihan, *The Olympics and the Cold War, 1948-1968*, 185.
[160] Redihan, *The Olympics and the Cold War, 1948-1968*, 185.
[161] Redihan, *The Olympics and the Cold War, 1948-1968*, 185.
[162] Redihan, *The Olympics and the Cold War, 1948-1968*, 179.
[163] Redihan, *The Olympics and the Cold War, 1948-1968*, 181.
[164] Kenneth Kahn, Lew Irwin, Don Sommese, Ron Ridenour, Barbara Cady, Angela Keys Douglas, Jack Anderson, et al. "Political conflict at the Olympic games" *Los Angeles Free Press* 9, no. 424 (September 1, 1972): 23. Accessed November 26, 2021.
[165] Kahn, et al., "Political Conflict at The Olympic Games," 23.
[166] Kahn, et al., "Political Conflict at The Olympic Games," 23.

Meanwhile, other issues existed at the same time for the Olympics. For instance, Kenneth Kahn asserted that the movement inspired other people of color to engage with those issues too.[167] The success of Tommie Smith and John Carlos spread, and other athletes built on international awareness for racial issues. At the 1964 Tokyo Olympics, some of the African American Olympians protested against racial injustice.[168] Another notable athlete of color, Muhammad Ali, continued and built upon the trend of sports activism. His efforts popularized sports activism, and signified some of the complexity of those issues.

Muhammad Ali's use of the athletic platform

In an interview from 1970, Muhammad Ali encouraged activism and political involvement in organizations like the Black Panthers.[169] The encouragement attracted negative attention, especially for successful people of color. International challenges from Cold War politics stressed the American government externally, and internally they faced the challenge of racial equality. According to Jerald A. Combs, the transitional phase from Kennedy to Johnson proved a challenge for the new administration and how it engaged with Civil Rights.[170] In addition to Civil Rights issues, many American athletes protested the Vietnam War too. Athletes often connected with both social causes, in a culture of anti-establishment and for social equality. Athletic and Civil Rights leaders like Muhammad Ali used their positions of power and social status to help others with their use of protests. Ali engaged with a variety of concepts, including issues of racial equality. Another source from Richard Durham explores that more.

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[167] Kahn, et al., "Political Conflict at the Olympic Games," 23.
[168] Erin Elizabeth Redihan, *The Olympics and the Cold War, 1948-1968: Sports as Battleground in the U.S.-Soviet Rivalry*, (North Carolina: McFarland & Company, Inc., 2017), 165.
[169] Muhammad Ali, "The Black Scholar Interviews: Muhammad Ali" *The Black Scholar* 1, no. 8 (1970): 36.
[170] Combs, *The History of American Foreign Policy from 1895*, 292.

Muhammad Ali The Greatest: My own Story, with Durham, elaborates on the narrative of an iconic American athlete of color, Ali.[171] The narrative follows his life, and the experiences and challenges that he overcame. His story elaborates on issues of racism, discrimination among other social challenges that many people of color in the United States lived with. Boxing in particular remains a significant aspect of his life. Moreover, the book follows key events and social challenges, along with his thoughts and experiences in connection to those experiences.[172] The reasoning for the inclusion of Ali, that he provides insight into both an activists and a professional and popular athlete of color's perspective of the time frame researched. He provides an example for the context of his religious status.[173]

For instance, Muhammad Ali made clear his opposition towards the systems of oppression in an interview with the Black Scholar, when he took a strong stance in support of racial equality and social justice.[174] According to the Durham book, Muhammad Ali continued to encouraged political awareness and participation for all people, especially for concerns related to his religious and racial status.[175] He realized his unique position of influence and social power compared to most African Americans at the time in the United States. In addition to this, he used his own platform, built on his success. The interview noted how Muhammad Ali rejected his original name he associated with slavery, for his name of Muhammad Ali for his own independence.[176] He questioned the tradition of power dynamics associated with race. He balanced racism, social change and his own Olympic career at the same time.

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[171] Muhammad Ali, Richard Durham, edited by Toni Morrison, *Muhammad Ali, The Greatest: My own Story*, (Los Angeles: Graymalkin Media, 2015), 203.
[172] Muhammad Ali, Richard Durham, edited by Toni Morrison, *Muhammad Ali, The Greatest: My own Story*, (203.
[173] Muhammad Ali, Richard Durham, edited by Toni Morrison, *Muhammad Ali, The Greatest: My own Story*, (202.
[174] Ali, "The Black Scholar Interviews: Muhammad Ali", 32–39.
[175] Muhammad Ali, Richard Durham, edited by Toni Morrison, *Muhammad Ali, The Greatest: My own Story*, (203.
[176] Ali, "The Black Scholar Interviews: Muhammad Ali", 32–39.

Muhammad Ali continued to speak out on the disenfranchisement of people of color.[177] Those concepts applied especially towards the United States. In another instance, Muhammad Ali stated in the Black Scholar interview, "…Black people look up to athletes and entertainers. That's right we look up to them."[178] He recognized the opportunity that famous people of color created for the betterment of the social circumstances of many Black Americans. It created a transition of power dynamics in a racist society. The initiative and leadership of those athletes opened a new arena of options for an otherwise oppressed group of peoples, with sports at the foundation of their new branch of the movement. It built on the social demands for equality and equal opportunity, and proved the viability of it.

Muhammad Ali continued in the interview with the statement, "I'm as big as you can get in fame and sports. And I'm a black man, I don't care. I'm not going to compromise."[179] His determination and relentless attitude set a standard for others to follow. The projection of power combined with his success contributed to his social clout and influence in both politics and sports. Symbolically, he demonstrated how athletes created opportunities and platforms for people of color in the United States and managed to push the movement forward. He called for an end of white power structures and the abuse of African Americans by a system that oppressed a whole demographic of people. He spoke extensively on the power structures created with slavery and the challenges that many African Americans endured.[180] The article continued with, "Only in the United States was Joe Frazier favored to win the fight."[181] Ali endured the tribulations of his time and remained resilient.

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[177] Ali, "The Black Scholar Interviews: Muhammad Ali", 36.
[178] Ali, "The Black Scholar Interviews: Muhammad Ali", 36.
[179] Ali, "The Black Scholar Interviews: Muhammad Ali", 36.
[180] Ali, "The Black Scholar Interviews: Muhammad Ali", 34.
[181] Clay Whitlow, "Muhammad Ali: more than a boxer" *Black View* 1, no. 5 (1971): 9.

Regardless of those ongoing domestic racial issues, the American athletes of color recognized an alternative source for power, the Olympics. Through their participation at the Olympics, they created an opportunity for themselves to protest and spread awareness about social issues. Athletes pushed social issues to the forefront with the use of social protests at sporting events. At the same time, other Civil Rights activists turned to similar methods to expose social injustices in the United States.[182] The movement built on successful concepts of protest, engagement and communication on those issues. It developed and changed with time to fit the needs of the movement. In addition to his efforts, Muhammad Ali, successfully used his position to stand up for those oppressed by racism and racist cultures with protests and political involvement. Regardless of racism and cultural oppression, athletes took a stand too, since many lacked the civil equality that they hoped and fought for.

Furthermore, "Muhammad Ali: More than a Boxer", by Clay Whitlow, described the racial issues at the fight between Muhammad Ali and Joe Frasier.[183] In that fight, Muhammad Ali lost to Frasier, another popular boxer at the time. Racial tensions peaked at boxing events, with a culture that at times looked down on athletes of color.[184] Regardless of Muhammad Ali's achievements, racism persisted. Outside of that loss, Muhammad Ali remained set on his goal of the betterment for people of color in the United States.

More than that, the cultural impact of Muhammad Ali built onto the awareness for social justice issues. The article "Sport, Step Shows and Social Justice" by Clark D. Langston, considered the cultural impact of sport in the 1960s.[185] The article claimed that Muhammad Ali's

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[182] Redihan, *The Olympics and the Cold War, 1948-1968*, 191.
[183] Whitlow, "Muhammad Ali: More than a boxer" 9.
[184] Whitlow, "Muhammad Ali: More than a boxer" 9.
[185] Langston D. Clark, Neil Tanner, and Alvin D. Logan. "Sport, Step Shows, and Social Justice: A Framework for Educating Black Men" *Race, Gender & Class* 22, no. 1–2 (2015): 9–22.

religious practices of Islam combined with his race deeply complicated his political and social life.[186] Challenges continued to arise for Ali. The combination of leaders like Muhmmad Ali, and collective teamwork from the Civil Rights Movement all contributed to the success of the larger effort for racial equality. Muhammad Ali made clear his stance and thoughts on racism through his platform of sports. In some instances other athletes supported Ali even after his jail time, and he represented a kind of unity unique among professional athletes.[187]

The influence of John Carlos

Other notable athletes of color engaged with the social issues of the time too. For example, in addition to Muhammad Ali, John Carlos told his story with the Olympics in an interview from 2013 to address when he protested at the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City.[188] The interview, conducted between John Carlos, and David P. Cline, examined the retrospective experience of John Carlos while an Olympic athlete.[189] Carlos mentioned how he kept in touch with Civil Rights leaders like Dr. King, and how he recognized the social issues of the time.[190] The political awareness and the lived experience of John Carlos built the connection with social and racial issues within the setting of the Cold War. It showed one experience from an Olympic athlete of color. Carlos understood the opportunity that he and other athletes created to address the contemporary social issues of the time. Carlos expanded the international awareness of politics at the Olympics and brought the Civil Rights movement with him to the international

[186] Clark, et al., "Sport, Step Shows, and Social Justice: A Framework for Educating Black Men", 13.
[187] Clark, et al., "Sport, Step Shows, and Social Justice: A Framework for Educating Black Men", 13.
[188] Interview, David P. Cline, John Carlos, Civil Rights History Project, New York, New York, August 18, 2013. Accessed November 10, 2021. 34.
[189] Interview, David P. Cline, John Carlos, Civil Rights History Project, August 18, 2013. Accessed November 10, 2021. 34.
[190] Interview, David P. Cline, John Carlos, Civil Rights History Project, August 18, 2013. Accessed November 10, 2021. 34.

level. Moreover, John Carlos touched on significant points in time with his protests and support for Civil Rights.

The 1968 Mexico City Olympics signified an active period for Civil Rights activism at the Olympic level, and within the United States. According to Erin Redihan, Olympians like Bob Beamon, Tommie Smith and John Carlos made clear their stance on racial and social issues in the Olympics in opposition towards systemic racism at the 1968 Olympics.[191] This shifted public awareness, since the protest attracted more attention and general awareness. The athletes of color protested racism and social injustice with their use of their status of Olympians. They used their platforms, literally, to draw international attention to the social issues within the United States.[192] They, among others, pushed an agenda for racial and social equality of Black Americans.

Thus, the Olympics proved useful for Olympians of color to publicly demonstrate their political stance in a society that otherwise suppressed Black American voices.[193] In addition to this, sports provided an outlet for political commentary on the social circumstances in the United States in the 1960s. The widespread international attention around the Olympics helped amplifies those actions. In addition to this, the accountability checks with media and the international gaze empowered the American athletes of color with international attention that surrounded the Olympics.[194] They built an opportunity to stand for social justice.

Struggles existed for athletes of color, even in situations where they achieved a level of success at the Olympics. Other scholarship from Py Bateman, et al, added on the considered the social ramifications of the protests at the Olympics from athletes of color. Bateman stated, "The primary reason for the Project is to define and confine the exploitation of Black athletes in this

[191] Redihan, *The Olympics and the Cold War, 1948-1968*, 190.
[192] Redihan, *The Olympics and the Cold War, 1948-1968*, 189.
[193] Redihan, *The Olympics and the Cold War, 1948-1968*, 190.
[194] Redihan, *The Olympics and the Cold War, 1948-1968*, 191.

country. In past Olympics, blacks have won a large number of victories and were hailed as symbols of American equality. Yet, when they came home, they were all treated like dogs albeit dogs that performed well."[195] Bateman also noted Jesse Owens from the 1936 Olympics for an example of how Americans treated their athletes of color.[196]

Following his involvement at the Olympic protests, Smith moved onto a coaching position.[197] Todd Darling explained how Smith secured a tenure for track at Oberlin College in Ohio, where he taught physical education.[198] Darling claimed, "As a former world record holder and one of the best sprinters in U.S. track history, Smith certainly has the experience to be a qualified coach."[199] Unfortunately, racism and discrimination persisted even after the international protest for the ongoing struggles that Smith and many people of color lived with, even after his protests.

By the mid and late 1960s, Americans struggled with domestic social issues, and from external pressure from communist states and shifts in international foreign policy.[200] Some African Americans continued to politicize the Olympics in order to push their agenda further along. They did so, with great success, at the Mexico City Olympics in 1968. In an article from Muhammad Speaks, titled, "A Salute to Tommie Smith, John Carlos & Co." from 1968, examined the protests.[201] The author of the article went on to claim, "Racists were enraged that lowly Black men would dare to do what no athletes-from the days of Greece to present- had done before: the Black exposed the hypocrisy and falsehood behind the 'principle' that the Olympics

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[195] Py Bateman, Harvey Stone, N. P., Isabell Bens, Sandy Carmichael, Justin Newmark, and Richard Tedhams. "Olympic Boycott Speeds On", *Rag (Austin, TX), The* 2, no. 36 (August 15, 1968): 11.
[196] Py Bateman, et al., "Olympic Boycott Speeds On", 11.
[197] Norm Moser, Bill Wallace, Todd Darling, Robin Hayes, Eric Perlman, Art Silverman, John Bryan, et al. "Berkeley Barb." *Berkeley Barb* 25, no. 7(602) (February 25, 1977): 2. Accessed November 26, 2021.
[198] Darling, et al., "Berkeley Barb", 2.
[199] Darling, et al., "Berkeley Barb", 2.
[200] Redihan, *The Olympics and the Cold War, 1948-1968*, 193.
[201] "Muhammad Speaks" *Muhammad Speaks* 8, no. 7 (November 1, 1968): 13. Accessed November 26, 2021.

are a showplace for athletics and not politics."[202] With no author clearly listed for the article, besides the publishing organization, the article exposed the significance of the protests at the 1968 Olympics. In addition to this, the article claimed that the Olympic Committee negatively responded to the protest.[203] The efforts from John Carlos and Tommie Smith inspired other athletes as well, to protest at sporting events.[204]

Protests from Carlos and Smith at the 1968 Olympic Games created an impact.[205] Fran Fuller, the author of "Where It's At", addressed the social and political impact of the protest by Tommie Smith and John Carlos at the 1968 Olympic Games.[206] It examined the significance of the actions taken by athletes of color in their protest. For instance, the author claimed that, "After the initial protest of runners Tommie Smith and John Carlos, which sent shook wave[s] through the U.S. State Dept. and evoked praise from many countries, other runners followed suit by demonstrating the depth of solidarity and unrest among Black athletes."[207] This implied a deep connection with politics, sports and international awareness of the status of racial issues for the United States at the 1968 Mexico City Olympics.[208] In another significant claim from Fuller, "The Olympic participants are consciously or unconsciously expressing the political ideology of their respective countries."[209]

Moreover, this denotes a deliberate effort on the part of Olympians to engage politically. Tommie Smith and John Carlos created the circumstances to protest internationally. According

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[202] "Muhammad Speaks", 13.
[203] "Muhammad Speaks", 13.
[204] Chris M. Daniel, "Star Spangled Controversy", *Great Speckled Bird* 6, no. 5 (February 12, 1973). Accessed November 26, 2021.
[205] Fran Fuller, "Where It's At" *Where It's At* 1, no. 4 (November 1, 1968): 1–4. Accessed November 26, 2021.
[206] Fran Fuller, "Where It's At", 1.
[207] Fuller, "Where It's At", 1.
[208] Fuller, "Where It's At", 1.
[209] Fuller, "Where It's At", 1.

to Fuller, the American Olympic team dismissed the two athletes after their protests.[210] Payton Jordan, the Olympic track coach, disagreed with the political empowerment of Black Americans at the Olympic level.[211] Fuller stated, "The U.S. Olympic team, headed by Jordan, was censured by the International Olympic Committee, headed by Avery Brundage, who demanded that Tommie Smith and John Carlos be disciplined for their 'political' demonstration…"[212] This directly connects politics, sports, and the Civil Rights Movement. Furthermore, their use of the Black power fist at the Olympics helped popularize the symbol.[213]

To elaborate more on racism of the time, the article, "Dr. Harry Edwards blasts Neo-Nazi 'athletic' theories", from the Muhammad Speaks newspaper explained some of the challenges for people of color.[214] The article aimed to disprove racial claims that surrounded people of color at the 1968 Mexico City Olympics.[215] Martin Kane, a senior editor, published the racist claims in an issue of Sports Magazine.[216] According to the article, Dr. Harry Edwards claimed that many African Americans entered sports since racist limited their options in the United States.[217] Racism lingered regardless of athletic achievement, continued in the decades that followed.

Conclusion

The American government and their allies used the Olympics to push a political agenda. At the same time, athletes of color used their position at the Olympics to navigate the challenges of the social circumstances they lived in. Sports provided an alternative source of power and influence for both the government and for people of color. At the Olympics, athletes of color

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[210] Fuller, "Where It's At", 1.
[211] Fuller, "Where It's At", 1.
[212] Fuller, "Where It's At" *Where It's At* 1, no. 4 (November 1, 1968): 1.
[213] "Morning Report" *Morning Report* 1, no. 2 (June 1, 1970): 5.
[214] "Muhammad Speaks" *Muhammad Speaks* 11, no. 27 (March 17, 1972): 7.
[215] "Muhammad Speaks", 7.
[216] "Muhammad Speaks", 7.
[217] "Muhammad Speaks", 7.

created an opportunity to stand for racial equality and social improvements. Especially with famous athletes, who pulled a wide base of attention. Moreover, the transitional period of the 1960s allowed for change in sport, culture and American society. Change defined the 1960s, especially for the United States domestically and for their public relations abroad. Athletes of color addressed the social concerns of their American community. African Americans challenged the social dynamics of racist ideology in the United States with protest, rallies, and successful attempts at the expansion of Civil Rights.[218] The global connection of the Cold War allowed for an awareness of Civil Rights issues on a global scale, especially with activism at international sporting events.

In a way, the athletes of color helped hold Americans accountable for their systems of racism. Athletes of color created a new space for a dialog on racism and racial issues. The use of protests, symbology, and collective efforts by athletes pushed the movement forward. Athletes helped lead a transition to cultural change for Americans of color, with their unique positions of cultural influence. The time frame covered in this research examined a transition in racial power dynamics and American society with the connection of sport. Politics, Civil Rights, and the Cold War linked together to build a representation of the social challenges people of color endured. Those concepts connect to explain the dynamic social circumstances of the 1960s and 1970s in the United States. Global awareness of systemic racism and proactive Civil Rights activists exposed deep rooted issues for the Americans at sporting events and abroad.

In addition to this, the public nature of the Olympians and their movements intertwined the politicization of sport and politics to great success. At the same time, Americans juggled the pressure from the Civil Rights activists, Cold War political concerns, and the long list of

[218] Redihan, *The Olympics and the Cold War, 1948-1968*, 208.

domestic issues and with the Anti-War Movement too. Athletes in some cases publicly addressed their concerns on racial issues and domestic issues. The athletes' creative use of sports to address racial issues led to great success for the American athletes of color. In some instances, they drew awareness to their cause. Agency and collective group efforts organized by the Civil Rights Movement contributed to the substantial change in the United States with their decision of the use of political voice at the Olympics. Regardless of social injustices, many American athletes turned to sports at the Olympics for an opportunity to expand their political and social power. The Olympics provided a platform for the movement in general to draw attention to expand upon the greater issue. The athletes not only made it to the Olympics, they also used their opportunity to stand for those less fortunate than them. The athletes encouraged political awareness, social change, and support for their community through athletics.

Otherwise ignored athletes of color created an opportunity for themselves, and a symbol for other people of color and Civil Rights Activists to rally behind. Muhammad Ali, for example, embodied the potential success of protest and athletic achievement. Successful athletes of color helped draw international attention to the domestic issues that surrounded race relations for the American people in particular. African American athletes created opportunities to lead their communities and to stand for racial and social equality. People like Muhammad Ali used their position of influence and clout to speak out, and to directly address ideas that oppressed people of color. Athletes cultivated a sport culture that opposed racism, and they encouraged challenging the status quo.

Chapter Three: Challenges for racial equality 1970-1980 American boxing history

Within American sports history, both racism and fan violence coexisted for many athletes of color. In the aftermath of the Civil Rights movement, sports lingered behind in part due to social challenges. Racial issues emerged in sports partly due to the spectacle nature of sports, drawing in large groups of fans and attention. Regardless of status and achievement, Black athletes sometimes endured these particular forms of racial discrimination. Those instances provide some insight into their hardships with racism, and not all of the racist challenges that existed. While Muhammad Ali provides a notable example, other boxers of color lived with those issues too. For example, Marvin Hagler, an American boxer of color, fought and lived those various challenges in his boxing career. Meanwhile, in some cases fans collectively expressed their voices through violence, among other methods to show outrage or frustration which added another layer for consideration.

Hagler's fighting career occurred partly during and after Muhammad Ali's career. Both boxers shared similar struggles for racial equality, especially in instances connected to their professional boxing careers. Athletes that followed Ali lived in the wake of those efforts for racial and social equality. Those instances provide an insight into how particular examples of racism existed, not an exclusive definition for racism. For example, social protest, unfair situations that the particular athletes experienced and an overview of how sports organizations and media reacted to those incidents, but rather insight into some of their experiences. Moreover, the examples provided may not reflect the entire spectrum of racism that these athletes endured.

Sports history provides an instance for insight into some of those discrimination challenges for successful people of color—more than that, how sports interconnect with the politicization efforts for sports history during the 1980s. Racial issues existed within a turbulent

American political climate. At the same time, international politicization of the games occurred. This chapter expands on particular instances of racism in sports history, and not an all-inclusive consideration of the spectrum of racism that occurred. Domestic issues at home and geopolitical issues abroad mixed in with political agendas for sports history. Athletes like Muhammad Ali reflect how their actions and resilience impacted society through political action and commentary.[219]

The use of sports for political agendas occurred especially at the Olympic Games. More than that, on the international level, nations followed suit with similar strategies for the Olympic Games. Those issues include opposition and sometimes violent outbursts from fans, racism, and other political factors. This research calls into question the unique circumstances of those athletes of color and their experiences with racism in and out of their professional settings. Political, professional, and personal, all intertwined for the athletes of color. Reactions from professional organizations, too, shifted over time to address racism within the sport.

In some instances, sports history often reflects social changes and challenges, especially for African American athletes who endured racism. Hagler provides another instance of how race strongly influences someone's experience, even at the professional level. Wealth, status, and popularity did not provide immunity to rampant racism. For instance, oppositional fans threw trash at the ring after Hagler won a fight against Alan Minter on September 29, 1980.[220] Not only did some athletes engage with those issues, but they also did so in a way that paved the way toward more racial equality. Moreover, Hagler provides another iteration of a thriving black athlete who endured unjust race relations in part due to the level of success achieved.

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[219] Donegan, and Derek Lawrenson, "Night of Shame Put Tory Chairman on the Ropes", *The Guardian (1959-2003)*, Sep 12, 1994. 4.
[220] Red Smith, "Marvin Hagler Gets His due" *New York Times (1923-)*, Sep 29, 1980, 41.

More than that, some black athletes signified success in their efforts to endure racism with their status. In some situations, they also helped expose racial issues in western society through their success in sports. The platform in itself amplified those issues for the general public in that person of color gained exposure through the popularity of their athletic status. International travel also exposed the deep cultural issues with race, especially for successful black athletes. Moreover, the reactions drew more attention to the general awareness of racial equality issues. Marvin Hagler provides another instance of the exposure of racial issues within sports culture, which often reflected the more general atmosphere for many people of color.[221] With that, their status amplified public awareness of racism. However, key differences existed in those successful athletes of color who achieved a status that forced recognition of those unjust issues. Through their popularity and actions, awareness for racial issues within sports expanded with incidents like with Hagler or with Ali. On the global scale, domestic American racial issues connect with the larger geopolitical context.

Instances of challenges for athletes of color

In some situations, previous athletes of color built a foundation for people like Hagler. For instance, John Carlos, and Muhammad Ali, among others, established a trend for social commentary in connection to sports. In addition, publicity proved a vital tool for oppressed athletes, who used their status to promote social commentary. For example, John Carlos and Tommie Smith protested at the 1968 Mexico City Olympics, and signified a peaceful protest against social injustice.[222] That signaled the success of political commentary through the means of sports. Ali, too, commented publicly via the tools available to him, mostly his voice and social

[221] The Guardian, "Remembering Alan Minter v Martin Hagler: One of boxing lowest moments", 1. Accessed January 16, 2023.
[222] Eric Zolov, "Showcasing the 'Land of Tomorrow: Mexico and the 1968 Olympics" *The Americas* 61, no. 2 (2004): 159–88.

position. Nevertheless, regardless of their achievements, they still endured discrimination and racism, which partly fueled their activism.

More recognition of racial issues in sports allowed for gradual change both within sports and in American society. Which signifies a connection between domestic political issues and racial dynamics changes. The attention surrounding famous athletes of color amplified the awareness of racism in sports. Moreover, their resilience established foundations for resistance to racism. Not only did they achieve notable athletic success, but they also did so in a hostile work environment. While not everyone exhibited racism towards athletes of color, the systems in place allowed for racist voices to exist. Their outrage helped uproot unjust established trends in sports culture. Black athletes led the way in creating a change toward acceptable behavior in the realm of professional sports. More than that, their actions established trends for social awareness and change within American professional boxing.

Moreover, racial tensions in sports continued into the 1970s and 1980s in both the United States and the United Kingdom. Sports history provides a perspective into the social challenges for many athletes of color. In one instance, Marvin Hagler fought Alan Minter at Wembley Stadium on September 27, 1980.[223] Hagler, an African American boxer, fought and defeated Minter. The event sparked racial tensions in that Minter, a white boxer, faced a humiliating defeat at Wembley stadium. The sports rivalry amplified the existing racial tensions among professional athletes.[224]

Furthermore, concerns existed over the embarrassment of violent fans after the fight concluded.[225] The public image remained important for Hector Monro, the British Minister of

[223] The Guardian, "Remembering Alan Minter v Martin Hagler: One of boxing lowest moments", 1.
[224] The Guardian, "Remembering Alan Minter v Martin Hagler: One of boxing lowest moments", 1.
[225] "Conduct of Fans at Hagler Fight Deplored" 1980. *The Washington Post (1974-)*, September 29, 1.

Sport.[226] Uncontrollable outbursts from fans, especially regarding racially motivated unrest, lingered in sports. Moreover, concerns for backlash on the behavior of fans drew attention from officials like Monro. Minter's loss infuriated the local fans at Wembley Stadium, who threw objects onto the arena.[227] According to the article, Hagler's manager, Pat Patronelli, experienced targeted violence from the oppositional fan base. That included violent outbursts from fans. Furthermore, media, nationalism, and fan loyalty also amplified the tensions between the fighters. In addition to those factors, the element of race also influenced the circumstances and experiences of professional black boxers.[228]

In addition to that, violence remained a fundamental aspect of spectator sports. Fans both consumed violence through the fights and, in some instances, created violence in the aftermath. For Hagler, the added challenge of racial discrimination also coexisted with those other struggles. For instance, the unrest and riot occurred after Hagler's victory at Wembley.[229] That unrest, rooted in racism, signified a long history of discrimination in sports history.[230] For example, the 1985 fight between a black man, Azumah Nelson, and Pat Cowdell from Birmingham signified some of those issues.[231]

In both instances, black men won over favored white men, which sparked unrest at the boxing event. Furthermore, outrage led to more awareness of discrimination in sports. Little social change occurred between those two fights in the span of five years, in that crowds acted negatively towards successful athletes of color. Regardless, both shared the connection of a person of color who proved triumphant in an uncertain environment. Both also experienced racist

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[226] "Conduct of Fans at Hagler Fight Deplored" 1980. *The Washington Post (1974-)*, September 29, 1.
[227] "Conduct of Fans at Hagler Fight Deplored" 1980. *The Washington Post (1974-)*, September 29, 1.
[228] "Conduct of Fans at Hagler Fight Deplored" 1980. *The Washington Post (1974-)*, September 29, 1.
[229] "Conduct of Fans at Hagler Fight Deplored" 1980. *The Washington Post (1974-)*, September 29, 1.
[230] Lawrence Donegan, and Derek Lawrenson, "Night of Shame Put Tory Chairman on the Ropes." *The Guardian (1959-2003)*, Sep 12, 19.
[231] Street, "Diary" *Tribune*, Oct 3, 1980, 4.

challenges in the United Kingdom while boxing. The United States and the United Kingdom used sports to promote political agendas. In some instances, athletes of color shared adverse reactions from crowds. The rowdy behavior that occurred in the aftermath of the boxing match at Wembley Stadium showcases some of the racial challenges athletes of color endured.[232]

Minter's fight and loss to Hagler prompted racists to riot after the fight. One source attributed the riot to racism, partly due to the overall boxing culture.[233] Racism lingered in the fan base and emerged in a violent outburst for their fight, and outrage existed out of race-based related reactions.[234] Not only did Hagler win, but he did so in a culture that rejected him based on his race, at least in the instance of fan outrage.[235] Not all fans expressed and participated in racism; however, the fans who did stand out. The angered fans used bottles, and other trash, to throw at the arena following the loss of Minter.[236] As a result, the Boxing Board of Control investigated the incident to address the issues after the fight concluded.[237]

More than that, the author implied that the incident occurred in part due to racially motivated tensions.[238] The implication from John Street suggests that racism existed within professional boxing, at least in the instance of victorious black boxers. Regardless of speculation existed for the motivations of the riot; however, Street reinforces the idea of race-based motivations.[239] Allegedly, Minter dreaded losing to a black person.[240] Street's claim supports the notion of a generally negative attitude toward black athletes in boxing especially. However, at

[232] *The Guardian*, "Remembering Alan Minter v Martin Hagler: One of boxing lowest moments", 1.
[233] Street, "Diary" *Tribune*, Oct 3, 1980, 4.
[234] Street, "Diary" *Tribune*, Oct 3, 1980, 4.
[235] Street, "Diary" *Tribune*, Oct 3, 1980, 4.
[236] Street, "Diary" *Tribune*, Oct 3, 1980, 4.
[237] Street, "Diary" *Tribune*, Oct 3, 1980, 4.
[238] Street, "Diary" *Tribune*, Oct 3, 1980, 4.
[239] Street, "Diary" *Tribune*, Oct 3, 1980, 4.
[240] Street, "Diary" *Tribune*, Oct 3, 1980, 4.

least with the examples of Ali and Hagler, empowerment and resilience continued to exist despite racist crowds.

Hagler and Ali shared the experience of professional boxing and the backlash for their success. For instance, Ali commented on racial issues in the United States and the activism of the time. His unique position impacted society in that he brought together both social issues and sports. Furthermore, he did so in a way that brought more attention to his voice and the movement in general. Ali provides another example of a successful athlete of color who built upon the trend of political commentary within boxing in particular.[241] Ali further established the connection between activism and commentary in a popular sports position. He used his platform to affect sports history, creating a long-lasting impact significantly. Their efforts were amplified by popularizing social commentary with boxing in particular.

Furthermore, Ali's status as an Olympian and his successful career amplified his voice in ways that others lacked. Ali politicized himself to promote his agenda of racial equality. Boxing provided the means for his platform to reach a larger audience. Indeed, the sports spectacle allowed for a focus on his commentary, which Ali used to his advantage. Awareness added to the attention around Ali's activism and created unique circumstances for his platform. He expanded on the interconnection of activism and boxing with his commentary and actions. For instance, when drafted in a public display that shocked many, he refused to join the military.[242] Some people associated his alleged political and social commentary with his identity, something he used to his advantage. Nevertheless, more than that, he achieved success and notoriety despite rampant racism in both culture and sports.[243]

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[241] Muhammad Ali, "The Black Scholar Interviews: Muhammad Ali" *The Black Scholar* 1, no. 8 (1970): 32.
[242] Clay Whitlow, "Muhammad Ali: More than a boxer" *Black View* 1, no. 5 (1971): 9.
[243] Whitlow, "Muhammad Ali: More than a boxer," 9.

For example, he expanded on the foundations of black activism that interconnect with sports. In addition to that, Ali invested heavily through personal effort into what he believed in, like his decision to avoid the draft.[244] His stark antiwar opinions alienated Ali too.[245] The use of racism allowed for the alienation of competent and successful black men in American boxing.[246] Black American boxers experienced unique experiences based on their racial background that other athletes not always experienced too.

People like Hagler, too, followed the trend of using the tool of sports to further the black activist agenda for racial equality. Furthermore, the international element for both boxers also exposes the widespread cultural and racial issues in sports. Shared compassion for racism, in general, existed for Ali too, who recognized ongoing social issues.[247] Similar challenges carried challenges existed in both of their professional boxing careers. Mostly, they shared experiences with racism and backlash to their success in the boxing ring. In addition to that, Ali, in particular, engaged with racism in order to create social change through sports and activism.[248] Ali's investment in racial equality impacted his professional boxing career and his personal life.[249] That carried over to boxing, significantly where others benefited from his creative use for social change. In addition, his fame status amplified the awareness of his actions and commentary and his beliefs on social issues.

Even at the most professional level of boxing, challenges continued to exist for Ali. He even changed his name to Muhammad Ali showed a deliberate effort to create a new identity and empowerment.[250] Ali engaged on both fronts, socially and within the sports realm. He pushed the

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[244] Ali, "The Black Scholar Interviews: Muhammad Ali" *The Black Scholar*, 32.
[245] Ali, "The Black Scholar Interviews: Muhammad Ali" *The Black Scholar*, 32.
[246] Ali, "The Black Scholar Interviews: Muhammad Ali" *The Black Scholar*, 32.
[247] Ali, "The Black Scholar Interviews: Muhammad Ali" *The Black Scholar*, 32.
[248] Ali, "The Black Scholar Interviews: Muhammad Ali" *The Black Scholar*, 32.
[249] Ali, "The Black Scholar Interviews: Muhammad Ali" *The Black Scholar*, 32.
[250] Ali, "The Black Scholar Interviews: Muhammad Ali" *The Black Scholar*, 33.

trend of sports activism further through his use of commentary and popularity. In addition, he recognized the impact of his actions and resistance against racism.[251] Ali's legacy allowed more athletes like Hagler to follow his anti-racism efforts within sports.[252]

Some changes in sports fit within the more considerable cultural changes in American society, especially concerning racial dynamics. Sports, in this case, boxing, provides an example of how that change occurred. Whitlow claims that Ali's investment in racial equality developed further due to his fame, ability, and popularity.[253] Similar to Hagler's situation, some people favored white boxer Frazer over Ali, partly due to race.[254] Racism in boxing exposes cultural tendencies for fans and officials alike. Racists encouraged using black bodies for entertainment but resisted black resilience and success.

Furthermore, another shared struggle for Ali and Hagler included their fights against fan-favored white men. The results of their victories in the two instances sparked awareness of challenges.[255] While in different weight classes, Ali and Hagler shared similar struggles with challenges, racial tensions, and the pressure from international performance. Hagler received support from boxing organizations in that an investigation followed the riot.[256] Investigations showed a shift in response to racism on the professional level.

Their racial status exacerbated some fan rage towards alleged oppositional fighters, mainly people of color. Race established an underlying factor for Hagler and Ali. Outrage and rioting also stood out in that they signified a negative reputation for the collective of fans and organizational leaders. Regardless of those challenges, the two boxers remained steadfast in their

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[251] Ali, "The Black Scholar Interviews: Muhammad Ali" *The Black Scholar*, 32.
[252] Whitlow, "Muhammad Ali: More than a boxer," 9.
[253] Whitlow, "Muhammad Ali: More than a boxer," 9.
[254] Whitlow, "Muhammad Ali: More than a boxer," 9.
[255] Whitlow, "Muhammad Ali: More than a boxer," 9.
[256] Street, "Diary" *Tribune*, Oct 3, 1980, 4.

resolve. More than that, racial unrest remained consistent for both athletes, even with some time separating their victories and experiences. Even at the highest levels for professional athletes, black athletes endured unique circumstances and experiences based on their racial status and identity. Other boxers of color experienced challenges, too, and engaged with the efforts of Muhammad Ali. Their unique circumstances of Ali allowed for others to follow his efforts.

Another successful Black boxer, Larry Holmes, competed in the heavyweight class of American boxing.[257] Holmes fought Ali after Ali took a two-year break from professional boxing, with an eight-year age gap between the two boxers.[258] Ali, aged 38, agreed to fight Larry Holmes to prove themselves for the heavyweight title. However, both black successful and masculine men experienced speculation from other notable people on their chances for victory.[259] Rona Jaffe even called for Ali to run for president based on his merit and influence.[260] David Halberstam, a journalist, noted that the long-lasting impact of Ali's war protests forever earned Halberstam's favor over others.[261] That comment signifies the long-standing influence of political commentary from Ali. Years later, that influence still lingered for some fans who expressed their loyalty towards him.

Some social changes occurred in that many of the people's commentary expressed speculation over skill, experience, and age.[262] The mention of race in a negative manner, however, did not appear in the few who commented on the fight. One person who mentioned race, race car driver Janet Guthrie, did so in a way that recognized the positive impact of Ali's

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[257] Graham Berry, "The Pride and the Passion Introduction To Black History" *Negro History Bulletin* 46, no. 2 (1983): 50.
[258] "Views of Sport: Some views of Ali-Holmes fight: Sentiment favors Ali" *New York Times (1923-)*, Sep 28, 1980. 2.
[259] "Views of Sport: Some views of Ali-Holmes fight: Sentiment favors Ali" *New York Times*, 2.
[260] "Views of Sport: Some views of Ali-Holmes fight: Sentiment favors Ali" *New York Times*, 2.
[261] "Views of Sport: Some views of Ali-Holmes fight: Sentiment favors Ali" *New York Times*, 2.
[262] "Views of Sport: Some views of Ali-Holmes fight: Sentiment favors Ali" *New York Times*, 2.

legacy on sports in general.[263] Moreover, many associated Ali with his social and political commentary, skill, and boxing abilities. Carl Sagan even commented that he "admired" Muhammad Ali for his engagement with political and social issues.[264] For example, Muhammad Ali and his political commentary and anti-war stance signify an interconnection.[265] The opinions of those interviewed share limited insight into the spectrum of voices on those issues.[266] Regardless, those claims from the people interviewed showed some recognition of anti-racism efforts from Ali, in addition to his anti-war stance.[267] At least in the instance of those people considered, a general tone shifted in favor of recognition of Ali's efforts.[268] Few favored Holmes, who existed in more of a prime and younger state than Ali, who attempted the fight eight years older than his opponent.[269] Furthermore, that signifies the impact of the voice behind a famous athlete who created social influence through his position.

Black masculinity, activism and empowerment through sports

Another shared concept between the two boxers, the issue of masculinity, reoccurred. Boxing creates violence, amplifying the attention to violence in the sport. However, people like Ali and Hagler used their popularity to promote social change intentionally and otherwise. The impact of their actions and success paved the way for social change to occur through a more considerable cultural recognition of those racial issues. In that arena, boxing provides an example of institutional change for people of color in part due to the experiences of black athletes. Positive masculinity amplified the resistance towards racism in that the two boxers remained resilient. While able-bodied and well-trained, both displayed a level of restraint

[263] "Views of Sport: Some views of Ali-Holmes fight: Sentiment favors Ali" *New York Times*, 2.
[264] "Views of Sport: Some views of Ali-Holmes fight: Sentiment favors Ali" *New York Times*, 2.
[265] "Views of Sport: Some views of Ali-Holmes fight: Sentiment favors Ali" *New York Times*, 2.
[266] "Views of Sport: Some views of Ali-Holmes fight: Sentiment favors Ali" *New York Times*, 2.
[267] "Views of Sport: Some views of Ali-Holmes fight: Sentiment favors Ali" *New York Times*, 2.
[268] "Views of Sport: Some views of Ali-Holmes fight: Sentiment favors Ali" *New York Times*, 2.
[269] "Views of Sport: Some views of Ali-Holmes fight: Sentiment favors Ali" *New York Times*, 2.

regardless of racism from some fans. Ali, in particular, faced backlash for his use of activism through sport.[270]

Ali promoted empowerment through activism via his position of popularity to significant effect.[271] He embodied an example for others to follow in that he both put for social commentary and achieved success. Boxing established a platform for his success and activism, which amplified the trend for black activists in athletics. Their fame allowed for more attention to their actions than others who lacked the same platform. Furthermore, an interconnection of the social challenge of racial equality occurred in American boxing, especially for some black American boxers, into the 1980s.[272] Popularity and fame put their issues at the forefront of sports fans. However, their resilience proved racism wrong, in addition to their various victories. Publicly, social dynamics changed for the two athletes, especially Ali, who endured significant social backlash.

More than that, unfair and racist stereotypes also lingered in sports, particularly on the topic of black masculinity for boxers.[273] Meanwhile, society accepted the exploitation of black bodies for entertainment and resisted black activism. Regardless, change for racial equality was reflected in sports in particular, in that large audiences were aware of social issues through commentary from people like Ali. His efforts created circumstances for meaningful change in sports culture. More than that, black victories in sports help to create excitement and awareness for the status of black equality and race issues.[274] Issues existed for boxers of color continued to

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[270] Maurice J. Hobson, "Ali and Atlanta: A Love Story in the Key of the Black New South." *Phylon (1960-)* 54, no. 1 (2017): 79.
[271] Hobson, "Ali and Atlanta: A Love Story in the Key of the Black New South," 79.
[272] Julie Sheridan, "'Why such discontent?': Race, ethnicity, and masculinity in 'What I lived for'" *Studies in the Novel* 38, no. 4 (2006): 501.
[273] Sheridan, "'Why such discontent?': Race, ethnicity, and masculinity in 'What I lived for'", 502.
[274] Sheridan, "'Why such discontent?': Race, ethnicity, and masculinity in 'What I lived for'", 502.

exist in boxing.[275] Unfair assumptions added to the physical and mental demands of the sport. More than that, the use of sports for political and social commentary gained momentum in the 1960s, especially for black American athletes, who used sports. For instance, among other popular sporting organizations, the Olympics experienced political commentary from Black American activists who used sports to promote political agendas.[276] Their actions added another layer to political activism. Even with efforts to officially move towards limited political commentary, black American athletes used the platforms available.[277]

Momentum for social change expanded into sports through the activism of people who desired equality for society and within the world of professional sports. The Olympics allowed people to engage with the concepts of social equality with large audiences and further established trends for other athletes to follow.[278] Efforts by athletes proved effective in that their use of political commentary forced viewers to recognize those issues. In addition, the athletic competition provided another venue for black empowerment through protest and engagement with domestic and abroad social issues, including the Vietnam War.[279] That further established the trend of politicizing sports history, especially in the 1980s for American sports history.

At the same time, in the United States, movements for equality gained momentum with the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s for racial equality. In sports, Muhammad Ali pioneered a pathway for that racial equality. Ali's impact on sports held significance with his global notoriety, identity, and use of sports as a platform. His influence positively changed sports by

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[275] Sheridan, "'Why such discontent?': Race, ethnicity, and masculinity in 'What I lived for'", 503.
[276] Christine O'Bonsawin, "From Black Power to Indigenous Activism: The Olympic Movement and the Marginalization of Oppressed Peoples (1968-2012)" *Journal of Sport History* 42, no. 2 (2015): 202.
[277] O'Bonsawin, "From Black Power to Indigenous Activism: The Olympic Movement and the Marginalization of Oppressed Peoples (1968-2012)", 202.
[278] O'Bonsawin, "From Black Power to Indigenous Activism: The Olympic Movement and the Marginalization of Oppressed Peoples (1968-2012)", 202.
[279] O'Bonsawin, "From Black Power to Indigenous Activism: The Olympic Movement and the Marginalization of Oppressed Peoples (1968-2012)", 65.

gaining international attention, promoting black empowerment, and signaling meaningful change for people of color in sports. In addition, he gained a level of notoriety unattainable for most people of color for the time and used his social position to engage with those issues of equality.

Racial tensions sparked diverse reactions from black activists, who engaged with social reform on a spectrum. For instance, protests at the Olympics in 1968.[280] Other forms of engagement with civil equality included actions from organizations like the NAACP.[281] Organizations like the National Urban League noted the complex social challenges many Americans of color experienced.[282] Organized efforts helped challenge and counter institutional racism in American society. However, following Malcolm X and Martin Luther King Jr.'s methodology divided some supporters of black power.[283] Divisions existed within the style of activism of the two general groups, with one promoting more pacifism and the other more proactive efforts to create racial change.[284] Regardless of those divisions, activism existed in many forms. Some of those instances included athletic competition for black American athletes.

Activism expanded into many areas of American life, especially in spaces that drew attention domestically and internationally. Sports provides an example of how mainstream efforts significantly impacted American society regarding civil and racial equality—for example, international audiences, the widespread use of television, and the political climate. Moreover, athletic spaces also provide an instance for the more considerable geopolitical changes within and outside American society. On a global scale, issues of politics occurred in the 1980 Moscow Olympics, for example.

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[280] Terry Eastland, "Redefining Civil Rights" *The Wilson Quarterly (1976-)* 8, no. 2 (1984): 63.
[281] Eastland, "Redefining Civil Rights" *The Wilson Quarterly (1976-)* 8, no. 2 (1984): 63.
[282] Eastland, "Redefining Civil Rights" *The Wilson Quarterly (1976-)* 8, no. 2 (1984): 63.
[283] O'Bonsawin, "From Black Power to Indigenous Activism: The Olympic Movement and the Marginalization of Oppressed Peoples (1968-2012)", 65.
[284] O'Bonsawin, "From Black Power to Indigenous Activism: The Olympic Movement and the Marginalization of Oppressed Peoples (1968-2012)", 65.

Chapter Four April 2023- Hooliganism: Sports violence and assimilation challenges for English youth

On the surface level a hooligan may appear to simply engage in rowdy and sometimes violent behavior. Their actions, however, signify deeper social tensions that encompass race, class, and masculinity. For Riaz Khan and Mark Kelly, the label of hooligan allowed a level of access to equality otherwise not always accessible for descendants of immigrants. Hooligans, in particular, used football's social significance to express status and frustration for disadvantaged groups. Participation in hooliganism provided a social outlet for the unrest of economic and social challenges, especially for the working class people. For instance, the lived experiences of Khan and Kelly shows insight into their experiences with racial discrimination and how they used hooliganism to fit into mainstream society.[285] Race, class and the desire for community proved foundational for the two teenage hooligans. They two engaged in ironically used violence to develop a sense of inclusion in a racist society.

More than that, British football provides a lens into the social issues that emerged along with hooliganism.[286] The two struggled with racial discrimination based on their Asian background, and boredom from class limitations. Within British society, hooligans engaged in violence on a spectrum of participation. Khan and Kelly in particular participated in hooligan gang activity in their teenage and young adult years. They implied in their story that they both grew up in Leicester, in the United Kingdom.[287] For them, sports history interconnects the story

[285] Namrata, Varia. "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark, about their experiences of being part of a football gang.", BBC Radio Leicester. August 6, 2013. C 1500/0485.
[286] In their interview, Khan and Kelly both used the term football to refer to the sport soccer. In order to remain uniform with their terminology, I also used the phrase football to mean soccer.
[287] Namrata. "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark, 37:20-37:30.

of hooligans with racial and social challenges for the British society. The interview suggests years separated them from their interview and their teenage activities.

The scholarship from John H. Kerr elaborates on the motivations and social circumstances that many hooligans lived with. In *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism*, Kerr claimed that the definition of a hooligan includes a person who engages in violence, and rowdy behavior.[288] More than that, Kerr connects the term hooligan with the activities of young British soccer or football fans in particular.[289] The author detailed how the social circumstances expanded the British football fandom. For instance, Kerr stated, "By the early 1900s, spectating at professional soccer had become a widely popular feature of the English working class weekend."[290] Their scholarship signifies a strong link between the working class and their passion for football. In turn that implied a connection with social, class and racial circumstances, which echoed Riaz Khan's and Mark Kelly's claims.

Kerr continued, "Taylor (1976) claims that soccer-related violence can be explained by examining the changing opportunities and increasing choice of leisure and sporting activities for working-class males. The development of alternative commercial entertainment, available not only at the weekend but also throughout the week, has had a significant influence of the weekend leisure activity of the working class. Previously, soccer had formed the focal point of collective adolescent activity. It is the development of a consumer 'culture of style, glamour and excitement' geared to the individual, argues Taylor (1976), that is directly responsible for 'collapse of the working class weekend.' As a result, soccer-related (and other forms of youth) violence can be seen as attempts by disaffected working-class adolescents to re-establish the

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[288] Kerr, John H. *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism*, (Open University Press, Buckingham & Philadelphia, 1994), 5.
[289] Kerr, *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism*, 5.
[290] Kerr, *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism*, 8.

traditional working-class weekend."[291] Beyond the surface level of hooligan violence, deep rooted social issues existed.

Class and social dynamics

Class dynamics too, influenced how people blended into British society. The analysis of those social dynamics included issues for masculinity and class. For instance, Kerr claimed "For the rough working class, the 'play-fight' nature of a soccer game, with its variety and range of male dominance characteristics, appeals to their masculine values."[292] The analysis of class dynamics, and social frustrations, establish some of the circumstances for youthful unrest. An awareness for those issues existed. "In addition, another attraction of soccer for the working class is that the excitement generated by attending matches is in direct contrast with the boredom of everyday working life: 'in the communities of the "rough" working class, violence tends to occur to a great extent in public and to take, on balance, as "expressive" or "affectual" form. As such, it tends to be associated to a greater extent with the arousal of pleasurable feelings' (Dunning et al. 1982: 143).[293] Kerr's analysis considers the dynamics of violence and the excitement from participation in hooliganism.[294] The information from Kerr connects with the conversation from Khan and Kelly, in that class influenced their life experiences.

Kerr asserted that class played a role in the involvement of football violence; however, other factors influenced involvement too. "While sociological perspectives on the working class orientation of soccer hooliganism would appear to have a certain level of credibility, there is plenty of more recent evidence to suggest that those involved in hooliganism are not limited to

[291] Kerr, *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism,* 8-9.
[292] Kerr, *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism,* 9.
[293] Kerr, *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism,* 8-9.
[294] Kerr, *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism,* 8-9.

the working class communities (e.g., E. Taylor 1984; Buford 1991)."[295] Class issues emerged with hooligan violence, along with other key social issues including those of race.

While participation in hooliganism encompassed a part of their lives, other challenges existed too. "However, the ideas expressed about the boredom of everyday life and the pleasurable arousal associated with hooligan violence are themes that recur throughout this book and are especially relevant to reversal theory (Apter 1982) explanations of soccer hooligan behavior."[296] Kerr implied that other factors influenced hooligan behavior too.[297] That claim resonates with the scholarship of Elis Cashmore, who expanded on racial dynamics too. Kerr's work contrasts with Cashmore's in that Cashmore focuses more on racial dynamics in relation to football. That claim implies the existence of diversity within sports history and recognizes that change existed in professional sports. Cashmore, however, implies that gradual integration and representation of oppressed peoples occurred over time for football. Moreover, athletics provided a platform for people to establish social equality.

In addition to that, Cashmore continued with context on the influx of immigrants into the United Kingdom. "Their parents migrated to Britain in the post-war-period, the arrival of *SS Empire Windrush*, carrying 493 passengers from Jamaica, on 22 June 1948, often cited as the beginning of the first wave of Caribbean migrants to England. The experiences of what we might call the first-generation migrants are well documented."[298] The claim from Cashmore implied more deep-rooted social challenges for the descendants of migrants. More than that, "They were met with reservation and suspicion rather than hostility, though when unemployment spiraled in 1958, civil disturbances with a racist character occurred in Nottingham, in the English Midlands,

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[295] Kerr, *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism,* 9.
[296] Kerr, *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism,* 9.
[297] Kerr, *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism,* 9.
[298] Cashmore, *Football's Dark Side*, 67.

and Notting Hill, a district in Northwest London. They were called, 'race riots', and shattered what had hitherto been a relatively peaceful, if uneasy coexistence."[299] Driven by racial dynamics, social unrest occurred frequently within British society. "Official recognition of Britain's emergent problem came in 1965 with the passing of the first piece of anti-discrimination legislation, the Race Relations Act. Over the next couple of decades and beyond, football became, to use Ben Carrington's memorable phrase, 'the site for politicized contestations over the permissible limits to black freedom' (2010:47)."[300] Cashmore contributed to the analysis of race, imperialism, and football altogether. Another strength of Cashmore's work is the inclusion of historical context and its relevance for the human experience.

Moreover, the author recognized the correlation between alcohol consumption and football spectatorship. Considering substance abuse for football hooligans provides another perspective of the dynamics to evaluate. "Football and alcohol has a long tradition and this remains a significant element of football culture even though various measures attempted to reduce the amount consumed (Giulianotti, 1991, 1995; Kin, 2003; Milward, 2006, 2009; Rookwood, 2009). In their 15-year ethnographic analysis of English football supports and social control policies, Pearson and Sale (2011) challenge the long-held assumption that the consumption of alcohol is linked to the problem of violence (the official 2013 Home Office report on the 2012-2013 English season outline that the number of arrests for alcohol-related disorder had dropped from 800 in 2011-2012 to 549 in 2012-2013)."[301] Her recognition of others' research expands on the social challenges associated with the commonplace use of

[299] Cashmore, *Football's Dark Side*, 67.
[300] Ellis Cashmore and Jamie Cleland. *Football's Dark Side: Corruption, Homophobia, Violence and Racism in the Beautiful Game*, (Palgrave Macmillan publishing, Houndmills, England, 2014) 67.
[301] Cashmore, *Football's Dark Side*, 56.

alcohol by football fans. A contrast exists between Cashmore and Kerr, in that Kerr expands on the culture behind hooligan activity.

The popularity of football in British society

Kerr suggests that, "Young people watching images of soccer hooliganism on television will probably experience them as fascinating and perhaps exciting, while adults (or, for example, members of the judiciary or police) watching will experience them as unpleasant and disturbing."[302] The popularity of football factored into the widespread hooliganism among football fans, especially considering the appeal to the youth.

Kerr continued, "In the same way that young people may identify with an actor playing a role or a pop star, some viewers may experience feelings of empathy as they identify with soccer hooligans portrayed on television (Apter 1982:162)."[303] That statement resonates with the claims of Khan and Kelly.[304] "Soccer hooligans seeing themselves on television will revel in the fact that they are 'on the telly', giving them an increased sense of importance and adding to their status within their own hooligan gangs."[305] The claim from Kerr signifies, "The importance of the role of media in reinforcing violent soccer hooligan activities should not be underestimated."[306] Entertainment, popularity and social clout influenced the hooligans. Media too, popularized violent hooligan participation.[307]

That popularity influenced younger generations to participate, especially through the more commonplace use of television. Kerr stated how, "Young people watching images of

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[302] Kerr, *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism*, 86.
[303] Kerr, *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism*, 87.
[304] Namrata, Varia. "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark, about their experiences of being part of a football gang" BBC Radio Leicester. August 6, 2013. C 1500/0485, 1:00.
[305] Kerr, *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism*, 87.
[306] Kerr, *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism*, 87.
[307] Kerr, *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism*, 87.

soccer hooliganism on television will probably experience them as fascinating and perhaps exciting, while adults (or, for example, members of the judiciary or police) watching will experience them as unpleasant and disturbing."[308] Intrigue also lured the younger demographics into hooligan behavior, something that resonates with the claims of Khan and Kelly. Meanwhile, Kerr emphasized culture and the importance that football held in British society.[309] Media and public perception included the culture of hooligans via popularity and notoriety.

New approaches developed on how to slow the impact of hooligan violence at football matches. Kerr stated that, "In England, most soccer hooligan fighting in the 1960s and early 1970s took place inside soccer grounds. This had little to do with soccer itself, beyond the fact that professional soccer provided an easily accessible (high availability and low cost) source of high arousal experiences."[310] Kerr implied significance for the impact of soccer violence on the hooligan community. Deliberate and intelligent efforts went into the hooligan process. Their impact shifted how officials engaged with them. "Later, in the late 1970s and the 1980s, the soccer clubs and the police began to adopt tactics that forced a change in hooligan violence. As a result of a number of measures (e.g. placing visiting groups in fenced pens under close police scrutiny), fighting inside soccer grounds became more difficult and began to occur more frequently outside the stadia and often away from the ground altogether. Further government measures, based largely on the safety recommendations of the Taylor Report on the Hillsborough disaster of 1989, have recently been taken."[311] The statement from Kerr connects with claims from Cashmore, in that they both recognize the cultural patterns of hooligans. Routine, dress and behaviors created the community of hooligans.

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[308] Kerr, *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism*, 86.
[309] Kerr, *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism*, 87.
[310] Kerr, *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism*, 116.
[311] Kerr, *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism*, 116.

Furthermore, claims of alcohol use along with sports associated violence coexisted. Kerr stated, "Whilst this highlights a reduction in alcohol-related disorder, they argue that restrictions placed on the consumption of alcohol are ineffective as violence is more likely to occur when fans seek establishments away from the stadium. However, despite measures to try and limit alcohol consumption, for some fans including this Nottingham Forest fan (female, aged 26), it still remains a driving force in violent behavior: 'the only violence at football I've witnessed has stemmed from alcohol consumption. The two seem to go hand in hand which is a major problem, as are the people who use the cover of football to start fights in town centres before and/or after matches who have no affiliation with either team.'"[312]

The claim for the frequent use of alcohol and violence implied a ritualized pattern for hooligan football fans. Alcohol use and abuse varied and partially contributed to the rowdy caricature of hooligans in the consciousness of other spectators. Regardless, football connects with social issues for many forms of identity, including race and class especially. The British especially coexisted with football, and their social challenges interlinked too. Moreover, Kerr wrote, "One common view of soccer hooligan and delinquent behavior is that it is a mindless activity, engaged in by yobs or morons who are often drunk."[313] The theme of youth participation in hooliganism exists again in the research by Kerr.

In addition to class issues, racial dynamics appeared within the hooligan culture. Kerr stated that, "In 1972, there were a handful of black players in English football; by 1980, about 10 per cent of all league players were of African Caribbean origin or descent."[314] That signified a shift in the representation of diversity and inclusion in football, especially from the 1970s. "Their

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[312] Cashmore, *Football's Dark Side*, 56-57.
[313] Kerr, *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism*, 104.
[314] Cashmore, *Football's Dark Side*, 67.

parents migrated to Britain in the post-war period, the arrival of *SS Empire Windrush*, carrying 493 passengers from Jamaica, on 22 June 1948, often cited as the beginning of the first wave of Caribbean migrants to England. The experiences of what we might call the first-generation migrants are well documented. They were met with reservation and suspicion rather than hostility, though when unemployment spiraled in 1958, civil disturbances with a racist character occurred in Nottingham, in the English Midlands, and Notting Hill, a district in Northwest London. They were called, 'race riots' and shattered what had hitherto been a relatively peaceful, if uneasy coexistence. Official recognition of Britain's emergent problem came in 1965 with the passing of the first piece of anti-discrimination legislation, the Race Relations Act. Over the next couple of decades and beyond, football became, to use Ben Carrington's memorable phrase, 'the site for politicized contestations over the permissible limits to black freedom' (2010:47)."[315] Historical context for racial dynamics established the foundations for the social circumstances that Riaz Khan and Mark Kelly lived in.

She continued with, "Other sports were not affected by racist responses to the same extent as football, though in one notable incident, Marvin Hagler, the African American boxer, beat white Englishmen Alan Minter in a world middleweight tittle fight at London's Wembley, and was assailed by a hostile crowd."[316] According to Cashmore, football's popularity amplified social tensions on a larger scale than other athletic events. Furthermore, "Minter played his role before the contest, promising, 'No black man is going to take my title'. But black British boxers were rarely subjected to the same kind of treatment as football players. Nor were the many black track-and-field athletes who were competing at international levels."[317] She claimed that,

[315] Cashmore, *Football's Dark Side*, 67.
[316] Cashmore, *Football's Dark Side*, 67.
[317] Cashmore, *Football's Dark Side*, 68.

"Football fans were not politicized, at least not in an organized sense."[318] Regardless, significant social issues emerged along with the popularity of football violence. Those conflicts embodied more than surface level frustrations.

Moreover, Cashmore stated, "In 1985, a fire in a wooden stand at Bradford City caused the death of 56 fans and highlighted the decrepit state of many of England's stadiums. A month later, 39 Italian fans were killed at the Heysel Stadium in Brussels, where Liverpool was playing Juventus. English fans, especially traveling fans, had a reputation for violence, and hooliganism, as it was called, had never been satisfactorily understood, let alone resolved (it periodically flares up even today)."[319] Hooliganism remained a complicated and fundamental reality for football spectators in the United Kingdom, even if not everyone participated in those hooligan activities. An essential factor is that a spectrum of hooliganism exists and varies from participant to participant. Generalizations for hooligans exist and may only partially represent all United Kingdom football fans. With that, many people did participate in hooligan activities.

Cashmore referenced the significance of tragedies associated with football violence, and their cultural impact. For example, "The Hillsborough tragedy in particular seemed to extinguish racism among football crowds. Perhaps it seemed incongruous to single out targets for attack, when so many lives had been lost. Or maybe it was just a recovering economy that eased away fears and made scapegoating unnecessary. Or more probably, the number of black players who had distinguished themselves in all areas of the sport was so great that haranguing them became ridiculous."[320] A blend of factors influenced the gradual change for racial dynamics.

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[318] Cashmore, *Football's Dark Side*, 68.
[319] Cashmore, *Football's Dark Side*, 69-70.
[320] Cashmore, *Football's Dark Side*, 70.

For many of the British, football held such an important place in their culture and interconnected with the football community. People of marginalized groups creatively used football to navigate the complex social and economic social landscape of British society. Hooliganism and sports violence connect with the shifts in social life for many people of color and women, especially for the two friends, Riaz Khan and Mark Kelly, who spoke on their lives and involvement in hooligan gangs. Local rivalries exacerbated drunk crowds, gangs, and sometimes the general masses of fans following the hooligan leadership; even when hooliganism broke out, not all engaged in the same level of violence. Accidents and tragedies occurred, too, with loss of life in large-scale events at football games. Moreover, waves of immigration into the United Kingdom from former colonies and elsewhere added to the complex society in the United Kingdom.[321] These factors combined contributed to the multifaceted nature of hooligan outbursts.

Hooligan youth

In the case of Riaz Khan and Mark Kelly, the two men told their personal stories of how they engaged in hooligan activities. Hooliganism meant inclusion into British society, including style, fashion, and community elements.[322] In particular, the sense of inclusion attracted these youths into hooligan gangs, with the consideration of a racial factor that influenced how they experienced life.[323] Similar to the United States, the United Kingdom struggled with racial tensions too. For example, both Riaz Khan and Mark Kelly came from Asian backgrounds. Their

[321] Erik, Bleich. "The Legacies of History? Colonization and Immigrant Integration in Britain and France" *Theory and Society*, 34, no. 2, (2005): 173.
[322] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 8:12-8:20.
[323] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 10:20-10:30.

economic status also influenced their participation in hooligan activities, with claims of boredom and a desire for an outlet to express themselves.[324]

Hooliganism allowed people of working-class backgrounds to participate in and create their systems of social power. In the audio recording, they spoke on how racism subsided some with their inclusion in the hooligan gang, which transitioned to their primary form of identity.[325] They embraced the social practices, the lifestyle, and the collective passion for football shared among hooligan groups. For instance, Mark Kelly stated, "I like pop stars, I like footballers, I like swimmers, because I was a swimmer anyway. There wasn't any role models like that, I liked older kids that went out there and smashed other kids heads in…."[326] For Kelly, the football community embodied the concept of inclusion.

Kelly noted the importance of inclusion and how hooliganism allowed a way into British society. The combination of dress, behavior, and fandom of the sport made a path into an otherwise racist culture. Moreover, he claimed how his race influenced his experiences, too, especially from a young age. "At school I was bullied because I was brown… me and my brother, other kids our age at school were bullied all the time by the white lads. Because at that time there were all forms of national racism were taking over the business, taking all the jobs, taking all the women, which was total rubbish."[327] Kelly continued, "…school was really racist at that time."[328] The experience of his youth pushed him into hooligan activities for the sake of inclusion and an outlet for life's frustrations.

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[324] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 11:06-11:08
[325] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 36:38-36:42.
[326] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 1:00.
[327] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 1:50-2:00.
[328] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 2:10.

Khan and Kelly continued their conversation with, "So why did you become anti-social?"[329] Their reflection continued with, "We were sort of anti-everything… With the Asian families there we had to be really tight."[330] The two sought to connect with their community, culture and within the larger identity of hooligan too. "Like I said to you, weather you're Sheik, Hindu or Muslim or whatever Asian country you're from there's always that bonding. You stick together no matter what."[331] The community held significant importance for these youths, who turned to football hooliganism for inclusion into the communities that discriminated against them. As a result, they managed to create a situation where they felt included and a part of a larger community within the football fandom.

The interview continued with their experiences with football violence and hooliganism. "Football violence. Why don't we get into it. Let's talk about football violence."[332] Violence held a key part of the hooligan experience, which included style and appearances too. Participation in violence around football occurred frequently. Identity remained a key aspect to how Khan and Kelly experienced life, with their statements on social classification. "Alright, let's get into it… you want to know why I got into it? The clothes. I was a tramp. The kids at school were either: Gribos, Teddy Boys, Mods, Rude Boys, or New Romantics…."[333] "The reason why I got into it was the clothes… not because of the violence."[334] Fitting in with the style of hooligans allowed for a way into the culture of the British community for otherwise outsiders. In addition, these youths recognized the complex status of race relations and navigated the more significant camouflaged issues of racism and discrimination.

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[329] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 3:00.
[330] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 4:30.
[331] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 5:00-5:11.
[332] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 8:00-8:12.
[333] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 8:12-8:20.
[334] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 8:50-8:54.

Ideas of conforming into the culture of football hooliganism attracted Khan and Kelly. "All the sudden, I got into soccer violence. I don't know why I got into it."[335] Peer pressure and inclusion may influence youths to engage in violent hooligans. Khan and Kelly implied that they fully endorsed this lifestyle, which included violent outbursts for assimilation. "We were well into it. Then we started to dress like it."[336] Moreover, the matching clothes, collective thought, and the factor of an adversary team all pushed for excitement in crowds. He claimed, "We were 13, 14."[337] Even at a young age youths found a community that encouraged their violence at football games and created a space that socially accepted otherwise unacceptable behavior. Meanwhile, they recognized the opportunity of acceptance into hooliganism comparable to acceptance into society. Hooliganism allowed them to create a new identity and rebrand their individualism.[338]

In their attempts to fit in, fashion played a crucial role in how they blended in. With a matching style, they claimed to conform to fashion styles "Like wearing a uniform."[339] "Next thing you know you were labeled weren't you? I like the labels. You were in a group. Next thing you know that group is involved in anti-social behavior."[340] That statement shows how they created new identities among the hooligans. "It ain't right is it? Going down and smashing someone's head, down in someone's town or your town?"[341] Hooligans created a cross cultural link of acceptance, and empowerment for the two youths. They continued their conversation, "But they wanted it. It's like having two cage fighters in a cage. They both know what they

[335] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 9:00-9:10.
[336] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 9:30-9:35.
[337] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 9:50.
[338] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 9:50.
[339] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 10:00.
[340] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 10:20-10:30.
[341] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 10:34-10:46.

want."[342] They recognized the wrong of their actions, but committed to them anyway. "It was like football violence, we knew what we wanted. One gang here and one gang there we all got together and just had it out."[343] They expressed an awareness for the implication of their participation in hooligan violence. "We knew what we wanted, because there was nothing else for us… it was frustrating."[344] Economic, social and racially constructed limitations all influenced their young hooligan lives. They commented, "We had no money."[345] Along with, "No entertainment."[346] In addition too, "It was boring."[347] All of those comments share insight into their mindset, and why they chose a path of violence. On a deeper level, they also acted in order to protect themselves from racism. "A lot of racism at the time. English girls never used to like Asians until we started acting and dressing the part."[348]

Regardless of discrimination, they found a community in that they stated, "We had a lot of lads behind us, a lot of back up."[349] A part of their assimilation process included fashion, and style. "We were better looking and better dressed than them."[350] They stated how, "We got into the rave scene, the raves and the pills and the thrills."[351] The two fully committed to their anti-social behavior in an effort to blend into their community. "My friend got an acid tablet put into his drink, has never been the same since."[352] Not all in that community lived with ease, for instance, "We lived in quite an edgy time, paranoia was always about. Wasn't it? As well as not being white and being around a very large white hooligan base. Doing what we did. So we

[342] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 10:48-10:50.
[343] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 10:50-10:58.
[344] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 10:58-11:00.
[345] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 11:06-11:08.
[346] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 11:28-32.
[347] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 11:50.
[348] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 14:50-14:58.
[349] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 18:30-18:38.
[350] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 19:01-19:09.
[351] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 19:50-20:02.
[352] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 21:50-22:00.

always had a bit of paranoia about you."[353] Drug issues and violence lingered, and so did nationalism. "I'm British, I'm proud of being British."[354] Their involvement in hooliganism helped them rebrand their identity, in part, to fit into society.

Challenges for Khan and Kelly

According to their conversation, drug use often occurred across the hooligan groups too.[355] More than that, they stated, "The old Baby Squad Hooligans were my role model."[356] That statement upheld the claim from Kerr, who asserted youth participation in hooligan gangs existed.[357] Influence drug abuse and social status upheld claims of Cashmore, who elaborated on the correlation of drug and alcohol use for hooligans.[358] He claimed that, "For me it was the clothes and the music."[359] At the core of their involvement, a desire for social acceptance existed.

Their introspection continued. "What did you think you've learn? Now looking back at yourselves? Street wise. To become more streetwise if someone's trying to rip you off your nose straight away, this guy is trying to have me on. Know what I mean? You knew if you were going to have your pants down. But I think on a political level or anything else I don't think we learned a thing. Not a thing."[360] Kelly and Khan experienced the tribulations of hooliganism to live in the moment and secure their new social position.

Kelly continued, "If you're going to be like that, if you're going to be anti-social or whatever, and steer or guide yourself to the wrong side of the tracks, you're going to do it anyway. There were no right or wrongs at that time. Nobody had the balls to stand up in the

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[353] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 22:48-23:03.
[354] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 24:30-24:39.
[355] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 25:50-25:55.
[356] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 30:00-30:44.
[357] Kerr, *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism*, 104.
[358] Cashmore, *Football's Dark Side*, 56-57.
[359] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 31:00-31:20.
[360] Namrata, "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 34:00-34:35.

middle of anything that we did wrong, did they? I didn't see it happen. But Hillsborough, I'd say that was wrong."[361] They ironically engaged in anti-social behavior to fit within their society's social norms. Their conversation continued with the morality of their actions.

After some reflection, though, they spoke about their past. "That was fundamentally wrong on every single level. What we did was wrong. The shoplifting, the thieving, the scum we were knocking around and all that lot that wasn't good. That was wrong on every level. We were forced to do that lot, think about it. There were factions within that lot."[362] Hooligans engaged in various levels of criminal activity, which also varied depending from person to person, and varied in severity too. The two broke social norms in order to fit into mainstream British society.

For instance, "I mean, what did I learn, all I learned from that. I'll tell you what I did learn, right. I'll give you something now. I learned who to trust and who not to trust. That life in general. And I knew- but you learn it a lot quicker in that environment. Didn't you? Cause when you got someone who has got your back, yeah. That's it exactly."[363] Not only did they recognize the importance of social expectations, they identified a means to blend in. They continued, "So for many things, trust and respect are the two things I learned out of it. I learned trust and respect and take an individual for who they are. Because racism went out of the window after a few years didn't it? We took it for who you were. We didn't care about your religion, we didn't care about your color, we didn't care about your social background. If you were rich or poor."[364] Like Kerr's claims, Khan and Kelly concur that youth involvement in hooliganism existed.[365] Hooligan violence provided an opportunity to assimilate.

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[361] Namrata. "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 34:35-34:58.
[362] Namrata. "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 35:00-35:27.
[363] Namrata. "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 35:27-35:30.
[364] Namrata. "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 35:30-36:09.
[365] Kerr, *Understanding Soccer Hooliganism*, 104.

Their conversation continued, "In our crew, within the Baby Squad itself, we had so many different individuals and not everybody was the same. We might dress similar, but all the characters were different. Weren't they?"[366] Assimilation occurred with both style and action for these youths. For these two, in particular, it allowed for easier access to acceptance. However, not all people remained friendly. Hooligan activities are built on the negative interactions within and outside their particular hooligan gang. For instance, they claimed, "There were so many jealous and two faced bastards in that group."[367] They continued to go in-depth on the particulars of the social dynamics. "Leicester was, a place where you had multi-racial gangs fighting for supremacy over one small part of the town."[368] Race relations and gang violence intertwined for the two, who witnessed both. "If we never created that, and football wasn't there, and music and that dressing wasn't there you'd have a cycle of tribal violence…."[369] Hooliganism symbolized a community for the two members of color and a space for them to engage in a society that otherwise upheld a racial hierarchy. "What you did was unified that under a common goal. And that goal was football violence."[370]

In addition, the two claimed they accessed more social acceptance through the hooligan gangs.[371] "That was serious integration. What happened with this, was that this was the start. The start of Asian and English relationships, romances. Do you know what I mean. It all stemmed from that."[372] Their inclusion existed with a price of violence and participation in the hooligan movement. Nevertheless, even at a young age, they recognized the social camouflage allotted if they fulfilled their hooligan roles.

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[366] Namrata. "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 36:10-37.
[367] Namrata. "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 36:38-36:42.
[368] Namrata. "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 37:20-37:30.
[369] Namrata. "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 37:40-38:00.
[370] Namrata. "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 38:02-38:20.
[371] Namrata. "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 38:02-38:20.
[372] Namrata. "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 39:40-40:51.

Hooliganism consumed all aspects of their youth lifestyle, including romance. "Like I said to you before I can't, I didn't want to tell about that woman thing. I didn't want to show my children about the women thing, that I was a flipping, you know. Tell them what? That you didn't want to tell them that you were a footballer yeah? That's different. That you had been imprisoned for slashing some Bristol bloats face all like?"[373] Moreover, violence frequently occurred within hooligan groups, which Kelly remarked about Khan.

Religion also influenced how hooligan youths interacted in their society. For example, Khan mentioned his interactions with women, "Now that I'm a practicing Muslim, I didn't want to put that in there."[374] Khan implied that he omitted his religious status from previous iterations of his story. "We went there because it got us women. Being in a group…Being in a group of people, is almost, I suppose the word is elitist, because you almost stand out a bit more. It gets you a bit of attention, which then makes you more approachable and desirable I suppose. And that's how it was, plus with the bollacks in our gear mate. Plus we had different colors in our group. Yeah. We were not predominately white, or predominately black or Asia it was a mixture… That's right. We had them all. Mix raced lads, mixed black lads, full blacks, Greek."[375] In a way, hooligan gangs allowed youths to climb the social ladder and position themselves in a more advantageous position than where society put them.

The conversation continued, "I made all the wrong life choices back in those days."[376] "We were living in a different era… but now, kids don't need to do that now. Because they have so many things that they can do. They have no need to go into a gang to do that kind of rubbish now. Because they got entertainment, they got education, they can do what they want now. They

[373] Namrata. "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 41:39-41:50.
[374] Namrata. "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 42:49-42:51.
[375] Namrata. "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 43:10-43:52.
[376] Namrata. "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 49:55-49:57.

have so many different avenues to go down, you don't need to be in gang anymore. It's just for image. In those days we had no choice because it was depravity, wasn't it?"[377] Economic factors also influenced their lives, however, even at a young age they recognized the ongoing social challenges associated with racial dynamics.

Khan claimed how, "When you looked outside of what we were trying to achieve. Integration. Sometimes it was about protection as well. And what you needed it to be. And you were safer in numbers…"[378] While youths, Khan and Kelly recognized the opportunity that the hooligan gangs provided, a way into a society that otherwise continued discrimination towards people of color. Boredom and desperation left the two friends with few options outside of a life of violence.[379]

Riaz Khan and Mark Kelly dedicated their conversation to hooligan issues, including the complex social dynamics associated with football clubs. They engaged with how their lives changed with their involvement and active participation in those gangs, which included youth participation. In their conversation, they mentioned how race played a significant role in his personal life and life within the hooligan gang culture.[380] The latter section focused on desperation for acceptance. Hooliganism dragged the two young men into a lifestyle of violence and gang activity. In order to feel included, they engaged in otherwise unacceptable behaviors. In addition to that, their participation in hooliganism provided social clout, inclusion, and entertainment for the British youths, especially those from working-class backgrounds.[381] Kelly and Khan used this to their advantage to blend in and provide themselves with social leverage.

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[377] Namrata. "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 50:30-50:50.
[378] Namrata. "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 50:57.
[379] Namrata. "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 50:30-50:50.
[380] Namrata. "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 18:30-18:38.
[381] Namrata. "Conversation between friends, Riaz and Mark", 18:30-18:38.

Nevertheless, their actions show the desperation that many people of color felt in a society that discriminated based on race.

Conclusion

This research provides context for the issues covered, including an emphasis on power dynamics in connection to sports history. The chapters address issues for historians of sports, race in particular. More than that, the research considers the political climate of the time for both domestic and international concerns for context. This research focuses on marginalized identities within the geographical scope of the United States and the United Kingdom from the 1960s into the 1980s in part due to the social challenges that existed. For instance, immigration issues in the United Kingdom, and issues of racial equality in the United States. Chapter one provides a foundation for the research, while chapter two focuses on Muhammad Ali. Chapter three expands on the experience of Marvin Hagler among other athletes in order to expand on the athletic perspective. Meanwhile, chapter four calls into question the culture of hooliganism and how football, a national sport for the British, provides inclusion for Khan and Kelly.

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