

Exploring the Influence of Black Liberatory Theory on Collegiate Sport Reform Initiatives

Brandon T. Wallace
Indiana University

Abstract: As the oppressions of United States collegiate sport persist, recent collegiate sport reform efforts have emerged to address the racial injustices and inequalities that remain in contemporary collegiate sport. Because racial justice reform efforts in college sport are intricately linked to broader visions and pursuits of Black liberation, it is necessary for these efforts to acknowledge the diversity of Black political perspectives and explicitly consider precisely which theoretical model underpins their pursuit of racial justice in college sport. This paper aims to outline how racial justice initiatives within collegiate sport have been theoretically and strategically connected to broader Black social movements and the liberatory visions that accompany them. Specifically, I examine how some of the most common theories of Black liberation – Black Liberal Integrationism, Black nationalism, Black Marxism, and Black feminism – have shaped the tactical and utopian directions of key movements in the history of collegiate sport activism. Such events include the boycott efforts led by Dr. Harry Edwards in the late 1960s, the push for Historically Black Colleges and Universities athletics throughout the late 1900s, and the University of Missouri football strike in 2015. In effect, I argue that exploring the implicit intra-Black political divergences and tensions of past Black social movements can reveal instructive insights for contemporary collegiate sport reformers that can aid in achieving a more collective, structurally focused, and intersectional vision for transforming collegiate sport.

Keywords: Black politics, racial justice reform, collegiate sport activism, social movements, liberatory theory

The Multiplicity of Black Politics

Scholars and activists have long advocated for the need for racial justice within collegiate sport in the United States (Cooper, 2019; Edwards, 2018; Hawkins et al., 2016; Singer, 2019). The intertwined oppressions stemming from the racism, exploitation, and neoliberal governance of collegiate sport have spurred calls for a more equitable and perhaps liberatory form of collegiate sport (King-White, 2018; Runstedtler, 2018). These oppressions – as well as the calls for action to eliminate them – have been especially prescient within the revenue-generating sports of men’s basketball and football, which Black athletes constitute at a rate highly disproportionate to the percentage of Black people in the broader United States (U.S.) population (Ingraham, 2020; Van Rheen, 2013). Historical and contemporary racial justice efforts in U.S. collegiate sport have been explicitly and implicitly connected to broader social movements for racial justice, such as the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s-60s and the Black Lives Matter movement of the 2010s and beyond. Thus, the efforts have been influenced by the underlying theories and ideology of Black liberation inherent to those movements. It is a result of both timely research/advocacy by scholars

Suggested citation: Wallace, B.T. (2024). Exploring the influence of Black liberatory theory on collegiate sport reform initiatives. *Journal of Higher Education Athletics & Innovation*, 2(2), 64-81.

and the continued blatant exploitation by the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) that the necessity of race-based collegiate sport reform has become generally favorable within mainstream U.S. political opinion (Allison et al., 2022; Kleen, 2021). The next step, I contend, is unpacking the differences in theory, ideology, and tactics *within* racial justice movements in collegiate sport.

Scholars such as Keeanga-Yamhatta Taylor (2021), Charisse Burden-Stelly and Jodi Dean (2022), and Olúfemi O Táíwò (2022) have argued that while the perspectives held by Black people have recently gained more currency and credibility within mainstream White institutions, the “Black perspective” is too often treated as a monolith. The epistemological assumption that Black people – by way of simply being ascribed the social label of *Black* – all harbor roughly the same political and ideological perspectives. This assumption ignores the vast diversity of political orientations, liberatory visions, and strategic preferences for attaining racial justice that exist within the Black community that determine the direction and effectiveness of racial justice efforts. Furthermore, the well-intentioned mantra to “listen to Black voices” has perhaps gotten more Black people a seat at decision-making tables, but it has also elevated some Black voices over others. Specifically, the above scholars argue that the Black perspectives that are more compatible with moderate, liberal, reformist social viewpoints tend to be privileged over more radical and revolutionary Black perspectives (James, 1999; Táíwò, 2022). Assuredly, mainstream institutions (academia included) have somewhat begun to counter the monolithization of Black people by accounting for the intersectionality of the Black experience (Collins & Bilge, 2018) regarding how the Black lived experience is intricately intertwined with gender, class, sexuality, and ability. However, diversity of *ideology* remains an overlooked factor in Black inclusion efforts, specifically in conversations about attaining racial justice in institutions such as collegiate sport.

As a Black scholar personally and professionally interested in the racial politics of collegiate sport and efforts to reform it, I aim to offer a theoretical contribution to racial justice initiatives in collegiate sport. I contend that these initiatives influence, and are influenced by, broader ideologies of racial justice and Black liberation. As alluded to above, what precisely constitutes racial justice and/or Black liberation is not uncontested, even in (especially in) the Black community. Rather than containing a universal definition, Black liberation has been a polysemic and contested concept in each of its historical contexts. These subtle yet largely unexplored differences that exist in theories of Black liberation reflect and reproduce a politics that enables some liberatory visions and restrict others in ways that function to hinder the realization of a collective, grassroots, intersectional, and diasporic Black liberatory project (Bhattacharyya, 2018; Collins, 2000; Hall, 1990; Zamalin, 2019). Because of the way Black liberation terminology has been invoked – as well as co-opted or appropriated – by various late capitalist economic and political forces (Andrews, 2018; Gilroy, 2000), I argue that racial justice initiatives within collegiate sport would benefit from explicit and reflective examination of the Black liberatory theories that underpin their praxis, and upon which their goals, methods, effectiveness, and impact rely. While doing so may spark generative disagreements, this reflection will ultimately ensure that reformers are operating with aligned assumptions and visions of racial justice.

In what follows, I briefly explicate the aforementioned differences in Black political ideology in order to critically explore how the ideological diversity within broader Black politics

has influenced collegiate sport racial justice initiatives. I trace this history organized by theory rather than chronology because, generally, each theory has been relevant within each historical period. Drawing empirically from numerous historical collegiate sport racial reform efforts, I argue that the successes and failures of each of these historical movements in collegiate sport reflect more broadly the politics inherent to their corollary theories of Black liberation. Overall, I conclude that Black liberatory movements have always been marked by hybridity and contestation on the grounds of ideology; and that current efforts aiming to reimagine the racial politics of collegiate sport must be cognizant of this history to avoid the obstacles that have limited past race-based collegiate sport reform efforts.

Liberation as Equality: Liberal Integrationism

The most common and fundamental strand of Black liberatory thought has been the pursuit of equality. Though equality has been the underlying principle in almost all liberatory ideologies, the definition, form, and function have differed significantly (Dawson, 2001). In most historical cases, animating Black liberatory ideology was what Frederickson (1995) termed a *universal liberal integrationist response*, wherein Blacks aimed for equal status and full integration with Whites within common society as it functioned, though a society devoid of an entrenched racial hierarchy. The majority of Blacks have accepted the classic liberal view of equality as the *equality of opportunity*, which posits not that all people be granted or end up with the resources to survive (let alone thrive), but merely that all people needed to have equal protection under the law so that they could compete and interact with other equal actors in the pursuit of private wealth and property (Mills, 2017). The pursuit of the equality of opportunity was dominant from the post-Emancipation era and into the early 20th Century, which saw the denial of basic civil rights for Blacks – the effective right to vote, the denial of education, the denial of employment, the destruction of Black business – after Reconstruction and through the next century of Jim Crow segregation and discrimination (DuBois, 1935; Foner, 2019). Because Blacks are both a social and numerical minority in the U.S. context, equal protection under the law was seen as the bare minimum civil right, even if it did not spur complete integration.

In terms of function, the liberal integrationist pursuit did not seek liberation as the elimination of race as a social factor (unsurprisingly, since the essentialist view of race was dominant at the time). Instead, it merely sought the ability for Blacks to act within their interest as a collective race and as racialized people without being politically or violently punished for doing so (Frederickson, 1995). Equality of opportunity as an endpoint for liberation was especially appealing to the burgeoning Black elite and middle classes, for whom race was the only inhibitor of attaining equal status and legitimacy within White institutions (Andrews, 2018). For these intellectuals, e.g., Martin Delany, T. Thomas Fortune, Booker T. Washington, and even Frederick Douglass, a truly integrated nonracial society was still on the horizon of possibility, as racism was viewed as a temporary remnant of slavery that would soon wither away with time (Frederickson, 1995). Perhaps more importantly, the post-Emancipation Black elite was overwhelming capitalist and, as such, accepted and endorsed the ostensibly American values of meritocracy, hard work, and self-help (Frazier, 1965). Therefore, in their eyes, the system Whites had constructed was preferable; the central issue was that Blacks were denied the fruits of that system's riches. This view was accompanied by antagonistic, intra-Black class politics that would occupy the backdrop of subsequent liberatory struggles to this day (Marable, 2015; Spence, 2015). Rather than merely

expressing a latent Black collective consciousness, this post-Emancipation Black elite often viewed themselves as worthy of equality but viewed the poorer Black masses as requiring civilization into modernity and the development of a persevering determination to help themselves – without sacrificing their dignity by accepting hand-outs – before becoming equal with Whites (Frederickson, 1995). This belief explains the framing of post-Emancipation Black liberation as obtaining opportunity and gradual reformism rather than compensation, justice, or other demands that would arise as Black resistance progressed.

Within collegiate sport, liberal integrationism was obviously the dominant theoretical influence in the push for integration of collegiate sports (as discussed later). I argue that it is still the most common theoretical underpinning of racial justice reform movements in collegiate sport since, by definition, any reform effort aims to stabilize the system and thus tacitly functions to maintain the system. For instance, one could argue that the legalization of NIL functions as a salve that allows some college athletes to capitalize in small part on the value they create while discouraging critical interrogation of the broader system in which they are still exploited and robbed of the value their labor creates for universities. A cynic might say NIL policies thus make a fundamentally exploitative system slightly more tolerable. Despite my tone and previous lamentation of the neglect of more radical perspectives, I do not view reformist strategies as worthless or automatically inferior to more radical perspectives. As I argue later, my point is that reform occupies a hegemony in racial justice theory and strategy when alternatives to reformism exist and should be taken seriously.

Empirically, The Olympic Project for Human Rights (OPHR), organized by Dr. Harry Edwards, contained elements useful for examining liberal integrationism in action as a framework for collegiate sporting activism. In response to racism and economic injustice faced by Black athletes in sport and Black people in society more broadly in the late 1960s, the OPHR attempted to organize a boycott by Black athletes of the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City. The OPHR had six demands of the International Olympic Committee (IOC): (a) restore Muhammad Ali's boxing title that was stripped for his refusal to fight in the Vietnam War into which he was conscripted; (b) remove "anti-Semitic and anti-Black personality" Avery Brundage; (c) exclude the participation of apartheid nations South Africa and Rhodesia; (d) add at least two Black coaches to the Olympic men's track and field coaching staff; (e) appoint at least two Black people to policy-making positions at the U.S. Olympic Committee; and (f) desegregate the New York Athletic Club (Edwards, 2018; p. 53). Although the boycott ultimately fell apart, its spirit came to fruition when sprinters John Carlos and Tommie Smith famously raised their fists in a Black power salute during the men's 100m medal ceremony, drawing attention to racial injustice through sport (Hartmann, 2003).

In his writings, Harry Edwards has forcefully articulated the OPHR within a broader history of revolt for Black liberation (Edwards, 2018). Accordingly, the trajectory of the OPHR reflects some of the strengths and weaknesses of a liberal accommodationist approach. While the movement was vocal about the racism inherent to American sporting institutions, it ultimately prioritized an approach aimed at more Black inclusion into those same institutions. The OPHR succeeded in bringing wider attention to the political nature and racial oppression in sport, as well as catalyzing some key reforms to amateur athletics (Hartmann, 2003). It also provided a memorable moment that inspires Black revolutionary activity (within and outside sport) today. Yet

a potential critique is that the movement resulted in mostly symbolic achievements that, in effect, gave off the appearance of revolution without fundamental changes to the roots of the issues afflicting Black athletes. The concrete action sparked by the revolt – slow-moving reform, a hallmark of liberal integrationism – may have kept intact (and perhaps preserved) an exploitative and racially oppressive amateur athletic system that persists today. As discussed later, even if the boycott were successful, it is doubtful that the movement’s success would have translated to positive gains for anyone other than elite Black male athletes, an issue common to all pursuits of racial justice underpinned by liberal integrationism.

Liberation as Escape: Black Nationalism

Black nationalism is another influential theory of Black liberation that reached its political and intellectual heights in the early 1900s but has cultural remnants that persist today. While it has various strands and manifestations, the underlying postulation for Black nationalists is the belief that Blacks have been wronged not only as individuals but as a collective people and nation (Andrews, 2018). The signature departure for Black nationalism from the pursuit of equality is the belief that the remedy for Blacks’ historical wrongs is not reform and gradual integration into the White-constructed system but rather a full-scale escape from the colonizing nation (in our case, the U.S.). Most Black nationalists also advocated for and even planned in detail the establishment of a separate and independent Black nation, either within or outside the colonizing nation (Kelley, 2003). In the Black nationalist view, liberation could only be realized with the autonomy allotted by a sovereign nation *of* Blacks and *for* Blacks. Less important are the political and economic structures in place than the Black faces that would purportedly be in control of them.

Black nationalism was born in several important contexts. First, the conscription of White workers for the demand necessitated by World War I sparked the transition of many Blacks into the industry, merging their everyday lives with the rhythms of the working class (Frederickson, 1995). This shift exacerbated a second important context: the growing notion/recognition that W.E.B. DuBois’s National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and other Black bourgeoisie organizations were elitist, beholden to White liberal dollars and political alliances, and spoke *to* the Black masses (in a patronizing manner) rather than *for* the Black masses as they professed (Andrews, 2018). The NAACP’s lack of an economic and labor program to address the class-based concerns of the emerging Black working class confirmed the view that Black leaders favored Black elite interests over Black rural and working-class interests (Shawki, 2006). Third, the intensity of the Jim Crow era and its concomitant lynchings, violence, and discrimination that only seemed to be spreading deeper and wider inspired pessimism that integrationist equality was ever feasible or even desirable.

As such, Black nationalism arose as a form of Black populism that tapped into an increasingly radicalizing and anti-elitist fervor that sought to oppose rather than adapt to White Western social formations (Frederickson, 1995). It was especially tantalizing to the Black poor and working class by way of its capacity to – at least in rhetoric and appearances – represent everyday Black people. Importantly, its appeal also derived from the way Black nationalists instilled pride in Blacks. Black nationalists often gladly accepted essentialist views of race, as well as the popular turn-of-the-century notion that each “race” had a unique gift to offer humanity. Black nationalists reversed the White view that Blacks were cursed with passivity and inferiority;

they argued instead that Blacks possessed power, spirit, and other gifts that would make whatever nation they established a mighty empire (Frederickson, 1995). This belief also was wielded to buttress a conservative Booker T. Washington-esque belief that self-help and respectability were key to unlocking the Black genius, and that economic empowerment was the key to setting it in motion. Whereas the pursuit of equality inspired strides in the political terrain, Black nationalism based its liberatory appeal on the cultural and psychological terrain.

Black nationalism – along with the closely related movement of Pan-Africanism that valorized a physical or metaphorical return to Africa for Blacks – also became associated with reformulations of cultural identity for many Blacks. As it became increasingly clear in the early to mid-1900s that Blacks around the globe were not going to return to Africa permanently, there emerged a tendency to attempt to summon a sense of long-lost Blackness through culture. In this cultural nationalist logic, if Blacks could not unlock the prophesied royalty and power of African identity in Africa, they could instead invoke the proverbial power of Africa in their everyday contexts and keep Africa alive in their actions (Andrews, 2018). Cultural nationalism was closely linked to the Black Power movement, which sought to rearticulate Blackness as a source of pride and solidarity rather than inferiority (Ture & Hamilton, 1992). Their primary issue was not the racism embedded in material structures and institutions; they claimed that many Blacks were still stuck in mental slavery – and would fail to reach self-determination until they liberated their minds and unlearned the racism that Blacks had been inundated with for centuries (Kelley, 2003; Kendi, 2017). Methods of liberating the Black mind were manifold: from the creation of revolutionary and utopian art by the surrealists, to the “re-assertion of manhood” from many of the Black men who claimed leadership of liberation movements, to the adornment of traditionally African clothes and hairstyles, to the play of sports with a distinct Black/African style (Isaac, 2008; Powell, 2003; Rhoden, 2006). Cultural nationalists thus sought liberation through the confidence and self-esteem granted by the assertion of a mighty and triumphant ancient African identity that was stripped in the Middle Passage and destroyed by the West’s oppression.

While the Black nationalist movement sparked a new form of consciousness for Blacks, it also suffered from logical flaws. The Black nationalist longing for a sovereign Black nation was not only hindered by pragmatic and logistical barriers that prevented its realization; the idea itself underestimated how the increasing interconnectivity engendered by globalization (in its 19th Century or 20th Century form) very likely prohibits the possibility of a Black nation that could exist without ties to – or dependence upon – White nations (Andrews, 2018). This is especially the case since many Black nationalists aimed to simply replicate the foundational logics of Western modernity, eliminating racial hierarchies but maintaining hierarchies of class, gender, and sexuality (Zamalin, 2019). Both Black nationalism and its corollary, cultural nationalism, also operate under an essentialist view of race that implies there is an authenticity to Blackness, or a fixed Black core within people racialized as Black that is yearning to be unlocked, often via a performance of Africanness (Hall, 1990). This often results from – and simultaneously reproduces – a romanticization of Africa as a Black utopia that only exists through myth and imagination and does not resemble history or reality (Kelley, 2003). Even if one pretends there was a mighty Africa in the premodern past, the cultural nationalist actions of thinking, talking, and acting “Black” to summon it is more performative than liberatory, and does nothing to change structural conditions for Blacks in their contexts (Andrews, 2018). A cultural revolution to influence confidence and self-perception has a role to play in Black liberation, but because racial oppression is far more

material and institutional than psychological, the constellation of an Afrocentric mindset cannot alone serve as an endpoint for racial justice.

Black nationalism as a liberatory approach has influenced numerous sporting activist endeavors. The emergence of the Fab Five reflected the appeal of cultural nationalism. The Fab Five was the nickname for the 1991 University of Michigan's all-Black starting men's basketball lineup, consisting of players Chris Webber, Jalen Rose, Juwan Howard, Jimmy King, and Ray Jackson (Vogan, 2011). Apart from their basketball success, they became popular due to their street aesthetic, i.e., black socks and baggy shorts, and swagger attitude that, to many, was reminiscent of an *authentic* Black culture that posed an affront to the overarching Whiteness of college basketball (Wallace, 2022). While likely functioning to help normalize the presence of Blackness in mainstream popular culture, the Fab Five's cultural style did not result in any material change to the position of Black athletes, or the Black community for that matter. The appeal that they represented Black culture also relied on the problematic notion that a predetermined authentic Blackness can be excavated. Historically, this assumption of the authenticity of the Black experience has reproduced notions that Black people are monolithic while most often privileging Black hetero-masculinity as the *default* Black performance (Hall, 1990; Zamalin, 2019).

As for the more material strain of Black nationalism, even the OPHR had Black nationalist ideas – such as an alternate 1968 Olympics for Black athletes held in Africa and a Federation of Black Amateur Athletes for Black collegiate athletes – that never came to fruition. Another sporting example reflective of Black nationalist approaches is the historical push to strengthen Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs) athletics. Recognizing the alienating and dehumanizing experiences of many Black athletes at predominantly White universities, Black athletes were encouraged to attend HBCUs rather than White colleges. The rationale was that talented players attending HBCUs would make the gameplay more competitive and enticing, which would generate wider and possibly mainstream interest, which would then translate to increased revenue and development of an economic sporting infrastructure whose fruits would be controlled by, enjoyed by, and hopefully mobilized for the wider benefit of Blacks.

Rhoden (2006) argued that the focus on integration halted the progress of building up Black professional institutions, e.g., the Negro Leagues, as well as Black collegiate institutions, e.g., HBCU athletics. But even this point perhaps romanticizes the benefits of Black-owned institutions. HBCU athletics became a point of pride and identification for Black communities through the mid-1900s, played a vital role in employing Black workers, and empowered Black culture. Some Black HBCU coaches recognized the benefits of segregated sport for their team's success and personal coaching careers and aimed to prolong segregation to benefit from the increased likelihood of recruiting and attaining Black talent (Rhoden, 2006). Similar to Black cultural nationalism, its benefits were always more psychological and cultural than material (which is not to downplay the importance of the psychological and cultural realms). However, the liberatory potential of parallel Black sporting institutions was likely always restricted. Even if there could eventually be truly parallel sporting institutions owned and controlled by Black faces, it would not automatically confer material benefits to Black athletes or the Black community. While HBCU athletics would enrich a select handful of Black people instead of White people, it would still rely on amateurist exploitation. Furthermore, similar to the push for independent Black nations, the hypothetical Black parallel sporting institutions would still operate within the context of a White-majority

nation and, therefore, would be directly or indirectly reliant upon White society, i.e., in the form of consumption, investment, governance/regulation, media, and other corollary institutions, in a manner that renders full autonomy unrealistic.

Liberation as Anti-capitalist Revolution: Black Marxism

One of the more radical visions of Black liberation is that of Black Marxists, who link their anti-racist struggle to socialist, communist, or anti-capitalist struggles. The *radicalism* of Black Marxism entails rejecting the fundamental principles that govern Western capitalist democracies (Andrews, 2018). For Black Marxists, true Black liberation means targeting and transforming the material and systemic structures responsible for oppression (of both race and class) rather than attempting to ingratiate oneself or merely assuage its subsidiary symptoms (Robinson, 1984). Following Marx's conception that the economic base (of capitalism in our case) determines the societal superstructure (of culture, politics, religion, society, etc.), Black Marxists found it contradictory to pine for equality in a capitalist system that was inherently unequal and fundamentally reliant upon exploitation. Because the majority of Blacks were poor and working class, i.e., proletariat rather than petit bourgeoisie, they were critical of earlier conceptions of Black liberation that ignored the immediate ramifications of class and labor exploitation, or worse, they sought to develop Black capitalism that merely swapped a White bourgeoisie with a Black bourgeoisie (Bhattacharyya, 2018; Frazier, 1965). In addition, Black Marxism was largely Pan-Africanist. Perhaps more than any other theory of liberation, Black Marxists sympathized and connected with an international proletariat often marked in their local context by class *and* race (Gilroy, 1993). Whether or not they believed it could solve the issue of race, Black Marxists favored and aimed to establish communism. The logic was that the largely White and European (at the time) Communist movement ironically could be of more benefit to Blacks and all people of color around the world, who were more concentrated into the poor and working class (Kelley, 2015; Marable, 2015).

While Marxism had been a growing political-economic-social theory mainly in Europe since the mid-1800s, the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 that established the Soviet Union triggered the ascendance of communism into a tangible political project that quickly spread around the globe (Frederickson, 1995). After World War I, communism gained a significant following and formed associations with the popular Progressive-era labor movement in the U.S. (McLellan, 1979). The radical fervor of communism became attractive to Blacks for a few reasons. First, as stated earlier, it addressed the immediate question of class and exploitation that its contemporary movements of NAACP-led liberal integrationism, Black nationalism, and Black Christianity largely ignored (Kelley, 2015). Second, despite the uneasiness of many Blacks to associate with a communist intellectual heritage that appeared to only speak about and to White Europeans, Blacks recognized the fact that the overwhelmingly White U.S. communist organizations by the 1920s were at the forefront of anti-racist protests, legal battles, and other forms of racial resistance (Frederickson, 1995). This was mostly due to the directives supplied by Soviet leader Vladimir Lenin. In his famous analysis of capitalist imperialism, Lenin (2015) rejected Marx's theory that liberatory revolution would require an organized working class within a nation, instead arguing that the rise of imperialism meant that the third world and underdeveloped nations – including the most oppressed status groups within those nations – were the laborers upon which global capitalism depended. As such, it was the third world, mostly non-White nations and peoples, that were the

key revolutionary agents whose liberation would bring about the fall of capitalism. Lenin officially recognized Blacks as an oppressed nation deserving of self-determination, which dictated international Soviet-allied communist policy. Lenin had special sympathies for Black Americans due to the emergence of the U.S. as an economic superpower and viewed them as the vanguard of the international Black race (Frederickson, 1995). The actions and the messages of Lenin-affiliated communism thus gained credibility with many Blacks across the economic stratum, especially as the White capitalists and moderates who vehemently denounced communism simultaneously tolerated Jim Crow discrimination. As opposed to Black nationalism, Black Marxists were willing to work with White progressives and the White working class to eliminate class and racial oppression.

The burgeoning linkage between Blacks and communists did yield several issues and tensions, however. Lenin – and even his successor Stalin – were more resolute in their anti-racism than the satellite communist movement in the U.S. that was constituted largely by homegrown White Americans, who were often socialized into harboring anti-Black proclivities (Heideman, 2018). The Labor Movement was no better, as Blacks were too often denied union entry because of their race – or seen as the enemy of unions because they were willing/forced to accept lower wages and fewer benefits from employers than White workers (Foner, 2017; Zinn, 2003). There was also the more abstract issue of the relationship between race and class in Marxist theory. Many Marxist theorists viewed race as simply a matter of *false consciousness*, or an ideological misconception that was the product of intentional bourgeoisie manipulations of proletariat unity. They viewed race as a particularity of capitalism that would be eliminated with its abolition and racism as the misdirected expression of grievances that inveterately arose from class exploitation. Therefore, in this thinking, race was secondary to class (the ultimate basis of solidarity) because solving the class question would solve the race question (Robinson, 1984; Roediger, 2017). Communists were eager to organize with any Black workers in a common pursuit of revolution. However, these arguments sparked hesitancy to take any race-exclusive issues seriously that did not have a clear class angle. While the class-first argument was convincing to some, many Blacks perceptively understood that class did not solely explain race and that racism took on its own distinct character separate from the relations of capitalist production (Gilroy, 1993; Hall, 1980; Kelley, 2015; Robinson, 1984). Black Marxists in the academy would later demonstrate how racism and capitalism are certainly intertwined, yet have their unique histories and operations, which confirmed the long-held intuition among Blacks that the end of capitalism would not solve racism (Bhattacharyya, 2018; Johnson & Lubin, 2017).

While Blacks were enticed by communism for the reasons listed above, the association was usually more intellectual than political. Blacks did not join communist political organizations in droves (Frederickson, 1995). The anti-communist milieu of the post-World War I and later post-World War II McCarthyist era resulted in significant repression of communist ideas (Zinn, 2003). This made formal affiliation with communism dangerous for Blacks, especially Black community leaders whose flirtations with communism would be weaponized to destroy their credibility with liberal Whites and integrationist/reformist Blacks. DuBois, for example, evolved into a Marxist intellectually but was aware of how communist affiliation was weaponized to destroy Paul Robeson (Bryant, 2018). Other Black communists, most notably Richard Wright, would grow disillusioned with American communism's inconsistency with the race question and became pessimistic that Whites could ever truly unify with Blacks in service of revolution (Gilroy, 1993).

Yet Marxism would remain a factor in subsequent Black liberation struggles. Malcolm X would forcefully advocate for an international, anti-capitalist, quasi-socialist revolution, and King would shift his focus to labor relations, poverty, and socialism later in his life (Shawki, 2006). The Black Panther Party headlined by Huey Newton, Bobby Seale, and Fred Hampton, declared themselves explicitly Marxist-Leninist (Kelley, 2003). They would not only preach, organize, and raise consciousness for an international socialist revolution (in alliance with oppressed Whites) but would also provide a taste of Black liberation by implementing community programs that prefigured the society they sought to establish (Newton, 2019). Marxism would be even more influential in anti-imperialist liberatory movements across the diaspora – especially in South Africa and other African nations, as well as in the Caribbean – as there was not a strong competing integrationist theory of liberation that would pacify the revolutionary energy of Black majorities (Frederickson, 1995; McLellan, 1979).

There are fewer examples of Black Marxism within sport than there are examples of previous theories, unsurprisingly due to sport's moderate, if not conservative, structure and culture. Still, activism based on the tenets of Marxism has been present in sporting history. Examples include the development of workers' sport leagues in the early 1900s to develop working-class solidarity (Harvey et al., 2014; Wheeler, 1978); the attempts in multiple sports to create player-run leagues (Ross, 2016); and the famous labor dispute cases such as Curt Flood's challenge of the Major League Baseball's Reserve Clause in 1969 (Briley, 2014). More recently, this perspective implicitly underpinned the attempts by the Northwestern University football team to unionize (Strauss, 2015). The goal was to classify *student-athletes* as employees, enticing them to labor rights, e.g., the right to unionize. Unfortunately, it fell apart after the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) declared that it lacked jurisdiction over the NCAA to declare them employees. This case had the potential to revolutionize collegiate athletics by granting players collective bargaining power that could be used as leverage for a list of economic and racial demands. However, its failure in the legal system demonstrates how more revolutionary strategies based on a Black Marxist approach will likely fail when forced to navigate institutions that fundamentally aim for the status quo's persistence and strengthening, such as the U.S. legal system.

A useful example for examining the strengths and weaknesses of a Black Marxist approach in college sport can be found in the University of Missouri football protests of 2015. In response to the culture of racism at the university and the lack of an adequate response by the university administration, the Missouri football team announced that they would not play football until the university president was removed from office (Nadkarni & Nieves, 2015; Yan et al., 2018). A few days later, the president resigned. The Missouri football strike reflects the potential of a Marxist approach to Black liberation. First, it demonstrated how the economic engine that is collegiate football can be leveraged to confront and address racism. This is similar to what the OPHR attempted but ultimately did not succeed in. Recognizing the value of athletic labor – and the catastrophic consequences of its refusal – created pressure for effective change in White power structures in ways that other liberatory projects had not. Second, it is important to note that the Missouri football team was united among Black and non-Black players. Cross-racial solidarity is often difficult to envision and sustain in a myriad of contexts, but the Missouri strike may suggest that sport contains a unique opportunity for the formation of the solidarity necessary to affect change. These results are difficult to replicate on a grand scale. Though the exploitative nature of

the NCAA may create a ripe atmosphere for athletic labor solidarity, the precarity of student-athlete life means that willingness to unite for a cause may be tenuous. Nonetheless, the Missouri example demonstrates the power of collective change aimed at structural roots, even when the odds are stacked against it.

Liberation as Eliminating All Oppressions: Black Feminism and Intersectionality

Unlike previous theories, the last theory is one that I argue has not had *enough* influence on racial justice movements both within and beyond collegiate sport. Black women have been central to developing many of the aforementioned theories of liberation and have overwhelmingly coordinated the political activity to actualize them. Yet, their work has often gone unrecognized, and their perspectives and epistemologies have gone unheralded by the men who assumed the front lines of intellectual and political leadership (Ling & Monteith, 2004; Weheliye, 2014). As a result, many Black male leaders who have theorized about the roots of oppression of the Black race have tended to overlook how patriarchy and heteronormativity contribute to the racial oppression of Black women and Black queer people (Kelley, 2003). Neither structure of oppression received much mainstream critical thought until about the 1970s, which tainted and limited the effectiveness of previous liberatory movements. Black nationalist leaders, e.g., Garvey, Carmichael, and Eldridge Cleaver, harbored deeply misogynistic and anti-LGBT ideas, and even more integrationist Civil Rights leaders tended to view the role of women as supporting and organizing in the background for revolutionary men (Andrews, 2018). This was indicative of the broader assumption of female domesticity that relegated the majority of women to the private sphere of the home while men occupied the public sphere of politics, business, and academics. Indeed, many Black male leaders viewed the sin of racism not as oppressing the Black community as a whole, but as stripping the Black man of his ostensibly proper manhood, thus linking Black liberation to the full realization of a toxic and domineering masculinity (Matlon, 2022).

Black feminist scholars and activists since the Civil Rights movement – notably Angela Davis, Ella Baker, and the Combahee River Collective – identified the ways in which capitalism, racism, and patriarchy were linked (James, 1999). They offered a theory of liberation that extended from the public to the private realm, which is constituted by women who themselves required unique forms of liberation and harbored an entirely untapped reserve of revolutionary thought and insight (Kelley, 2003). Black feminists thus argued that Black liberation must heed and center the most vulnerable *within* the Black community – women, queer people, and people with disabilities – to achieve a truly collective and revolutionary Black liberation (Combahee-River-Collective, 1995; Crenshaw, 1989; Davis, 1971). For instance, one of the reasons for the failure of the OPHR is the failure to meaningfully include Black female athletes and Black women in the operations (Smith, 2009).

These critiques sowed the seeds for Black feminists in the 1990s to develop the concept of intersectionality, which argued that the Black experience is shaped not by a single source of oppression, e.g., race, class, or gender, but by various sources that intertwine and become enmeshed (see Collins & Bilge, 2018; Moraga & Anzaldúa, 2015). There are theoretical and tactical differences even within Black feminist thought. As outlined by James (1999), activists such as Ella Baker identified how “the political contradictions of liberalism among black elites advocating civil rights distinguished between attempts to become ‘a part of the American scene’

and ‘the more radical struggle’ to transform society” (p. 74). As such, prior to the Civil Rights movement, Black women who were amongst the few to be trained as potential leaders within the Black community were those whose political ideologies were more closely aligned with liberal integrationism than any form of structurally oriented radicalism (James, 1999). Since the late 1990s, however, most strands of contemporary Black feminist theory rejects a liberal universalist pursuit of equality within existing structures in favor of a politics that mobilizes the racialized-gendered-sexualized subject positions of Black women to envision and enact new forms and visions of being human (Wehelyie, 2014; Wynter, 2001); not just to eliminate racism and sexism but all -isms that stem from oppression (Wynter, 1982). Intersectionality animates liberatory thought to this day, urging a recognition that true liberation will require careful consideration of these multiple matrices of oppression and a new imagination of what humanity may look like without them.

An intersectional approach is still necessary for contemporary collegiate sport reform because barriers of race and gender inhibit progress. For example, the head women’s basketball coach at Howard University, Sanya Tyler, sued the university in the 1990s, claiming that the men’s basketball team had more resources, facilities, and vastly higher pay for coaches (Cooper, 2021). She was successful in court. The disparity between men’s and women’s collegiate sports remains 50 years after Title IX, so her claims may come as unsurprising. However, Howard is an HBCU. The lingering disparity demonstrates how, as mentioned above, ostensible Black control of institutions does not automatically solve gender-based inequalities. More broadly, it still leaves room for inequalities based on other oppressions.

Conclusion: BLM and Racial Justice in the Neoliberal Moment

With recourse to a number of moments that had implications for racial justice in collegiate sporting history, my first objective in this piece was to advocate for considering racial justice initiatives in connection to broader Black social movements and the liberatory theories, visions, and strategies that accompanied them. Certainly, there is far more to be said about each listed theory and additional influential theories that space and scope have limited me from examining. The implication of tracing these theoretical influences is to demonstrate how we can and should apply this same contextual thinking to contemporary racial justice efforts within the Black Lives Matter moment. The Black Lives Matter (BLM) social movement represents a resurgence of Black liberatory activity in the U.S. after a relative retreat of collective and confrontational Black politics in the post-Civil Rights era (Taylor, 2021). Analyzing in detail the theory and politics that characterize the BLM movement is slightly more difficult than previous movements because it is ongoing, decentralized, and elastic, and much of its foundational rhetoric has become increasingly co-opted and wielded for a wide range of objectives and political projects (many of which diametrically oppose what seem to be the central tenets of BLM). Despite these difficulties, in broad terms, it is agreed that BLM as a slogan rose to prominence in the aftermath of the frequent Black deaths and brutalities at the hands of police in the mid-2010s (Lebron, 2017). While police brutality was and remains the rallying cause, BL has expanded to address and critique the residual presence of structural and colorblind racism in the U.S. (Bonilla-Silva, 2014), often packaged with an anti-capitalist, anti-neoliberal, and intersectional orientation.

Yet, the movement has its unique challenges. BLM coincides with the emergence of contemporary theories of Black liberation that, while they may have some merit, I argue are polluted by the internalization of neoliberal individualist prescriptions for social change. For example, one common recent theory described by Spence (2015) is that liberation can be attained using a *hustler's mentality*, which touts the idea that Blacks can succeed by pursuing constant entrepreneurship, prioritizing investments and financial initiatives, working extra hard in their endeavors, and/or if all else fails, finding creative ways to exploit or trick another party out of their money. This theory is rampant in contemporary Black popular culture – especially rap music – but is essentially just a recent iteration of a long tradition of Black conservatism that preaches self-responsibility, respectability, economic empowerment, and individualism, submerged with the contemporary gig economy, informalization of work, and emphasis on materialism and consumption. The commodification and commercialization of collegiate sport have produced unprecedented opportunities for athletes to accumulate personal wealth (or fame that can translate to wealth). With the institution of the new Name and Image Likeness (NIL) rules for NCAA athletes, it remains to be seen if collegiate athletes will mobilize the individualized fortune for collective and liberatory ends or retain individualized pursuits reminiscent of the neoliberal “hustler’s mentality.” A separate (but related) challenge for overcoming this dynamic is the recent bans on Critical Race Theory (CRT) and corollary critical perspectives occurring in some U.S. states and institutions (Schuessler, 2021; Wendling, 2021). Beyond simply attempting to deny the objective facts about historical and contemporary racism in the U.S., these legislative efforts function to further discourage collective identification and organization around racial identity throughout all levels of the education system. This has stakes for Black collegiate athletes who – already in a precarious situation and at the mercy of the largely conservative institutions who employ them – may face further scrutiny when using the leverage attained by collegiate sport to promote action toward Black liberation.

Second, I have attempted to promote a materialist understanding of racial justice reform efforts that center on the importance of structures, particularly class and its intersections with race and gender. Third, and relatedly, I have advocated for increased focus on and attention to the *intra*–Black political tensions within race-based social movements and, thus, within collegiate sport reform movements. I have argued that Black political visions have always been marked by hybridity not only of class, gender, and sexuality but also of ideology, objectives, tactics, and strategy. My promotion of radical perspectives throughout should not be read as my automatic endorsement of them or that I view them as superior to more moderate and reformist approaches to transforming college sport. I emphasize the revolutionary perspectives because they are too often forgotten about and are left out of negotiations altogether. However, I believe that more radical strategies, e.g., withholding labor or withdrawing certain value-producing entities from the system, must be combined with more reformist pressures for either approach to be effective in achieving any sort of racial justice. Before strategy is even discussed, however, I argue that any forms of racial sporting activism should reflect in clear and explicit terms the ideological assumptions guiding their praxis. Doing so would clarify how these ideological visions determine the sustainment and effectiveness of their efforts, as well as the vision of sport and society that activist movements are aiming to build.

References

- Allison, R., Knoester, C., & Ridpath, B. (2022). Public opinions about paying college athletes and athletes protesting during the national anthem: A focus on race/ethnicity and political identities. *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*, 19(1), 61-83.
- Andrews, K. (2018). *Back to Black: Retelling Black radicalism for the 21st Century*. Zed Books.
- Bhattacharyya, G. (2018). *Rethinking racial capitalism: Questions of reproduction and survival*. Rowman & Littlefield International.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2014). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in America*, 4th ed. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Briley, R. (2014). The nation's strongest union: Marvin Miller, the Major League Baseball Players Association, and the labor movement in the 1970s. In W.M. Simons (Ed.), *The Cooperstown symposium on baseball and American culture, 2019 and 2021* (pp. 258-273). McFarland & Company.
- Bryant, H. (2018). *The heritage: Black athletes, a divided America, and the politics of patriotism*. Beacon Press.
- Burden-Stelly, C., & Dean, J. (2022). *Organize, fight, win: Black communist women's political writing*. Verso Books.
- Collins, P.H. (2000). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. Routledge.
- Collins, P.H., & Bilge, S. (2018). *Intersectionality (key concepts)*. Polity Press.
- Combahee-River-Collective. 1995 [1977]. A Black feminist statement. In B. Guy-Sheftall (Ed.), *Words of fire: An anthology of African-American feminist thought* (pp. 232-40). The New Press.
- Cooper, J.N. (2019). *From exploitation back to empowerment: Black male holistic (under)development through sport and (mis)education*. Peter Lang.
- Cooper, J.N. (2021). *A legacy of African American resistance and activism through sport*. Peter Lang.
- Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the intersection of race and sex: A Black feminist critique of antidiscrimination doctrine, feminist theory and antiracist politics. *The University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 140, 139-167.
- Davis, A.Y. (1971). *Women, race, & class* (1st ed.). Random House.

- Dawson, M.C. (2001). *Black visions: The roots of contemporary African-American political ideologies*. University of Chicago Press.
- Du Bois, W.E.B. (1935). *Black reconstruction: An essay toward a history of the part which Black folk played in the attempt to reconstruct democracy in America, 1860-1880*. Harcourt, Brace.
- Edwards, H. (2018). *The revolt of the Black athlete*. Collier-Macmillan.
- Foner, P.S. (2017). *Organized labor and the Black worker, 1619-1973*. Haymarket Books.
- Foner, E. (2019). *The second founding: How the Civil War and Reconstruction remade the Constitution* (1st ed.). W.W. Norton & Company.
- Frazier, E.F. (1965). *Black bourgeoisie: The book that brought the shock of self-revelation to middle-class Blacks in America*. Free Press.
- Frederickson, G.M. (1995). *Black liberation: A comparative history of Black ideologies in the United States and South Africa*. Oxford University Press.
- Gilroy, P. (1993). *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and double consciousness*. Harvard University Press.
- Gilroy, P. (2000). *Against race: Imagining political culture beyond the color line*. Belknap Press of Harvard University Press.
- Hall, S. (1980). Race, articulation, and societies structured in dominance. In P. Gilroy & R.W. Gilmore (Eds.). *Selected writings on race and difference* (pp. 195-245). Duke University Press.
- Hall, S. (1990). Cultural identity and diaspora. In P. Gilroy & R.W. Gilmore (Eds.). *Selected writings on race and difference* (pp. 257-271). Duke University Press.
- Hartmann, D. (2003). *Race, culture, and the revolt of the Black athlete: The 1968 Olympic protests and their aftermath*. University of Chicago Press.
- Harvey, J., Horne, J., Safai, P., Darnell, S., & Courchesne-O'Neill, S. (2014). *Sport and social movements: From the local to the global*. Bloomsbury Academic.
- Hawkins, B., Carter-Francique, A., & Cooper, J. (2016). *Critical race theory: Black athletic sporting experiences in the United States*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Heideman, P.M. (Ed.). (2018). *Class struggle and the color line: American socialism and the race question, 1900-1930*. Haymarket Books.

- Ingraham, C. (2020, Sept. 7). NCAA rules allow White students and coaches to profit off labor of Black ones, study finds. *Washington Post*.
<https://www.washingtonpost.com/business/2020/09/07/ncaa-student-athletes-pay-equity/>
- Isaac, L. (2008). Movement of movements: Culture moves in the long Civil Rights struggle. *Social Forces*, 87(1), 33-63.
- James, J. (1999). *Shadowboxing: Representations of Black feminist politics*. St. Martin's Press.
- Johnson, G.T., & Lubin, A. (Eds.). (2017). *Futures of Black radicalism*. Verso.
- Kelley, R.D.G. (2003). *Freedom dreams: The Black radical imagination*. Beacon Press
- Kelley, R.D.G. (2015). *Hammer and hoe: Alabama Communists during the Great Depression (25th anniversary)*. University of North Carolina Press.
- Kendi, I.X. (2017). *Stamped from the beginning: The definitive history of racist ideas in America*. Bold Type Books.
- King-White, R. (Ed.). (2018). *Sport and the neoliberal university: Profit, politics, and pedagogy*. Rutgers University Press.
- Kleen, B. (2021, December 6). *American public supports NIL rights for college athletes but is unsure of how they should work in practice*. Global Sport Matters.
<https://globalsportmatters.com/research/2021/12/06/american-public-supports-nil-rights-college-athletes-poll-results/>
- Lebron, C.J. (2017). *The making of Black Lives Matter: A brief history of an idea*. Oxford University Press.
- Lenin, V.I. (2015). Imperialism, the highest stage of capitalism. In R. Betts (Ed.). *Conflict after the Cold War: Arguments on causes of war and peace* (pp. 319-326). Routledge.
- Ling, P.J., & Monteith, S. (2004). *Gender and the Civil Rights Movement* (1st ed.). Rutgers University Press.
- Marable, M. (2015). *How capitalism underdeveloped Black America: Problems in race, political economy, and society*. Haymarket Books.
- Matlon, J. (2022). *A man among other men: The crisis of Black masculinity in racial capitalism*. Cornell University Press.
- McLellan, D. (1979). *Marxism after Marx* (1st ed.). Harper & Row.
- Mills, C.W. (2017). *Black rights/White wrongs: A critique of racial liberalism*. Oxford University Press.

- Moraga, C., & Anzaldúa, G. (Eds.). (2015). *This bridge called my back: Writings by radical women of color* (4th ed.). SUNY Press.
- Newton, H.P. (2019). *The New Huey P. Newton reader*. Seven Stories Press.
- Nadkarni, R., & Nieves, A. (2015, November 9). Why Missouri's football team joined a protest against school administration. *Sports Illustrated*. <https://www.si.com/college-football/2015/11/09/missouri-football-protest-racism-tim-wolfe>
- Powell, R. (2003). *Black art: A cultural history*. Thames & Hudson.
- Rhoden, W. C. (2006). *Forty million dollar slaves: The rise, fall, and redemption of the Black athlete*. Crown.
- Robinson C.J. (1984). *Black Marxism: The making of the Black radical tradition*. Zed.
- Roediger, D.R. (2017). *Class, race, and Marxism*. Verso.
- Ross, R.B. (2016). *The great baseball revolt: The rise and fall of the 1890 players league*. University of Nebraska Press.
- Runstedtler, T. (2018). More than just play: Unmasking Black child labor in the athletic industrial complex. *Journal of Sport & Social Issues*, 42(3), 152-169.
- Schuessler, J. (2021, November 9). Bans on critical race theory threaten free speech, advocacy group says. *New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/08/arts/critical-race-theory-bans.html>
- Shawki, A. (2006). *Black liberation and socialism*. Haymarket Books.
- Singer, J.N. (2019). *Race, sports, and education: Improving opportunities and outcomes for Black male college athletes*. Harvard Education Press.
- Spence, L. (2015). *Knocking the hustle: Against the neoliberal turn in Black politics*. Punctum Books.
- Strauss, B. (2015, Aug. 17). N.L.R.B. rejects Northwestern football players' union bid. *New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2015/08/18/sports/ncaaf-football/nlrb-says-northwestern-football-players-cannot-unionize.html>
- Táiwò, O.O. (2022). *Elite capture: How the powerful took over identity politics (and everything else)*. Haymarket Books.
- Taylor, K-Y. (2021). *From #Blacklivesmatter to Black liberation*. Haymarket Books.

- Ture, K., & Hamilton, C.V. (1992). *Black power: The politics of liberation in America*. Vintage Books.
- Van Rhee, D. (2013). Exploitation in college sports: Race, revenue, and educational reward. *International Review for the Sociology of Sport*, 48(5), 550-571.
- Vogan, T. (2011). Review of The Fab Five by Jason Hehir. *Journal of Sport History*, 38(3), 489-491. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.5406/jsporthistory.38.3.489>
- Wallace, B. (2022). Commodifying Black expressivity: Race and the representational politics of streetball. *Communication and Sport*, 10(6), 1053-1069.
- Weheliye, A.G. (2014). *Habeas viscus: Racializing assemblages, biopolitics, and Black feminist theories of the human*. Duke University Press.
- Wendling, Z. (2021, July 26). *NU athletes create petition against proposed critical race theory resolution*. The Daily Nebraskan. https://www.dailynebraskan.com/news/nu-athletes-create-petition-against-proposed-critical-race-theory-resolution/article_f0aac09c-edb3-11eb-972a-f7f47fafd987.html
- Wheeler, R.F. (1978). Organized sport and organized labour: The workers' sports movement. *Journal of Contemporary History*, 13(2), 191-210.
- Wynter, S. (1982). *Beyond liberal and Marxist Leninist feminisms: Towards an autonomous frame of reference*. [Conference presentation]. American Sociological Association San Francisco, CA, United States
- Wynter, S. (2001). Towards the sociogenic principle: Fanon, identity, the puzzle of conscious experience, and what it is like to be 'Black.' In M. Durán-Cogan & A. Gómez-Moriana (Eds.), *National identities and sociopolitical changes in Latin America*, (pp. 30-66). Routledge.
- Yan, G., Watanabe, N.M., & Pegoraro, A. (2018). Student-athletes' organization of activism at the University of Missouri: Resource mobilization on Twitter. *Journal of Sport Management*, 32(1), 24-37. <https://doi.org/10.1123/jsm.2017-0031>
- Zamalin, A. (2019). *Black utopia: The history of an idea from Black nationalism to Afrofuturism*. Columbia University Press.
- Zinn, H. (2003). *A people's history of the United States: 1492-Present*. Harper Collins.