

**An overview of non-white American participation
in Modern Summer Olympic Games**

jelige: Morczy

Table of Contents

Introduction	4
Chapter 1	6
a) Problems of defining race and ethnicity	6
b) Change of the <i>Olympic Charter</i>	8
c) Change of non-white American participation in the Olympic Games	9
Chapter 2: First period: 1896-1936	11
Chapter 3: Second period: 1948-1988	18
Chapter 4: Third period: 1992-2012	26
Conclusion	31
Works Cited	32

Introduction

The first Modern Summer Olympic Games were held in 1896 in Athens. Since then the composition of the American Olympic team has changed a lot in terms of ethnic minority participation. This change was largely brought about by political acts and social changes. The number of non-white American athletes has increased significantly during the years and now these sportsmen and women are highly represented in the American Olympic team. Throughout its history American society has changed a lot in its evaluation of ethnicities, and my aim is to show that in the Olympic Games non-white American athletes experienced similar progress in their treatment.

In my thesis I mainly write about African American athletes because they are the best documented non-white Americans. Moreover, during the Olympic Games their participation caused the most problems and debates, so I regarded them the best examples of unequal treatment in the Olympic Games. I also mention Jim Thorpe, an American Indian athlete, and James Connolly who was white American but had a significant role in American Olympic History. In connection with the most recent Olympic Games held in 2012 I also write about Asian American participation. I mainly focused on individual case studies to illustrate how differently non-white American athletes are treated nowadays compared to the 20th century; I also examine how differently non-white American athletes were and are treated compared to white Americans.

The method for my work was text analysis. In my research I mainly used the Official Reports of the Olympic Games; *Olympic.org* which is the official website of the Olympic Movement; the *Olympic Charter* issued in different years; works of scholars published in journals like *Olympika* or *Journal of Sport History*; and the results of experts like Andrew Billings and Mark Dyreson who search in the field of Olympic history.

For the topic of non-white American participation in the Olympic Games I believe it is inevitable to define the notions of race, ethnicity, discrimination, majority and minority. In the following I shortly examine the content of the *Olympic Charter* issued year by year and identify the most important changes in it from the point of view of non-white American Olympic participation. My thesis also includes a chronological introduction of the most prominent non-white American athletes in the Olympic Games. So far there have been thirty modern Olympic Games from which three were cancelled due to World Wars. It is impossible to list and analyze the case of each and every non-white American athlete; therefore I selected the most demonstrative at a particular Olympics. In some cases I write about changes and

tendencies rather than athletes and I also show new aspects of minority treatment through their media representation. I wrote my thesis with the aim of depicting milestones of non-white American participation in the Modern Summer Olympic Games.

Chapter 1

a) Problems of defining race and ethnicity

I regarded it essential to define first what race, ethnicity, discrimination, majority and minority mean and I intend to employ these terms in the context of my thesis. Norman Yetman defines what the main difference is between race and ethnicity, although in many works these terms are used interchangeably: “Whereas an *ethnic group* is distinguished by *cultural* characteristics, *race* refers to a social category that is defined on the basis of *physical* characteristics” (2). In my view, belonging to a particular ethnic group means identifying oneself with the group’s traditions, rituals, norms, way of life, and language. On the other hand, race may include typical characteristics in appearance; some of these are the color of the skin, the shape of the face or the hair. Belonging to a certain ethnic group involves not just regarding oneself to be part of that group but it also counts what other members of society regard that person. So the relationship must be reciprocal and that is the basis on what a person belongs to a group. The crucial aspects of defining ethnicity are summarized in Yetman’s work:

Ethnicity, the sense of identification with and membership in a particular ethnic group, implies the existence of a distinct culture or subculture in which people perceive themselves and are perceived by others to be bound together by a common origin, history, values, attitudes and behaviors – in its broadest sense, a sense of peoplehood – and are so regarded by other members of the society. (2)

From the above quote it can be concluded that ethnicity is mutually defined, both by the individual and society. The most important difference between race and ethnicity is that race cannot be changed, it is genetically coded, while ethnicity can be changed because it is culturally determined.

The notions of majority and minority are strongly related to ethnicity and race. In the United States majority refers to “White Europeans” while minority refers to people of color: “Native Americans, Asians, Blacks, and Latinos” (Wilson and Guitérrez 19). The 1990 census enumerated racial minority groups in the United States with the following results: The majority group was Whites with more than 80% while the largest minority group was Blacks (12.1%). Hispanics or Latinos were the second largest minority group, representing 9% of the

population. Asians and Pacific Islanders, Native Americans and “Other Races” were 2.9%, 0.8% and 3.9% respectively (qtd. in Wilson and Guitérrez 7).

The most recent census was carried out in 2010. The data quoted here is from the *census.gov* website. In the 2010 questionnaire two questions were asked which can be related to my thesis. For both the response of the individual was based upon self-identification. For question number 5 “Is this person of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?” the possible answers were “No, not of Hispanic, Latino or Spanish origin” or “Yes” with different alternatives, such as “Mexican, Mexican Am., Chicano or Puerto Rican or Cuban or another Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin” (Census Form 2010). The result is that 16.3% of U.S. population stated to have Hispanic or Latino origin which means a 43% increase compared to the 2000 census’ result (Census Data 2010).

Question number 6 was the following: “What is this person’s race?” More than one box could be marked and the options were “White, Black, African Am., or Negro, American Indian or Alaska Native, Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Other Asian, Japanese, Korean, Vietnamese, Native Hawaiian, Guamanian or Chamorro, Samoan, Other Pacific Islander and Some other race” (Census Form 2010). According to the results the national population by race in the United States is the following: 72.4% White alone, 12.6% Black or African American alone, 0.9% American Indian and Alaska Native alone, 4.8% Asian alone, 0.2% Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone, 6.2% Some Other Race alone and 2.9% Two or More Races (Census Data 2010). Compared to the 1990 census the most significant change was the decrease of “White” population from 80% to 72.4%. In my opinion this happened due to immigration and higher fertility rates among non-white citizens. Although “Whites” are still the majority with representing more than two thirds of the population, other races also represent a significant percentage of citizens.

When examining the Olympic Games and American participants the question may arise how the categories of non-white athletes and minority participation are defined. I only mention athletes whose origin and racial affiliation is known either because the athlete declared it or was an activist for racial issues. Moreover, I introduce cases of unequal treatment and discrimination during the Olympic Games and sportsmen and women who became symbols through their participation in the Olympic Games. Yetman defines discrimination and prejudice the following way: “*Discrimination* [...] involves unfavorable treatment of individuals because of their group membership. Prejudice and discrimination should not be equated. Prejudice involves attitudes and internal states, whereas discrimination involves overt action and behavior” (23). There is causal relation between prejudice and

discrimination because overt action (discrimination) results from attitude (prejudice). The two terms are interwoven: discrimination would not occur without prejudice. Examples of discrimination which affected members of various ethnic groups, especially African Americans, are highlighted in my thesis.

b) Change of the *Olympic Charter*

The supreme authority of the Olympic Movement is the International Olympic Committee (IOC). The establishment of the IOC dates from 1894 when “an international sport congress was held at the Parisian university, the Sorbonne” (Findling 19). Among the first men who wanted to revive the ancient Olympic tradition was Professor William M. Sloane, from Princeton University, U.S. (Findling 458). “Sloane had undertaken the task of publicizing the congress on the American continent, Coubertin in continental Europe, and Herbert in Great Britain and its colonies” (Findling 19). So, the United States was represented from the very beginnings of the Olympic Movement, Sloane played an active role in organizing the Modern Olympic Games.

In 1908 the IOC issued the *Olympic Charter* (OC) which is the basic document of the Olympic Games. It establishes the fundamental ideas, institutions and regulations for the organization of the Games. I analyzed a number of *Charters* which were published between 1908 and 2013. As I compared them it became evident that the International Olympic Committee made changes to the document and added new rules and regulations year by year.

The first *Charter* was issued in 1908 under the title *Annuaire du Comité International Olympique*. It was issued in French and has no official English translation. It is only a 13-page document with rules for administration and members of the Olympic Committee. There is no mention or regulation regarding participants of the Olympic Games (*OC 1908*). It corresponds to the American perspective because new tendencies like cultural pluralism appeared only in the 1910's. Although by 1908 in the United States every block of the ethno-racial pentagon is present, they are far from the desired cultural, economic, administrative and political equality. Because of the fact that the Chinese Exclusion Act was still enforced, the American Indians have not obtained citizenship yet, the South followed Jim Crow laws against African Americans it was out of question that apart from white Americans anyone could take part in the Olympic Games.

While reading the *Charters* issued in different years I found that the first time when the prohibition of discrimination is mentioned is in 1962. “No discrimination is allowed

against any country or person on grounds of race, religion or political affiliations” (*OC 1962* 5). It is an interesting parallel that in the United States the Civil Rights Movement was at the time of this modification. In chapter three, in connection with the 1960 and 1968 Olympic Games I write about this fact in more detail. The *Olympic Charter* was last published on 9 September 2013 so this is the most current document; this edition is in force today. Among many other regulations it determines who can participate in the Olympic Games.

The practice of sport is a human right. Every individual must have the possibility of practicing sport, without discrimination of any kind and in the Olympic spirit, which requires mutual understanding with a spirit of friendship, solidarity and fair play. [...] Any form of discrimination with regard to a country or a person on grounds of race, religion, politics, gender or otherwise is incompatible with belonging to the Olympic Movement. (*OC 2013* 11)

The *Charter* aims to protect minorities and ethnic groups from discrimination, thus it is a basis for equal treatment in the Olympic Games. Among many other regulations, the *Charter* also includes restrictions on propaganda: “No kind of demonstration or political, religious or racial propaganda is permitted in any Olympic sites, venues or other areas” (*OC 2013* 93).

Fundamental ideals, such as the spirit of fair play, ban on violence and any form of discrimination were violated or ignored several times in the history of Modern Olympic Games. There is controversy between theory – what is included in the *Olympic Charter* – and practice – what happened in the Olympic Games –, although the Olympic Games should be held and organized according to the rules of the *Charter*.

c) Change of non-white American participation in the Olympic Games

In the following examples only those Games will be mentioned which demonstrate problematic cases of non-white American participation. On the basis of minority treatment, I divided the Olympic Games into three periods from 1896 to 2012.

The first period, which lasted from 1896 to 1936 had to face the hardships of the beginnings, and the reestablishment of the Olympic spirit. The Olympic Games held during this period can be characterized by turbulences and the oppression of the Games as a sport event. I ended the first period in 1936 because due to the Second World War two Olympic

Games were cancelled and only in 1948 were the Games held again. This meant a break in the sequence of the Olympic Games which determined later events. Consequently, the second period started in 1948 and was characterized by political scandals and boycotts.

The third period started in 1992 and lasts until today. The 1988 and 1992 Olympic Games are not very different from each other considering non-white American participation, but still I divided the sequence of Olympic Games here because in the rest of the world people experienced great political changes, for instance, the fall of the Berlin Wall or the breakup of the Soviet Union. These historical events affected the whole world, and indirectly Americans, too. From 1992 to 2012 the Olympic Games were basically peaceful and free of discrimination. In this period there were no controversies regarding ethnic minority participation, more and more countries are taking part in the Games. In a few cases the Olympic Games were threatened by terrorist attacks. The presence of non-white American athletes on the U.S. Olympic team is no longer debated by American society. However, new aspects of unequal treatment appeared: the media representation of non-white Americans after the Olympic events.

Chapter 2: First period: 1896-1936

The first Modern Summer Olympic Games were held in 1896. As a commemoration of the ancient tradition, Athens was chosen for organizing the Games. Thirteen nations took part in the first Olympics. Australia, Austria, Bulgaria, Chile, Denmark, France, Germany, Great Britain, Greece, Hungary, Sweden, Switzerland and the United States brought their athletes to the Games (Kahlich et al. 56). Although there were no non-white American participants, I consider it important to mention this Olympics as the first example and show the very beginnings of the modern Olympic tradition. The Olympic Games held in Athens is important from the viewpoint of Americans because the first gold medal winner was an American, James Connolly. Connolly was of Irish descent and he is iconic because in 1896 he won gold in triple jump, silver in high jump and bronze in long jump (Wilson 20). Connolly in his *An Olympic Victor* wrote not just about the events of the Olympic Games but also about his political ideologies.

Why did the American win the discus contest? According to Connolly, he won neither because he possessed more physical skill nor because luck determined the outcome. He won because he was an American. He triumphed because American civilization had created in him a spirit that could conquer the world. He won because he was a representative of a “chosen people,” a product of the social system that promised the best future for humankind. (Dyreson, *Making* 9)

From what Connolly wrote about the American’s success, I conclude that he regarded Americanness an important factor for victory in sport. American ideals provided sportsmen the mindset of competing and defeating the opponent which has crucial significance in the Olympic Games. Connolly also wrote an autobiography in which he recounts his experiences in the 1896 Olympic Games. He describes the medal ceremony the following way: “The thought next came to me that our National Hymn was for my winning my event [sic]. To myself I said: ‘You’re the first Olympic victor in fifteen hundred years.’ A moment later: ‘The gang back home will be tickled when they hear of it!’” (qtd. in Wilson 18). The first Olympics was victorious for the Americans. With the success of Connolly the United States showed its outstanding place in the Olympic Games. In my opinion winning the first Olympic gold medal symbolizes an element of the American Dream which is being number one.

According to Bill Mallon, a scholar of Olympic history, in the 1904 Olympic Games held in St Louis mainly non-ethnic Americans participated and those non-white Americans who competed were objects of laughter and not considered real opponents (12). The Games were organized simultaneously with the St Louis World Fair, which was held for the centennial of the Louisiana Purchase. That was the reason why the whole Olympics was more of a celebration and festival than a sport event. The Olympic Games were just one program among the numerous events held at the Exhibition. It is still a debated question which events should be counted as Olympic ones. The six-month-long celebration was very chaotic. Only eleven nations participated and those with only few competitors. Australia, Austria, Canada, Cuba, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Ireland, South Africa, Switzerland and the United States brought their athletes to the 1904 Olympic Games (Kahlich et al. 78). Mainly American athletes competed and succeeded in the contests. Of the total 630 participants more than 500 were Americans. Since there were no competitors from other nations, in a number of sports the U.S. national championship was combined with the Olympic championship (Mallon 11).

The nationalities of many medalists are disputed as many competitors were recent immigrants to the United States who had not yet been granted US citizenship. I think that they were allowed to compete for the United States because at that time the *Olympic Charter* was not written yet, thus there was no regulation on participants.

1904 is also important because it was the Olympics when the first African American won a medal. George Coleman Poage represented the Milwaukee Athletic Club and won two bronze medals in 200 and 400 yard hurdles (Becht 1). According to Becht

“Although Poage was the first African American to compete in the modern Olympic Games, another won a medal on the same day, August 31—a jumper, Joseph Stadler from Cleveland, placed second in the standing high jumps. However, it is thought that Poage's 400-meter hurdles race was completed first. No attempt has ever been made to dispute these standings. (Becht 2)

Whites would not have dared to think that some day minorities could defeat them. “South Africans” and a number of Native Americans were originally meant to be exhibited at the Louisiana Exhibition but later ended in competing in the Olympic Games, for example in marathon running (Mallon 12). During the 1904 Olympic Games the non-ethnic American dominance was significant. Native Americans also participated but were not regarded as equal opponents.

The 1912 Olympic Games held in Stockholm are best remembered by Americans for Jim Thorpe's success. James Francis Thorpe was born in Oklahoma; his father was Sac and Fox while his mother was Potawatomi (Updyke 13). When winning the pentathlon and decathlon in 1912 he immediately became successful. Noone emphasized Thorpe's Native American ancestry; neither in William A. Cook's *Jim Thorpe: A Biography* nor in Rosemary K. Updyke's work titled *Jim Thorpe, the Legend Remembered* is minority status or discrimination on the basis of ethnic origin emphasized. Interestingly, American people accepted and celebrated Thorpe's outstanding success regardless of his race; they did not pay much attention to his ancestry. In my opinion this attitude was specific and unique at that time. Only eight years earlier in the St Louis Olympic Games the attitude towards minority athletes was very different.

In the case of Jim Thorpe, equal treatment in sport was realized until the rumor about his professional status. Being a Native American did not much determine Jim Thorpe's success in sport, he emphasized his origin only when he was accused of having been a professional sportsman. Cook wrote that under the increasing pressure from newspapers and public opinion, Jim Thorpe was forced to admit his previous professional status. The United States Olympic Committee declared in 1913 that Thorpe played on a professional baseball team before the Olympic Games. That is why Thorpe was removed from the amateur list, and his medals were sent back to the International Olympic Committee which cancelled Thorpe's results and announced the silver medalists champions (Kahlich et al. 114).

The best way for Jim Thorpe seemed to be a written statement about his admission of guilt because he ignored the rule of amateur status (Cook 74). In his statement, I found most interesting when Thorpe tries to evoke empathy by mentioning his Native American origin. "I hope I would be partly excused because of the fact that I simply an Indian school boy and did not know all about such things [sic]" (qtd. in Cook 74). In my opinion, declaring himself simply an "Indian school boy" means here innocence and ignorance by showing him a "primitive" person who does not know about rules and regulations thus is not accountable for his deeds. With this he acted upon and further strengthened the "dumb Indian" stereotype. As I see it, the opposite of discrimination can be seen in the case of Jim Thorpe: the public celebrates and later accuses him regardless of his race, but he distances himself by declaring his Native American origin. All in all, he did not hesitate to pull the race card when he felt it necessary. According to Kahlich — as a universal consequence — probably because of the problematic case of Jim Thorpe and his professional status, from the 1920 Olympic Games

competitors must take the oath of amateurism in the opening ceremony (Kahlich et al. 137). So Kahlich suggests that there is a causal relation between the two events.

The 1932 Olympic Games were held in Los Angeles where the absence of President Hoover from the opening ceremony made a stir (Kahlich et al. 215). “President Herbert Hoover had announced early in 1932 that because of the economic crisis facing the nation he would not attend the Olympics” (Dyreson, “Marketing” 30). But according to some politicians the real cause for his absence were the upcoming presidential elections which seemed to be more important than the opening of the Games (Dyreson, “Marketing” 30). Hoover’s explanation for refusing his attendance was the following: “It’s a crazy thing, and it takes some gall to expect me to be part of it” (Guttmann 50). I found his opinion about the Olympics strange and I think the absence of the president could not have been too inspiring for the American athletes. I conclude that he missed some votes due to not attending the opening ceremony.

In Los Angeles African American sportsmen made significant contribution to U.S. victory. Eddie Tolan and Ralph Metcalfe won in the sprints, Edward Gordon won the long jump and Phil Edwards competed in the 800 meter race (Dyreson, “Marketing” 39). All of them were African Americans, and the American press wrote about them the following way: “Tolan, Metcalfe and the other African American stars were heartily congratulated for their quiet, polite demeanor. The press rewarded them for appearing to know their places” (Dyreson, “Marketing” 39). Even though now this statement would be a severe racial insult in 1932 it was not. Their subservient behavior as servants who “know their places” was appreciated by the press.

Slowly but surely, African American athletes proved that they are significant and essential participants in the Olympic Games. African American progress through sport is well depicted in Dyreson’s work about the 1932 Olympic Games:

But in 1932 [the fact that African American men beat all white challengers] did not produce any serious discussion of the social role of blacks or of racial inequality. In a sense, sport had become the new “plantation” for blacks. They toiled diligently [sic] at athletics adding luster to America’s mythology of equal opportunity for all. Gold medals won by black Olympians confirmed to most white Americans the superiority of the American system by helping to keep the United States ahead of the world at the Olympics. In reality blacks were shut out of most mainstream American cultural and political systems by racism as surely

as they had been before the 13th Amendment by their legal status as slaves. [...] The 1932 African-American Olympians did not bloom totally unseen. Their accomplishments added to the rising black consciousness in the United States. (40)

In my view Dyreson's words mean that although white Americans recognized the importance of African American athletes in the Olympic Games and they regarded their successes as America's success; in everyday life segregation continued. But I should also mention that a major step was made forward: many realized (both African and white Americans) that sport can serve as a way out of segregation. The fact that minority athletes were given the opportunity to compete gave them strength and self-confidence. Through sport they could show that they are significant participants of American society.

In the next Olympic Games equality through sport was totally neglected. Mistreatment and inequality of minorities during the Olympic Games could be felt in 1936. In Berlin Hitler's Nazi propaganda came to the front. During the whole Games minority athletes suffered from German political aggression. Some within the United States considered boycotting the Games because they felt that participating in the Olympics might be considered a sign of support for the Nazi regime and its anti-Semitic policies. But Avery Brundage, the president of the United States Olympic Committee (USOC) voted against the boycott. "Brundage argued the Olympic Games belong to the athletes and not the politicians and charged that a Jewish-Communist conspiracy sought to keep the United States out of the games" (Rosenzweig 78). The International Olympic Committee was not willing to change its decision — to organize the Olympic Games in Berlin —, although quite a few countries were considering boycotting the Games (Kahlich et al. 239).

Although originally it was meant to be a peaceful Olympics, Nazi propaganda was felt continuously. Instead of the Olympic symbols, swastika was hung everywhere — the Official Report of the 1936 Olympic Games says (Limpert 457). German politicians emphasized the positive effects of the Olympics on society, but actually wanted to use the Games to promote Nazi ideology. Hitler wanted to show the strength of the German nation and show the perfection of German youth.

The German coaches had purged their Olympic team of nearly every competitor who was not Aryan (Caucasian) and non-Jewish. Hitler would have preferred that the other nations do the same. Yet if they saw fit to enter what he considered

“subhumans” alongside his Aryan athletes, then his team would simply have to defeat them, proving to the world the strength of his “racially pure athletes.” (Gentry 3)

Hitler’s ideas were overthrown, as the most popular athlete of the 1936 Olympic Games was the African American Jesse Owens. Owens, the “Ebony Antelope,” set three world records in the 1936 Olympic Games (Schaap 11) which proved that “Hitler’s Aryans were not superior” and also verified the “falseness of the Nazis’ racist notions” (Gentry 5). On the official website of the Olympic Games the summary of the 1936 Games states: “The Berlin Games are best remembered for Adolf Hitler’s failed attempt to use them to prove his theories of Aryan racial superiority. [Jesse Owens] won four gold medals in the 100m, 200m, 4x100m relay and long jump” (Olympic.org). At first Hitler refused to give the medals to Owens and shake hands with him which was a clear manifestation of racial discrimination. On the basis of my research I infer that even though in 1936 there was no regulation in the *Olympic Charter* on discrimination, it was assumed that everyone should get equal treatment during the Olympics. Thus, I think that Hitler violated the Olympic spirit.

I think it is also important to examine the events of 1936 from Owens’ point of view. Competing in the Olympics was a great personal success for him; it demonstrated not only his talent but also determination and hard work. According to Schaap, Owens was born and had lived in Alabama until the age of nine where he rarely experienced being addressed by white men. And years later when his teacher recognized how talented he was and started to appreciate him, Owens felt odd (Schaap 15). “His mother had always told him that he was special, but that was his mother. Now, having that idea reinforced by an authority figure — a white man, no less — he blossomed” (Schaap 16). In my opinion, every student would be proud if his teacher gave him extra lessons; so for Owens who was used to being neglected by white adults it could have been even more honorable. Later, the relationship between him and his teacher strengthened. “If there was one person Owens hated to disappoint, it was Riley — the man he had always considered a second father, the first white man he had met who seemed to be colorblind” (Schaap 6). I can imagine how inspirational it was for Owens that Riley, instead of dealing with his African American origin, focused on Owens’ athletic skills.

In the 1936 Olympic Games Jesse Owens was not the only African American athlete who succeeded. “Ten of the 18 black members of the American team [...] won medals” thus challenging “myths of Aryan superiority” (Rosenzweig 78). In my opinion, the success of African American athletes further strengthened their significance in the Olympic team despite

the fact that the 1936 Olympic Games were one of the most infamous Games from the viewpoint of equal participation. As I see it, the ten African American medal winners also show that slowly non-white Americans has become inevitable participants of the Olympic Games.

Chapter 3: Second period: 1948-1988

In connection with the 1948 Olympic Games I examine the African American women's status through the example of Alice Coachman. I chose her as a representative of African American women athletes because she was the first who could succeed in the greatest international sport event, the Olympic Games thus paved the way for other African American women competitors.

Due to World War II, the 1940 and 1944 Olympic Games were cancelled. Such a long time without organizing the Olympic Games has never occurred again. This long break marks a natural division between the 1936 and 1948 Games, therefore I start the second period with the 1948 Olympic Games. From the American minorities' point of view, Alice Coachman's victory was a very significant event in the Games because she was the first African American woman who won a gold medal (Lansbury 237). Martha Wald Plowden's *Olympic Black Women* lists and deals with 25 African American women who participated in the Olympic Games from 1932 to 1960. She wrote that "[t]hroughout history African-American women had to fight for the right to enter national and international competition. Once given the opportunity, they competed and excelled in sports" (Plowden 11). Their legacy is indisputable, African American women are becoming more and more successful in the Olympic Games.

As Lansbury states track and field was considered very masculine and sportswriters emphasized gender over ethnicity in the case of Coachman (235). On the basis of my research I conclude that this shift in emphasis from ethnicity to gender was typical in the case of many African American women athletes and not only of Coachman. The evaluation of the success of African American women was different in mainstream society and in African American communities. "[T]heir achievements served as a symbol of pride for their African American community. However, the success came at a price. White America often neglected them or, perhaps worse, perpetuated the negative stereotype of the black 'mannish' woman, naturally suited to the role of athlete" (Lansbury 235). My interpretation of this situation is that no matter what an African American woman did, it could not be considered equal to a white American woman. Even winning the gold medal was not enough to break away from being stereotyped and be appreciated on the basis of her achievements in sport.

At the time of the 1960 Olympic Games in American political life there were two burning issues; the Cold War and the Civil Rights Movement, thus "every action in Rome was viewed through the political lens of those tense times" (Maraniss xii). One of the leading

figures of the Civil Rights Movement was Dr Martin Luther King, Jr. who aimed to end segregation in the US with nonviolent resistance. The Movement was successful and reached its goal if we think of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 or the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (Levy xi). Although the “principal purposes of the movement had been achieved, [...] racism remained, legalized racial discrimination had been defeated and a better day for racial relations and social justice beckoned” (Levy xi). In my opinion Levy suggests that the Civil Rights Movement was only partly successful because despite gaining equal rights legally, African Americans were still discriminated in everyday life. However, he also points out that the Movement promised better prospects for African Americans.

The Civil Rights Movement was not a single riot, instead several movements with the same goal: gaining equal rights for African Americans. “Rather than one movement, [historians] argue, many civil rights movements were under the way” (Levy xii). Furthermore, Levy explains the plurality and singularity of the movement in more detail.

The story of civil rights must be simultaneously plural and singular: plural in the many competing interests in one place, and everywhere, and in the multiple definitions of civil rights; singular in the centrality of racism and economic inequity as the root causes of civil rights activism anywhere. (Levy xiii)

In my interpretation the most important fact about the Civil Rights Movement is that different groups in different parts of US fought in different ways — violent or non-violent — but one thing tied them together: they wanted to end segregation. The Movement had a large effect in every field of life. Moreover, besides the Civil Rights Movement, the rest of the world was threatened by the outbreak of a war. Fortunately, it did not happen but the atmosphere was very tense due to the Cold War. I believe that for the Italians it was a great responsibility to organize peaceful Games when the whole world was under the pressure of a possible future war.

The 1960 Olympic Games was the first time when an African American athlete, Rafer Johnson carried the U.S. flag at the opening ceremony. Marannis considers this a “symbolic weapon at a time when the United States was promoting freedom abroad but struggling to answer blatant racism at home where millions of Americans were denied freedom because of the color of their skin” (Marannis xii). I agree with Marannis, that the U.S. through an African American flag bearer wanted to demonstrate that equality of citizens

in the U.S. exists. But the presented picture in the Games was far from representing the situation because actually skin color was still the basis for evaluation at home.

The American Olympic team was very successful in the Games, icons like Rafer Johnson, Wilma Rudolph and Cassius Clay (a.k.a Muhammad Ali) started their great and well-known career here. I found that of the non-white American athletes of the 1960 Olympic Games Cassius Clay's career was the most influential. In Marqusee's view at the beginning of his career Cassius Clay did not have strong relation with politics but he later became actively involved in it.

He resisted political involvement and, at first, rejected the burden of symbolic representation that had been foisted upon black celebrities by both white and black commentators. But such was the alchemy of the man and the moment that he was drawn even more deeply into politics and found himself becoming even more symbolically representative. (Marqusee 6)

My understanding of this situation is that even if a minority athlete does not show any interest in politics or racial issues, through the years he gets involved in them. I think that in the 1960s it was impossible for a celebrated and successful African American to remain apolitical. But if commentators keep saying that he symbolically represents his community, he will eventually believe it and start to act like that. In *Muhammad Ali's Greatest Fight* written by Howard Bingham I read a passage about Clay's involvement in the Civil Rights Movement. "[...] Martin Luther King Jr. and other civil rights pioneers fought for racial justice, [while] Cassius Clay just kept fighting one opponent after another in the ring" (23). I think that this sentence means that Dr. King wanted to do something to stop racial injustice compared to Clay who, although being African American, rather focused on his sporting career.

I think that an African American boy who was able to win the Olympic Games is a symbol of the American Dream and the self-made man. Marqusee uses different metaphors, he sees Cassius as the "American Adam," "another Gatsby," or "the raw materials from which he invented himself" (4). Cassius Clay became known in the 1960 Olympic Games but his popularity was at peak in the nineties.

Yet during most of his boxing career, the man now being hailed as "an American hero" was far more popular abroad than at home. This genial nineties icon of

harmony and goodwill had flaunted a religion that spurned racial integration and repudiated America as a decadent “wilderness”. In the name of wider and higher loyalties he refused to serve America in time of war and as a result was threatened with prison, barred from practicing his trade, harassed by his government and condemned by his country’s media. (Marqusee 3)

Clay’s fame faded with the changing of his religion and rejection of serving in the American army during the Vietnam War. He joined the Nation of Islam, the “most vilified black organization in America” led by Malcolm X (Marqusee 53).

Malcolm’s presence as a spokesman for the Nation of Islam influenced numbers of African Americans, including some public figures. In February of 1964, immediately after his heavyweight fight against Sonny Liston, boxer Cassius Clay, whom Malcolm had befriended, became one of the first of a significant number of athletes to become a Muslim, known thereafter as Muhammad Ali. (Smith 86)

To summarize, his career as a heavyweight boxing champion started in the 1960 Olympic Games in Rome, but the influence of his personality lasted long after his victory. First, he was the icon of the self-made man, “a southern colored boy [who] has made one million dollars” (Marqusee 52). But later in the eyes of the Americans he became the irresponsible African American who joined the Nation of Islam and refused to serve in the army.

According to the *Olympic Charter* issued in 2013 the Olympic Movement “reaches its peak with the bringing together of the world’s athletes at the great sports festival” (*OC 2013* 11). In the 1964 Olympic Games held in Tokyo in the closing ceremony athletes from various nations and races embraced each other for a joyful march which symbolized how important role the Olympic Games play in the mutual understanding of different nations (Kahlich et al. 397). I agree with Kahlich that the Games are very important and unique tool to bring different ethnicities and countries together. In my opinion one of the best characteristics of the Olympic Games is that it helps people to forget about racial or political problems experienced in their home country. The 2013 *Olympic Charter* defines the fundamental principles of Olympism the following way:

Olympism is a philosophy of life, exalting and combining in a balanced whole the qualities of body, will and mind. Blending sport with culture and education, Olympism seeks to create a way of life based on the joy of effort, the educational value of good example, social responsibility and respect for universal fundamental ethical principles. (OC 2013 11)

In my opinion the joyful march in the closing ceremony during the 1964 Games was a manifestation of the Olympic Movement.

The Olympic Games held in 1968 in Mexico City is an example of memorable non-white American participation in the Olympic Games. In the 1960s as I have already pointed it out, the Civil Rights Movement and the Cold War determined the American political life. Moreover, 1962 was the year when the *Olympic Charter* for the first time included regulations on discrimination. Interestingly, the *Olympic Charter* regulation came first, and after that the scandal in the Mexico City Olympics.

In the 1968 Games the Olympic Project for Human Rights aimed at calling attention to race problems and discrimination during the Olympics. It was set up by Harry Edwards and its members were African American athletes. Its goal was not only to highlight problems in America but also on the international stage. American basketball players and track and field athletes staged demonstrations, mainly on their victory stand (Edwards 1). The most important part of the project was the “silent gesture” of Tommie Smith and John Carlos. They demonstrated during their victory ceremony by standing shoeless, each wearing a black glove. A black scarf was tied around Smith’s neck. When the U.S. national anthem was played, they raised their gloved fists and bowed their heads (Edwards 2). Later Tommie Smith explained their protest gestures which can be read in Edward’s *The Revolt of the Black Athlete*.

Smith explained [...] “My raised right hand stood for the power in black America. Carlos’ raised left hand stood for the unity of black America. Together they formed an arch of unity and power. The black scarf around my neck stood for black pride. The black socks with no shoes stood for black poverty in racist America. The totality of our effort was the regaining of black dignity.” [...] the gesture of the bowed head was in remembrance of the fallen warriors in the black liberation struggle in America. (2)

From this excerpt it can be seen how well organized was the project; in one short silent protest several areas of the life of African American people were symbolized. The effect was immediate: they were excluded from the Olympic Games. On the basis of the regulation of the *Olympic Charter* this act was totally against the rules. It violated the theory that politics and the Olympic Games must be treated separately, no political demonstration is allowed during the Games. I agree with the *Charter* regulation that politics has no place in a sport event, and issues on racial oppression or discrimination should not be present in the Olympics. I know that politics is interwoven in sport but in my view it should not be displayed or emphasized during the Olympic events.

However, my viewpoint has partly changed when I read the autobiography of Tommie Smith, in which he writes about the reasons for their demonstration and his feelings about the Olympic Project for Human Rights. Although some thought that he acted as a member of the Black Power movement, it was not true at all. Smith clarifies that he protested not only for black athletes, or to support the Civil Rights Movement, it meant much more to him; it was the Olympic Project for Human Rights (Smith and Steele 22). I believe this remark shows how dedicated he was to his role in the Games; for him the project was truly a major issue to be carried out. He was aware of the fact that the Olympics would not support any political demonstrations, though he saw the Games as an opportunity to reach something on the international stage. Such a great sport event as the Olympic Games seemed to be the perfect occasion to call attention to human rights. In his work Smith admits that according to the IOC “to use the Olympic Games as a platform for political protest was a no-no. What I believed, instead, [was to] use it as a platform for something good” (Smith and Steele 35). Smith in his autobiography writes about the events of 16 October 1968. He recounts how he became one of the protesters, what he felt and believed while preparing for the victory ceremony. He tells his feelings during the protest the following way:

My head was bowed, and inside that bowed head, I prayed – prayed that the next sound I would hear, in the middle of the “Star-Spangled Banner,” would not be a gunshot. [...] I knew there were people, a lot of people, who wanted to kill me for what I was doing. [...] to end my life because I had dared to make my presence — as a black man, as a representative of oppressed people all over America. (Smith and Steele 1)

Only after reading this part did I understand what a great self-sacrifice was his protest. He risked not only his career as a track and field athlete but also his life, family and future years. I found it interesting that besides Smith and John Carlos, the white Australian Peter Norman, who was the silver medalist, also expressed his sympathy for the protest. He “wore the official badge of the Olympic Project for Human Rights to underscore his support of the black liberation struggle” (Edwards 2). I think the fact that not only did the two African American medalists protest but also the Australian athlete is an example for the international effect the demonstration had. The legacy of the Olympic Project for Human Rights is unquestionable, the events of the 1968 Olympic Games is remembered worldwide.

Donald Spivey calls attention to the fact that African American athletes were not on the same opinion considering way of protest during the Olympic Games.

According to Spivey, the proposed boycott represented the awakened social consciousness of black collegiate athletes but also showed differences in points of view within black America, with Tommie Smith and John Carlos representing an activist wing; Bob Beamon, Ralph Boston, Wyomia Tyus, and others adopting a moderate position; and George Foreman taking an anti-activist stance. (Lomax xxv)

I think it is absolutely natural that not every African American athlete regarded open demonstration the best way of fighting for equal treatment. In my opinion the “moderate position” mentioned in Lomax’s work means that Bob Beamon and other athletes agreed with the activists, but personally did not want to participate in the demonstration. On the other hand the “anti-activists” like George Foreman were against the idea of open demonstration.

Lomax calls attention to another important fact: that a shift could be experienced since 1960. “By the spring of 1968, the focus moved from individuals marginalized as militant — like Muhammad Ali — to a collective political force” (Lomax xxvi). I find it important that by 1968 instead of individual protestors, organized groups started to emerge which acted collectively, thus could achieve more in the struggle for equal rights. I should also mention and emphasize that it took several years to reach the proposed goals of the “Black Consciousness and the Olympic Protest Movement,” it lasted for decades (qtd. in Lomax xxv). In my opinion the “silent gesture” and other demonstrations during the Olympic Games strengthen the relation between American and Olympic history; thus support my idea that the Olympic events often reflected the political life.

At the 1968 Olympic Games the *Olympic Charter* was severely violated although just a few years earlier in 1962 it was rewritten in order to prevent political protests during the games. Thus, the Games held in Mexico City are another example for the incongruity of theory of the *Olympic Charter* and the practice of the Olympic Games.

According to Kahlich, the American team continued to win medals in 1968, and their success in the Olympics further increased since the Tokyo Games. Two thirds of their gold medals were earned by African American track and field athletes (Kahlich et al. 434). In my opinion this data also shows that the presence of African Americans was greatly accountable for and determined the American team's success. They became inevitable in sport, although, in everyday life, they still had to prove that they are equal citizens.

Although there was no conflict which affected non-white American participation, I should mention the 1972 Olympic Games held in Munich because they can be connected to the violation of the *Olympic Charter*. The most significant event during the Games was the attack by the Black September terrorist organization. I do not intend to write about it in detail as it is not connected strictly to my thesis, but still I mention it because of its outcome: the Olympic Movement cannot be defeated by terrorism. In the Olympics Arab terrorists attacked and killed Israeli athletes in the Olympic village. The tragedy shook the whole world. But Avery Brundage, the president of the International Olympic Committee stated that "the Games must go on" (Kahlich et al. 475). I agree with the decision of the president that the Olympic Games be continued. I think the continuation of the Games helped people forget about the tragedy for a while in the excitement of the competition. Moreover, it would have been a huge break in the participants' career if they had not been able to compete. But the most important goal was to demonstrate that terrorism cannot have control over the world. The *Olympic Charter* mentions that sport is a good tool to bring people together in the spirit of Olympism and the Olympics symbolizes peace and unity among nations. In my view, the events of 1972 proved that the Olympic tradition is such a strong bond among nations that it cannot be demolished by terrorism.

Chapter 4: Third period: 1992-2012

The third period starts with the 1992 Olympic Games held in Barcelona. 173 nations took part and the Unified Team, in which former USSR athletes competed (Miralles 46). I consider this Olympics a milestone because of the great political changes which happened all over the world. The breakup of the Soviet Union, the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the end of the apartheid regime in South Africa all marked that these Games would be different from the previous ones. Following long years of boycotts, a relatively peaceful Olympics was held. After decades it was the first time when the fundamental principles of the Olympic Movement defined in the *Olympic Charter* had not been violated.

Connected to the 2000 Olympic Games held in Sydney I intend to show the situation of African American athletes in media representations. In the last few decades documentation of the Olympics in the media have become important. Several scholars carried out researches in the field of newspaper or television coverages of athletes. Billings and Eastman investigated the “Selective Representation of Gender, Ethnicity, and Nationality in American Ethnicity in Televised Sport.” They found that there is great contrast between “Black and White athletes” in depiction. While Blacks are seen as “naturally athletic, quick and powerful,” whites’ success is believed to be the result of “intelligence and hard-working” (Billings and Eastman 355). In other researchers’ works the previous stereotypes occur in a similar way. Black competitors are called “born athletes” who have “exceptional physical ability,” in contrast to the “presumption of hard work by white athletes” who have “intellectual superiority” (qtd. in Billings and Eastman 354). I found this duality between the characteristics of “Black” and “white” athletes stereotypical. On the one hand, I think this depiction is not necessarily degrading for African Americans because having exceptional skills is inevitable for succeeding in sport. But, on the other hand, my opinion is that labeling white Americans as being intellectually superior is very questionable and can be debated. All in all, I admit these stereotypes are so widely accepted that unfortunately it is barely possible to avoid using them. Hardin examined “racialized depiction of U.S. Olympic (2000) athletes in 5 U.S. daily (4 regional and 1 national) newspapers” (211). He found that

The misrepresentation of athletes by sport category offers clear reinforcement of myths of racial difference. For instance, Black athletes were disproportionately represented in strength sports, especially boxing. Overrepresentation of Blacks in boxing reinforces the stereotype of Blacks as ‘brutes’ and ‘savages’ (Lule 1995).

Whites were also overrepresented in aesthetic sports, which are often framed as endeavors needing great mental focus and adherence to form. (Hardin 224)

Although African Americans are overrepresented in the examined newspapers, in my opinion how they are represented is more important than how often. Hoberman found that the depictions of African American athletes and criminals often emphasize the same attributes thus they have been “merged into a single cultural figure” (qtd. in Hardin 214). In my opinion Hoberman might have meant characteristics like fierceness. The “single cultural figure” mentioned in Hardin’s work I think refers to a person who is excluded from mainstream society, takes no active part in it thus lives on the margin. So, as I see, sport is still not enough to help African Americans step out of the vicious circle of being stigmatized. Although their situation has changed a lot in the Olympic Games and they are not openly discriminated any more, stereotypes towards them remain.

Blacks are overrepresented in sports media to preserve power relations in U.S. society. This finding reflects an “enlightened racist” view, that is, sport is the (sole) arena where Blacks can excel. Meanwhile, Whites are provided with the comforting message that Blacks can achieve upward mobility in American society through “non-threatening” means. (Hardin 223)

I think that this paragraph states that even though non-white American athletes have expelled in sport and have been accepted because of their skills and success, on other fields of life, for example in business, they were not accepted by mainstream society. In my understanding “enlightened racism,” is enlightened because African Americans do get representation in newspapers and television, but it is still racism because they are discriminated against in everyday life. In my view, white Americans have recognized that minority athletes are really successful in sport, which is “non-threatening” and they can bring fame to America. But allowing them to participate in American society as equal citizens is still considered “threatening.”

Although U.S. society prides itself on the myth that its athletic fields are a kind of great racial equalizer, sport is actually contested racial terrain, a place for struggles against sport’s reflection of White male hegemony in the larger culture. [...] [S]ports are positioned at the best (and virtually the only) way out of the

ghetto for Blacks. [...] Scholars argue that consequences of the notion that sport is the only way Black skinned people can fulfill their potential are detrimental to Black youths and athletes. (qtd. in Hardin 213)

The previous paragraph shows the negative side of the fact that apart from sport for many African Americans there is no other way of emergence in society. In addition, the pressure on youngsters that most often their only chance for success is realized through sport can be very frustrating for those lacking abilities needed in sport.

After the 2004 Olympic Games held in Athens Billings and Angelini carried out research on the depiction of African American athletes in the media. In their analysis they pointed out that relation towards African Americans has changed through the years.

In football, while Rainville and McCormick (1977) found blatant biases against African-American quarterbacks decades ago, Billings (2004) found many of these differences in commentator discourse had diminished in recent years. In basketball, Denham, Billings, and Halone (2002) found that while many stereotypes of African-American players persisted (such as perceived innate athletic gifts), an increased quantity of comments about the leadership of African-American players occurred. (Billings and Angelini 98)

The previous paragraph depicts a positive picture of the present situation of African American athletes. I personally agree with Billings and Angelini that African American competitors are more appreciated now than a few decades ago; negative stereotypes against them are either vanishing or changing in sport.

A great number of non-white Americans participated in the 2012 Olympic Games held in London, but I only focus on those who competed in “sports categories that historically have not been the most diverse” (Rivas). My intention is to show that non-white American athletes are becoming successful in more and more sports. According to Rivas who wrote an article for *Colorlines* website, John Oroczo, for example has Puerto Rican parents and competed on pommel horse. Another competitor in gymnastics was Gabrielle Douglas, an African American sportswoman, who won two gold medals in the individual all-around and on team. Danell Leyva is also a gymnast, he is of Cuban origin. Tamari Miyashiro, Asian American athlete was a member of the U.S. volleyball team. In swimming Anthony Ervin, who is of Jewish descent on his mother’s side, and of African American and Native American descent

on his father's side, Lia Neal, who has African American father and Chinese mother, and Cullen Jones, who is African American, competed in the 2012 Olympic Games (Rivas).

Even if this list is far from being complete — because many more non-white American athletes took part in London —, I think it demonstrates the diversity of sports in which they competed. With the aim of widening this list and emphasizing the growing tendency of non-white American participation, I include readers' remarks which follow Rivas' article. In their comments they mention many more non-white American athletes. Some of these are Brenda Villa (water polo, Mexican American), Ibtihaj Muhammad (fencing, African American), Claressa Shields (boxing, African American), Marlen Esparza (boxing, Mexican American), Queen Underwood (boxing, African American), Ana Li (gymnastics, Chinese American), and Mary Killmen (synchronized swimming, Native American) (qtd. in Rivas).

These findings support my idea that compared to the beginnings of the 20th century, nowadays a significant number of non-white Americans represent the U.S. Olympic Team. In my opinion this is due to recent immigration and growing number of non-white people in America. In addition, another reason for this tendency is that American society has changed a lot in appreciation of ethnicities, and in my opinion it is reflected in Olympic participation, too. Non-white Americans get more opportunity to do sports and compete in international events.

Cullen Jones is an example of how a non-white Olympic champion can encourage people to do sports and become a symbol for African Americans. With the educational campaign "Make a Splash with Cullen Jones" which aimed at "training people of color about swimming" he managed to popularize swimming among non-white Americans (Lavelle 44). The importance of this campaign lies in the fact that it tries to dissolve the stereotype "blacks don't swim" (qtd. in Lavelle 46). I think Jones' active role in this campaign is a positive example of how a celebrity can use his fame. "The concept of an athlete as a role model is incredibly important, and Jones has added burden of being a role model because of his racial identity" (Lavelle 52). In my interpretation Jones sets an example for African Americans through intentionally emphasizing his origin. As I see, through his personal example he wants to propagate that African Americans can swim, moreover, with strength and commitment it is possible to become a champion in the Olympic Games in a sport which is mainly dominated by white people. In my view this campaign also helps to provide equal opportunities for non-white Americans in everyday life.

In the 2012 Olympic Games in London a considerable number of Asian American athletes competed in the U.S. team. According to Evangeline Cafe, who writes for *Northwest Asian Weekly*

[m]ore than a dozen Asian and Pacific Islander American athletes will represent Team USA at the Summer Olympic Games in London, and several more will serve as back-ups or replacements. The competitors will join hundreds of fellow Americans in their quest to reign in their respective sports and bring home the gold.

Asian and Pacific Islander Americans were qualified to compete in several sports, namely: swimming, badminton, field hockey, volleyball, wrestling, table tennis, fencing, taekwondo, gymnastics and shooting (Cafe). Such a diverse list of sports demonstrates that Asian Americans are represented in various Olympic events. I infer that in 2012 non-white American participation in the Olympic Games and on the U.S. team was not at all debated; they were well accepted athletes who made the U.S. even more successful in the Olympic Games.

Conclusion

As I have pointed out several times, the evaluation of non-white American athletes in the Olympic Games has changed a lot since 1896. In the case of African American competitors first their participation and later their media representation was investigated by scholars. As being minorities in American society, they have struggled to be appreciated and sport is one of the areas where their ambitions could succeed.

The Olympic Games are organized according to the regulations written in the *Olympic Charter*. In my thesis I enumerated several cases when the rule on prohibition of discrimination was ignored or violated. During the Games every competitor should have equal opportunities. Through the years non-white American athletes have become the backbone of the American team, especially in track and field. Besides their growth in number in the Olympic team, their evaluation has also changed a lot. In my thesis I intended to demonstrate that although some stereotypes remained about non-white American athletes, great changes took place about how they are evaluated. I think, compared to the beginnings of the modern Olympic tradition, nowadays people appreciate non-white American athletes more and more. Through centuries American society went through remarkable changes considering appreciation of ethnicities and I intended to show that the Olympic Games also reflect this progress.

However, I am afraid that racial boundaries and stereotypes will not disappear in the future; they will be felt in all walks of life; even in sport. My idea is supported by Entine's thoughts: "African-American athletes are still treated in significantly different ways from other athletes" (qtd. in Billings and Angelini 99). I think this quote refers to depictions which emphasize that African Americans are born athletes while white Americans are successful because of hard work and intelligence. Billings and Angelini also call attention to the fact that even if stereotypes are vanishing, further investigation is needed to make sure if new ones are emerging (99).

In conclusion I personally believe that the Olympic Games — and sport in general — have a unique force which helps to break down racial barriers; and have contributed to the acceptance of non-white Americans in the USA.

Works Cited

- Arbena, Joseph L. *Latin American Sport: An Annotated Bibliography, 1988-1998*. Portsmouth: Greenwood, 1999. Print.
- Becht, June Wuest. "George Poage: Clearing Hurdles at the 1904 Olympics." *Gateway Heritage*. Web. Spring 2004.
- Billings, Andrew C., and James R. Angelini. "Packaging the Games for Viewer Consumption: Gender, Ethnicity, and Nationality in NBC's Coverage of the 2004 Summer Olympics." *Communication Quarterly*. Web. 27 Feb. 2007.
- , and Susan Tyler Eastman. "Selective Representation of Gender, Ethnicity, and Nationality in American Ethnicity in Televised Sport." *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*. Web. Dec. 2002: 351-70.
- Bingham, Howard L., and Wallace, Max. *Muhammad Ali's Greatest Fight: Cassius Clay vs. the United States of America*. Maryland: Rowman&Littlefield, 2000. Print.
- Cafe, Evangeline. "API athletes represent U.S. at 2012 Olympics." *Northwest Asian Weekly*. Web. 21-27 July 2012.
- "census.gov." *Census Form 2010, Census Data 2010*. Web.
- Cook, William A. *Jim Thorpe: A Biography*. Jefferson, North Carolina: McFarland, 2011. Print.
- Dyreson, Mark. *Making the American Team: Sport, Culture, and the Olympic Experience*. Urbana&Chicago: UIP, 1998. Print.
- . "Marketing National Identity: The Olympic Games of 1932 and American Culture." *Olympika: The International Journal of Olympic Studies*. Ed. Janice Forsyth. Web. Vol. IV. Ontario: 1995. 23-48.
- Edwards, Harry. *The Revolt of the Black Athlete*. New York: Free, 1969. Print.
- Findling, John E. and Kimberly D. Pelle. *Encyclopedia of the Modern Olympic Movement*. Portsmouth: Greenwood, 2004. Print.
- Gentry, Tony. *Jesse Owens: Champion Athlete*. New York: Chelsea, 2005. Print.
- Guttmann, Allen. *The Olympics: A History of the Modern Games*. Urbana&Chicago: UIP, 2002. Print.
- Hardin, Marie, et al. "Sporting Images in Black and White: Race in Newspaper Coverage of the 2000 Olympic Games." *Howard Journal of Communications*. 2004. Web. 11 Aug. 2010: 211-27.
- Kahlich Endre, et al. *Olimpiai Játékok: 1896-1976*. Budapest: Sport, 1977. Print.

- Lansbury, Jennifer H. "'The Tuskegee Flash' and the 'Slender Harlem Stroker'. Black Women Athletes on the Margin." *Journal of Sport History* 28.2 (Summer 2001): 233-52. Print.
- Lavelle, Katherine L. "Increasing Diversity in Swimming through Parasocial Relationships on Facebook." *Sports and Identity: New Agendas in Communication*. Ed. Brummett, Barry and Andrew W. Ishak. New York: Routledge, 2014: 44-59. Print.
- Levy, Peter B. *Civil War on Race Street: The Civil Rights Movement in Cambridge, Maryland*. Gainesville: UPF, 2003. Print.
- Limpert, Wilhelm. *The XIth Olympic Games Berlin 1936 Official Report*. Berlin: n.p. 1937. Print.
- Lomax, Michael E. *Sports and the Racial Divide: African American and Latino Experience in an Era of Change*. Jackson, MS: UPM, 2008. Print.
- Mallon, Bill. *1904 Olympic Games — Analysis and Summaries*. Durham, NC. Web. Summer 1998.
- Maraniss, David. *Rome 1960: The Olympics That Changed the World*. New York: Simon&Schuster, 2008. Print.
- Marqusee, Mike. *Redemption Song: Muhammad Ali and the Spirit of the Sixties*. New York: Verso, 2005. Print.
- Miralles, Félix Torres. "Culture of Peace in Both Ancient and Modern Olympism." *International Olympic Academy*. Ed. Konstantinos Georgiadis. Athens: IOA, 2004. Print.
- Olympic Charter*. Web. 1908. 1962. 2013.
- "Olympic.org." *Official website of the Olympic Movement*. Web.
- Plowden, Martha Wald. *Olympic Black Women*. Gretna, Louisiana: Pelican, 1995. Print.
- Porter, David L. *Latino and African American Athletes Today: A Biographical Dictionary*. Portsmouth: Greenwood, 2004. Print.
- Rivas, Jorge. "A Brief Guide to This Summer's Unexpected U.S. Olympians of Color." *Colorlines: News for Action*. Web. 6. July 2012.
- Rosenzweig, Roy. "The Nazi Olympics: Berlin 1936." *Journal of Sport History*. Web. Spring 1997.
- Schaap, Jeremy. *Triumph: The Untold Story of Jesse Owens and Hitler's Olympics*. Houghton, NY: St. Martin, 2007. Print.
- Smith, Jane I. *Islam in America*. Chichester, NY: Columbia, 1999. Print.

- Smith, Tommie, and Steele, David. *Silent gesture: the Autobiography of Tommie Smith*. Philadelphia: TUP, 2007. Print.
- Updyke, Rosemary K. *Jim Thorpe, the Legend Remembered*. Gretna, Louisiana: Pelican, 1997. Print.
- Wilson, Clint C. II, and Félix Guitérrez. *Race, Multiculturalism, and the Media: From Mass to Class Communication*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1995. Print.
- Wilson, Rusty. "The First Olympic Champion." *Journal of Olympic History*. Ed. Anthony Th. Bijkerk. Web. January 2000: 14-21.
- Yetman, Norman R. *Majority and Minority: The Dynamics of Racial and Ethnic Relations*. Massachusetts: Allyn and Bacon, 1999. Print.