

Overview of Race Theory and its Application in Sports Films

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Odjel za anglistiku

Preddiplomski sveučilišni studij Anglistike (dvopredmetni)

Dino Horvat

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Pregled Rasne Teorije i njena Primjena u Sportskim Filmovima

Završni rad

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Zadar, 2019.



Izjava o akademskoj čestitosti

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Zadar, 18. rujna 2019.

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1. Introduction

Race is a complex concept which consists of many different terms that are all connected to each other and shared by a group of people. To grasp the meaning of race, one must first master the theory of race which includes notions such as class of people, identity, ideology, culture and other features. Representation of race is one of the most important aspects when speaking about the issue of racism. It defines how people see and imagine race and how other people use symbols and language in order to create a mental and spoken picture for themselves and for the others. According to Hall (15), Representation is “an essential part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchanged between members of a culture.” This means that through the concept of representation various effects may affect the society and determine a public opinion. Representation of race can lead to prejudice and the division of people on account of their skin color or some other visible factor. The assumption that we are all biologically different and that genes separate humans tends to spread the negative effects of the representation of race. Detailed analysis of this subject created the terms such as “whiteness”, “blackness” and “double consciousness”. “Whiteness” is connected to the “white” supremacy implicating that being “white” brings privileges in life and that in the United States, the only true American can be “white”. Throughout history the term “blackness” used to be referred as “otherness” and it means that representation of “blacks” was seen as something wrong, different and they were even being considered as a threat to the society. However, it also represents the fight for African-Americans to become recognized and to have an access to the full participation in society. “White” supremacy and suppression created the need for this concept and the fight it entails. This is highly intertwined with the notion of “double consciousness”; meaning that “black” people are always torn between two parts, trying to keep their “true” selves, but in the same time society demands from them to become as “white” as possible, as that is portrayed as the “normal” behavior (Du Bois 7). All these racial stereotypes stem from people’s beliefs that individuals have to be divided due to biological differences. In order to analyze race objectively, it is important to look at this matter as a social construct. This paper aims to provide an insight into theories about race that point out to the concept of race as mainly influenced by social, cultural and economic factors and that all of these are subject to change through time. When speaking of popular culture, racism and various discriminations still exist nowadays as an immensely challenging point in question considering different concepts of representation of race which can have positive or negative effects on individuals. There are many examples in

sport such as football in Europe or the NFL in the United States which present issues of racial discrimination, but sport can also serve as a “guiding light” in the fight against racism and inequality. Movies and TV-series offer plenty of material which can be analyzed, such as the movies *White Men Can't Jump* and *Remember the Titans*. These two sport movies that mirror specific racial issues in American society of that time as well as some real-life examples from sport (along with media influence) will be used in order to analyze racism from a social perspective trying to showcase in practice some other terms such as “whiteness”, “blackness” and “double consciousness” in order to support the thesis and tackle the actual problems in the popular culture today.

2. Theory of race

Race as the broadest concept can be defined as a set of many different terms shared by a nation, its people, families or tribes. The shared attributions may include common beliefs, interests, characteristics or habits which are connected through the everyday life. Furthermore, Wolfreys (204) argued that race may be divided into two basic elements: genealogical and biological. Genealogical approach deals with heritage and origin of people while biological approach addresses corporeal and anatomical differences within people. Two groups, named “Caucasian” and “Aryan” are considered as the beginning of racial growth and the search for racial purity. To define race in detail, it is important to interpret few closely related notions. First term which may be deemed as important would be the class. Class is concerned with a hierarchy, ranking or position of people in the society. It interferes closely with culture, traditions and ideology of humans. Basic class relation has always been between a dominant class and a laboring class. Dominant class, through history, was always a class which indicated a sense of nationalism and it did not only include economic and cultural supremacy, but also political power which was established through laws and punishment of people.

Identity and ideology are also two very important concepts which are connected to race. Identity includes the construction of one's class, gender and sexuality. Identity is unique as such, but it is determined by social norms and it is a representation of oneself towards others through nation, religion, ethnicity and many other characteristics. Identity may also be indicated by beliefs and values of an individual in a specific cultural society. It is always a framed construction, whether it is the case of national identity, cultural identity or sexual identity. Also, it is never self-governing, as identity is only recognized by what it is not. According to Wolfreys (99), it includes blending “otherness” into the structure of the “same” and it is realized through

constant repetition and comparison in order to be recognized as a unique identity. Ideology is a term which consists of various beliefs and values which define the social order of people. Ideology and culture are highly connected notions while Storey (5) affirmed that the only difference between these two terms is that “ideology brings a political dimension to the shared terrain”. Dominant ideology of the ruling class was often held in the past and it was used to oppress the laboring class on false pretenses and cultural pressure. Ethical ideology, religious ideology, political ideology and many others were created in order to influence the public opinion and install order within social classes which always favored the dominant one.

Culture is a complex notion which has more than one wide definitions. According to Storey (2), it represents human development in terms of intellect, aesthetics and spirit, people’s lifestyle, traditions and beliefs or other works in music, sport, art which are all shared by a group of people. Combining texts and practices it symbolizes and produces meaning which is relevant in representing an identity for an individual or a large mass of people. Popular culture, in the simplest definition, would represent a culture that is admired and popular among many people. It can be a poet, some type of sport, music or any other activity which gained enormous power, likability and influence in society which is often determined by the youth.

General definition of race and its existence is highly debatable in scientific circles and between academics who deal with race and racial groups. In order to analyze the theory of race and the notion of racism in detail, in his work *Critical Keywords in Literary and Cultural Theory* (2004), Wolfreys connected many authors and collected different points of view in one piece. It has been argued that talking of race might only be possible in metaphorical terms and that the existence of race is biologically false. According to Appiah (205), there are no races between societies, and he asserts that race as an existent concept works only in favor of a certain cultural ideology and its premises. Nevertheless, there are many arguments that race does exist and even has a positive impact on society; in the nineteenth century, race was a synonym for ethnicity and it presented one of the main differences between people and their ethnic groups. Racism was developed in the nineteenth century and it lies heavily on the ideology of classes rather than on nations and the term nationalism which stems from historical objectives. Therefore, Anderson (206) argues that racism was always connected to European domination and colonialism which happened throughout people’s history. Gates (208), on the other hand, declares that race characterized and engraved the differences between people’s religion, genes, language and many other terms which define one’s cultural identity and heritage. There have been many historical and cultural examples of racial theories which marked “non-white” people

in a racial structure, while “white” men were not included in those categories, according to Dyer (210). The definition of power and domination is being referred to just as “human”, with no racial connotations or discriminations, while people of other races such as “black” or “Asian” can only speak for their own racial category while rarely referring to themselves as “human”. Dyer (211) concludes that “whites” represent a human race, with their varieties in gender, class, religion and other basic human rights which support one’s identity, heritage and tradition.

2.1. Representation of race

In the broadest sense, representation is a concept by which people connect culture with language and meaning. It is a way of defining and processing everything around us (objects, events, other people). These explanations of the world around us are depicted through language and symbols of a particular culture which are common to people. Representation is used in order to describe a physical object in the real world or to explain the things in our minds, which are the products of our imagination. Also, customs, beliefs and other traditional movements through history are covered by the notion of representation which presents these abstract terms in a way which is reasonable for humans. This “system of representation” which enables people to create meaning and explain objects in their minds, without present visual representation, is called “mental representation” (Hall 17). With this system, it is also possible to explain the unseen terms such as “friendship” or “love” and we are able to think, represent and classify these words in our head and connect them through our experiences. It is important to note that every individual makes a unique sense of the world, people, concepts and ideas and how they are represented. Nevertheless, through communication, people can share these unique representations and build a system of similar interpretations of the things and concepts around them. This set of common beliefs and traditions shared by a number of people is what creates a “culture”. Hall (18) claimed that language is what enables communication between people and sharing of their meanings of the world and therefore, this is the second “system of representation”. Shared language, signs and gestures mark an important link between people’s relations and their representation of things, events and abstract notions. “The relation between ‘things’, concepts and signs lie at the heart of the production of meaning in language. The process which links these three elements together is what we call ‘representation’” (Hall 19). Representation of race in the modern society is an extremely complex issue which was rooted within an individual’s subconscious in the past, from which many stereotypes surrounding race

stemmed. These popular opinions are often realized through biological factors and visible representation of people in the everyday life. Nevertheless, there are many social and environmental factors which influence individual's representation. Media and the manifestation of popular culture sprung different effects of race due to representation which, in some cases, further divided people and offered various racial discriminations to the public sphere. People are exposed to these effects daily and therefore; they are subjected to racism subconsciously believing it is just a natural conclusion. As a result, a combination of different theoretical works created the terms "whiteness" and "blackness" in order to analyze race and racism in detail.

"Black" people have struggled throughout the history and still struggle in order to express their identity freely and to fully integrate into American society, as equal human beings. They have long been overthrown and overshadowed by the concept of "white" supremacy since the times of the slavery onwards. "Blackness" as a concept was seen as something different in a bad sense, something that seemed to threaten the "normal" society. However, great changes emerged for "black" people in the 19th century with major movements which mostly reaped the benefits on economic and social fields. *The Civil Rights Act*, *The Civil Rights Movement* and *The Voting Rights Act* in the 60s yielded many benefits for the "blacks" who had a sense of belonging after a long and dark period of their history in the United States There were many scholars and intellectuals who promoted equal society and motivated "black" people to support various ideologies. Among them, Greason (49) highlighted that key figure was W.E.B. DuBois and his work *The Philadelphia Negro (1899)* which has put down the foundations for "black" race to become equal. However, it was the ordinary people in the middle class who raised their children in a way which integrated ideals that would stand as a foundation for the future generations. A. Philip Randolph, leader of the National Negro Congress (NNC) was a key man in installing and realizing the idea of a black public sphere, whose only goal was permanent liberty and the establishment of "black" people as equal participants in every sphere of a normal life (Greason 49). These movements and actions presented a first global idea of "blackness", acceptance of their identity and their representation in an equal society which fought against the oppression of the "white" supremacy at that time.

"Whiteness" was present and intertwined throughout the whole American history and its society in general. This concept is rooted in the minds of "whites" and it is subconsciously implemented in the everyday life of many people. People are under this constant impression that being "white" means being superior, better and more valuable than others. This is a learned instance which has been transmitted from generation to generation and it still remains within

some people today through casual talks but also through media, films, series, sport and other segments of popular culture which has strong influence on the youth.¹

“When people dig deeply into their personal and intimate spaces, the grievous damage white supremacy has rendered unto Americans who identify themselves as “white” begins to emerge. The corrosive toxin of racism has crippled generations of human beings by convincing them of their natural superiority *subconsciously*” (Greason 51).

Another concept which is highly connected to race, is the “double consciousness”, introduced by W.E.B. Du Bois (6). This term represents the fight through which “black” people go through due to “white” domination. In the American society, “black” people have always felt torn between two sides of themselves, as they have to act as “white” as possible in order to blend into an American way of living and diminish their “blackness”. This is what ‘double consciousness refers to and it affects “black” people on daily basis.

“It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his two-ness, —an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder” (Du Bois 7).

There are many instances of “double consciousness” in two movies *White Men Can't Jump* and *Remember the Titans* which will be analyzed throughout this paper. This presents a constant fight for every “black” person even today, it is as if they always need to prove themselves to others, try twice as hard while being watched under the magnifying glass for every “wrong” step they make along the way. All these movements and historical concepts of race have greatly influenced today’s opinion and representation of race, traditions, beliefs and identities of people. Most stereotypes raise from biological and visible factors (skin color) and this is how race is usually interpreted in the media as well. Nevertheless, the question remains whether these racial differences stem from biological factors (genes) or are they influenced by social components (cultural, economic and geographical factors) which compose our society and are open to alterations.

¹ Such attitudes are also present throughout the popular culture which can be seen in the example of Claudia Rankine's work *Citizen – An American Lyric* and the case of Serena Williams or the family sitcom *Modern Family* created by C. Loyd and S. Levitan.

3. Biological perspective of race

There are distinct physical and genetic factors such as eye, hair and skin color, but it remains questionable if these characteristics are enough to divide human races and separate groups of people in general. Many anthropologists subvert the biological concept of race despite visual differences of every human being. This chapter is based on Justin D. Garcia's thesis and his work *Race and Ethnicity* (2017). One of the first racial classifications consisted of four main human races; "European", "Native American", "African" and "East Asian". The system was constructed by Carlous Linnaeus in his *Systema Naturae* (1735) and it is still used in demography nowadays. Another scheme was introduced by Johann Blumenbach in 1795 and it had five distinct races: "Caucasian" ("white"), "Mongolian" ("yellow" or "East Asian"), "Ethiopian" ("black" or "African"), "American" ("red" or "American Indian") and "Malayan" ("brown" or "Pacific Islander"). In this system, the "Caucasian" race was believed to be the original one while the others were just essential varieties of the dominant race, from the biological point of view. Afterwards, there were only three main races, but when this concept was criticized due to the omission of people from various geographical regions, there were proposals to include twenty, fifty or more different races into the system. In the 1920s, there were theories which stated that more than one "Caucasian" race exists. Because of the evident physical differences between people from the Alps (French, Swiss...), people from Northern Europe (Scandinavia) and people from the Mediterranean (Portuguese, Spanish, Greeks...), racial boundaries had to be invented. Similar division was suggested for Africa and Asia, because of the differences in specific local and regional areas. However, all these categories and sub-categories of people are not objective nor scientific as these divisions were defined only by physical characteristics in order to construct the classification system. Historically, there were two great racial classification systems named "lumpers" and "splitters". "Lumpers" model relies mostly on the division of continents into a small number of racial categories, while "splitters" categorization is far more detailed, and it encompasses specific racial groups and labels them through regional parts of the world (Garcia 4-6).

All these racial categories and divisions are based on so called "continuous" biological and physical variations such as the skin color which are subject to change, while racial labels are presented as distinct categories. That is the reason why these categories are not objective or scientifically valid in biological senses. For instance, skin color is not easily defined among humans, as there is a whole spectrum which ranges from very dark to very light pigment in

every race, therefore skin complexion is never identical nor a determining factor. Also, in the geographical case, skin color gradually changes as one moves away or towards the equator. Therefore, geographical space and position largely influence skin color, even if we are talking only about one country or nation, there are great visible differences between people in terms of their skin color. This proves that skin color, as the most prominent physical difference in race, cannot be considered a distinctive scientific marker for racial categories. People in the United States still believe that there are biological factors from which they can easily define race just by looking at the skin color of people and determine who is “white” and who is “black”. One of the first immigrants in the United States came from Northern Europe (Germany, France, Britain) and most of them had extremely “light” skin color. Second wave of immigrants brought the exact opposite when people came mostly from Central Africa due to colonization and slavery. These people had one of the darkest skin colors in the world. Therefore, Garcia (7) concludes that United States had two extremes through its history, and that is why there could always be divisions and separations of races based on people’s skin color. Nowadays, there is a wider range of skin color varieties with recent wave of immigrants from all over the world, making United States a real multi-cultural nation. According to physical anthropologists, genetic characteristics are individual and cannot define any racial group. For these traits to gain biological importance, they would have to be consistently proven and repeated in one group of racial classification. Therefore, racial division by skin color would also have to match other factors such as hair texture, blood type or even lactose intolerance and other characteristics that seemingly define every individual. However, there is no real match between blood type and eye shape for instance, because every one of these traits vary individually and each factor would create its own unique set of racial categories. Their relation, according to Garcia (7), is “nonconcordant” and since each component is inherited independently, they cannot be analyzed as a stereotypical container which would then create racial boundaries by nature.

Another common misconception in biological theory of race is that differences between various racial groups are always highlighted while distinct varieties inside one group of people are often dismissed. While the general opinion is that there are bigger biological differences between “blacks” and “whites” in terms of their physical appearance and other factors, the truth is that there is a higher number of diversities on the same continent or regional area of people’s groups and races. If biological factors mostly differ within continental areas which are believed to be the origins of various races, then the whole system of race is unimportant from a biological point of view. Garcia (9) highlighted one of the first people who supported this view, an

anthropologist from Germany, Franz Boas. In one of his researches, he analyzed and measured the size of human skulls and their shape when he noted that the differences occurred within the same ethnic groups. He acknowledged that these differences were caused by nutrition and other social factors. The theory can be confirmed by the example of children who were born in the United States and whose parents were from different immigrant groups. They had different size and shape of the skull from those children who were born and raised in the native countries of those immigrant groups.

4. Representation of race in films: Analysis of *Remember the Titans* and *White Men Can't Jump*

Previously mentioned statements do not in any way imply that races and their division do not exist. Race is a valid term, but it is not scientifically confirmed in biological patterns. Instead, race lies on social, cultural and environmental concepts which are not covered by biology. Consequently, race is formed by sociological concepts which people have created subjectively in order to provide significant division between people. “White” or “black” race truly exist, just as categories like “Asian” or “European” exist, but these rely on social characteristics and environmental background of people. Furthermore, some anthropologists now even use the term “social races” to highlight the importance of social context in racial categorization. According to them, race can be defined as a socio-historical concept which means that race is embedded within social and cultural notion. Therefore, racial concepts can also change through time depending on political, economic and social factors which are most prominent at certain times. This process is named “racial formation” and the term was introduced by Omi and Winant. The term “racial formation” and social influence on race is best explained through the example of “whiteness” in the United States. In the earlier years of the newborn country, the immigrants such as Irish Catholics were often racially discriminated, and these people suffered through lesser quality of life. Because of the strong influence of America’s Anglo-Protestant culture, Irish was depicted as inferior and generally unaccepted race at that time. Later, in the twentieth century, Jewish and Italian immigrants were also racially targeted by the same mainstream society in the United States. These immigrants are nowadays considered to fully belong to the “white” race just as any other American, as society became modernized and multicultural after many generations. There are great examples of how cultural and social environment can impact the view on races in two sport movies, *Remember the Titans* and *White Men Can't Jump*.

Racial categories as an aspect of culture are typically learned, internalized, and accepted without question or critical thought in a process not so different from children learning their native language as they grow up. (Garcia 10).

4.1. Remember the Titans (2000)

Remember the Titans is an American drama sports movie based on a true story. The movie was directed by Boaz Yakin and produced by Jerry Bruckheimer. The plot is set in Virginia, 1971, when racial integration was first introduced in the United States. This caused many changes in people's lives and at first it was chaotic in every aspect. The movie is full of racial division and problems between "black" and "white" Americans and their assumptions, therefore, when African-American coach Herman Boone (played by Denzel Washington) came to coach a newly integrated football team, there were many obstacles in the way. Former main coach, Bill Yoast, played by Will Patton, became his assistant coach. That was a first coaching combination which consisted of a "black" main coach and a "white" assistant coach. There was a huge gap between "black" and "white" players at the beginning as well. When hearing about the news that they might be coached by a "black" man, one of the "white" players stated: "I don't want to play with any of those black animals" (00:03:20-00:03:22). This is just one of the instances of how "blackness" was presented at that time. There are many examples of how racism was forced onto young people by their mothers, fathers and the whole society. When a newly integrated "black" and "white" team starts getting along in the training camp, their hometown does not accept it at first. When Gerry, the captain of "white" team went to hang out with his new "black" friend Julius, his mother's reaction to his new friend was suspicion and rejection. She said that she does not "want to get to know him" (00:57:04-00:57:06). After he wanted to bring an African-American friend home, his mother also claimed: "Gerry if your father was still alive..." (00:56:58-00:57:00) This is just one of the instances which show how parents and friends of these children were reluctant and offensive when it comes to meeting people of other races. Therefore, it is obvious that the culture, society and the parents influenced these children's subconscious without them being aware of it. This resulted in the division between children on account of stereotypes and prejudice. High school teens realize that: "The world tells us not to be together." (01:04:31-01:04:34). They realized that the society is against them and that the bond they created is something special which they have to preserve regardless the consequences. This is another segment which is crucial for a successful integration and that

is a common goal which this team had, to win games and unite people in their hometown. Many more instances connected to representation of race and a more detailed analysis of the movie will be elaborated throughout this paper.

“Whiteness” is the concept which was more developed due to immigrants’ improvement of economic situation in the United States after World War II. There was a rise of immigrant groups, whose veterans had special benefits which determined the life of those people and the future generations as well. However, African-American veterans were not treated equally, and they did not receive the same benefits as the “whites”. Nevertheless, “white” immigrants, in that period, were able to buy houses and slowly integrate themselves into American society. This marked the change of “white” immigrants who were not renting the apartments and flats anymore but became owners of the homes in the suburban areas and that is how they truly became the citizens of the United States. People often use the perceived categorization of race to determine someone’s roots, their personality or behavior. These misconceptions often interfere with the everyday life of people and are accompanied by prejudice. There were many scholars who debated on the topic of benefits of being white in the United States. Garcia (11) noted Peggy McIntosh and her 1988 essay *White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack* where various examples of “white” privileges are depicted; being able to express your anger publicly, having better life opportunities and ways of being successful, having band-aids which match your skin color or not having to warn your children about how they will be treated differently by the police, or become suspicious with no reason. She included many more similar examples which show “white” privileges and how this race is dominant in the world. Even though these instances range from very small ones, to the major ones, all of them are very important in the representation of race and its conceptions nowadays.

Examples of “white” privileges and discriminative attitude towards “black” race can also be seen in the film *Remember the Titans*. On account of the skin color of the coach and his success, some “white” people in high positions started to rebel. This led to them bribing the referee for the next game so when Boone loses, they can fire him and hire a “white” coach again. They did not want him on this position at all, as in the beginning a “white” man said: “Every head coach in the system is white, we had to give them something.” (00:05:44-00:05:47). Which means they were just waiting for the first defeat so they could fire him for his “incompetence”. Only a “white” man can be a “true” American and this was a common opinion. Every job position needed to be occupied by a “white” person and this included sporting positions in the most popular sports. “White” men, represented as a dominant race in every

category were afraid of losing their “privilege” of being in the first team while “black” players thought they would lose their place only due their skin color so they fought for their place and wanted equality, not just in sport terms, but in everyday life. Captain of the team, Gerry Bertier, raised as a “real” American, was not fond of coach Boone’s idea to mix everyone up and make a homogenous team at first. He came up to Boone and said: “I am the only all-American you got here” (00:14:58-00:15:00). This line shows how even the high school teenagers were influenced by the opinion that you can only be a true American if you are white, and this follows the concept of “whiteness”. The concept of white supremacy became integrated in all spheres of the American society. This also exemplifies the concept of “double consciousness” as “black” men were not considered Americans; their race was a definition of “otherness” in society, something unwanted and dangerous. However, coach Boone did not fall under those prejudices, he was keen on giving an equal chance to everyone and making a unique team. Once “black” part of the team went to one bus and “white” men went to another, he dragged them out and said “I don’t care if you are black, green, blue, white or orange...” (00:17:13-00:17:16) and he separated them by their position on the field and not their skin color. This rearrangement forced them to get to know each other, but it also gave every individual an equal status, which is one of the first steps in making “black” and “white” people to get along and create an equal society.

All these examples showcase how race can deeply influence one’s life. Nevertheless, it is important to underline that none of these groups are identical or homogenous within each other. In some way, being “white” may bring one some perks and privileges in the everyday life, but everything still depends on the socio-economical specifications and geographical area in which an individual is raised. Garcia (11) analyzed John Hartigan’s research on “white” relationships within three different areas through his work *Racial Situations: Class Predicaments of Whiteness in Detroit* (1999). These areas differ in economic, cultural and social status. He found that social class determines “white” people’s identity and perception of their race in relation to other people. Also, the relationship between “black” and “white” people correlates highly with the neighborhood’s status. Thus, in one area, racial relationships are friendly and positive, while in culturally different area, there are conflicts or even racial discriminations. The toxicity of the society is evident in the following example; one night when “black” Americans came to a caffe-bar and were not allowed to come in, they have encountered a rude saying which goes: “We are full tonight boys” (00:53:53-00:53:55). However, The Titans, as they call themselves, slowly started to change the society with their “black” and

“white team”. The positive vibe on the field influenced people who watched them. This is visible from a following example, when Julius comes to visit Gerry in a “white” neighborhood, the police car stops next to him. Julius stays in shock when the police officer says: “Heck of a game you boys played last night. Tell that coach of yours to keep up the good work.” (01:14:17-01:14:30). Instead of the stereotypical behavior which was present in the past, this time there was a positive attitude and mutual respect. This is another example of how racism is culturally defined and it varies on many social factors which may be changed through the influence of the popular culture and positive examples where racism is battled through sport.

The term ethnicity and various ethnic groups are closely related to race. Sometimes these two concepts overlap and are used interchangeably. Both are used to determine one’s historical and cultural background which create people’s identities. Garcia (17) claims that ethnic groups are defined through a group of cultural characteristics, for instance, the language, which is used, religion which is mainstream, customs, beliefs, holidays, food and many other factors. Therefore, ethnicity is used as an important equivalent point for many people, but this concept is highly variable and open to change depending on economic state and social or heritage customs. For example, immigrants can be greatly influenced by the new country they move in, and children who are raised in those countries often identify themselves as if that is their homeland. It is a common case that they forget or lose some of the original customs from their origin countries, but nowadays, the studies have shown that minorities keep and respect some of their cultural traditions. There is also a term coined by anthropologists called “symbolic ethnicity” which explains how people put their ethnic pride on display only in certain occasions when needed, while they do not implement it in the everyday life. As mentioned before, these ethnic traditions are varying, and the process of creating new distinct ethnic ideology is called “ethnogenesis”. This is a slow and long-lasting process, but through the social influence by many generations, one ethnic group may completely change its heritage and create a new one. Thus, in the United States, we have many examples of this change and the creation of new and unique ethnic groups with individual religions, languages and other cultural features. Some of these new groups are Italian-Americans, African-Americans, American-Indians and many other cases of groups which created a new culture due to social changes.

In many countries around the world and especially in the United States, there is a great diversity of people and their cultural and ethnic heritage. This “melting pot” is formed by a recent wave of immigrants who bring their own traditions into the mix. Therefore, there is a present and all-important question whether all these immigrants’ traditions should be promoted

and kept, or should they assimilate with their new country as much as possible in order to be accepted. Garcia (19) explored three different concepts which have emerged in order to keep national unity, those are: “assimilation”, “multiculturalism” and “amalgamation”. “Assimilation” is a philosophy which requires that all minority groups assimilate with the majority as soon as possible. That means that they should abandon their languages, traditions, identities, customs and other characteristics of their identities in order to form a unique national identity. In contrast to “assimilation”, “multiculturalism” is a concept which supports cultural and ethnic dualities. The goal is to create a tolerant society, where there are no tensions or discriminations within races. Every culture is unique and needs to be preserved and, in that way, form a peaceful community which respects others’ identities, traditions and customs. On the other hand, “amalgamation” is a system which supports a hybridized community where diverse cultural groups blend within each other. The goal is to unify people and form a unique national culture through blending distinct ethnic groups. All these processes present a big question for the urbanized societies as the reality is often quite different from these well-formed ideas.

In the movie *Remember the Titans*, political change and an attempt of integration was not accepted at first due to narrow-minded society. The idea of “multiculturalism” or “amalgamation” encountered many obstacles. While they were at the camp, there were still many sayings like “my people, your people”, but after some time they got to know each other and sang together or told “mama” jokes which was a trademark of “black” folks. They became good friends no matter the race. This individual bonding is another aspect which is important for a change in attitude and removal of prejudice. However, when they came back home from camp, they were taken back into reality, into a society which still lives in the segregation and which is full of racial discrimination. These people could not accept a newly integrated system and they still lived in the past. When “white” folks in high positions heard them singing inside the bus, they commented: “What did they do up there, brainwash them? They must be high on something.” (00:43:14-00:43:18). “White” supremacy was subconsciously in their mind and this disrespecting attitude was damaging the generations to come. In the same time, “white” moms organized a protest against “black” people screaming slogans like “We don’t want you!” (00:43:52-00:43:54). This presents the big picture of how being “black” at that time was considered as a threat to society, as something unwanted and bad. Gerry’s girlfriend Emma also showed her racial attitude under the influence of society when she refused to shake hands with his “black” friend Julius and she added “They’ll always gonna hate us” (00:44:36-00:44:38). This reality check for high school football players showed them that society made them hate on

each other and that this negative attitude was forced onto them. Once they changed their perspective, they realized how their family, close friends and everyone around them have their characters and moral principles in the wrong order and this contagious mindset was still expanding around the city. This made them motivated to stay together as a team, to fight on the field, but in the same time raise awareness that everyone needs to be equal as that is a basic human right. At the first game, “white” and “black” crowd sat separately, and coach Boone made an inspirational speech before the game talking about opposition: “Like all the other schools in this conference, they are all “white”. They don’t have to worry about race. We do. But we’re better for it, men. Nothin’ tears us apart” He also mentions Greek mythology, saying titans are bigger than gods, and they “rule the universe with absolute power, that field is our universe, let’s rule it like titans.” (00:47:17-00:48:06). They won their first match following Boone’s motivational speech. This proves that race integration and concepts like multiculturalism make people stronger, once the differences are put aside, they can all work together as a team and bring the best out of one another no matter the skin color.

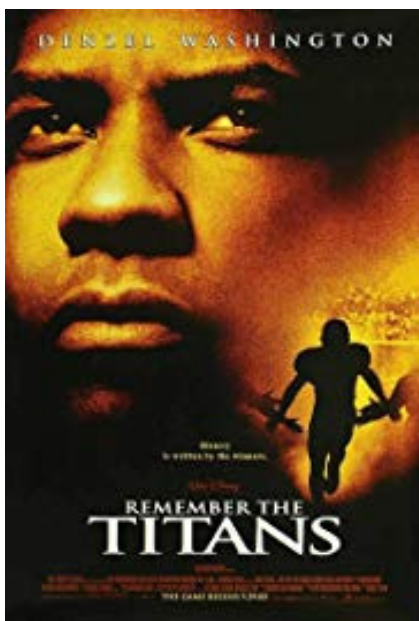


Image 1: *Remember the Titans* (2000) IMDb

Boone’s and Yoast’s family also had their differences, especially between their daughters. At one game, “black” girl said: “Mama, are all white girls that crazy?” (00:48:36-00:48:39), when the girl was really mad at the team for losing at the moment. These girls were only 10 years old but they were already under the influence of the society and its prejudice that

race is what separates people and that it is normal to put all people in the same “basket” due to their skin color or the way they talk, act or dress. When they first met, “white” girl asked the “black” one: “Why are you dressed so weird?” (00:43:40-00:43:42). Later they started to spend time together and a window was broken while Yoast’s daughter was at Boone’s house. When they spoke about the incident Boone said “But maybe you got small taste of what my girls go through. Welcome to my life Yoast.” (01:06:45-01:06:53). This situation may also be an indicator of how “white” people are not aware through what an average African-American individual goes in his everyday life or they simply do not care. This is highly connected to “double consciousness” which was present at that time. Even on TV, when one “white” coach was asked about The Titans he said: “These are my all-American tackles. Prize bulls who don’t to nothin’ but knock the chocolate out of folks.” (01:17:24-01:17:29) When asked about African-American coach Boone, he added: “I’m not going to do anything to help that monkey.” (01:17:33-01:17:36). Even the media accepted this type of representation which depicted “black” race as worthless and unimportant in the United States. After Titans won, the society started to change and they followed the example of this united team. Gerry’s girlfriend admitted she had wrong principles and that she “will try to do better” (1:23:37-1:23:39); when talking about her learned racial discrimination. After the triumph, Boone got applauded on the street by all people, “black” and “white”, he united his team, but also the neighborhood. This is the first time that he got acknowledged and accepted as an equal citizen in his own town. On the final game, Gerry’s mother got a round of applause from “black” people while Boone’s and Yoast’s wife hugged each other and this was a big overturn for the whole idea of “blackness”. Through sport, they were finally raised to an equal level and were presented in society as a “human” race after all the discriminations they suffered. Even Gerry’s girlfriend got under positive influence and shook hands with Julius. Prior to this game, coach Yoast denied to be part of “white” organization’s plot to make Boone fired and hire him back as a “white” man. This would guarantee him a place in the “Hall of Fame” which he desperately wanted, but he decided to stay with his team. This big turnaround in his mind as well, rejecting a representation of race he was once a big part of, along with Boone’s tolerant attitude, makes an important factor in the process of integration, as they were authoritative figures and role-models for their players and people around them. Another motivational speech before the game was given, this time, by coach Yoast: “You’ve taught this city how to trust the soul of a man, rather than the look of him. “(1:38:55-1:39:00). They may have won the game, but the biggest win is their way of changing the society, their city, their neighborhood, their families and friends because

this is what made the real difference. They made people change their opinion about racial differences and create their own representations without all those influential narrow-minded attitudes.

Gerry Bertier ends up paralyzed after a car accident. In the hospital, the only person he wants to see is his African-American friend, Julius. When the nurse said that only family is allowed in the room Gerry greeted his friend saying: "That's my brother." (01:27:52-01:27:54) and later adding: "And now I know I was only hating my brother." (01:28:54-01:28:57). Gerry then knew that only under his mother's and father's influence he had prejudice towards "black" people. Once he put those irrational assumptions aside, he went through a personal breakthrough and looked at this from a positive perspective and the whole city started to do the same. Once two rivalry captains, now became best friends. Representation of race which was full of prejudice and which spread bad effects was finally overturned. Gerry fought against his "natural" attitude and the concept of "whiteness" which was presented to him his whole life, just as coach Yoast changed the principles in life. They realized how atrocious and harmful this behavior was on them and their family and friends who were all caught in this toxic circle. Gerry died, and every man of this team moved on, but their contribution stayed in the city. The racial differences and separation were caused by stubbornness and learned behavior of the mothers and fathers of the city. The society influenced young people and moved forward with their racial behavior. But once the youth realized they have the power; they changed the society by changing themselves and their perspective of race. Therefore, all racism that happened and is happening in the world today is defined by cultural, social and economic factors. Once those factors are changed, a new generation of people can arise without any prejudice. Through the team's example of equal status, common goals, individual respect and supportive coaches, they subverted the concept of "whiteness", raised awareness and equality for "black" people and started to accept African-Americans as fully-integrated human beings. Through football they have changed the subconscious representation of race and made a big step towards integration.

"People say that it can't work, black and white. Well here we make it work every day. We have our disagreements of course. But before we reach for hate. Always, always we remember The Titans." (01:45:48-01:46:00).

This is an example of how sport, in this case football, can be used as a mediator in the fight against racism and damaging representation of race while dispatching a positive effect on society and its mindset.

When talking about race, ethnicity and diversity in the popular culture and sport, it is genuinely believed that “black” race is dominant in some sports and that therefore, “black” people have better genes. Garcia (20) argued that many people in the United States rely on the theory that they have stronger bones, unique muscles and other biologically distinct features which helps them to be superior in some sports. This theory is “proven” by various examples of African-Americans and their superiority in the NBA (National Basketball Association), NFL (National Football League) and in the Olympic games. There are not many cases of media coverage and general talk about these racial differences in terms of sport and popular culture. However, in 2012, a retired African-American track superstar, Michael Johnson had opened and proclaimed how Americans of “black” roots and West Indians are superior in sprinting competitions because of their “black” genes which are the result of slavery. This has sprung up a lot of media attention and opened several public debates in public. The theory is that this has produced many athletic advantages, including more durable bodies for active professional players nowadays. Due to this athletic dominance, “blackness” rose to power and “black” people gained importance and status in society. However, there were still negative premises from “white” society which stereotypically described every “black” man and connected their talents to slavery. Therefore, African-Americans put even greater importance on basketball and fight for their equal status, giving the idea of “blackness” more power and significance. There are instances of these attitudes based on biological stereotypes in the popular culture where one of the main lines of the film *White Men Can't Jump* happen after two main characters, Billy (“white” man) and Sidney (“black” man) bet if Billy can dunk, as he wants to prove to him that he is able to do it. Sidney mocks him while he is trying, giving him the hand to help him and afterwards defensively saying: “White men can't jump” (01:14:10-01:14:12). This key quotation underlines the public opinion during the 90s, when racial discrimination hit the high point while some of these representations remain active today in sport and life in general.

All these assumptions among people that “black” race has a superior gene, and that their domination in some popular sports relies on biological features needs to be observed from a geographical and social context in a wide range of sports. For instance, the stereotype that “black” people have a higher jump in basketball stems from their domination in the NBA’s yearly slam-dunk competition and a low number of “white” players in the league generally. On the contrary, a less popular sport, the high jump, has always been a “white” man’s sport, since they dominate it in every category (Garcia 21) This example subverts the myth that “black”

men are better jumpers, even more so if we consider that high jump competition requires whole body strength in order to perform the jump. Still, this is not perceived as controversial nor is it ever analyzed and considered as “white” genes supremacy. There are no social customs which would include a discussion of “white” race as being stereotyped in that way. “Black” race is under this constant analysis and doubt because of the concept of “whiteness”. It is normal that “white” people are the best in everything, so once African-Americans start being successful in something, it is immediately suspicious and difficult for society to acknowledge that. Nevertheless, this confirms that different factors influence success in a particular sport. Racial tension during the 90s and representation of race is thoroughly depicted through basketball in the movie *White Men Can't Jump*.

4. 2. White men can't jump (1992)

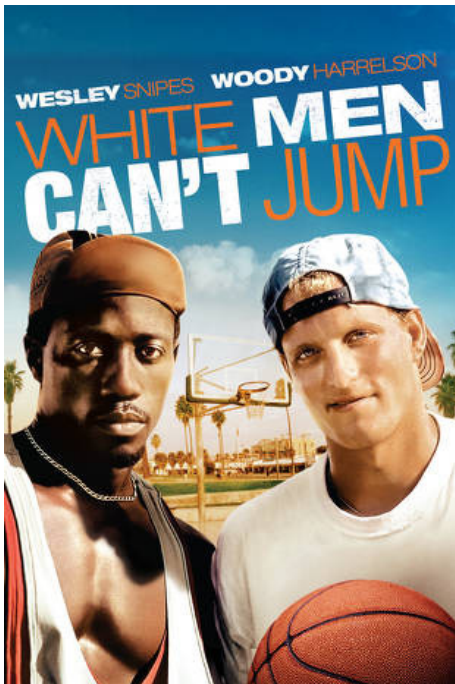


Image 2: *White Men Can't Jump* (1992), IMDb

White Men Can't Jump (1992) directed and written by Rob Shelton represents a great showcase of the relations between “black” and “white” Americans, racial stereotypes based on biological premises, mixed with the concepts of “double consciousness”, “whiteness” and “blackness”. At the beginning of this drama-comedy intertwined with sport, the tone for the rest of the film is immediately set. Bill Hoyle, a “white” American played by Woody Harrelson meets Sidney Deane, a “black” American played by Wesley Snipes at the “blacks” basketball playground. Billy watches “black” players play from the stands, while Sidney acts like the “king” of the

court as that is “his” neighborhood. When one player gets injured, two main protagonists meet and various insults arrive from Sidney’s mouth as he talks to him like he is mentally disabled. “Chump are you deaf?” (00:07:48-00:07:50). “Can you count to ten Billy?” (00:08:04-00:08:06). Once Sidney invites Billy to play, another “black” guy says: “I don’t want to play with him cause he’s white” (00:10:12-00:10:14). This just shows how tense the relations were in the 90s and how representation of race had dreadful effects on society. When Sidney bets on a 1v1 match against Billy and goes to beg some money from a friend, he claims: “This game is a black thing” (00:13:28:00:13:30), meaning that this is “their” sport and it is impossible to lose to some “white” boy. This shows the racial tension and stereotypical assumption that “white” men cannot play as well as “black” men when it comes to basketball or even the defensive mechanism which “black” people seem to have when it comes to “their” territory. It might be the case that “black” people have better basketball players, no matter the cause, but that they also want to preserve that status as it is something where they can prove their value, that they are “the best” at something. “Whiteness” and “white” supremacy possibly made “black” people even more proud of their strengths. Suppression, throughout the history made them extremely defensive, and that is why Sidney says that basketball is their “thing” trying to keep his rights as a human being. This refers to the concept of “blackness” as African-Americans always go through this fight for their rights, recognition and equality as equal people in the United States. They do not want to be considered different or prejudiced as a threat to society as some individuals claim while basketball makes them appreciated and superior in a world which is mostly dominated by the “whites”.

Another example of racial relations and difference in hospitality is seen when Sidney gives the first shot to Billy saying: “Since you are the foreigner” (00:13:42-00:13:45), basically meaning that he does not belong “here” and that he will show him how it is played. This is again a protective behavior due to the “white” privileges and segregation in the history. During the 1v1 game, Billy reveals his true intentions: “You guys look at me, you see the backwards hat, the grey socks, the funky outfit and you say, well this guy is a chump am I right?” He then proceeds in a “black” accent mocking Sidney: “It’s a hard God damn work to make something this pretty look like a chump, so I must be doing it for a reason” (00:17:20-00:17:38). Billy beats him fairly and Sidney then realizes that he has been hustled and all the “blacks” remain in shock of how someone who is “white” can actually shoot the hoops. This just shows how representation of race can be deceiving, Billy acting as “white” as possible managed to fool every “black” man on the court who had stereotypical attitude towards race and sport. Concept

of “whiteness” battered “white” men who were represented as always wearing some snooty outfits, walking and talking arrogantly and having a complex of superiority. Throughout the movie, during the games, there is more talking and insults than actual playing of basketball. After Sidney found out by his own experience how good Billy actually was, they teamed up and started hustling people together. The plan was that Sidney meets two players and tells them to pick his teammate themselves. Billy was sitting on the stands so the “black” guys would always pick him, believing that he cannot play well. “Give him the chump” (00:25:46-00:25:48) While Sidney’s response was “White boys don’t count” (00:25:50-00:25:52), pretending that he still follows the popular racial stereotype even though he changed his stand on race when he got to know Billy. Playing and winning together, the two protagonists with different beliefs, social customs and race became good friends after all.

After one of their successful basketball matches, Billy and Sidney got into another racially connected argument. This time it was about the style of play and different set of skills on the field. Sidney said: “I look good when I play” (01:12:00-01:12:02) while Billy responded that: “A white man wants to win first and look good second while the black man wants to look good first and win second” (01:12:12-01:12:17). This addresses another stereotypical issue which can occur nowadays too. People believe that “black” players mostly care about showboating, having fun, doing fancy tricks and that the game, the tactics and winning is on their second place. In some cases, this might be true, but you can still win by playing well and entertaining the fans, while also some “white” players do many tricks and showboating today, it all depends on social customs and training, individual style of play is not connected to the color of skin. Once “black” players started dominating the basketball, it was as if the society started to look for their flaws and behavioral patterns instead of focusing on the game itself. This representation is utterly damaging and offensive to society but it can still be noticed today. It made “blacks” to resist stronger and become even prouder of their talent.

In the end, Billy manages to dunk the winning basket in the game and proves that he indeed can dunk the ball. However, this movie reflects a deeper meaning than what it seems on the surface. Basketball made “black” people search for their dreams, to break out of the ghetto and make some contribution to the world. “Double consciousness” is another segment which makes African-American players so defensive and proud of their basketball talent. Subconsciously trying to be a “true” American, they become recognized and seen as an equal only through basketball. The movie also shows that “white” and “black” people are quite similar and that they can get along once they put some of the differences aside and focus on the

common thing, in this case basketball. All this once again exemplifies that racial differences are culturally determined and physical appearance makes very little of a difference. People need to step out of their closed “box” and put an effort to accept everyone equally, just as two protagonists of this movie accepted each other and formed a great 2-team and friendship along the way. Besides fiction, sport in real life also has a strong connection with representation of race. Social changes, media influence, examples of racism but also an opportunity to fight racism through sport will be presented in the following chapter.

5. Representation of race in sport

Nowadays, sport has become a strong and popular force in the world and it deservedly belongs to the popular culture. Its influence acts on a wide variety of segments in the everyday life. Sport in general makes a great impact on the society as it can make country’s national pride stronger, promote positive values worldwide and create a magnifying atmosphere embedded with all sorts of emotions. In the United States, basketball and the American football have immense popularity and influence on society. Throughout these sports, there are examples of how social class and other environmental factors largely affect the representation of race due to success in sport and how this subjective dominance is under constant change. In the 1930s, the most successful basketball players were Jewish. While the media implied that they have immense natural talent, in truth, most of those immigrants lived and worked in urbanized places such as New York, where this sport was the most popular one among the local working class. During the 90s, most of the players were “black” and once again there was public talk of their dominant African-American genes (Garcia 21). People focused on their genes and biological theories instead of commenting on the game itself. This is connected to “whiteness” and representation of “black” race as underachieving. These assumptions were soon subverted, when in the 21st century, many “white” people also excelled in the NBA due to the immense popularity of basketball around the world. However, “white” men were never questioned nor there were racially connected debates about their success, it was just normal for them to be superior. Another example which shows how race as a social construct is significant in the representation can be examined in the American football. In the recent history, many NFL players were born and raised outside the mainland territory, on a tiny island American Samoa where young players have increasingly higher chances of being promoted to the NFL due to the popularity of the sport. Great majority of players in the NFL are “black” however, in 2018

there were only two main coaches who are “black”. Dave Hansen, Dallas sportscaster once said: “But I am the product of white privilege in America and I've never denied that I wasn't.” and he added that “black” folks in general must try twice as hard in order to succeed in sport (Griggs). This process could be a product of the concept of “whiteness”, where “white” people have better chances of employment and are usually in higher positions unlike African-Americans. This inequality stems from the past but it is still deeply rooted in some people’s minds who happen to be in the decision-making positions in such a popular organization as the NFL. To those individuals, “white” race is represented as superior with deserved privileges while African-Americans are seen as an unnecessary obstacle in the way. It could also be seen as a hidden message that even though the “stars” of the team are “black”, a “white” man must be in charge of them as a main coach.

There were many cases of racism on and off the field, but sport has also united the people to fight against racism. “Whiteness” and racial discrimination made “blacks” “hit” back even harder and go on with their idea of “blackness” and equality.

Africans have not been allowed to participate in national championships, to utilize sporting facilities reserved for whites, to compete in interracial competition, or to publicize their competitions thoroughly in the media (Wright 10).

This has only made the idea of “blackness” stronger and encouraged them to take a rebellious stand. With all this tension and racial discriminations worldwide, the 1968 Summer Olympics in Mexico City witnessed one of the most memorable protests. Two American professional runners, Tommie Smith and John Carlos, won gold and bronze medal respectively, but the main event happened after the competition, during the medal ceremony. Being unhappy and disappointed in humanity and the treatment of African-Americans in the United States, they both raised their fists high, while wearing black gloves, and turned towards the American flag during the anthem. This action became known as the “Olympics Black Power Salute” and it was heavily criticized by the American media at that time. (The Legacy-1968 Summer Olympic Games, Mexico City). However, this movement remains one of the most popular, most influential and most politically infused declaration in the modern history of Olympic games and it represents one of the many fights for the concept of “blackness”. This was a big moment for African-Americans who wanted to be fully integrated into society with all human rights and without prejudice in any aspect of life, including popular culture and sport. It is just one of the examples of how the “blacks” fought the oppression and this is one of the symbols of the

struggle which they endure throughout life and how they expressed themselves through sport, where due to their talent, they were only then seen as “real” Americans.



Image 3: *Gold medalist Tommie Smith (center) and bronze medalist John Carlos (right) showing the raised fist on the podium after the 200 m race at the 1968 Summer Olympics, Mondadori Portfolio, 1968*

When speaking of popular culture in Europe, the most popular sport would be football, especially in England where many components of everyday life are intertwined with this sport. Football relates to the culture, economy, identity and ethnicity of many people who are highly connected with the local club which they support. From a geographical point of view, this sport used to represent the local youth of England and English teams used to be made mostly of players who were born and raised in the country. This local patriotism is still alive in the community and within fans, but the modern era of transfer market and professional scouting network has totally changed the integrity of football teams. Nowadays, most of the players come from outside the country, through migration and other changes, local English players are a minority in their own football league. The migration process and geographical diversity of the English Premier League can be supported by numbers as well, when speaking of a great change

in team's squads.² Therefore, Storey (88) claims that club's management, strategical leadership, agents and other social networks play a key role in this geographical wave of migrants and the creation of this multicultural league in England. This globalization has been happening in many big countries in Europe for decades, but England somehow always fought against it in the past and wanted to keep an all "white" league which in a way supports the concept of "whiteness". This big change also started some controversy and debate among common people in England. According to Storey (89), some people claim that, by allowing so many foreign players to join, England has lost its national identity. Others state that these people do not belong in their county and how they "steal" local people's workplace on regular basis. This stems from the idea of "white" privileges and some individuals in England still believe that "white" race is superior and that other races, especially "black" race is a danger to society. According to Sky Sports research, "eighty-six per cent of football fans who regularly attend matches in the UK have witnessed a racist incident at a game" (Eighty six per cent of football fans who regularly attend matches in the UK have witnessed a racist incident at a game, a Sky Data Poll for Sky Sports News has revealed.).

Although England is a multicultural nation, these players are still subjected to racism from the crowd or media which represents them as "different" due to negative effects of representation from the past. Football did connect people and changed England to become tolerant and a multicultural nation, but it also brought out some narrow-minded attitudes which introduced racial cases, not just in England but in Europe too. The most recent instance of racial discrimination comes from Montenegro where England played an away match. The media has reported that there were many racist shouts aimed towards English players. The main victims were two "black" players, Danny Rose and Callum Hudson-Odoi. Many professionals have publicly supported English players and strongly criticized this act (Sportklub). This type of behavior is again a result of "whiteness" and this attitude of superiority which is deeply rooted into society. England as a nation has always been patriotic and presented itself as a "white" nation and there are still individuals who visualize "blackness" as unwanted which appears "normal" in their minds. This representation spreads negative effects around the world and therefore; their own players are now subject to racism. These examples of racism in football continue to happen and it shows that there are still individuals who judge, look or discriminate

² Examples: Arsenal's team did not include any English-born player for a match in 2005. In 2011, Wigan Athletic and Blackburn Rovers had 22 players of different nationality on the same pitch. For more instances Storey David, "Football, Place and Migration: Foreign Footballers in the FA Premier League." 2011.

people who have different skin color. Few days after the match, Danny Rose stated he “can’t wait to get out” of football (Pitt-Brooke). This demonstrates the suffering of “black” people who struggle from day to day while being subjected to racism in all spheres of life. Although most people accept every race and realize that it is a normal thing to have multi-cultural nation which involves people of all races, there are some who are under the influence that it is unusual to see a “black” player in English or French jersey due to representation in their minds. French national team is often mocked as an “African team” because most of their players have African roots. These players have to fight “double consciousness” just as African-American people, most of them are European, born and raised there, but they are always discriminated due to their skin color. They have to fight twice as much in order to be accepted and integrated as equal.

As football gained such a massive popularity among people, especially in competitions such as the World Cup or the Champions League, the media coverage became an important segment in the representation of race, identity, ethnicity and nationality in the perspective of millions of viewers. Even sport and football commentators play a big part in the representation and naturalization of race as they sometimes consciously or subconsciously imply various racial stereotypes and long-lasting ethnic ideas. Peeters and Sterkenburg conducted a research among British students and found out that “ideas about natural physicality of the black football player remain firmly embedded in the minds of sport media audiences” (711). Students perceived “black” race as the strong one, while the “whites” appear to have better cognitive abilities. This racial stereotype is the product of “whiteness” where “white” people are perceived as smart, educated and determined for higher positions in society while “blackness” is presented as strong and ideal for manual work due to slavery. This is a common representation promoted by the media where being “white” equals to being successful in life whilst being idealized by the youth and this is something “black” people struggle with daily. Their “double consciousness” makes them to try to be as “white” as possible in order to fit within society and become “normal”. Also, “black” players are often underappreciated and do not get the attention due to a good display football-wise. Considering media coverage and influence on football players in England, it can be said that “black” footballers are treated differently. Paul Pogba claims that Raheem Sterling is underappreciated and that his work on the field is diminished because of his race. The Frenchman continued that Sterling’s footballing skills and overall stats are brilliant, but the media only deals with his private life and stories outside the footballing world. He is often criticized despite playing well. This might be different if he had different skin color, according to Paul Pogba (The Strait Times). This case shows that “blackness” is presented as

less valuable and hidden from the public, only presenting bad qualities in a player. This is something “black” people struggled with throughout the history. Ethnicity, race and the problems of racism remain a “hot” topic in the whole world. It is proven by all these examples that race stems from social and cultural factors, rather than being connected to biological characteristics and gene differences. Racial discrimination, prejudice and exclusion of people is still something that needs to be solved in the 21st century. Sport as a popular culture is extremely intertwined with racism on and off the field. There are discriminations among rival fans, cases of verbal insults from spectators towards the players and sometimes even among players themselves. Media coverage, public stands and other acts can be decisive in order to stop the racism. The influence of sport on these issues is significant and it is crucial that this area of popular culture sends a positive message in order to remove the negative effects of representation through the millions of viewers. These cases of racial stereotypes need to be analyzed in detail in order to raise awareness and showcase the reality of racism within popular culture and how races are represented and how can this be changed.

When it comes to the fight against racism, sport has shown many times that it can be a powerful “tool” in the process. UEFA and other football organizations organize banners “Say no to racism” before every match and players take pictures with it. The goal is for everyone to stand together and all players which are idols of millions of children can become role-models for the youth. There are also many promotional videos made where players say the same slogan on different languages. As football is an immensely popular sport, every act against racism can spring a wave of positive influence and energy onto the children and adults as well. One act of racism was brilliantly handled by a Brazilian player Dani Alves, who played for FC Barcelona at the time. The match was played in April 2014 in Villarreal at stadium El Madrigal. Dani Alves was prepared to take a corner when one of the home fans threw a banana in front of him. The player took the banana, peeled it off and ate it, then proceeded with the match. This action has brought a lot of positive influence on the social media, with everyone supporting Dani Alves and his movement. He even said after the match: “I don't know who it was, but thanks to whoever threw the banana, the potassium gave me the energy for the two crosses which led to a goal,” (Wright, J.). The way Dani acted may be the best solution for the defense against these racial actions, but it is also important to raise awareness and tackle this problem from its roots. Sport offers a remarkable platform where everyone is equal and this togetherness can be applied to a long-lasting fight against racism in the world.

6. Conclusion

Race is one of the many distinctive features between people while its theory and historical development can be very complex and debatable. Its representation varies and it can be seen differently by every individual depending on numerous factors. Biological theory of race is visible and most easily grasped by common people, however its factors may be important, they cannot be constantly proven. This leads to many misconceptions and prejudice which people have towards different races while most of these divisions were learned like mother's tongue or forced by society and media. This paper tried to deal with the problem of racism by seeing race as a social construct while analyzing terms such as "whiteness", "blackness", "double consciousness" and other elements which have racial notions, but which can also be under constant change. Real-life sport examples combined with fictional situations from two popular sport movies created great surface for further analysis. Popular culture, including sports can bring a major change to the public representation of race. Since racism is deeply rooted in some people's minds and based on some biological prejudices, it takes a bit of knowledge on social perspective of race which could change the whole mental picture which some people have in their minds about race. This representation of race, mixed with public media, which has major influence, is what creates a common opinion to divide society by skin color including prejudice and "white" superiority concept. As shown by the example of two movies, *White Men Can't Jump* and *Remember the Titans*, it can be seen that racial discriminations stem from a forced public opinion and biological conclusions which have questionable arguments. "White" race is presented as dominant, privileged, but also arrogant and consequently damaging to "white" people and society in general which undermined "black" Americans in every sense. In both cases, sport (Basketball and American Football) ended up being a solution and a common ground for everyone to become equal and fight against racism, no matter the differences or past beliefs. Sport presented a base for "black" people to become recognized, equal and self-worthy. Once protagonists of the movies got past biological differences and realized that society is what made them have hateful conclusions, they gave a chance to know a person and ended up being more similar than they ever thought they would be. Nowadays, there are still many cases of racism in sport, as shown by the examples earlier in the paper. This comes from the fans, the players, the coaches, the commentators and public media. As sport is considered a popular culture in the whole world, it is crucial for it to present a positive and respectful picture and this depends on every individual included. Millions of

children and adults watch sport every day, admire their idols and they copy every move they make. Sport can send a powerful message in the fight against racism which can be an inspiration for the generations to come and which might completely change the public opinion and representation of race that are subject to change. Idea of “whiteness” has to be alienated while “black” men need to be given an equal chance and all races need to be considered as “human” race. Despite all the racist cases, sport can be a foundation of equality, awareness, mutual respect and opportunity for every race to be presented as unbiased in the years to come. As seen in some examples in the history and in more recent times, sport presents a “field” for confronting racism with positive actions which affects millions of people. All statements in the paper are only a supportive ground for a more detailed research which is required in order to resolve such a complex issue as representation of race and racism in the popular culture.

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8. OVERVIEW OF RACE THEORY AND ITS APPLICATION IN SPORTS FILMS:

Summary and key words

Race is a complex term and its representation is determining for the positive or negative effects which are influencing the society. This paper provides an overview of race theory while examining race as a social construct and demonstrating how concepts like "whiteness", "blackness" and "double consciousness" are presented in the popular culture. For a detailed analysis, two popular sport movies were applied throughout the paper as a case study: *White Men Can't Jump* and *Remember the Titans*. Along with the fictional material, real-life sport examples were depicted in order to indicate that racism is an existing issue; but also, that sport could be used in a confrontation against racial discrimination and provide a common ground for equality which would result in positive effects of representation of race throughout the world.

Key words: race, representation, racism, whiteness, blackness, sport, culture

9. PREGLED RASNE TEORIJE I NJENA PRIMJENA U SPORTSKIM FILMOVIMA:

Sažetak i ključne riječi

Rasa je složen pojam i njena reprezentacija je odlučujuća za pozitivne ili negativne efekte koji mogu utjecati na društvo. Ovaj rad predstavlja pregled rasne teorije uz proučavanje rase kao socijalnog konstrukta te demonstraciju kako su koncepti poput „bjeline“, „crnine“ i „dvostruke svijesti“ prezentirani u popularnoj kulturi. Za detaljniju analizu korištena su dva popularna sportska filma kroz cijeli rad kao studija slučaja: *White Men Can't Jump* i *Remember the Titans*. Uz izmišljeni materijal, opisani su i stvarni sportski primjeri kako bi se ukazalo na to da je rasizam aktualan problem; ali i da bi se sport mogao koristiti za borbu protiv rasne diskriminacije te pružiti zajedničko tlo za jednakost koja tada može rezultirati pozitivnim učincima reprezentacije rase u cijelome svijetu.

Ključne riječi: rasa, reprezentacija, rasizam, bjelina, crnina, sport, kultura