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## **Celebrating Resistance: Articulating Diasporan Notions of Celebrity in Sport from Jack Johnson to King Pele and George Headley to Brian Lara**

This chapter is intended to be a brief introduction to a potentially extensive research paper on play, race, resistance, identity, celebrity, globalization, and power. In this regard the conclusions offered here are premature in relation to the wider implication of the research.

### **AFRICAN RESISTANCE CULTURE**

Horace Campbell in *Rasta and Resistance: From Marcus Garvey to Walter Rodney* reminds us that:

African resistance to slavery began on the slave ship and continued up to the present. It was the struggles on the slave ship, which led to the chaining of the slaves. The restlessness of the slaves caused revolts to be endemic and the slaves broke tools, committed suicide, ran away, and mothers preferred their children to die at birth rather than to grow up as slaves. (1987, 20–21)

Resistance culture has played a pivotal role in the emancipation of enslaved Africans in the diaspora. The embodiment of “defiance” is captured in the Haitian revolution and personified in the character and

style of Toussaint L'Ouverture, arguably the first black resistance celebrity of the nineteenth century.

Much of African resistance culture in the diaspora was steeped in religion. It is this culture that "celebrated" people like Toussaint L'Ouverture, Boukman Dutty, Sam Sharpe, Paul Bogle, Marcus Garvey, and Bob Marley. African Caribbean resistance culture embraces notions of "heroism" and "celebrity" status emerging from the bottom up (grassroots) with the hero showing the facility/capacity to overcome adversities (organized or natural) to "beat the man at his own game." Often the celebrity in resistance culture is diametrically opposed to the ("enemy") dominant culture or status quo. The foundation of African resistance and heroism continues to be ideologically grounded in anti-colonialist, antiracist, antiwar sentiments and activities.

On the slave plantations colonies of North America and the Caribbean, the black and white populations were polarized along the great "divide" of race. This feature naturally manifested itself in all spheres of society, including the sphere of sport.

Within the context of resistance culture, my analysis is grounded in the theories of play and sport within a domination/resistance, oppressed/oppressor paradigm viewed from an Afrocentric or African-Caribbean standpoint/perspective.

Molefi Asante in *Afrocentricity* provides a basic introduction to understanding the concept of Afrocentricity, when he argues:

Afrocentricity is the belief in the centrality of Africans in post-modern history. It is our history, our mythology, our creative motif, and our ethos exemplifying our collective will. On basis of our story, we build upon the work of our ancestors who gave signs toward our humanizing function. (1988, 6)

Asante continues:

It does not take away from the universality or humanity of man to have a particular culture or history as one's center since all cultures share certain universal traits; but, they do not necessarily resemble each other.

Afrocentricity, argues Asante, resembles the black man, speaks to him, looks like him, and wants for him what he wants for himself (1988, vii). He observes:

No longer are we looking whitely through a tunnel lit with the artificial beams of Europe; we now are able to experience the Afrocentricity that

the great prophets Garvey, DuBois Fanon, Nkrumah, Muhammad, Malcolm and Karenga had predicted for us (1).

Asante concludes: "With Afrocentricity you see the movies differently, you see other people differently, you read books differently, you see politicians differently, in fact, nothing is as it was before your consciousness" (7). Likewise, within the purview of Afrocentricity, you see heroes, celebrities, gods, and so on differently.

In the immediate post-emancipation period, access to education, housing, medical benefits, and so on remained the "preserve of the ruling/planter class," while the mass of the population experienced high levels of illiteracy, unemployment, and homelessness as general features of their daily existence.

I argue that the ruling class "encouraged" the newly freed Africans of the diaspora to invest their energies in the fields of entertainment (music, dance, games, etc.) and religion, these being the prime social activities in which limited "space" was allowed. Recreation and leisure were the prerogative of the wealthy colonial and local elites.

I further argue that it is within this sociopolitical framework of understanding that the emergence of the sport celebrity in the diaspora can be better understood. That is, when viewed/examined within the context of its emergence from/within the plantation economies of the late nineteenth century.

## **CELEBRITY**

According to Wikipedia, the free encyclopedia:

A celebrity is a person who is widely recognized (famous) in a society and commands a high degree of public and media attention. The word stems from the Latin *celebritas*, itself from the adjective *celeber* meaning "famous, celebrated." Each nation or cultural community (linguistic, ethnic, religious) has its own largely independent celebrity system. Sub-national entities or regions will also have their own celebrity system. Generally speaking, a celebrity will be known only by those audiences that are reached by the media in which the celebrity features. In a small country, linguistic or cultural community, a figure will be less likely to gain worldwide celebrity. Some celebrities can be considered "global"—that is, they are known across the world. These will almost all be high-powered

religious or political figures, actors, globally successful musicians and successful sports stars.

## HOLLYWOOD CULTURE

In the 1920s and 1930s, Hollywood celebrities came to represent the quintessence of glamour. Packaging star imagery became a major component of the Hollywood dream culture. Even in the depressed economy of the 1930s, the American public responded exuberantly to this larger-than-life celebrity. In a culture preoccupied with personality, “celebrity” became a measure of success.

Often, celebrities are able to broach all cultural levels. In this regard, I argue that the notion of celebrity must be analyzed within a sociopsychological framework or a set of cultural values such as freedom and liberty, wealth and prosperity, and so on that inspire and/or motivate a population. Thus the notion of celebrity is relative, depending on geographic scale, cultural understanding/matrix as well as whether viewed from the top down (the status quo) or from the bottom up (the grassroots level).

## CELEBRATING RESISTANCE THROUGH SPORT

Carrington in *Journal of Sport and Social Issues* observes:

Historically, the entry of Black males into the social institutions of sport was conditional with formal segregation, particularly in the US, often imposed. When Black males did compete directly and publicly with Whites, such competition was organized on the premise that the “white man” would eventually win, thereby maintaining the racial order, and where this could not be guaranteed, the prohibition of Blacks was quickly instated. (1998, 277)

### [AU1:] CELEBRITY ON THE DIAMOND[AU1:]

In the aftermath of the U.S. Civil War, baseball enjoyed a great surge of interest, activity, and growth. However, the National Association of Baseball Players excluded black ballplayers from participation. By necessity, blacks in America played on all-black teams in all-black leagues. Josh Gibson rose to prominence in the Negro leagues and was

considered the black Babe Ruth of American baseball.<sup>1</sup> On December 11, 1868, the governing body voted unanimously to bar “any club which may be composed of one or more colored persons.” This was the first appearance of an official “color line” in (sport) baseball.<sup>2</sup>

In 1947, Jackie Robinson broke the “color barrier” and opened the game of major league baseball to all men regardless of the color of their skin. Within the context of resistance, Jackie Robinson embodied the status of “hero,” emerging from the depths of racism, overcoming great adversities and “beating the man at his own game.”

#### CELEBRITY IN THE RING

Jack Johnson, a descendant of enslaved Africans, was born in 1878 in Galveston, Texas. Johnson was a flamboyant and outspoken boxer who went on to win the world heavyweight boxing championship.

James C. Scott in *Domination and the Art of Resistance* notes: “The fight between Jack Johnson and Jim Jeffries (the “White Hope”) in 1910 and Joe Louis’ subsequent career, which was aided by instant radio transmission of the fights were indelible moments of reversal and revenge for the Black community.” Scott continues:

“Lest such moments be seen purely as a safety-valve reconciling Blacks to their quotidian world of white domination, there were racial fights in every state in the South and in much of the North immediately after the 1910 fight (1990, 41).

In addition, Pan-Africanist C. L. R. James in *Beyond a Boundary* notes that “when the democrat Joe Lewis fought the Nazi Schmelling the bout became a focus of approaching world conflict” (1963, 196). Johnson’s victory in a “one-on-one” contest symbolically signaled the “first empirical defeat” of the racist colonial philosophy of “white supremacy”; setting the precedent for rejecting notions of racial inferiority based on the pigmentation of the skin. This earth-shaking victory fuelled the psychological and spiritual aspects of African-Caribbean resistance, elevating Johnson to status of “hero.”

#### MUHAMMAD ALI

Born Cassius Clay in Louisville, Texas, Muhammad Ali conquered the world of professional heavyweight boxing (with his claim of “I Am The

Greatest”), then defied the government of the United States by refusing to be drafted into the U.S. Army (on religious grounds) to engage in a war against the Vietnamese people. Ali became a member of Elijah Muhammad’s Nation of Islam and aligned himself to the Black Power Movement, to the disgust of the white power brokers/holders in America. For his actions, Muhammad Ali was punished/banned from professional boxing for three and a half years, technically knocked out of his earning power.

Muhammad Ali maintained the tradition of resistance culture, epitomizing the nexus of sport, religion, and politics in defiance of the ideology of white supremacy, becoming a worldwide (global) celebrity, championing the aspirations of the oppressed people.

### CELEBRITY ON THE TRACK

Barrie Houlihan in *Sport and International Politics* argues:

Hitler used the 1936 Olympic Games to attempt to demonstrate the superiority of the “aryan race”, and in a less sinister fashion, the Americans, Australians and Canadians have all elevated athletes to the status of national heroes. Given the status that many athletes are accorded, it is not surprising that they have a considerable capacity to embarrass their governments. (1994, 6)

African American Jesse Owens captured an unprecedented four gold medals. Videotapes reveal that Hitler in response to Owens’s 100-meter sprint victory showed “much disgust” and immediately stormed out of the stadium.

Owens’s victory when viewed in juxtaposition to the rise and spread of Hitler’s race-supremacy doctrine challenged and defeated that “psychological aspect” of white racism. Owens emerged from the bowels of oppression to achieve the level of “hero” with international celebrity status. On his return to the United States, Owens would continue to face the multiple facets of discrimination (at home).

Thirty-two years later, at the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City, African American runners John Carlos, Tommy Smith, and others were gold medal winners in the 4 × 100 meter relay. After receiving their medals at the podium, the athletes raised their black-gloved clenched fists, effectively giving the Black Power salute to the playing of the American national anthem.

This gesture was interpreted by many as a “public statement” to bring to the world’s attention *the manner in which black people were being treated in America*, despite the various successes achieved at the Olympic Games. African resistance culture had transcended local and regional barriers to manifest at the level of international sport and politics.

On their return to the United States, the athletes’ status as heroes was quickly doused with overt disapproval from the white majority population. They remain celebrities for the underclass and the oppressed.

#### CELEBRITY ON THE COURT

Althea Gibson was born on August 25, 1927, in South Carolina. Her family moved to Harlem where she spent most of her childhood. Developing an interest for lawn tennis was hard because she was banned from public courts for being black.

Against the grain, Gibson began her amateur career in the early 1940s and by the 1950s she became one of the leading women amateur players. In 1956, Althea Gibson broke the color barrier of the American Lawn Tennis league. The following year (1957), she became the first black female lawn tennis player to win at Wimbledon. In the same year, she was named Associate Press (AP) Female Athlete of the Year. Gibson won the French and Italian titles as well as the U.S. Open on several occasions.

Gibson was inducted into the International Tennis Hall of Fame and the International Sports Hall of Fame. She is similar to Jackie Robinson in the sense that she had to survive the depths of white racism and overcome great adversities. Althea Gibson is the forerunner to Arthur Ashe and the Williams sisters (Venus and Serena). Undoubtedly, Althea Gibson reached the level of global celebrity status within the context of African resistance culture.

Arthur Ashe Jr. was a prominent African American tennis player who was born (July 10, 1943) and raised in Richmond, Virginia. Ashe began to attract the attention of tennis fans after being awarded a tennis scholarship at UCLA in 1963. That same year, Ashe was the first African American ever selected to the U.S. Davis Cup Team. By 1969, most people considered Ashe to be the best American male tennis player. He had

won the inaugural U.S. Open in 1968, and aided the U.S. Davis Cup team to victory that same year. Concerned that tennis pros were not receiving winnings commensurate with the sport's growing popularity, Ashe was one of the key figures behind the formation of the Association of Tennis Professionals (ATP).

That year would prove even more momentous for Ashe, when he was denied a visa by the South African government, thereby keeping him out of the South African Open. Ashe chose to use this denial to publicize South Africa's apartheid policies. In the media, Ashe called for South Africa to be expelled from the professional tennis circuit.

In 1970, he added a second grand slam title to his resume by winning the Australian Open. In 1975, after several years of lower levels of success, Ashe played his best season ever by winning Wimbledon, unexpectedly defeating white American Jimmy Connors in the final. He remains the only African American player ever to win the men's singles at Wimbledon, the U.S. Open, or Australian Open, and one of only two men of African ancestry to win a grand slam singles event (the other being France's Yannick Noah, who won the French Open in 1983). In 1985, he was elected to the Tennis Hall of Fame.

#### CELEBRITY IN INTERNATIONAL FOOTBALL

The 1958 World Cup signaled the first time that Brazil, a South American (nonwhite) nation was winning the cup playing in Europe/on European soil. Traditionally, the continent on which the World Cup tournament is played usually produced the winning team. The "genius" of Edson Arantes do Nascimento (Pele) helped to subvert this tradition and gave to the South American/black/African people the World Cup Jules Rimet Trophy, symbol of world football supremacy, and arguably the "greatest player" of all times, in a game *invented* by the European colonizer(s). "King" Pele, I contend, symbolizes the first international black/African sporting icon in a mass-based team sport. According to Wagg (1995, 65):

Pele himself, as Paula Mendes Campos, the Brazilian poet, observed, is important because he is a *safó*, a man who does forbidden things, who can perform deeds on the field, which defy the imagination. To read Pele merely in the context of the political capital that was made of his success

and his career is to miss a central point. Pele is, as Kuper has suggested, a *malandro*, a working-class, resourceful confidence trickster, who can “dribble past life’s difficulties.”

Wagg concludes:

The Latin American style of football defies authority because it is precisely defiance that is encoded within it. As Latin American players dodge and weave their way past better-fed, better-schooled opponents, the crowds go wild. (1995, 65)

“King” Pele was born on October 23, 1940, in Tres Coracoes in Minas Gerais, a state in the south-east of Brazil, north of Rio de Janeiro. He was born poor and lived in a small overcrowded house built from secondhand bricks. His meteoric rise against the odds (economic and social/racial) to represent his country at the age of seventeen, represents one of the great chapters in the history of sport as a young black boy gained celebrity status at the global level.

## IN THE WEST INDIES/CARIBBEAN

In 1492, Spanish explorer Christopher Columbus landed in the south Atlantic where he erroneously identified the natives of the land as “Indians,” thus the misnomer *West Indian*. By 1655, the British captured Jamaica from the Spanish.

The spiritual and political struggle of the African/West Indian/Caribbean people for equality and justice for all races, classes, and religious groups underscores the level of tolerance for a region that has no flag, anthem, single currency, and so forth.

The term *Caribbean* is a more recent political label, possibly brought to the fore by U.S. president Ronald Reagan’s declaration of the Caribbean Basin Initiative (CBI). The cultural shift in identity (i.e., naming), moving from West Indian to Caribbean people has been almost imperceptible, as West Indians are now styled as members of the Caribbean diaspora with communities such as New York, London, and Toronto. Of note, the University of the West Indies and the West Indies cricket team remain the only institutional bastions of West Indian-ness.

### **AFRICAN-CARIBBEAN RESISTANCE THROUGH SPORT: FROM HEADLEY TO RICHARDS TO LARA**

At the turn of the twentieth century, sport in the Caribbean, particularly cricket and football, was transposed into this geopolitical space by British colonists who took their games wherever they conquered. The games of golf, tennis, cricket, and football were popular among the colonialist and elite groups of Caribbean society, and provided the ground for socialization and recreation. However, for the oppressed population, the games of tennis and golf were out of reach leaving cricket as the game of the masses. Cricket provided the arena for contestation and competition between the races within a “theoretically level” framework or field of play. More significant, cricket provided an arena for expressing anticolonial resistance feelings in a socially acceptable manner.

### **EARLY WEST INDIAN CELEBRITIES (HEROES)**

In the Caribbean, sport as a “site” of contestation and resistance to the dominant ideology of white racism took root on the (playfield) cricket grounds of the territories of the British West Indies (BWI). Sport has been a “platform” for the internationalizing of political views held by small nations (e.g., Cuba).

Cricket, as C. L. R. James wrote, was more than a struggle between bat and ball. It was a representation of those who led and those who were led, between colonizer and the colonized. Cricket pits the races against each other in intense rivalry. The clash of race and class in cricket had a stimulating and unifying effect when it is played by the West Indies, and allows for all sorts of vicarious resolutions in the mind, in victory or defeat. Chris Searle, an English intellectual wrote:

There is no doubt that for some English and Australian cricket experts, sunk into the conservative traditions of the sport, the prospect of an exceptionally fast Caribbean man with a cricket ball carries the same threat as a rebellious, anti-imperial black man with a gun. They want him suppressed, disarmed—he fits nowhere into their rules and ways of the game [since often they have no counterpunch] and only challenges them. They hate to be challenged especially in their own creation—cricket!

[AU2:]

cricket![AU2:]

The first generation of sporting/cricket heroes include L. W. Constantine, George “Atlas” Headley, and Frank Worrell. George Headley’s double century at Lords and Frank Worrell’s rise to become the first black captain (leader) of a West Indies team shattered the myth constructed by Victorian England that blacks can neither “lead” nor “bat.” West Indians challenged the colonialists at “their game” as sport/cricket became a tool of defiance/resistance. Undoubtedly, cricket became an instrument of power, political ideology, and social transformation. Hillary Beckles (Beckles and Stoddart 1995, 242) in *Liberation Cricket* notes: “It was inevitable that the politicization of West Indian cricket should spill over into the realms of nationalism, ideology, party politics, and international relations.”

## REBEL AND REVOLUTIONARIES

West Indies cricket had been a champion in the struggle against apartheid. When other countries were championing the cause of “constructive engagement” with apartheid in cricket, the West Indies stood firm by the sporting ban. Within this context, it is worthy to mention the career of one of the finest batsmen to emerge in West Indies cricket.

Lawrence George “Yagga” Rowe was born on January 8, 1949, in Kingston, Jamaica. Rowe was an elegant right-handed batsman described by his teammate, Michael Holding, as “the best batsman I ever saw.” Rowe made his debut for Jamaica in 1968–1969. In 1972, he made history on his Test debut v. New Zealand (in Kingston) scoring 214 and 100 not out, the first time that a cricketer had scored a double and single century on Test debut. It also gave him a batting average of 314 after his first Test match. Rowe played thirty Test matches scoring a total of 2,047 runs at an average of 43. He was known to whistle whilst he batted though he seemed to be injury prone; he suffered problems with his eyesight and was allergic to grass.

Undoubtedly, Yagga Rowe was a West Indies batting hero (in the days before Vivian Richards) emerging from the graasroots of Jamaica to [AU3:]

Rowe became infamous in 1982–1983 when he led a rebel tour to South Africa (during the era of apartheid) when they were isolated

from world sport. When agents of South African cricket came calling in December 1982, he volunteered to lead a rebel West Indian team there. Rowe suffered the indignity of being labeled “honorary white” and aggravated a political stance articulated by African-Caribbean people throughout the diaspora (see Wikipedia).

The West Indian public were outraged by the tour and Rowe himself was ostracised in Jamaica. I argue that the spirit of African resistance was breached by a group of cricketers who failed to comprehend to terrain of sport and its relation to the struggle for liberation, equal rights, and justice.

Issac Vivian Alexander Richards was born on March 7, 1952, at St. John’s, Antigua. Richards made his Test debut at Bangalore against India in 1974–1975, and his one-day international debut against Sri Lanka in the World Cup of 1975. His last Test was against England at the Oval in 1991 and his last ODI [AU4:] was at Lord’s in the same series. For more than fifteen years, Richards dominated cricket—the traditional as well as the instant version. The very sight of him walking in with his famous swagger, chewing gum, his huge shoulders loosening up for action, sent shivers down the spines of international bowlers. He could play all the shots in the game.

Apart from his exciting style of play, Richards is held in great esteem for his personal principles in refusing a “blank cheque” offer to play for a rebel West Indian squad in racist South Africa during the apartheid era in 1983, and again in 1984. According to Richards in the foreword to Beckles and Stoddard’s *Liberation Cricket*: “I carried my bat for the liberation of Africa and other oppressed people everywhere. The principle of fair play so deeply rooted within cricket values must be fought for and defended at all times” (1995).

Richards, when asked who he’d like to be reborn as, mentioned Bob Marley and Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie, JAH Rastafari. Of note, fast bowler Anderson Montgomery Roberts of Antigua was the first West Indies cricketer to refuse a handsome monetary offer to play cricket in apartheid South Africa.

## GLOBALIZATION/POSTAPARTHEID ERA

The demise of the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics ushered in a “new” geopolitical, socioeconomic, and military “order” termed *global-*

*ization*. Within this new paradigm, sport in the Caribbean, in this instance, West Indies cricket, faced new challenges, among them the quantum increase in media attention, sponsorship, and individual financial remunerations as well as the increase usage of video technology.

Brian Charles Lara made his international debut during the West Indies tour of Pakistan in 1990–1991. Brian Lara is one of the most gifted batsmen in the history of cricket. He is in the line of greatness that produced Headley, the three Ws, Sobers, and Richards [AU5:] (King and Laurie, 2004, 126). He previously held the highest Test score, 375, and currently holds the highest first-class score, 501 (see Wikipedia).

[AU5:]

The emergence of Brian Charles Lara parallels the introduction of the millionaire culture–Hollywood system of celebrity to sport in the Caribbean, challenging the dynamics of work and play, the basis for celebrity and heroism, resistance and accommodation, including the new/old social responsibilities of star/celebrated player. Lara became the first millionaire West Indian cricketer with endorsements, advertising, and promotional contracts following in the manner that runs flowed from his bat. Many observers have speculated that this new orientation created new attitudes and feelings of “alienation” between elements of the cricket fraternity including fans, administrators, Lara, and a few teammates.

The release of longtime South African political prisoner Nelson Mandela diffused much of the tension/resistance between the black populations in particular and the international community in general against the apartheid South African government. This act can be seen as the forerunner to the reentry of South Africa to the international sporting community.

## CONCLUSION

Sport has been a vehicle for the social and economic movement of the poor and working class, the oppressed and dispossessed peoples of the diaspora. By extension, the sport heroes that emerge from these said classes represent living symbols of resistance that become transformed into celebrity status.

I conclude that the neoliberal-globalization paradigm has replaced the oppressor/oppressed, domination/resistance framework, obfuscating the ideological connections of defiance and resistance to the field of play; shifting identities with diminishing sociopolitical agendas; moving from resistance to accommodation to assimilation.

The resistance ethos of Caribbean cricket has undergone a revolutionary downward spiral with losing becoming a norm nurtured by mediocrity, carelessness, and individualism.

I argue that playing for love of the game has been replaced with playing for the love of money. I further argue that there is not much credence given to the concept of “loyalty to nation,” as many people do not feel obliged to commit themselves to country.

In this regard, Benn and Hall (2000, 94) in *Globalisation: A Calculus of Inequality* observe:

Old certainties and hierarchies of identity are called into question in a world of dissolving boundaries and disrupted continuities. Thus, in a country that is now a container of African and Asian cultures, can the meaning of what it is to be British (*West Indian/Caribbean*) ever again have the old confidence and surety it might once have had? . . . Is it at all possible, in global times, to sustain a coherent and unified sense of identity? Continuity and historicity of identity are challenged by the immediacy and intensity of global cultural confrontation (2000, 198)[AU6:]

[AU6:] One could argue that the racial pride, ruthlessness and efficiency of the Jack Johnson to George Headley to Vivian Richards era has been replaced by materialism, laziness, and individual drive for “superstardom.” Cricket, for example, as the national pastime of the West Indies, is no longer an arena to demonstrate resistance against an oppressive order. It would appear that the motive for competing has shifted from “race pride and respect” to money, bling,<sup>3</sup> and more money (implication of basketball).

Within the context of globalization, are we witnessing the destruction of the underpinnings of African-Caribbean resistance culture? Are we witnessing the metamorphosis of African resistance culture to the celebrity culture of Hollywood?

It is evident that once West Indian players decide to put personal gain over regional interests, Caribbean people will witness the continued “softening” of the regional team, playing without the cultural-re-

sistance spearhead developed and exhibited during the era of Jack Johnson through George Headley to Vivian Richards.

I argue that the diaspora requires sport celebrities to be more conscious of the historical and cultural context in which sport operates, and their psychological, social, economic, and political responsibilities to the people of the region. I wish to concur with Brian Stoddart's (Beckles and Stoddart 1995, 395) observation: "The contours of the modern game as played and conveyed by Caribbean people are still essentially about struggle in one form or another, and therein lies the ultimate message."

[AU7:]

Jack Johnson	George Headley
Jesse Owens	Frank Worrell
Althea Gibson	Lawrence Rowe
Arthur Ashe	Vivian Richards
Jackie Robinson	Brian Lara
Pele	

[AU7:]

## NOTES

1. See William Brashler's *Josh Gibson: A Life in the Negro Leagues*, 1978.
2. [www.blackbaseball.com/history/the\\_early\\_years.hum](http://www.blackbaseball.com/history/the_early_years.hum).
3. *Bling* is a new slang word that often refers to things that are "bright and showery," usually of little "substance" . . . flashy jewelry, clothing, cars, . . . lifestyle.

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