SPORT AS A FUNCTIONAL EQUIVALENT OF RELIGION

BY

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE
(Physical Education)

at the

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

1972

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B753

To Eliane who is at once a sport and a saint

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am greatly indebted to Professors G.S. Kenyon and H. Fallding for their help in formulating this problem in a manageable way. I also owe thanks to Professors W.O. Hagstrom and F.Z. Cumbee for their guidance and assistance and to Judy Toyama and Ev Lohrei for their greatly appreciated help in the final preparation of this work.

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND FRAMES OF REFERENCE

Since the publishing of Boyle's Sport: Mirror of American Life[1] and McIntosh's Sport in Society,[2] interest has developed in sport not simply as a means of recreation, but as a social phenomenon possessing important consequences for the individual and society as a whole. Perhaps stimulated by the pioneering work of the above authors several other texts dealing with a similar subject matter have appeared to add richness and depth to the study of sport from a sociological or quasi-sociological perspective.[3] Many of these authors, by viewing sport as the independent

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[1]H. Boyle, Sport: Mirror of American Life (Boston: C. A. Watts, 1963).

[2]P. C. McIntosh, Sport in Society (London: C. A. Watts, 1963).

[3]See for instance: P. Goodhart and C. Chataway, War Without Weapons (London: W. H. Allen, 1968); H. Slusher, Man, Sport and Existence (Philadelphia: Lea and Febiger, 1967); A. Beisser, The Madness of Sport (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967); D. L. Miller, Gods and Games: Towards a Theology of Play (New York: World Publishing Co., 1970); H. G. Cox, The Feast of Fools: A Theological Essay on Festivity and Fantasy (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969); G. Lüschen, "Sociology of Sport and the Cross-Cultural Analysis of Sport and Games," The Cross-Cultural Analysis of Sport and Games, ed. G. Lüschen (Champaign, Illinois: Stipes Publishing Company, 1970), pp. 1-13; R. Thompson, Race and Sport. On Problems of Integration and Disintegration (London: Oxford University Press, 1964).

variable have sought to determine its effect upon society and its various institutions or less frequently by looking at the changes in sport some authors have tried to explain it as the dependent variable.[4]

Among the many institutions that sport is said to affect or be affected by is the institution of religion. Thus McIntosh[5] refers to the puritan aspect of sport, Beisser[6] elaborates upon the psycho-religious characteristics of modern spectator sport and Slusher,[7] in a phenomenological fashion, discusses the religious symbolism and mysticism inherent in spectator sports events. In many of these texts, and in most discussions of the scope of sociology of sport, mention is invariably made of the association between sport and religion and from a common sense point of view this would seem only natural. The many casual observations of similarities between the two would seem to necessitate such a comparison. The affinity between religion and sport in primitive

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[4]J. R. Betts, "Organized Sport in Industrial America," unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Columbia University, 1951. Microfilm.

[5]McIntosh, op. cit., pp. 35-45.

[6]A. Beisser, The Madness of Sport (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967), pp. 124-141, 148-151.

[7]H. Slusher, Man, Sport and Existence (Philadelphia: Lea and Febiger, 1967), pp. 121-171.

societies,[8] the close tie between Greek sport and religion,[9] the presence of Weber's Protestant Ethic in Sport,[10] Veblen's[11] observations on the parallels between religious and sport rituals, or Warner's[12] concept of "collective representation" apparently present in large spectator sports gatherings, all seem to point to the religious in sport. But the fact remains that regardless of this relatively rich body of descriptive literature, to date no studies on sport and religion have been conducted in anything resembling a systematic fashion.

In no fashion is this observation meant to detract from the merits of the descriptive material already available. Indeed, it could be argued that, inasmuch as

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[8]H. Damm, "The So-Called Sport Activities of Primitive Peoples. A Contribution Towards the Genesis of Sport," The Cross-Cultural Analysis of Sport and Games, ed. G. Luschen (Champaign, Illinois: Stipes Publishing Company, 1970), pp. 52-69.

[9]B. Ballou, Jr., "The Role of the Jewish Priesthood in the Expansion of Greek Games in Jerusalem," Canadian Journal of History of Sport and Physical Education, I (1970), pp. 70-81.

[10]G. Luschen, "The Interdependence of Sport and Culture," The Cross-Cultural Analysis of Sport and Games: ed. G. Luschen (Champaign, Illinois: Stipes Publishing Company, 1970, 1970), pp. 85-99.

[11]T. Veblen, The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions (New York: New American Library, 1959).

[12]W. L. Warner, The Family of God (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961).

this kind of colorful reporting stimulates the imagination and provides motivation for more precise discovery, it plays an indispensable role in any worthwhile discipline. Be that as it may, the point remains that if a sociology of sport is to emerge as a viable sub-discipline,[13] it must go further than descriptive material and develop or borrow from related disciplines a workable theoretical base upon which it can build. However as Luschen[14] succinctly points out, "...the consciousness of methodological procedures in the field of sociology of sport does not stand out very prominently in the field." To date such an accusation is probably justified and when the backgrounds of the bulk of the researchers in this field are considered, it is understandable that such a limitation should exist.

There has been no shortage of directive pleas in this regard. Gunter Erbach, one of the pioneers in this field, has pointed to the mode of procedure of sport sociological research:

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[13]For a discussion of this issue see G. S. Kenyon, "A Sociology of Sport: On Becoming a Sub-Discipline," New Perspectives of Man in Action, eds. R. C. Brown and B. J. Cratty (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969), pp. 163-180.

[14]G. Luschen, "Some Recent Developments in the Sociology of Sport," Sociology of Sport, Aspects of Contemporary Sport Sociology, ed. G. S. Kenyon (Chicago: The Athletic Institute, 1969), p. 4.

> There actually exist two fundamental starting points which have to be taken into consideration, first the precise theoretical definition of the aim to be pursued (taken from sociological theory), and second, the exact definition of the methodological and technological manner in which it is to be carried out (manner of selection, choice of method, system of evaluation).[15]

Such precise scientific intentions have been voiced by several other established writers in the field,[16] and although the exhortations have been loud and the instructions explicit, little such "hard nosed" investigation has taken place. Dunning,[17] in observing this deficiency, noted that from a bibliography of eight hundred and seventy-nine articles dealing with the study of sport, less than fifty have been published by what may be termed sociological journals. If a sound theoretical and methodological basis is to be considered an important publishing criterion, then it is clear that probably the

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[15]G. Erbach, "The Science of Sport and Sports Sociology," Sport, Culture and Society, A Reader on the Sociology of Sport, eds. J. W. Loy and G. S. Kenyon (New York: The MacMillan Company, Collier-MacMillan Ltd., 1969), p. 33.

[16]See for instance; G. S. Kenyon, "The Sociology of Sport as an Area of Specialization," Paper presented at the Western Conference of Physical Education Meetings, University of Illinois, Chicago Circle, Dec. 1966. Mimeo; J. E. Kane and C. Murray, "Suggestions for the Sociological Study of Sport," Readings in Physical Education (London, 1966), pp. 111-127.

[17]E. Dunning, "Some Conceptual Dilemmas in the Sociology of Sport," Paper presented at the International Workshop on Sociology of Sport, Macolin, Switzerland, Sept. 1969. Mimeo. 27 pp.

most important aspect of investigation has been neglected, without which there remains at best complex empiricism with no epistemological rationale and at worst anecdotal discourse.

However, due recognition should be accorded to some notable exceptions to this deficiency. Loy[18] in an early attempt to utilize the "middle range" theory of sociology borrowed from Merton's paradigm of social structure and anomie to extend Caillois' classification of games, providing an example of how analytical inspection of already established sociological theory may lead to insight into the sociological aspects of sport. More recently the same author[19] has attempted to point out the dangers and illustrate the merits of using and borrowing from sociological theory in the explanation of agonetic behavior. McPhee[20] attempted a similar strategy by taking the

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[18]J. W. Loy, "Game Forms, Social Structure and Anomie," New Perspectives of Man in Action, eds. R. C. Brown and B. J. Cratty (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969), pp. 181-199.

[19]J. W. Loy, "The Nature of Sociological Theory and its Import for the Explanation of Agonetic Behavior," (paper prepared for presentation at the Research Section of the 74th Annual Meeting of the National College of Physical Education Association for Men, December, 1970, Portland, Oregon).

[20]W. N. McPhee, Formal Theories of Mass Behavior (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1963).

concept of addiction and applying it to, among other activities, sport and Allardt[21] using one of Durkheim's models, investigated the integrative function of sport in a comparative light. However, along with a small number of other investigators, these authors represent the few examples of tested theory being applied to sport.

In view of the sparseness of studies utilizing established sociological theory in the study of sport and more specifically the virtual absence of such studies examining the apparent association between sport and religion this study provides an attempt to introduce a much used (and sometimes abused) method of sociological investigation and utilize it in the study of one aspect of sport. The aspect under investigation is the alleged integrative contribution of sport and religion and the methodological approach is Structural-Functional analysis.

The Problem

Societies are comprised of institutions and although each of these institutions is said to serve a major function they, by no means, hold exclusive rights to these functional operations. Thus, although the primary function

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[21]E. Allardt, "Basic Approaches in Comparative Sociological Research and the Study of Sport," The Cross-Cultural Analysis of Sport and Games, ed. G. Lüschen (Champaign, Illinois: Stipes Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 14-30.

of the family is said to be socialization, the church may for some people or in particular circumstances, act as a "functional equivalent" or "substitute" for it. In the same way the institution of education may substitute for that of government when the situation dictates it. The overlapping functions of these institutions reflect the presence of "functional equivalents", "alternatives" and "substitutes." If one institution fails to meet the functional requirements of the system, another institution may assume that function.

Because of this overlapping effect, it is not far-fetched to assume that if sport is viewed as an institution, then it performs one or several of the required functional requisites of society. Moreover it is feasible that, like other institutions, it may in certain situations and for certain groups of people act as a "functional equivalent" of other need fulfilling institutions. Therefore, it is the purpose of this study to determine the degree to which the institution of sport serves as a functional equivalent to the institution of religion with respect to one societal requisite, namely integration.

Definition of Terms

To facilitate an understanding of the above proposal brief definitions of the major concepts are

presented here. However, a more elaborate explication of them is presented in Chapter II. Definitions of other terms germane to this study are presented where required.

> Sport: the totality of institutionalized games whose outcomes are dependent upon physical prowess.[22]
>
> Religion: a system of beliefs and practices by which a group of people struggle with the ultimate problems of human life.[23]
>
> Institution: an enduring, complex, integrated organized behavior pattern through which social control is exerted and by means of which the fundamental social desires or needs are met.[24]
>
> Integration: refers to the societal requisite which provides an establishment of regulatory norms that are accepted and desired by the participants and which, when adhered to, will effect high solidarity and morale and produce participants willing to give themselves to specific undertakings vital to the maintenance of the system.

Theoretical Framework

Sociologists observing religion tend to view the phenomenon from a standpoint which is often quite different

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[22]This definition is abstracted from J. W. Loy, "The Nature of Sport: A Definitional Effort," Quest, Monograph X, May 1968, pp. 1-15.

[23]J. M. Yinger, Religion Society and the Individual (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1957), p. 9.

[24]H. E. Moore, "Institution," Dictionary of Sociology and Related Sciences, ed. H. P. Fairchild (Totoway, N. J.: Littlefield, Adams and Co., 1968).

from say that of the layman or the theologian. Sociological observations differ in the sense that what is seen is seldom as abstract or intangible as the various churchly views of religion. This is not to say that the "beyond experience" aspect of religious behavior is denied by sociologists. What it does mean is that students of religion tend to look at different aspects of the same thing as their interests and purposes differ and therefore the sociologist is likely to concern himself more with the pragmatic effects of religion thus leaving the more qualified specialists.

Durkheim presents the sociological definition of religion in extreme when he says:

> A religion is a unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things, that is to say, things set apart and forbidden--beliefs and practices which unite into one single moral community called a church all those who adhere to them.[25]

From this definition it is quite plain that Durkheim has a sociological "bias"--in this instance an overemphasis on the integrative aspect of religion. But then so also do theologians have "theological biases"; psychologists,

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[25]E. Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life (New York: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., trans. by Joseph Ward Swain, 1915, Free Press, 1965), p. 62.

"psychological" ones; and so on. The point being made is not that the various students of religion must, by necessity, restrict their view of the religious experience but rather that by subjecting the various specialized perspectives to religious phenomena a deeper and more encompassing understanding is achieved for all.

Therefore the sociologist is concerned with a "sociological" perspective--a perspective which enables him to analyze religion as an eminently cultural phenomenon comprising primarily of human interaction which is largely predetermined by what is called social structure.

Functional Explanation of Religion. As was noted above, it is possible to view religion from several different perspectives. It was also established that the sociologist views it from a specialized sociological perspective. However this statement tends to oversimplify matters. What is a sociological perspective? Is there such a thing as "the sociological method"? A brief glance at the literature over the past quarter of a century would immediately deny this assertion. The study of religion, like other sub-sets of sociology, has been plagued with the nagging question, "are our analytic methods realistic?" This question has given rise to many "schools" within

sociology each of which maintains that their method provides a more accurate way of studying societies. Within the Sociology of Religion structural-functionalism has certainly been the most frequently employed, if not the most "successful," method.

From a functionalist perspective religion is viewed as a need-fulfilling agency which contributes to the general equilibrium of an ongoing society. Thus the functionalist is concerned with an analysis of the institution of religion in order to establish how, while at the same time contributing to the vitality of the society, it meets the needs of its members. In other words, functional theory focuses attention on the functional contribution of religion to the social system. O'Dea explains this functional contribution in the following manner:

> Religion, by its reference to a beyond and its beliefs concerning man's relationship to that beyond, provides a supra-empirical view of a larger total reality. In the context of this reality, the disappointments and frustrations inflicted on mankind by uncertainty and impossibility, and by the institutionalized order of human society, may be seen as meaningful in some ultimate sense, and this makes acceptance of an adjustment to them possible. Moreover, by showing the norms and rules of society to be part of a larger supra-empirical ethical order, ordained and sanctified by religious belief and practice, religion contributes to their enforcement

> when adherence to them contradicts the wishes or interests of those affected.[26]

O'Dea's explanation of the function of religion provides a good example of a functional analysis. However, to clarify the meaning of this concept and thereby establish the analytic method employed in this study the following elaboration is provided.

Functional Analysis. When individuals unite to perform need-fulfilling activities, they engage in role playing and develop status levels within these roles. Cementing this process together are shared expectations or normative beliefs. As these activities become increasingly complex, they tend to develop an organizational form which maintains a semi-permanence over time. However, this order is developed, maintained and eventually broken down not by individual effort, but by phenomena arising out of group activity and these phenomena are not explainable by psychological reasoning alone. These forces which are at work and which produce an effect more than the sum of the group's parts are what Durkheim[27] called social facts. It is the recognition of this process

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[26]T. F. O'Dea, The Sociology of Religion. Foundations of Modern Sociology Series (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1966), p. 6.

[27]E. Durkheim, Suicide: A Study in Sociology (London: Routledge and K. Paul, 1952).

and the study of these facts that distinguishes sociology as a separate discipline.

To investigate these social facts, sociologists require a special methodological approach. To use, for example, a psychological or philosophical approach would be absurd, for in doing so the sociologist would be blind to the very effects he is in search of. Such a method must be directed at uncovering not only the semi-permanent order mentioned above but also the effects, manifest and latent, this order has upon society or any of its constituent parts.

Structural-functional analysis, functional analysis, or functionalism as it is commonly known, represents such an approach. As a frame of reference functionalism sees society as an ongoing equilibrium of social institutions which patterns human activity in terms of shared norms held to be legitimate and binding by the human participants. It is a heuristic device which helps to uncover the structure of systems and reveal their functions. Within the context of functional analysis systems are said to be either functional, dysfunctional and in some cases non-functional. Moreover, these functions or dysfunctions may be either manifest or latent.

The following definitions of the major concepts

of functionalism are adapted from Merton.[28]

Function: an observed consequence which makes for the adaptation or adjustment of a given system.

Manifest Function: an objective consequence contributing to the adjustment or adaptation of the system which is intended and recognized by participants in the system.

Latent Function: correlatively, that which is neither intended or recognized.

Dysfunction: an observed consequence which lessens the adaptation or adjustment of the system.

Basically functionalism asks the question, "What is the contribution of each structure to the maintenance of the social system?" These contributions or functions may be manifest or latent. However any unit or part of a unit may also in some respects be working against the system. In this case the contribution is said to be dysfunctional.

Crucial to the application of functional analysis is an understanding of the following terms:

Social System: the system constituted by the interaction of a plurality of individual actors whose relations to each other are mutually oriented (i.e., are defined and mediated by a system of culturally structured and shared expectations).[29]

It is convenient to view a social system as being an operationalized version of the concept structure.

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[28]R. K. Merton, Social Theory and Social Structure (New York: Free Press, 19490, pp. 49-61.

[29]G. E. Swanson, "Social System," A Dictionary of the Social Sciences, eds. J. Gould and W. L. Kolb (New York: Free Press, 1964), p. 670.

> Structure is the pattern of relationships that exists between various entities of which the group or social system is composed. It also implies regularity in the relationships.[30]

When a system's norms become sanctioned i.e., approved and accepted it is then termed an institution.

> Social Institution is a complex of obligatory norms for conduct.

However it must be remembered that an institution is not an observable reality. It is a cultural level of abstraction and analysis. For example, if the institution or religion is under consideration as an abstract entity its churches may be viewed only as concrete examples of this abstraction. A more detailed examination of the concept institution is retained until later in this study.

By referring to the concepts mentioned above culture may be viewed as a system made up of institutions and these in turn may be recognized in a similar fashion consisting of associated parts which form a pattern that is relatively complete. Moreover, systems and their associated parts, in spite of periodic imbalance and adaptive change, tend to be characterized by a high degree of stability and regularity and, as a result of the functions which they perform, tend to be self-sustaining.

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[30]M. Williams, Jr., American Society. 2nd ed. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1960).

Therefore for a system to maintain itself, certain obligations have to be fulfilled. Similarily, if it fails to meet these obligations, eventually it will be significantly transformed or perish. The seeds of this destructive process are sown by dysfunctions.

However, before a system can be said to be functional or dysfunctional several points have to be clarified. First and foremost the functions required by the system, if it is to survive and operate effectively, need to be determined. Sociologists over the years have attempted to formulate such a body of functional requisites. For example Parsons,[31] in part borrowing from the small group investigators, formulates the following functional requisites:

1. Goal Attainment
2. Adaptation
3. Integration
4. Pattern Maintenance and Tension Management

Thus, if these requisites are applied to the church as a distinct institutionalized system, goals are established by planning or by a long-term process of developing folkways, rules and regulations. Adaptation is achieved by controlling or adjusting to the environment--physical and social. Various social arrangements for settling disputes and dealing with violations of the

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[31] T. Parsons, "General Theory in Sociology," Sociology Today; Problems and Prospects, eds. R. K. Merton et al. (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1959), pp. 3-37.

regulatory norms are standardized and thus provide integration. And finally emotional tensions are relieved and the strained relationships which occur during interaction are resolved in order for the system to operate effectively.[32] However, Parsons' model provides only one example of many efforts to establish the fundamental needs of society.

The second prerequisite to functional analysis is an assessment of the more or less stable levels of organization or units through which these functions are performed. One advantage to be gained from such a structuring is the partial elimination of the ambiguity Merton[33] mentioned when he called for the concepts of structural context and unit to be defined. Because of the intricate and often paradoxical mechanisms inherent in society, a "hard-nosed" dialectic approach must always be maintained. What might be functional for a group or institution may be dysfunctional for a part of the group or the society which contains that institution. Thus the units must be defined. Here again Parsons[34] has attempted to clarify this issue by presenting the following typology of organizational levels:

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[32]Much of this example is taken from D. O. Moberg, The Church As a Social Institution (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1962), pp. 128-129.

[33]Merton, op. cit., p. 51.

[34]Parsons, op. cit., p. 5.

1. Primary or Technical level
2. Managerial level
3. Institutional level
4. Societal level

Again however, it should be stressed that this structure is only an heuristic device and should be modified to suit the activity under study. Loy[35] for instance, has taken Caplow's[36] modification of this model and applied it to what he calls "the sport order".

Another major point to be remembered in functional analysis is the existence (if any) of functional alternatives, equivalents or substitutes. Realization of this removes the air of inevitability from systems and opens up the possibility of a variety of units subserving a particular function.[37]

By taking cognizance of the above mentioned points functional analysis is possible. But this is not to say that it will be fruitful. Before attempting an analysis of the functions performed by the various systems within society several types of procedures have to be considered. In this regard there are three established methods:

1. The mental experiment of "thinking away" the part and judging what would happen to the larger system if it were absent.

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[35]J. W. Loy, "The Nature of Sport: A Definitional Effort," Quest, Monograph X, May 1968, p. 12.

[36]T. Caplow, Principles of Organization (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1964).

[37]Merton, op. cit., p. 52.

2. Comparison of social systems which are similar to each other except for differences in the part one is analyzing.

3. Analysis of deviations which occur when normal social patterns are disrupted.[38]

In this study consideration is given to all three methods with emphasis being given to methods one and three.

Having established the method of approach there still remains the problem of attributing function and dysfunction in something more than a casual manner. Functional analysis is notoriously difficult and the conclusions of functionalists have often been of a conflicting and sometimes contradictory nature.[39] Therefore to minimize the dangers of misguided interpretation and thus increase the value of the study, the following points suggested by Merton[40] to facilitate a more penetrative analysis are well taken:

1. Location of participants in the pattern within the social structure - differential participation.

2. Consideration of alternative modes of behavior excluded by emphasis on the observed pattern.

3. The emotive and cognitive meanings attached by participants to the pattern.

4. A distinction between the motivations for participating in the pattern and the objective behavior in the pattern.

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[38]Moberg, op. cit., p. 129.

[39]For example, the well-known conflicting opinions of Malinowski and Radcliffe-Brown on the function of magic for the Trobriand Islanders with a solution being provided by Homans.

[40]Merton, op. cit., p. 60.

5. Regularities of behavior not recognized by participants but which are nonetheless associated with the central pattern of behavior.

The foregoing constitutes the core of structural-functional analysis. However, it should be noted that there are several interpretations of this method, some of which unfortunately have lived up to the accusation of being too rigid for modern sociological analysis. It is felt that the interpretation used in this study is flexible enough and yet maintains a degree of consistency in keeping with the conceptualization of society proposed by functionalism.

Defence of Functionalism. Having elaborated upon the method of functionalism, a brief defence of its validity is called for. This is occasioned by the recurring, often redundant attacks upon the use of this so called "conservative" method of enquiry inquiry in modern sociology.

Since its initial development by anthropologists Radcliffe-Brown and Malinowski and sociologists Pareto, Durkheim and Weber, functionalism has, in one form or another, come to be used widely as a method of investigation in sociology. Its refinement in post-war sociology by Parsons and Merton has added to its popularity to such extent that Davis[41] has gone as far as to argue that it

[41] K. Davis, "The Myth of Functional Analysis as a Special Method in Sociology and Anthropology," American Sociological Review, XXIV (1959), pp. 757-772.

is a myth that functionalism constitutes a special method in Sociology and Anthropology--it is rather synonymous with sociological analysis. However, notwithstanding Davis' enthusiasm and in view of the sometimes valid criticism levelled against it, no such claims are made in this study.

Over the years, functionalism has been subjected to severe criticism from a variety of sources[42] and it would seem that the bulk of these attacks center around the supposed rigidity of the functionalist scheme; a rigidity which need not exist if Merton's idea of dysfunction is carefully operationalized. A second point to be noted is that the structural-functional method of analysis is not intended as an explanatory device. It does not pretend to depict an actual type and it would seem that it is partly this misconception that underlies the thinking of many of its critics. Like Weber's theoretical ideal-type, functionalism as a methodological approach is intended only as a useful heuristic device and as such should never be viewed as depicting reality. It is an analytic method that helps bring some order into the chaos but it does not present the end product. In this respect it is an exploratory rather than an explanatory device. If, in the process of using this approach, the aspect under study is

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[42]Ibid., pp. 757-758.

found to deviate drastically from the model, then the heuristic should be discarded in favour of a more empirical model. But this does not mean that functionalism has failed. The fact that it served to focus attention on this deviation only reinforces its usefulness as a heuristic device.

The chief opponents of the orthodox functionalist method have traditionally been subsumed under the heading, "conflict sociologists". This is perhaps a misnomer. Within this label lie possibly three distinct groups of sociologists.[43] First and perhaps most formidable as far as developing an alternative conceptualization of society are the Chicago ecologists best exemplified by Hawley[44] and Firey.[45] Secondly the "process" sociologists - for example C. Wright Mills[46] offer opposition to traditional functionalism on the basis that the idea of a system is too static to incorporate social change. Finally those

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[43]Much of this distinction is owed to H. Fallding in his text The Sociological Task (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1968).

[44]H. Hawley, Human Ecology - A Theory of Community Structure (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1950).

[45]W. Firey, Land Use in Central Boston (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1947).

[46]C. Mills, The Sociological Imagination (New York Oxford University Press, 1959).

sociologists concerned with the study of social problems[47] and social criticism[48] tend to view functionalism as either too archaic or too rigid an approach for the study of social phenomena. Although these criticisms all contain a measure of truth, and although many of these approaches have been responsible for much of the intelligent research done in sociology, virtually all of them have tended to neglect one major requirement of sociological research. Excepting the ecologist school, none of these various approaches have offered an alternative scheme for conceptualizing society. Without such a scheme the sociologist is subject to the temptation of studying society from something other than a sociological perspective.

At this stage in the development of the area of sociology of sport there appears to be a need for a general conceptualization of both the structure of sport and its relation to the total society. Since functionalism offers such a conceptualization, it would seem that an attempt should be made to apply its method to social phenomena pertaining to the area of sport.

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[47] For example, G. Myrdal et al. An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, Inc., 1944).

[48] For example, D. Reisman et al. The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955).

In this regard Lüschen's words, although intended for comparative analysis seem to apply:

> Regardless of the body of theory and the conceptual frame of reference, the methodological procedures... (of functionalism) stand out as a must in the comparative analysis of sport and games. Not only should a structured analysis be provided in order to determine the structure of the system of sport itself and the inter-relationships of sport to the socio-cultural systems at large and its subsystems, but the question of the functional significance of sport should be answered as well.[49]

Delimitations of the Study

Owing to the lack of sound information on religious behavior and because of the difficulty of collecting a reliable body of such data this study is confined to a secondary analysis of studies conducted in the areas of sociology of sport and sociology of religion. In many instances indicators of religiosity used by various authors have been criticized for being invalid[50] and the types of religious groupings too general.[51] Often this has resulted in sweeping statements about the functions of religious

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[49]G. Lüschen, "Sociology of Sport and the Cross-Cultural Analysis of Sport and Games," The Cross-Cultural Analysis of Sport and Games, ed. G. Lüschen (Champaign, Illinois: Stipes Publishing Company, 1970), pp. 7-8.

[50]See for example the opening chapter to the thesis by N. J. Demerath, Social Class in American Protestantism (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company, 1965).

[51]Cf. B. R. Wilson, "An Analysis of Sect Development," American Sociological Review, XXIV (February, 1959), 8-14 and W. Herberg, "Religion in a Secularized Society: The New Shape of Religion in America," The Review of Religions Research, III (1962), 145-158.

behavior which apparently contradict the facts.[52] Such confusion has often been a consequence of a too heavy and sometimes misguided reliance on a particular theoretical perspective and a reluctance to consider religion within a social change context. To achieve a deeper and less biased view of religion and to avoid similar pitfalls in the study of the functions of sport[53] an attempt is made in this study to conceptualize the various dimensions of the term integration and by applying these concepts to studies of religion and sport establish an equivalency sufficient in degree to warrant future empirical investigations.

Second, because of the loosely defined and often controversial nature of established church phenomena as opposed to the tightly defined and widely studied nature of sectarian groups religion, in this study, is restricted to the latter phenomenon. Further rationale for this choice is presented in Chapter III.

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[52]Cf. K. R. Popper, The Open Society and its Enemies Vol. 2 (New York: Harper and Row, 1963).

[53]For a discussion of a similar attitude in sport and an insightful look at alternative functions see K. Heinila, "Notes on the Inter-Group Conflicts in International Sport," The Cross-Cultural Analysis of Sport and Games, ed. G. Luschen (Champaign, Illinois: Stipes Publishing Company, 1970), pp. 174-182.

Summary

In the literature of the Sociology of Sport mention is made of the affinity between sport and religion. However this equivalency has never been systematically investigated. To pursue this investigation the systematic method of analysis known as structural-functionalism was chosen and an outline and defence of it presented. Working definitions of the major concepts were presented and a brief outline of the scope of this study was established.

CHAPTER II

THE CONCEPTS OF SPORT, RELIGION AND INTEGRATION

In view of the complexity of the major concepts used in this study an extended definition of each is called for. It is felt that the accepted method of presenting one or two definitions gleaned from recognized sources is unsatisfactory and that by elaborating upon the constituent elements of each concept much of the confusion surrounding them may be eliminated.

Sport

In an attempt to define the concept sport, in a precise manner, Loy[1] has explored in a systematic fashion the dimensions it encompasses. These dimensions he labels, game occurrence, institutionalized game, social institution and social situation or social system.[2] Without detracting from the merits of this study it is felt that the labels chosen are somewhat unfortunate and perhaps misleading. The treatment of sport as a game occurrence is, of course, excellent and is accepted here

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[1]J. W. Loy, "The Nature of Sport: A Definitional Effort," Quest, Monograph X, May 1968, pp. 1-15.

[2]Ibid., p. 1.

but it is difficult to conceptualize the difference between institutionalized game and social institution. And moreover, it would appear that much of the discussion of sport as a social system should rightly appear under the heading social institution.

However for the purposes of this study it is not necessary to think of sport in such precise terms. In as much as all games excepting those in the inventive stage maintain a degree of "institutionalization" the distinction between games and sport is, in this study, an unnecessary splitting of hairs. However, in order to compare sport to the institution of religion an argument must be presented which will illustrate that sport may also be thought of as an institution.

Sport as a Social Institution

For sport to be viewed as a social institution it must contain the characteristics of institutions. Vander Zanden[3] writes that an institution may be defined as:

> ...a configuration of interwoven social positions which has as its focus the meeting of one or more social functions.

Although there is no such thing as a universally accepted definition of the term, the above definition and the one

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[3]J. W. Vander Zanden, Sociology: A Systematic Approach (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1965), p. 493.

presented in Chapter I offer clues to the characteristics that are generally taken to define an institution.

1. Stability: indicating intergenerational conservation of cultural patterns and traits and a long history of development. It also indicates an independence from individuals and groups.

2. Universality: indicating the existence of the institution among all known groups of people.

3. Identification with human needs: institutions collectively serve as satisfying agents for man's basic needs. However this should not be taken to mean that any one institution serves a particular need.

4. Variability: indicating a multiplicity of form and function among societies and sub-groups.

5. Interrelation: indicating inter-dependence and interpenetration where a change in one institution necessitates a compensatory change among the others.

6. Systematization of positions: facilitating social interaction by defining roles and thus enabling accurate prediction of people's institutionalized actions.[4]

By inspecting the literature of Sport Sociology and its related fields, it is possible to argue that sport, in the broad sense as it is used in this study, measures up to the above characteristics of an institution.

Stability. Sport has existed as far back as anthropologists and archaeologists can determine and the form and substance of the rules and ethics surrounding it have remained relatively stable over many generations. It has also been argued that many games and sports have

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[4]D. O. Moberg, The Church as a Social Institution (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1962), pp. 19-21.

constituted an integral part of many cultures and in some cases, operating during cultic events, derived from magic or religious motives.[5]

Universality. According to many anthropologists and ethnologists, sport is universally found among all major groups of people. In opposition to this opinion is the statement by Sutton-Smith and Roberts[6] that some cultures have no games e.g., the Yir Yuront or the Hinchol but the quality of the Human Relations Area Files by which this claim is substantiated would place doubt upon such a statement. Damm,[7] in defending the claim that all people engage in playful activities, states that for an observer to claim that a primitive people e.g., the Bedouins do not know sporting activities, suggests incomplete observation. Glassford[8] goes as far as to put games on

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[5]Cf. H. Damm, "The So-Called Sport Activities of Primitive Peoples. A Contribution Towards the Genesis of Sport," The Cross-Cultural Analysis of Sport and Games, ed. G. Lüschen (Champaign Illinois: Stipes Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 52-69 and M. Mead, Cooperation Among Primitive Peoples (New York: McGraw Hill, 1937).

[6]B. Sutton-Smith and J. M. Roberts, "The Cross-Cultural and Psychological Study of Games," The Cross-Cultural Analysis of Sport and Games, ed. G. Lüschen (Champaign, Illinois: Stipes Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 100-108.

[7]Damm, op. cit., p. 53.

[8]R. G. Glassford, "Organization of Games and Adaptive Strategies of the Canadian Eskimo," The Cross-Cultural Analysis of Sport and Games, ed. G. Lüschen (Champaign, Illinois: Stipes Publishing Co., 1970), p. 70.

the same level of importance as three of the four major institutions:

> The stability and universality of games in numerous cultures that have developed, matured and disintegrated during the course of history places them, as a phenomenon, on a plane approximately equal to that of religion, politics and economics.

Identification With Human Needs. Whether it be the quest for excitement,[9] the fulfillment of aggressive tendencies and the alleviation of hostility[10] or simply the desire to interact with other people in a society where this is becoming increasingly difficult, sport is identified with the fulfillment of human needs. The millions of spectators faithfully attending soccer or football matches every week down to the countless number of addicted race-track bettors pawning their best suit to make "the big one" bear testimony to this need (good or bad) which sport caters to.

Variability. Sport is variable in form and function - ranging from a fully blossomed bureaucratic structure in North America with its heavy emphasis on

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[9]N. Elias and E. Dunning, "The Quest for Excitement in Unexciting Societies," The Cross-Cultural Analysis of Sport and Games, ed. G. Lüschen (Champaign, Illinois: Stipes Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 31-50.

[10]L. A. Zurcher and A. Meadow, "On Bullfights and Baseball: An Example of Interaction of Social Institutions," The Cross-Cultural Analysis of Sport and Games, ed. G. Lüschen (Champaign, Illinois: Stipes Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 109-131.

mercenary and status yielding aspects[11] to the comparatively simple and altruistic yet effective form found in some less advanced societies.[12] Also within any one society or sub-group sport is encountered in a multiplicity of form and function.

Interrelation. Sport does interrelate with other major institutions reciprocally affecting and being affected by them. The upraised fist at the Mexico Olympics,[13] the continuing debate over the antitrust laws,[14] the Y.M.C.A., "cold-war ping-pong", or the predominance of sport and sport language in routine family or school affairs are only a few examples of this interrelationship.

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[11]Cf. T. Veblen, The Theory of The Leisure Class: An Economic Study in the Evolution of Institutions (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1899) and M. Jackson, "College Football Has Become a Losing Business," Sport, Culture and Society, A Reader on the Sociology of Sport, eds. J. W. Loy and G. S. Kenyon (New York: MacMillan Company, 1969), pp. 232-243.

[12]H. L. Dunlap, "Games, Sports, Dancing, and other Vigorous Recreational Activities and their Function in Samoan Culture," Research Quarterly, XXII (1951), pp. 298-311.

[13]J. Olsen, The Black Athlete (Time-Life, Inc., 1969).

[14]W. C. Robinson, "Professional Sports and the Antitrust Laws," Sport Culture and Society, A Reader On the Sociology of Sport, eds. J. W. Loy and G. S. Kenyon (New York: MacMillan Company, 1969), pp. 223-231.

Systematization of Positions. Finally it can be claimed that for better or for worse sport facilitates social interaction by defining roles and making people's actions more predictable. For example, several studies investigating the role of interscholastic athletics[15] have illustrated the importance of athletics in role definition and it would seem that those individuals involved in sports or physical activity to a certain extent possess common social and psycho-social characteristics.[16]

In addition to the above rationale it is felt that the pervasiveness and magnitude of sport, especially in Western societies, further justifies its consideration as an institution. Perhaps a statement by Boyle[17] as cited by Loy[18] will help to reinforce the idea that sport and all its remifications play an effective and intrinsic role in

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[15]Cf. J. S. Coleman, The Adolescent Society (Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1961); W. C. Spady, "Lament for the Letterman: Effects of Peer Status and Extracurricular Activities on Goals and Achievement," American Journal of Sociology, LXXV (1970), pp. 680-702 and R. A. Rehberg and W. E. Schafer, "Participation in Interscholastic Athletics and College Expectations," American Journal of Sociology, LXXIII (May 1968), pp. 732-740.

[16]Cf. G. S. Kenyon, "Certain Psychological and Cultural Characteristics Unique to Prospective Teachers of Physical Education," Research Quarterly, XXXVI (1965), pp. 105-112 or B. C. Ogilvie, "The Personality of the Male Athlete," Paper presented at American Academy of Physical Education Meeting, Las Vegas, Nevada, 1968, Mimeo.

[17]R. H. Boyle, Sport: Mirror of American Life (Boston: Little, Brown, 1963), pp. 3-4.

[18]Loy, op. cit., p. 12.

modern society:

> Sport permeates any number of levels of contemporary society, and it touches upon and deeply influences such disparate elements as status, race relations, business life, automotive design, clothing styles, the concept of the hero, language, and ethical values. For better or for worse it gives form and substance to much in American life.

If sport can be accepted as an institution it must contain a structure of established roles and statuses. Consideration of these abstract structures facilitates a clearer understanding of the units being referred to and it also eliminates much of the ambiguity engendered when functional operations are referred to. For this purpose Loy's "sport order" will be used:

> 1. Primary level: permitting face-to-face relationships among all members and characterized by egalitarian leadership. Example: a pick-up football game.
>
> 2. Technical level: not permitting face-to-face relationships but small enough to allow knowledge of all participants. Contains officially appointed administrative leaders. Example: most scholastic and collegiate athletic teams.
>
> 3. Managerial level: too large for each member to know every other member but small enough so that all members know one or more of the administrative leaders of the organization. Example: some large professional ball clubs.
>
> 4. Corporate level: bureaucratic in nature with centralized authority, a hierarchy of personnel, protocol and procedural emphasis and stress on rationalization of operations and impersonal relationships. Example: some major governing bodies of amateur and professional sports at the national and international level.[19]

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[19]Loy, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

Implicit in the development of a structural model, is the need to outline the functional problems related to each level. If certain elements of the Parsonian model of social systems as used by Lüschen[20] are added to this model, it increases its effectiveness. However, because of its many weaknesses, consideration is given here only to the dichotomy of the internal dimension - values and norms related to pattern maintenance and integration - and the external dimension - subcollectivities and roles related to goal attainment and adaptation. This serves as a useful means of further subdividing Loy's model and it also guarantees some degree of flexibility when analyzing one unit in particular or the total institution in relation to society.

It is felt that the foregoing discussion, by enlarging upon the "institutionalization" of sport, facilitates an understanding of the concept as it is used in this study. Therefore in the following discussion the definition of the term "sport," as presented in Chapter I, will be the one referred to.

Religion

To a significant degree the difficulty in defining religion rests with the ambiguity of the term. Is religion

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[20]G. Lüschen, "The Sociology of Sport,"(Paper presented as a round-table paper at the A.S.A. Meeting, San Francisco, September 2, 1969). Mimeo.

to be viewed as individual religiosity or is it to be taken as an institutionalized version of individual religious sentiments? Moreover if a definition of religion is required is it to be regarded by predetermined attributes or by its consequences? In other words is it to be defined in terms of its essence or in terms of its function? These distinctions have generated much confusion when attempting to measure religion's impact upon society.[21]

In this study the term religion is defined primarily in terms of its function. This choice is unavoidable when the phenomenon under discussion is analyzed from a functionalist standpoint. However before function can be understood the essence of religion must be clearly outlined. Therefore the form or essence of religion will first be presented followed by a functional definition of the concept. However, it should be noted, that since individual religion, apart from the recluse, does not occur in a social vacuum, this definition is intended to refer to an institutionalized form rather than an individual indicator of religiosity.

When viewed from a sociological perspective, the essence of religion may be found to contain the following

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[21]For a detailed examination of these distinctions see N. J. Demerath and P. E. Hammond, Religion in Social Context (New York: Random House, 1969) pp. 130-141.

characteristics:[22]

1. Beliefs concerning ultimate power.
2. Values of transcendental importance which become
3. Systematized into social institutions with emotional attitudes dominating.
4. Characterized by ritual and symbolic activities
5. Group-oriented beliefs and values shared and expressed within a group context.

The above characteristics are intended to reflect the multidimensional form of religion. In the past, when observers of sport have attempted to equate religion with sport it is to this form that they have directed their efforts. In this study, however, attention is focused not upon the form but upon the functional aspects of sport and religion and for this purpose the following functional definition of religion is presented.

> Religion: A system of beliefs and practices by which a group of people struggle with the problems of human life in order to overcome disappointments and frustrations inflicted on them by uncertainty and impossibility and through which they reinforce their membership in the group.[23]

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[22] J. M. Yinger, Religion Society and the Individual (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1957); T. Hoult, The Sociology of Religion (New York: The Dryden Press, 1958); Moberg, op. cit.,; G. M. Vernon, Sociology of Religion (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1962); W. S. Salisbury, Religion in American Culture (Homewood, Illinois: The Dorsey Press, 1964).

[23] This definition is largely abstracted from the works of J. M. Yinger, op. cit., T. F. O'Dea, The Sociology of Religion, Foundations of Modern Sociology Series (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall Inc., 1966), p. 6 and E. Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of Religious Life (New York: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., trans. by Joseph Warn Swain, 1915, Free Press, 1965).

Although rather lengthy, it is felt that the above definition is necessary to pinpoint the functional aspects of the concept, religion and therefore it is used as the reference source in this study.

Integration

Integration is essentially a matter of combining activities or interests in a rational way so as to effect fruitful ends.[24] As was noted in Chapter I, on a societal or institutional plane this involves an establishment of regulatory norms that are accepted and desired by the participants and which, when adhered to, will effect high solidarity and morale and produce participants willing to give themselves to specific undertakings vital to the maintenance of the system. If Parsons' model of societal requisites is used as a point of reference, pattern maintenance and tension management relate to the state of the units of a system but integration refers to the interrelations of units. For the sake of clarity then, integration and malintegration can be put on a continum as shown in Figure 1.

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[24]H. Fallding, The Sociological Task (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968), p. 115.

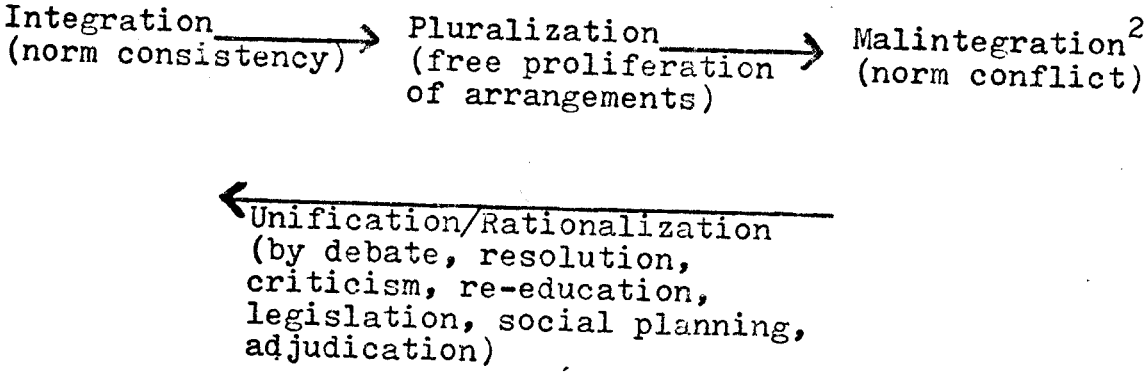

FIGURE 1

But, although this model may serve as a useful heuristic device it tends to oversimplify matters. For example, it does not point to the particular functional or dysfunctional mechanisms of integrative structures nor does it explain to what extent a structure may be integrative or malintegrative.

Because of society's permission of "self-interest" goals, few structures are perfectly integrative. Structures which are said to be integrative, often have malintegrative aspects too and it is the inspection of these aspects that offers an interesting area of study.

From an analytic standpoint the concept of integration may be broken down into several structures.[26]

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[25]Fallding, op. cit., pp. 86-87 (adapted).

[26]For a more complete analysis of the structure, "integration and expression," see M. J. Levy Jr., The Structure of Society (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press, 1952), pp. 504-541.

Structures That Provide Socialization and Maintain the Values, Attitudes and Procedures of a System. For instance, according to Piaget[27] children not only become socialized to the rules of games but at a later age they also get an insight into the underlying structure and function of the rules of a game, and thus into the structure and function of social norms and values as such.

Structures That Define and Limit the Actions of Members. These structures in part enforce the regulatory norms as controlling mechanisms. Secondary mechanisms such as rehabilitation programs in prisons or, in the case of religion, penance and confession, fall into this class of integrative structures.

Structures That Provide Motivation. Motivation that results in dysfunction is malintegrative and reciprocally, that which results in function is integrative. Because of the existence of non-empirical ends, motivation can be subdivided into; (a) ultimate ends: Inasmuch as "God's Will" or "salvation" are non-empirical, Weber's Protestant Ethic would constitute motivation for ultimate ends; (b) intermediate ends: The difficulty of observing motivation for ultimate ends tends to be partly offset by the empirical nature of intermediate ends. Motivation

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[27] J. Piaget, The Moral Judgement of the Child (New York: Free Press, 1965).

for intermediate ends must be voluntary. Coercive means of inducing this motivation are an indication of malintegration because this presupposes that some members are acting in a dysfunctional fashion. Another characteristic to be noted is that in an industrial society, because of the need for mobility, this kind of motivation tends to be highly complex. For example, in an industrial or post-industrial society, inasmuch as an inculcation of universalistic criteria for various sorts of selection is required, the intermediate aspects of motivation can be functional for the society and at the same time dysfunctional for the traditional family. Hence the emergence of the "nuclear family".

Structures Dealing With Integration To, (a) Uncertainty and (b) Certainty. Malinowski[28] reported magic as being a structure that served to integrate the Trobriand Islanders to uncertainty. In a more recent paper Wrigley,[29] in studying modern professional sport, has attempted a similar analysis. Gambling is reported to serve the latter function and faddism as reported, for example, in the studies of the sociology of medicine, seems to function as a integrative structure relative to

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[28]B. Malinowski, Magic, Science and Religion and Other Essays (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1948).

[29]J. R. Wrigley, "Magic In Sport," (paper presented at the Seventh World Congress of Sociology, Varna, Bulgaria, September, 1970), Mimeo.

both certainty and uncertainty. However, the analytic problem in dealing with these aspects of integration is whether the functional effects offset the dysfunctional and for which units they are functional or dysfunctional.

Structures Relating to "Interest Conflict". This aspect of integration is sometimes isolated under a different title[30] and sometimes differentiated from the larger meaning of integration.[31] However, in this study, because of its immediate relevance to sport, it is contained within the general meaning of the concept. This structure contains two sub-structures; (a) non-escapist:[32] Inasmuch as involvement in an activity reinforces social values or the motivation to participate in a variety of essential roles, it is integrative. For example, it is said that the selection criteria present in many amateur sports tend to reflect the predominant social values. To the extent that this is true, participation in these sports, when not practiced to excess may, as well as providing relaxation, reinforce the social structure and thus provide an integrative function. However this is not

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[30]Cf. Levy, op. cit., pp. 504-541.

[31]Cf. Fallding, op. cit., pp. 113-115.

[32]The two titles "escapist" and "non-escapist" are borrowed from Levy, op. cit., and, although they are not used here in the same context, they do provide useful headings for several meanings.

always so, in which case the second sub-structure may apply; (b) escapist: If the values contradict social values, i.e., if involvement in the activity becomes an obstacle to the achievement of other sanctioned goals, or if it becomes an obsession, it tends to be malintegrative.

Within this sub-structure rest two ideas. In the first place, if in pursuing an activity, an individual's life becomes sharply differentiated so that the prime goal in his life is that activity at the neglect of his other roles, that activity tends to serve a malintegrative function i.e., it is dysfunctional. The second aspect is related to the term "escapist" in its most generic sense. If involvement in an activity causes an individual or group to lose touch with empirical reality then it also tends to be dysfunctional or malintegrative. The term "pursuit of vertigo", as used by Kenyon[33] would constitute this characteristic in its most observable form. Abuse of alcohol or drugs would also fall into this category. However, a more widespread practice in the world of sport, namely spectatorship, may also have this dysfunctional effect. Spectator sports, for many, constitute a form of escape--an escape into the world of what constitutes the ideal in modern life. In America the "rags to riches" myth

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[33]G. S. Kenyon, "A Conceptual Model for Characterizing Physical Activity," Research Quarterly, XXXIX (March, 1968), 96-105.

has long been a characteristic of the sport world. Temporary belief in this myth may have functional consequences. Inasmuch as it represents for a short period of time the way things should be, it may give the disadvantaged hope. But when this hope becomes pathological and to the extent that it increases the dissatisfaction of the under-priviledged individual, it becomes dysfunctional. Evidence of this latent dysfunction recently becoming manifest is provided by the testimony of investigators in the area of racial segregation in sport.[34]

This discussion of integration by no means represents an exhaustive treatment of the concept. However, in the past, when investigators attributed the function of integration to both religion and sport, many of the above aspects tended to be neglected. For this reason, it is hoped that, in considering these various aspects and by critically using the concepts of structural-functional analysis, some light may be shed on the true effect these institutions have upon society.

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[34]For example, A. Rosenblatt, "Negroes in Baseball: The Failure of Success," Transaction, IV (1967), 51-53 and Olsen, op. cit.

CHAPTER III

AN HYPOTHESIS AND AN APPROACH TO ITS TEST

Within the field of sociology considerable emphasis has been given to the role of institutions in the maintenance and adaptive change of societies. From a functional perspective, if an institution is to remain a viable component of a particular society, it must contribute to the "vitality" of the society i.e., it must perform at least one of several functions. Thus the major institutions of economy, family, polity, religion and education fulfill certain essential functions and although each has a certain amount of autonomy, any one of them may contribute to the performance of several functions or several institutions may combine to perform any one function. In other words, to a certain degree all institutions overlap in their functional utility. This has been discussed above under the name "functional equivalents".

It has been argued by several authors in the area of religion that the major function of the institution of religion has been of a cohesive or

integrative nature.[1] As Demerath and Hammond[2] note, "...[the integrative view] sees religion as the way by which society's members unite, heal their interpersonal abrasions, and sanctify their solidarity".

From Durkheim onward the claim has been that through provision of a set of commonly accepted aims, values and rituals which, on a societal level, act as cohesive agents against the disruptive elements of social life, religion serves to integrate the members and groups within society. Granted that if we accept the idea that religion constitutes more than its "churches" the above thesis is probably valid. But, as has commonly been done, religion is usually understood to mean institutionalized religion in the form of the various denominational churches. It is felt that such an equation is unjustified and perhaps ill-founded.

When Durkheim, the initiator of this idea, studied the Aboriginal Arunta he was looking at a primitive society which did in fact possess a common set of ultimate goals. At that level of civilization there were probably no conflicting "churches" from which the population had to

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[1] E. Durkheim, The Elementary Forms of The Religious Life (New York: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., trans. by Joseph Ward Swain, 1915, Free Press, 1965), see also W. L. Warner, The Family of God (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961), B. Johnson, "Do Holiness Sects Socialize Dominant Values?," Social Forces, XLIX (1961), pp. 309-316.

[2] N. J. Demerath and P. E. Hammond, Religion in Social Context (New York: Random House, 1969), p. 204.

choose and without such diversity or pluralism the religion aroused through the "churinga" probably did serve as an integrating agent. But to transplant this idea to modern post - industrial societies is perhaps stretching the analogue too far.

The key to understanding this dilemma is probably contained in Merton's warnings about the unit of analysis. Rather than transposing Durkheim's idea onto a society as a unit it would probably be more realistic and closer to the facts if it were to be applied to individual churches. From this standpoint then, religion would serve to integrate individuals into specific groups called "churches". But unless these groups strived for similar ultimate goals and enforced a similar value system they would not seem to constitute societal integration - only group integration. Moreover as the history of religious conflict indicates, these groups often fail to maintain, similar goals or even similar methods of achieving them and thus tend to generate more conflict than harmony.[3]

However another view of religion's integrative nature which is often advocated by sociologists studying the phenomenon of sectarianism[4] is more acceptable. This

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[3] A topical example is the continuing conflict between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland.

[4] B. R. Wilson, Religious Sects (New York, Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1970), see also W. Stark, The Sociology of Religion, II (New York: Fordham University Press, 1967); L. Pope, Millhands and Preachers (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1942).

view holds that religion, by acting as a substitute for wordly status and by giving emphasis to "the next world" or by "soothing" the discomfort and misery of those who feel alienated in their earthly life, acts to strongly integrate these members into groups called "sects" and indirectly into society at large. Simplisticly speaking this view implies that the ultimate goal is "the next life" and that all the strivings on earth are merely in preparation for "the judgment day." The crux of this argument rests with the idea of "substitution." Sects, like churches, provide integration at the group level. But in addition, by substituting feelings of frustration and disappointment for a concentration on "the next world," they also "soothe" the feelings of discontentment in their votaries thus integrating them into society at large.

In modern western society the values of pluralism and egalitaranism are often held high as hallmarks of democracy. In theory every man is born equal and free and providing he does his share he is entitled to a meaningful and rewarding life. But just as egalitaranism stresses reward for effort, it also provides failure for the effortless. And just as pluralism stresses diversity of belief, it makes no mention of which beliefs or at what price those beliefs will exist. Gradually idealistic

dreams become pragmatic realities and the "land of opportunity" becomes Reisman's "Lonely Crowd" or the "founding fathers" turn into Mills' "Power Elite." It is at this point, say the scholars of sectarianism, that religion, in the form of sects, steps in to aid the not so strong, or the not so fortunate.

Such an explanation of religion's integrative nature is, unlike Durkheim's study of the Arunta, based upon observation of industrial and post-industrial societies and from this standpoint appears more credible. Sects by the very nature of their existence are brought into being by an awareness of some form of deprivation.[5] Although several kinds of sects, differing in the nature of their emergence have been documented,[6] all tend to be characterized by a degree of dissatisfaction - a feeling that is strong enough to induce them to dissociate themselves from institutionalized churches and establish a separate group. Although the motivations for this cleavage are sometimes different, there tends to be a common denominator:

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[5]Wilson, op. cit., p. 231.

[6]B. R. Wilson ed., Patterns of Sectarianism (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1967) see also W. Stark, The Sociology of Religion II (New York: Fordham University Press, 1967).

> Always it [the sect] provides a radical transformation of the situation for its votaries: it gives them a response to the world and a community of the like-minded with whom to share it.[7]

But, as has been noted by observers of this phenomenon, sects constitute a minority of the population in any one society. They are groups whose dissatisfaction with and rebellion against society has taken the form of religious rather than political or cultural expression, and this expression, in the form of sectarian organizations, serves to integrate its individuals not only to the immediate group but also through the communion of the group to the alien world with which they are confronted.

Therefore, given that sects form a minority segment of society, the question still remains of what happens to the non-sectarian majority. Can it be that religion serves as a major integrative agent for them? As has been illustrated above such a thesis seems unlikely, especially when societal integration is being referred to. Does this then mean that those members of non-sectarian religious groups i.e., established churches, are not integrated into society at large. Only a misguided extreme functionalist would make such a claim. Instead it is felt that the solution to this problem lies not in probing deeper for obscure or even fictitious integrating functions within the institution of religion, but instead

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[7]B. R. Wilson, Religious Sects (New York, Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1970), p. 233.

in seeking alternative mechanisms which might act as functional equivalents.

Bellah[8] has called this integrative equivalent of religion "civil religion" but it is also known as the religion of democracy, the common American faith or the American way of life. Like traditional religions it has its own beliefs and rituals, its own sacred and its own profane. As the proponents of this view[9] point out, the bulk of this religious institution is to be found in the apparatus of government e.g. election campaigns, adoration of the flag, and in this study the contention is that to a degree it is also to be found in the world of sport.

Although the literature of sport sociology is meagre compared to that of religion, in several instances investigators in this area have alluded to sport serving

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[8]R. N. Bellah, "Civil Religion in America," Daedalus, XCVI (Winter, 1967), 1-21.

[9]Besides R. N. Bellah the following authors have documented this view: M. E. Marty, The New Shape of American Religion (New York: Harper and Row, 1959); W. Herberg, Protestant, Catholic, Jew (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1960); P. E. Hammond, "Further Thoughts on Civil Religion in America," The Religious Situation, ed. D. Cutler (Boston: Beacon Press, 1968); Demerath and Hammond, op. cit., pp. 202-212.

an integrative function at several different levels.[10] Thus Lüschen says "...we may hypothesize that the main functions of sport are pattern maintenance and integration."[11] Also Zurcher and Meadow,[12] in looking at the national sports of the U.S. and Mexico, propose the following hypothesis "The national sport symbolizes in its structure and function...a socially legitimized means for the expression of hostility". This statement comes remarkably close to Lloyd Warner's claim that religion, in the form of "collective representations," provides socially acceptable means for satisfactions otherwise unattainable.

Seppanen,[13] although referring to the dysfunctional aspects of sport, points to a similar mechanism when he

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[10]W. Spinrad, "The Function of Spectator Sports," (paper presented at the Seventh World Congress of Sociology, September, 1970, Varna, Bulgaria), see also E. Dunning, "Some Conceptual Dilemmas in the Sociology of Sport," (paper presented at the International Workshop on Sociology of Sport, September, 1969, Macolin, Switzerland).

[11]G. Lüschen, "The Sociology of Sport," (paper presented as a round-table paper at the ASA Meeting, September 2, 1969, San Francisco, California), p. 8.

[12]L. A. Zurcher Jr. and A. Meadow, "On Bullfights and Baseball: An Example of Interaction of Social Institutions," The Cross-Cultural Analysis of Sport and Games, ed. G. Lüschen (Champaign, Illinois: Stipes Publishing Co., 1970), p. 129.

[13]R. Seppanen, "The Role of Competitive Sports in Different Societies," (paper presented at the Seventh World Congress of Sociology, September, 1970, Varna, Bulgaria), p. 19. Mimeographed.

states that:

> "Intensified international competition can also lead to some kind of overintegration within national or other armed units and intensified hostility toward other nations or groups of nations."

What he of course is referring to is not the functional but the dysfunctional aspects of intense nationalism bred through international sport competitions. But implicit in his claim is the recognition of the integrative nature of sport at a societal level.

The enthusiasm displayed toward interscholastic and intercollegiate sports for its ability to generate "school spirit" or "team loyalty" would seem to indicate a belief that sports also serve as integrating mechanism at the institutional level. On an individual plane, the identification with community sports clubs would also seem to serve such a function. Thus it is said that the city of Los Angeles achieved an identity in the early sixties when it acquired its major ball clubs.[14]

Although various mention has been made of this function and although it is generally accepted by many professionals in the areas of sport and physical activity no systematic investigation has been made of it. This study presents such an investigation

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[14]A. Beisser, The Madness of Sport (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1967), pp. 124-141.

Hypothesis

Drawing from the above reasoning it is possible to construct the following propositions:

1. Because of the disruptive forces within society and social living, individuals seek out integrative mechanisms.[15]

2. For a minority, sectarian religions act as a response to these disruptive elements, integrating the individual into society.[16]

3. To a considerable degree, and for a large number of others, "civil religion" performs a similar function.[17]

4. To a large extent the institution of sport forms part of "civil religion."[18]

5. Therefore to a large extent the institution of sport serves as a functional equivalent of religion.

Combining these propositions the following hypothesis is offered:

> To the extent that sectarian religions are said to perform an integrative function, sport, through a similar set of processes and with a similar set of outcomes, acts as a functional equivalent of religion.

Testing the Hypothesis

Since the present investigation is concerned mainly with an analytical approach to the question, "Does sport

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[15]This proposition is implicit in the schemata of functionalism.

[16]Wilson, op. cit., pp. 226-242.

[17]The rationale for this proposition is presented in the section on "civil religion".

[18]For some thoughts on this see Demerath and Hammond, op. cit., pp. 152-153.

perform an integrative function similar in nature to that performed by sectarian religious groups?" it was felt that an empirical test of the validity of the hypothesis should be withheld until meaning analysis provides insight into the various dimensions of the problem. To this end and to a certain extent for the purpose of validation, several studies from the areas of sociology of religion and sociology of sport are examined.

The examination is performed within the confines of functional analysis with emphasis being given to the various dimensions of integration as outlined above. Additionally, to facilitate an understanding of the units of analysis especially within the institution of sport, the various levels at which integration occurs are established as follows: (a) Total Societies; (b) Primary Subdivisions; (c) Organizations; (d) Small Groups; (e) Individuals.

In the treatment of sectarian religions the assumption that integration occurs is made. Therefore it is not necessary to distinguish between levels of integration in this section. Rather, the issue here is <u>how</u> do the various sects achieve integration - societal or otherwise. Having established these various mechanisms the institution of sport is analyzed to determine if it achieves this functional requisite in the

same manner. If an equivalency between the two phenomena can be found then the hypothesis is, at least theoretically validated.

For the sake of clarify the studies are presented in two separate sections. Chapter IV contains the studies dealing with sectarian religion and Chapter V presents those relating to sport. In Chapter VI the association between the integrative nature of sport and religion is discussed.

CHAPTER IV

INTEGRATION THROUGH RELIGION

As has been noted above integration is a many-sided concept. Traditionally it has also been the societal requisite most often attributed to the emergence and persistence of religious associations. In this chapter several studies dealing with the evolution and nature of several different kinds of religious organizations will be analyzed in an attempt to make specific the mechanisms whereby this integrative function is performed.

Since the classic works of Ernst Troeltch and Max Weber on the sect-church dichotomy, sectarianism has been the subject of a great number of studies within the area of sociology of religion. Early in its use, it was realized that although the concept "sect" served a useful heuristic purpose, considerable refinement was required before it could achieve a measure of empirical reality. To this end several students of the topic have devised various typologies, the most all-encompassing, and certainly the most widely-used of which has been the one

proposed by Bryan Wilson.[1] Instead of classifying sects according to styles of organization, or social class of votaries, Wilson,[2] in his most recent treatise on sectarianism, argues that the best guide to classifying sects is by noting their responses to the world and hence the means by which they work towards salvation. By taking cognizance of and differentiating between these manifest functions, Wilson is able to analyze in a more penetrating manner the latent functions of these religious organizations. According to him sects arise when society undergoes several types of social change - changes that many find difficult to grasp - and which produce in many a sense of relative deprivation. Sects are not inevitable consequences of such circumstances, but they are one means by which newly perceived circumstances may be explained.

> Sects arise to establish new religious explanations of the differences by assuring votaries,
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> 1. of compensation for discrepancies (conversionist, revolutionist, introversionist responses)
> 2. of means by which to overcome them (manipulationist, thaumaturgical responses)
> 3. of ways in which they can be eliminated (reformist and utopian responses).[3]

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[1]B. R. Wilson, "An Analysis of Sect Development," American Sociological Review, XXIV (February, 1959), p. 8-14.

[2]B. R. Wilson, Religious Sects (New York, Toronto: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1970).

[3]Ibid., p. 233.

In these ways sectarian responses offer a transformation of circumstances for the individual and furnish him with a community of the like-minded with whom to share it.

Sects Which Compensate for Discrepancies

Conversionist Sects. A study by Poblete and O'Dea [4] offers a good example of how conversionist sects serve an integrative function. The focus of this study is the formation of Pentecostal sects (conversionist) within New York's Puerto Rican communities.

The authors noted that among Puerto Rican immigrants in New York City, Pentecostal type churches have a great appeal. Drawing estimates from several studies conducted in the nineteen fifties, seventy per cent of the Spanish-speaking churches were classified in the Pentecostal category, and when it is noted that these immigrants came from a predominantly catholic environment, this sudden change of religious affiliation seems to warrant explanation.

Poblete and O'Dea offer an explanation in terms of Durkheim's concept of anomie:

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[4] R. Poblete and T. O'Dea, "Anomie and the 'Quest for Community': The Formation of Sects Among the Puerto Ricans of New York," American Catholic Sociological Review, XXI (Spring, 1960), p. 18-36.

> For Durkheim anomie was characterized by two interrelated elements. First of all there is a breakdown of those social structures in which the individual found the psychological support and nurtive requisite to personal and psychological security. Second, there is a loss of consensus or general agreement on the standards and norms that previously provided the normative orientations and existential definitions in terms of which individual and group life were meaningful.[5]

It is well known that the majority of Puerto Ricans coming to New York tend to be poorly educated, psychologically unprepared and culturally estranged from life in a modern American metropolis. Moreover the authors found that whereas the established Catholic church made little attempt to assimilate these Spanish-speaking immigrants into the larger community several "store-front" churches went out of their way to provide services in Spanish and an orientation to life which embraced the problems of the new immigrants.

The basic hypothesis explored was that the development of sectarianism among New York Puerto Ricans is a response to anomie - a response that represents a positive quest for community in the face of the loss of more traditional social structures and the impersonalization of modern American urban society. To test the hypothesis participant observation and a series of interviews were conducted. It was found that the services

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[5]Poblete and O'Dea, op. cit., p. 24.

were held almost daily and for two to three hours in each session. The tone of the service was evangelical with strong emphasis being laid on the word of the bible and salvation through the presence of the holy spirit. The people interviewed tended to interpret their experiences in a normatively desired pattern revealing their belief in regeneration. The general design of the testimony appeared to be sinfulness - conversion - regeneration. The interviews suggested that isolation was one of the things which conversion helped to relieve thus adding credence to the initial hypothesis. The authors also noted that the three elements of community as defined by MacIver; we-feeling, role-feeling and dependency were present among these sectarians. Thus it would appear that the authors, at least partially succeeded in confirming the anomie hypothesis.

If, as in the classical definitions of the term, anomie may be taken to represent a degree of normlessness or uncertainty then it can be seen that these pentecostal groups serve the latent function of integration towards uncertainty. The uncertainty is generated through language barriers, conflicting norms and values, and inability to find meaningful community. By emphasizing salvation from sinfulness (the root of uncertainty) these sects through a community of the like-minded enable the

Puerto Rican immigrants to overcome uncertainty and thus become assimilated into the new culture.

Another study which emphasizes the role of conversionist religions among migrating people is that by Sumner.[6] In studying the effect of "indigenous" (Spanish speaking) church within the Mexican-American protestant community of a Californian city, the author concludes that a purely "indigenous" church is not only impossible but undesirable and a bicultural church, with movement in the direction of the prestige group, would far more fully meet the needs of its members.

But what are the needs of its members and why do they choose a faith culturally foreign to them to fulfill these needs? Mexican-Americans constitute a minority group in California and as such suffer from many of the disadvantages associated with minority status. As Sumner point out, the Mexican-American who is anxious to become part of the American mainstream accepts a form of Protestantism to reflect a tentative identification with the American predominantly Protestant culture and the repudiation of Catholicism involves at least a partial rejection of a Mexican past.

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[6]M. L. Sumner, "Mexican-American Minority Churches, U.S.A.," Practical Anthropology, X (May-June, 1963), p. 115-21.

The two above studies point to the kind of integration sectarian religions may produce. In both cases the participants suffer from a sense of relative deprivation. A mixture of cultural retardation, lost community, a feeling of inadequacy when confronted with more advanced technology and an awareness of life-styles and opportunities available only to others is present which, for the sectarians has led to a response to the world which, is hoped, will compensate for discrepancies.

The above two studies are examples of modern conversionist responses to the world. However they tend to be isolated examples of the emergence of this kind of sect. As Wilson[7] points out, the most rapid period of growth for pentecostal movements in America occurred at the turn of the nineteenth century. At that time cities were expanding rapidly, and were overflowing with immigrants, the majority of whom were in search for "the land of opportunity and wealth." Of course for many this myth never materialized and the cities became gathering spots for thousands of disappointed and extremely frustrated people. Added to this psychological burden was the absence of close community and established normative patterns and values. The cities tended to be rather

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[7]Wilson, op. cit., pp. 70-71.

impersonal environments where there was no established tradition of custom and convention and where crime and corruption flourished. In this condition of "anomie" Pentecostalism blossomed.

Two other characteristics that added (and still add) to the attractiveness of Pentecostalism should be noted. As has often been suggested, Pentecostalism had a great appeal to immigrants and it is possible that this might, in part, be a result of the "glossalalia" (speaking in tongues) feature of this kind of sect. For an immigrant the ability to speak in another tongue may appear as the one thing required most to find the promised opportunity and a religion which offers him the chance to acquire this gift may seem like the kind of faith he needs in this "foreign" country. Moreover at that time American society was notorious for its neologisms and constantly changing jargon and a faith that offered instant verbal facility must have had strong appeal even to the English speaking immigrants.

The second mode of attraction that should be noted is the legitimation and expression of intense feeling offered by Pentecostalism. For many the urban areas offered only frustrating and even bewildering experiences and Pentecostalism, by providing an "acting out" of these "constrained emotions" acted as an

essential safety valve for some of the more volatile newcomers. Also, as in the two studies mentioned above, many of these immigrants were accustomed to regular expression of strong emotion and in the new society such expression tended to be frowned upon. Again the emotional flavor of the Pentecostal service offered a legitimized means of expressing this emotion thus channelling inhibited feelings into harmless and gratifying activities.

It is true that other agencies would also have served the functions mentioned above and provided a community life through shared beliefs and activities but for many, only the spontaneous expressiveness and intensity of Pentecostalism was adequate. Probably the two most appealing factors of Pentecostalism versus other need fulfilling agencies were that its demands were light and its gratifications immediate. For the type of individual who was already suffering from severe handicaps and who was living under constant strain only an agency fulfilling these criteria would do.

Revolutionist Sects. The second type of sect that offers its votaries compensation for discrepancies is the revolutionist or adventist type. Leo Salt[8]

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[8]L. F. Salt, "The Fifth Monarchy Men: Politics and the Millennium," Church History, XXX (1961), pp. 314-324.

describes a revolutionist sect which appeared in Cromwellian England and which came to be known as "The Fifth Monarchy Men." Like other adventist sects the "millenaries," as they were sometimes known, stressed the second coming of Christ and preparation of his kingdom on earth for his thousand year rule by the Saints. Like many other sects the primary inspiration for this millennial view was the Bible (especially the Book of Revelations) and the Mosaic Law was to be the organizational foundation of this revolutionized state. However as in the case of most revolutionist sects which arose at that time the political climate had not reached a sufficiently liberal state and they were soon imprisoned or forced into exile.

Although, as in the example above, this kind of sect first appeared in medieval Europe (Sir Isaac Newton and Joseph Priestley were both adventists) it was not until the terrible impact of the Napoleonic Wars was felt that it began to flourish. Among protestants the global disorder and extreme uncertainty which these wars produced led to a searching of the scriptures for indications of the fate of the world producing such fanatical movements as the Camisards in France and the followers of Davide Lazzaretti in Tuscany.[9]

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[9]Wilson, op. cit., p. 95.

In America the situation was slightly different. In culturally retarded frontier areas such as up-state New York the law of the bible played a more prominent role than in Europe. Here there was no established church to contend with and as a result of puritan influences the interpretation of the bible tended to be a personal thing which was widely used. As a result of rapid change and an absence of traditional stratification patterns the frontier areas were also in search of security, and reassurance, through biblical sources, became a common occurrence. These millenial hopes, as a result of the self-consciousness of the American people, often took on a patriotic air and became bound up with the great American pilgrimage. It was under such circumstances that William Miller, in 1818, announced that the second advent could be deduced from the scriptures, thus giving birth to the Millerite adventist sect. Other sects such as Jehovah's Witnesses, Seventh Day Adventists and the Christadelphians were also directly or indirectly a result of similar circumstances.[10]

Introversionist Sects. The third kind of sect which serves to compensate for discrepancies is really an intensified form of the two mentioned above. Introver-

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[10]Wilson, op. cit., pp. 96-117.

sionist sects are marked by their retreat from the mainstream of society. This retreat may be vacinal, as in the case of the Mennonites, or it may be in speech and dress as in the life style of the early American Quakers. Regardless of the method of isolation the effect is a distinction from the larger society; one which allows its members to differentiate between "safe" and "unsafe" interaction.

The origins of this type of sect are similar to the conversionist and revolutionist type sects. But rather than choosing to remain within society to achieve salvation, introversionists believe that salvation can only be achieved when the evils of the world (society) are completely abandoned and a community of the holy set up to prepare for the second coming of Christ. In some instances these sects were initially conversionist but, because of political circumstances were later forced into isolation. In other instances their initial evangelical enthusiasm turned to a greater concern with inward spiritual development and in still other cases they arose out of adventist movements whose holaucaustic predictions failed to materialize.

Most introversionist sects can be distinguished by a kind of "old-world" flavor. The Amish Mennonites are known for their dress and their use of horse and buggy and

the Doukabors for their retention of their original language (Russian). Such peculiarities have a double sided effect. They originally evolved as restrictions of the closed community against outside interaction, but in modern times they have tended to act as a restriction in themselves. They also serve as an indication of the function of such sects.

Most of these sects arose at a time in history when close communities were beginning to disappear and be replaced by the relatively impersonal life of urban areas. For many, the new cities were associated with evil and the temptations of the devil and the introversionist movements acted as a response to this depersonalization. In these communities individuals dealt with each other not simply as role performers, as city life demanded, but as total persons and the adopted peculiarities served to remind the members of their close ties to one another and the outside society of their reluctance to accept the new innovations.

It has often been said that the function of this type of sect is to offer underpriviledged groups an emotional and other-worldly escape from the realities that confront them. But as Johnson[11] has pointed out they may

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[11]B. Johnson, "Do Holiness Sects Socialize Dominant Values?" Social Forces, XXXIX (1961), pp. 309-316.

also function as an agency of the socialization of the lower class in the dominant values of American society. In his article Johnson is mainly concerned with what has been called here conversionist sects but it is plausable that, since many introversionist sects are merely intensified versions of conversionist movements it may also apply to them. The economic successes of the Quakers and the Rappites in the U.S. and the successful agricultural programs of the Mennonites and Doukabors in the Canadian prairies would seem to add some credence to this thesis. Moreover, when it is remembered that in spite of this wordly success these sects have managed to preserve their emphasis on the total person, thus fulfilling their prime goal, it would seem that they do indeed perform an integrative function for a particular type of deviant group.

Sects Which Overcome Discrepancies

The second category of sectarian organization which arises to alleviate the distress experienced in times of social change is that type which, instead of compensating for discrepancies, assures its votaries of means by which to overcome them.

Manipulationist Sects. A distinction can be drawn between the first type in this category and the previous category in terms of value acceptance. While the three

previous types of sects all manifestly reject the values of the wide society, manipulationist sects tend to serve as a vehicle for achieving success as it is defined by value consensus. The prime purpose of this kind of sect is to offer its votaries salvation in this world by use of elusive and ephemeral goals. Unlike the other three, manipulationist sects place no value on primary relationships and instead of looking to the next life concentrate on worldly success in the shape of health, happiness and a sense of achievement. Thus manipulationist sects may be classed as secularized sects.

However if the circumstances of their arousal are examined the latent functions of this type of "quasi-religious" group becomes apparent. The two main factors that influenced the growth of this type of sect were the impersonalization of urban life and the growing belief in man's progress and success.[12] But unlike the other sects discussed above who chose to reject these innovations in favor of a "restorative" attitude the manipulationists present a movement where impersonal communication is accepted and used willingly and where the benefits and new innovations of modern society are celebrated. As is evident from their means of communication (journals)

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[12]L. Rosten (ed.), Guide to the Religions of America (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1955).

their teachings (education) and their organizational structure (more like education agencies), the manipulationists represent a compromise with the age of science. For its votaries (usually middle class urban dwellers) it provides a community of the like-minded within which success in this world, health and happiness are revered and a system whereby the knowledge of how to achieve these "tools of salvation" is esoterically achieved. As Wilson[13] states it, "Manipulationist sects are secularized sects, for which only the means to salvation are religious: the goals are largely those of secular hedonism."

Probably the best known example of this kind of sect is Christian Science. Founded in the eighteen sixties in New England by Mrs. Eddy, it embraced a mixture of many contemporary philosophical and quasi-philosophical ideas and proposed a method of mental healing and a view of modern science which embraced the basic Christian tenets. However, other less known manipulationist movements also grew up around this time and still flourish today. The influence of eastern spiritualism and mysticism combined with the nineteenth century's new found universalism provided Madam Blavatsky's Theosophy with a welcome audience in the form of the upper-middle-class urban

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[13]Wilson, op. cit., p. 141.

liberals.[14] The appeal of Zen-Buddism in the nineteen fifties and sixties to the "counter-culture," as Roszak[15] calls it, is not unlike the effect Theosophy had upon the well-to-do intellectuals in the mid-nineteenth century.

A well documented example of this type of sect is Alfred Whitney Griswold's[16] study of the movement known as New Thought. In his article Griswold illustrates the character, appeal and function of this "cult of success." New Thought had its origins in the mesmerism of P. P. Quimby (the healer and teacher of Mrs. Eddy) and the transcendentalism of Emerson and the Concord group, but it was not, like Christian Science, a church; instead, it was a system of high powered mental telepathy. It blossomed at that time in America when the "land of opportunity" myth was at its peak and its appeal rested mainly in metropolitan areas. Like Puritanism its cardinal statute was the law of prosperity and in this respect it accorded with the traditional American philosophy of success. But unlike Puritanism it did not demand the frugal ascetic life as proposed in the Protestant Ethic.

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[14]A. B. Kuhn, Theosophy: A Modern Revival of Ancient Wisdom (New York: Studies in Religion and Culture. American Religion Series II, 1935).

[15]T. Roszak, The Making of a Counter Culture (Garden City, New York: Anchor Books, 1969).

[16]A. W. Griswold, "New Thought: A Cult of Success," American Journal of Sociology, XL (1934), pp. 309-318.

Instead one had only to "think" success to be successful. Its literature contained little but esoteric directions for commanding respect, achieving self-confidence and making money, and in this respect it appealed to the many educated but unsuccessful who possessed the desire but lacked the means to fulfill the opportunities promised by the "good society." As Griswold states it:

> The people who bought these books (of New Thought) did so in the hope of finding an elixir which has been sought by alchemists and astrologers since the dark ages. They were, as the geographical distribution of New Thought shows, people who lived in great cities. Most of them were in the white-collar army. Promotions came by accident to them. The ugliness of their surroundings had, and still has a devastating effect upon their spirits. But they could dream....of yachts, and automobiles, and castles in the country.[17]

Thus manipulationist sects, served to integrate individuals into the larger society by offering them a means by which they could overcome their own personal inadequacies. These inadequacies were a result of the material progress of society and so the theology of these sects sought (and still seeks) means by which their votaries could achieve the manifestations of progress in an esoteric fashion thus achieving salvation on earth.

Thaumaturgical Sects. The second kind of sect which seeks to overcome the deficiencies of its members is that known as thaumaturgical. It tends to be rather

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[17]Griswold, op. cit., pp. 316-317.

rarer than the previous four kinds and it usually appears in less developed societies. For these reasons it is less documented but it is felt that because of its unique characteristics mention should be made of it here.

Thaumaturgical sects are more concerned with proof rather than faith. In eastern and African cultures they tend to address themselves to matters of tension (witch-hunting) or insecurity. However in western cultures they are more concerned with filling the void created by death. It is often said that in young cultures life and health hold primacy in the hierarchy of values. To the extent that this is true, death becomes a subject of great anxiety; when this is coupled with the decline of socially approved mourning practices a need is created for many. For these people thaumaturgical sects act as a means of overcoming this deficiency by assuring its votaries that death is only a temporal thing and that the "life hereafter" does in fact exist. Communication with the spirits of the dead provides the proof for the thaumaturge and the testimony of its leaders provides proof of such a communication.

A sub-branch of this kind of sect which exists in the United States are those sects which are preoccupied with healing and snake-handling.[18] Coupled with the

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[18] W. LaBarre, They Shall Take Up Serpents (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1962).

intense emotionalism of southern fundamentalism, snake-handling as a test of faith provides a manifestation of miraculous power. The sense of superiority that it induces in its performers serves to transform their orientation to life. In the face of this miraculous power poverty and ignorance seem slight and they are "soothed" to the disadvantages of their misfortunes.

Sects Which Act to Eliminate Discrepancies

The last category contains those sects which seek to find ways in which deficiencies may be eliminated. This type of response can be divided into two separate groups; reformist and utopian.

Reformist Sects. Perhaps the best known example of a reformist sect is the Society of Friends. The Quakers, as they are commonly known, were at certain times an introversionist sect but their overriding concern for ethical standards, as dictated by the conscience, superseded their dependency upon isolation (exemplified in their speech and dress). Through their ascetic life and shrewd business integrity they often contained wealthy members but this wealth was usually redistributed in philanthropic forms. The conscience of the Quaker has always been the hallmark of this sect and in the twentieth century this personal conscience has become through many

social reform movements the conscience of society. They have been instrumental in campaigns for prison reform, capital punishment, legislative reform, civil rights and many others. Such humanitarian lobbying has often been espoused by other sects, but in most cases it has been secondary to missionary motives. In the case of the Quakers it has been of primary importance. In this respect Quakers can be said to constitute a reformist sect.

Utopian Sects. Like the Quakers, Utopian sects seek to eliminate deficiencies. But, where as the Quakers chose to work through the established channels to remodel the existing structure, utopians prefer to withdraw and set up model colonies which might serve as examples of the "perfect society." Unlike the introversionist sects previously mentioned the utopian communities do not seek to restore a particular life style, but instead attempt to institutionalize a perfect way of life which will serve as a model for the world.

Parker[19] has provided an account of one of these sects. The Oneida Community as instigated by John Humphrey Noyes in the eighteen forties was a communistic

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[19]R. A. Parker, Yankee Saint: John Humphrey Noyes and the Oneida Community (New York: Putnams, 1935).

community in which the evils of society were to be eliminated by the dissolution of selfishness. Noyes believed that selfishness originated in the devotion to property, monogamy and material possessiveness. In abandoning marriage and personal ownership of property he sought to bring about the perfect community. Coupled with faith-healing and a well-organized program of group-therapy, the community attained considerable stability until outside criticism and open attacks caused dissention among the members and the community was eventually forced to remodel its practices and it finally dissolved.

This example provides insight into how such a sect managed to succeed. In the past there have been numerous examples of attempts to build utopian communities but very seldom have they continued past the novelty stages. The Oneida Community not only managed to exist in a harmonious climate for an extended period of time but it also became economically successful. Parker accounts for this in terms of Noyes' strong leadership, good management, and the strong religious commitment of the community.

Thus, at least from this example, it can be seen that utopian sects, serve to integrate individuals into society, by offering them a community of the like-minded in which the deficiencies of the wider society are eliminated and the desired values built into a new

structure. Unlike most other attempts at establishing utopian communities, utopian sects base their reconstruction on religious principles - usually taken from the scriptures - and it is often this common religious commitment that provides the binding force.

The above examples provide illustrations of the variety of integrating mechanisms inherent in sectarian movements. It is apparent that no two sects operate in the same manner. But it would appear that they all arise in times of social change to explain new circumstances to those who have failed to come to terms with the new situation. Some provide compensation, others attempt to overcome the situation and still others try to eliminate it. But regardless of the response they all provide a response to the situation and a like-minded community with whom to share it. In this way sects are said to perform the function of integration.

CHAPTER V

INTEGRATION THROUGH SPORT

In this chapter several studies which examine the effect sport has upon different segments of society are analyzed. Again the problem arises of how to structure these studies in the most efficient and meaningful manner. They could, for example, be looked at within the various dimensions of integration and such an approach would, no doubt, prove interesting. But, because of the inevitable overlap and resulting ambiguity of looking at a study to detect say, motivation for immediate ends, it is felt that this method should be reserved for the next chapter where an overall comparative analysis will facilitate such an approach.

Another approach would be to examine the effects various kinds of sports and games have upon the individual as an abstract entity. Something akin to Caillois'[1] typology of play or Groos'[2] forms of play would serve this purpose, albeit in a limited fashion. However the weakness of this approach rests with the fact that the individual is

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[1]R. Caillois, Man, Play and Games (New York: Free Press, 1961).

[2]K. Groos, The Play of Man (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1901).

involved in sport not as an abstract entity but as a member of a group (primary or secondary) and thus the effect sport has upon him is modified by the various dynamics of that group or organization. Moreover typologies of the Caillois type, in addressing themselves to the subject of play, fail to consider the work aspect of sport. The definition of sport used here is in keeping with Lüschen's[3] observation that sport, "...has a peculiar position on a continuum between play and work--neither completely performed without the expectation of extrinsic reward nor with the sole expectation for that matter." Since the work aspect of sport is an integral part of its nature, an approach which failed to consider it would be deficient in many respects.

A third approach is to look at sport as an institution and consider its impact within various societal settings. From the small body of research available it is possible to look at the effects sport has upon society in general and several of its systemic parts. This approach is both less ambiguous and functional in the sense that it defines the units of analysis and therefore is chosen as the approach to be used in this study. The units used are those established in Chapter III and are as follows:

(a) Total societies.

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[3]G. Lüschen, "The Sociology of Sport, (paper presented as a round-table paper at the American Sociological Association Meeting, September, 1969, San Fracisco, California), p. 3. (Mimeographed.)

(b) Primary subdivisions, e.g., ethnic groups, class.
(c) Organizations.
(d) Small Groups.
(e) Individuals.

Total Societies

In a theoretical study by Elias and Dunning[4] the "cathartic" qualities of sport are viewed from a socio-psychological perspective. Drawing from Aristotle's theory of catharsis the authors examine the tension-generating aspect of spectator sports. In opposition to the often held belief that leisure time activities such as sport or public concerts act as outlets for accumulated tension Elias and Dunning propose that their main function is a generation of tension in the form of pleasurable excitement. They explain it thus:

> For many people it is not only in their occupational but also in their private lives that one day is the same as another. For many of them, nothing new, nothing stirring ever happens. Their tension, their tonus, their vitality, or whatever one might call it is thus lowered. In a simple or a complex form, on a low or a high level, leisure time activities provide, for a short while, the upsurge of strong pleasurable feelings which is often lacking in ordinary routines of life.... The essential character of their cathartic effect is the restoration of a normal "tonus" through a temporary and transient upsurge of pleasurable excitement.[5]

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[4]N. Elias and E. Dunning, "The Quest for Excitement in Unexciting Societies," The Cross-Cultural Analysis of Sport and Games, ed. G. Lüschen (Champaign, Illinois: Stipes Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 31-50.

[5]Ibid., p. 50.

Therefore for these authors the primary function and explanation for the appeal of spectator sport is couched in terms of its ability to provide socially sanctioned excitement--an excitement which is increasingly restrained as a society becomes more complex and differentiated.

Another study which examines the impact of sport on total societies is Zurcher and Meadow's[6] study of institutional interaction. In studying the function of baseball and bullfighting in the U.S. and Mexico the authors propose that these sports serve as legitimate expressions of the aggression and frustration generated by the social institutions. Unlike the previous study Zurcher and Meadow feel that sport serves not as a generator of, but as a release from, tension and frustration.

In the bullfight the power and masculinity of the Mexican father is symbolically represented by the bull who is challenged and killed by the matador (the son). This act is applauded and encouraged by the audience (the mother) and supervised by the president of the bullfight (the government). The atmosphere in which the bullfight is conducted is charged with passion, sexuality and fascination with death thus symbolizing the major characteristics of the Mexican culture. Similarly baseball is presented as a

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[6]L. A. Zurcher and A. Meadow, "On Bullfights and Baseball: An Example of Interaction of Social Institutions," The Cross-Cultural Analysis of Sport and Games, ed. G. Lüschen (Champaign, Illinois: Stipes Publishing Co., 1970), pp. 109-131.

symbolic representation of American culture. Hostility and aggression are almost completely subdued or redirected onto an abstract entity, e.g., the score card, and in keeping with the puritanical emphasis of American life, passion and sexuality are eliminated. Authority presides in the form of umpires equipped with a set of agreed upon rules and individuality all but disappears in the face of "team-effort." Thus, according to Zurcher and Meadow these two "national sports" by representing, in symbolic form, their respective countries' social institutions, act as socially sanctioned tension-releasing mechanisms.

A third theory explaining the appeal of spectator sports within macro-social systems is advocated by Frederickson.[7] According to her theory sport acts as a means of publicly reaffirming cultural values. To illustrate the point, Frederickson points out that the ancient sport of wrestling performed much more than a recreational function. Drawing from anthropological studies she notes that some of its various historical roles were (1) a legal and judicial mechanism for settling the boundaries of rice fields; (2) a part of initiation and puberty rites; (3) a means of selecting a mate; (4) a demonstration of prestige and power, and (5) a means of insuring a successful harvest.[8]

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[7]F. S. Frederickson, "Sports and the Cultures of Man," Sport, Culture and Society, A Reader on the Sociology of Sport, eds. J. W. Loy and G. S. Kenyon (New York: MacMillan Company, 1969), pp. 87-100.

[8]Ibid., p. 87.

Thus Frederickson emphasizes that in various cultures sports, as we know them, embodied more than the actual "game". In disucssing this phenomenon in present day America the author goes on to examine the ritualistic aspect of college sports as epitomised in the college football tradition:

> Culturally--realistically--such sports contests often form a link between the old grad and his school. Sometimes this is the only link that is warm and alive to him. It provides a vicarious but highly prized contact for many non college men with their school. It being their school not by virtue of actual attendance but strictly by adoption, and valued sometimes as is the adopted child by the childless.[9]

It is at these games that alumni gather not only to watch the spectacle but to celebrate old friendships and traditions. Thus for these spectators the game offers more than a display of physical prowess. From Frederickson's point of view it serves as a means of publicly reaffirming social values.

A fourth theory exists which proposes a major function of sport on a macro-social plane. Roberts and Sutton-Smith[10] in an article entitled "Child Training and Game Involvement" offer the thesis that games play a dual role in social life: (1) expression of individual needs

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[9]Ibid., p. 95.

[10]J. M. Roberts and B. Sutton-Smith, "Child Training and Game Involvement," Sport, Culture and Society, A Reader on the Sociology of Sport, eds. J. W. Loy and G. S. Kenyon (New York: MacMillan Company, 1969), pp. 116-136.

and (2) provision of cultural models of requisite socialization patterns.

By developing several permutations of the classification, games of strategy, games of physical skill and games of chance the authors propose that game involvement suggests more than the notion of mastery. Instead they interpret involvement in games as a process of conflict assuagement. Drawing from the Cross-Cultural Survey Files and Human Relations Area Files at Yale University and utilizing the child-training ratings for one hundred and eleven societies prepared by Bacon, Barry and Child, the authors develop a theory which implies:

> (1) that there is an over-all process of cultural patterning whereby society induces conflict in children through its child-training processes;
> (2) that society seeks through appropriate arrays and varieties of ludic models to provide an assuagement of these conflicts by an adequate representation of their emotional and cognitive polarities in ludic structure; and
> (3) that through these models society tries to provide a form of buffered learning through which the child can make enculturative step-by-step progress toward adult behavior.[11]

Partial substantiation for this theory is also offered by the authors. For example in studying undergraduate game players at Cornell University, they found that "addicted" players of games of strategy were in

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[11]Ibid., p. 134.

conflict about their positions in the social system. Also on a cultural level they hypothesize that, "...historical changes in games in the culture of the United States should be symptomatic of changes in basic child-training procedures."[12]

Thus this fourth theory, rather than emphasizing the cathartic or the symbolic-ritual aspect of sport, is directed to the socialization qualities inherent in ludic involvement. Sutton-Smith and Roberts have concentrated on the latent aspect of this quality. But as will be seen, other authors have sometimes observed this as a manifest function of sport.

Primary Subdivisions

On what has been referred to here as the primary subdivision plane, one author has observed the socialization aspect as one of the constituent elements of sport. In an exploratory study of the effect of sport on a rural population, Gabriel Escobar[13] notes this as one of the primary functions of soccer in the rural areas of Peru.

Over a period of twenty years Escobar noted the vast importance of the game of soccer in Latin American

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[12]Ibid.

[13]G. M. Escobar, "The Role of Sports in the Penetration of Urban Culture to the Rural Areas of Peru," Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers, XL (Spring, 1969), 72-81.

culture. According to him its impact at the local, national and international level, cannot be underestimated and is indicative of the relevant place it occupies in Latin American society. He discusses this relevance under three interrelated aspects.

First, in discussing acculturation to urban culture and integration to larger social units he points out that;

> while communities tend to be self-contained and even isolated in other respects, they become integrated into a larger social system when the game of soccer is involved and that the complexity of their organizations in leagues shows the level of absorption of education and urban culture.[14]

He also notes that even where schools have not yet been introduced, e.g., the highlands of Peru, soccer leagues are to be found and a concomitant change in local culture and society is to be found there even in the most isolated peasant communities. The second point he stresses is that the enormous importance soccer has in Peru makes it a very flexible and efficient vehicle for the training of individuals and groups in "...the tasks of leadership and organization for both corporate living and the formulation of voluntary association."[15] This observation is similar to the theory of games involvement offered by Roberts and Sutton-Smith with the "conflict" being assuaged in Escobar's example among the

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[14]Ibid., p. 76.

[15]Ibid.

"dirigentes"[16] in the following manner;

> ...the individuals who participate as dirigentes of teams and clubs are usually energetic and mobile, and that in serving their apprenticeships in these organizations they develop abilities that are later applied in other aspects of their social, political or economic life, at the same time that they transfer the organizational model to organizations that serve corporate needs in their communities.[17]

He further notes that this model of organization is so effective in the rural areas that participation in the organization of soccer games is one of the most important aspects in the background of city migrants and he documents this assertion with information collected by Doughty[18].

The third point that Escobar draws attention to is the effects of the game and teams on the social structure of the community and its integration into the urban culture. According to the author soccer, in the typical rural community, acts as a vehicle for assimilating potential members from urban settings, elimination of and movement across class and race barriers, and group identification by symbolically expressing the boundaries of local groups in a traditionally

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[16]Escobar describes this role as "...in addition to being a good player, the dirigente must also have some other fairly subtle qualities: he must be able to command respect and authority, must be a good talker and must develop gradually a quality that is called in Peru 'social consciousness', which means more or less that the leader should be sensible to the demands of public and social life that require altruism and high morals."

[17]Escobar, op. cit., p. 78.

[18]Ibid., p. 79.

competitive but relatively peaceful manner. Additionally, in inter-community competitions held on neutral ground, this symbolic expression is expanded to incorporate larger and larger social units while inevitably facilitating the absorption of urban culture which, according to the author, is gradually penetrating all of the country. This last point brings to mind Frederickson's notion of sport acting as a collective representation and thus serves as an empirical example of her theory in a modern setting.

Escobar's study provides an insightful look at the latent functions of sport in a rapidly changing society. However it could be shown that, inasmuch as many of these functions are both intended and recognized, at least by the promoters of the activity, they constitute manifest functions. The same could be said for the function of religion. But the point is that they remain unintended and unrecognized by the actors at the time of involvement. If it was not for this quality the "religious experience" or the "thrill of the game" would be reduced to an exercise in interpersonal relations and thus lose much of the "magic" that is required in both activities to maintain their appeal. In fact it could be argued that if it were not for the "magic" these institutions would cease to exist regardless of the important functions they perform. The point being made is that although in Escobar's study the functions to which he draws attention might appear to be intended and recognized by the Peruvian

natives, no such conclusion should be drawn. In the last analysis soccer is popular in Peru because it is an exciting and enjoyable way to spend leisure time. But this does not account for the almost religious following and fanatical support it maintains even amongst natives to whom the activity is completely foreign. It is to these anomalies that latent functions address themselves and it is because of this that consideration of them is of prime importance in any sociological study.

Again on the primary subdivision level, Scotch[19] throws some light on the role sport plays in a rapidly changing society. Drawing upon Gluckman's[20] ideas on the expansion and utilization of witchcraft in Africa, the author interprets the great enthusiasm for soccer among the Zulus in Durban, South Africa, as a means for coping with a "new situation of conflict."

By means of participant observation and a series of interviews with local health educators, Scotch found that magic and sorcery play an important role in the organization and administration of local "amateur" teams. For instance each team employed an "inyanga," or Zulu doctor,

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[19]N. A. Scotch, "Magic, Sorcery and Football Among Urban Zulus: A Case of Reinterpretation Under Acculturation," Journal of Conflict Resolution, V (1961), 70-74.

[20]M. Gluckman, Custom and Conflict in Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1955).

whose job it was to administer magic and forestall the sorcery directed at his team by other "inyangas." This sorcery was considered so powerful by the Zulus that if a player became the object of an "inyanga's" spells it would be exceedingly difficult for him to find a team. Other phenomena which Scotch uncovered were the enlistment of the supernatural in the form of ritual on the eve of a match. This ritual he found to be a reenactment of the pre-battle preparation traditionally undergone by Zulu warriors. He also found that much of the ritual performed prior to the game was derived from historical military formations. Scotch also mentions an interesting parallel to be found to the above examples of cultural syncretism:

> Sundkler[21] in describing Zulu leadership patterns in separatist churches, has shown that the traditional roles of chief and medical specialist are carried over into the modern Christian church in much the same way as these roles are found in modern football teams.[22]

In attempting to account for the function of this strange brand of soccer the author discusses it in terms of the greater degree of interpersonal and intergroup hostility and aggression engendered by the urban setting as compared to the traditional rural Zulu community. Thus he hypothesizes that soccer serves a dual function for the

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[21]B. Sundkler, Bantu Prophets in South Africa (London: Lutterworth, 1948).

[22]Scotch, op. cit., p. 73.

Zulus in Durban:

> ...first it is one of the few opportunities open to the Zulu for release from the anxiety and tensions of anomic urban life; and more specifically, it allows the expression of the increased aggression and hostility that arises in the city between Africans, within the framework of a modern, acceptable form.[23]

The last topic to be discussed in the area of primary subdivisions is concerned with minority group assimilation. In American culture sport has traditionally served as a vehicle for upward mobility and hence integration into the mainstream of society among ethnic groups. Thus it is said that many social barriers were broken down for the Irish by the fame of such sports personalities as John L. Sullivan or James J. Corbett. Similarly the Italians had their pioneering symbols such as Tony Canzoneri and the Jews were represented by such characters as Maxy Rosenbloom and Barney Ross.[24] As each of these ethnic groups became assimilated,[25] others arose to be identified, prove their worth

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[23]Ibid., p. 71.

[24]G. Turbeville and G. Johnsrud, "The Changing Role of Minority Groups in American Athletics," (paper presented at the Congress of the International Sociological Association, September, 1970, Varna, Bulgaria), p. 1. (Mimeographed)

[25]However some doubt is cast upon this notion by the results of a study conducted in Milwaukee, Wisconsin in which it was found that, contrary to expectations, sport (soccer) tends to inhibit assimilation of minority ethnic groups. See J. C. Pooley, "Ethnic Soccer Clubs in Milwaukee: A Study in Assimilation," (paper presented at the Research Section of the American Association of Health, Physical Education and Recreation National Convention, April, 1969, Boston, Massachusetts).

and (hopefully) achieve a measure of integration through their "deviant occupations."[26]

Today the focus is on the Negro ethnic group and several studies have been conducted to examine the role sport plays in assimilating blacks into American society.[27] Apart from a study conducted by Blalock[28], the consensus of these investigators is that sport is not the discrimination-free platform that it is generally considered to be. Thus Rosenblatt found that Negroes in the major leagues batted 20.2 points higher than their white counterparts and concluded that, "More positions are available for the subpar white player than for the comparably able Negro."[29] Similarly Loy and McKelvogue, in combining Grusky's theory

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[26]A term used by Herbert H. Hyman in his discussion of the value systems of different classes. See H. H. Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes: A Social Psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification," Class, Status and Power, eds. R. Bendix and S. M. Lipset (New York: The Free Press, 1953), p. 439.

[27]A. Rosenblatt, "Negroes in Baseball: The Failure of Success," Transaction, IV (1967), 51-53; see also O. Grusky, "The Effect of Formal Structure on Managerial Recruitment: A Study of Baseball Organizations," Sociometry, XXVI (1963), 345-353; J. W. Loy and J. F. McKelvogue, "Racial Segregation in American Sport," (paper presented at the International Workshop on the Sociology of Sport, September, 1969, Macolin, Switzerland).

[28]H. M. Blalock, "Occupational Discrimination: Some Theoretical Propositions," Social Problems IX (1962), 240-247.

[29]Rosenblatt, op. cit., p. 52.

of formal structure with Blalock's propositions on occupational discrimination, concludes that sport is anything but discrimination free and that there are subtle mechanisms purposefully at work which exclude the Negro player from key positions in major league sports.

However, these findings beg the question and until research is available which can reliably compare discrimination in sport to that in other occupations, the apparent success of sport as a social integrator will stand as evidence of its comparatively discrimination-free nature. Although slightly overstating the case, R. L. Tobin emphasizes the role sport plays in minority group assimilation.

> The world of sport has now become, along with the Supreme Court decisions, the civil rights movement, the exploding postwar economy, and world opinion, and undeniable force in moving the United States toward full integration.[30]

However, because of the controversy generated over this issue in the last few years,[31] a closer examination of its relevance is required at this point.

In terms of functional theory, sport has helped minority groups obtain a degree of integration in society by a process of role modelling and the subsequent motivation

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[30]R. L. Tobin, "Sports as an Integrator," Saturday Review, January 21, 1967, p. 32.

[31]J. Olsen, The Black Athlete (Time-Life, Inc., 1969); see also H. Edwards, The Revolt of the Black Athlete (New York: Free Press, 1969); L. Shecter, The Jocks (New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1969).

which ensues from such processes. By presenting a minority group with successful role models, sport facilitates integration through a process of motivation for intermediate ends. Athletes, to a greater extent than businessmen or professionals, are in a position of prominence and immediate recognition. By possessing skills which (usually) do not require large sums of money or a particular socio-cultural background they are the dealers in a product which has universal understanding and a potential for mastery even by the most underprivileged. To this extent they act as extremely powerful role models. Therefore it is to be expected that many members of minority groups will emulate such role models and if successful will continue the cycle until sufficient acceptance warrants discontinuance of such occupational roles. This is, in essence, the history of Irish, Italian and Jewish assimilation through sport.

However, to a large extent these ethnic groups were free of the conspicuous identification characteristics of the Negro and moreover some of them maintained the advantage of an innate tradition of learning, e.g., the Jews. Thus for them the transition from deviant occupational goals was less difficult. Blacks, on the other hand, are conspicuous and the black sub-culture in no way can compare with the Jewish sub-culture in educational emphasis. As long as discrimination continues the black will be conspicuous and the more young blacks rely on their sub-cultural role models,

the more they will tend to neglect the scholarly aspect that is so vital for the transition that other minority groups underwent. In this respect sport could be said to be dysfunctional.[32]

Organizations

On the organizational level much has been written about the role of sports. Particularly in the educational setting the functions and consequences of participation in sport have been examined with much resulting insight. Coleman[33] pioneered this area in studying the effect of athletics on academic achievement. Although he viewed the topic as problematic his findings regarding sport involvement were generally favorable. Using Coleman as a reference point, other researchers[34] have investigated different aspects of the same problem and arrived at differing sets of conclusions. Much of this ambiguity is a result of poor research design and the complex nature of measurement involved. Because of the inconsistency of findings in this

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[33]J. S. Coleman, "The Adolescent Subculture and Academic Achievement," American Journal of Sociology, LXV (1960), 337-347.

[34]R. A. Rehberg and W. E. Schafer, "Participation in Interscholastic Athletics and College Expectations," American Journal of Sociology, LXXIII (May, 1968), 732-740; see also W. C. Spady, "Lament for the Letterman: Effects of Peer Status and Extracurricular Activities on Goals and Achievement," American Journal of Sociology, LXXV (1970), 680-702.

area it is felt that another topic which presents an unambiguous picture of the role sport plays in complex organizations would prove more illuminating.

A study by Lloyd Street[35] on game forms in the factory setting presents such a clear body of results. Moreover the concepts used in this study contain what Dumont and Wilson[36] have called "epistemic connections" thus adding more strength to the findings. Drawing from the theories of Simmel and Huizinga, Street examines the functions of games with regard to the two concepts sociability[37] and rapport and their degree of utility:

> ...play forms vary from almost purely spontaneous elaborations (where sociability and rapport predominate) to activities in which utilitarian aspects are important (and sociability-rapport become more sporadic). In either case play activities have important implications for social solidarity; like some religious activities, play may weld a group together through the development of strong rapport.[38]

Using primarily participant observation over a three year period, Street studied the different types of

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[35]L. Street, "Game Forms in the Factory Group," Berkeley Publications in Society and Institutions, IV (Summer, 1958), 44-55.

[36]R. G. Dumont and W. J. Wilson, "Aspects of Concept Formation, Explication and Theory Construction in Sociology," American Sociological Review, XXXII (1967), 985-995.

[37]For an examination of the concept sociability see K. H. Wolff (ed.), The Sociology of George Simmel (New York: The Free Press, 1950).

[38]Street, op. cit., p. 45.

play activities engaged in by operatives in the "Mentor Corporation." He found that the content of the working day could be dichotomized into "positive" or "negative" activity. When viewed this way it appeared that the actual routinized task comprised the negative content and the play activities and their associated personal association constituted the positive content. Consequently play activities played a big part in the working day and were found to vary from spontaneously elaborated to institutionalized forms. Thus by studying play in the form of plant-wide, shop line and faction games, the author was able to determine their significance. He discusses them with reference to various permutations of integration.

The first type he calls "games integrating colleague groups against the formal organization."[39] This type of game socialized individuals to the norms and expectations of the colleague group and it served as a means of reaffirming the group's goals and values. In this respect this type of game was similar to the "binging" in the Bank Wiring Room uncovered by Roethlisberger and Dickson. Through this type of game the colleague group sought to reduce quota problems and so develop a measure of autonomy against the work organization.

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[39]Ibid., p. 50.

The second type he calls "games integrating the colleague group and the formal organization."[40] This game was generally of the institutionalized type such as pool or bowling and although the leagues for these games were originally formed by the management in a random manner according to ability it was interesting to find that the various work crews developed a restructuring of the leagues according to daily association. It was also interesting to find that the mercenary aspect of these games was kept to a minimum by group sanctions and that bad sportsmanship was ridiculed--for the purpose was not supposed to be the monetary prize. These two mentioned games were generally integrative for the organization, the colleague group and the individual worker.

However the third kind--"games integrating the formal organization against the colleague group"[41] emphasized organizational goals. When the colleague group became subversive of the organization's goals players of this type of game became alienated from the colleague group and oriented toward the organization.

Street also discovered alienating play in the factory setting. However the kind of play which was alienating to both work organization and colleague group

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[40]Ibid., p. 51.

[41]Ibid.

mostly occurred when a worker was playing in a dangerous fashion.

In accounting for the pervasiveness of play in the factory setting Street concludes that his observations would lend support to both theories of play as a tension-release mechanism and play as a means of establishing social solidarity within groups.

> Play activities in the factory serves as a creative release for the individual from the negative and possibly frustrating content of his working day.... While play activity may sometimes strengthen groups in opposition to the authorities speaking for the main goals of an organization, they also serve to enhance the social solidarity of groups of workers and, in this way, articulate them to the larger organization in a manner which is meaningful and satisfying to them.[42]

Small Group Level

On the small group level Zurcher[43] offers another clear illustration of the function of sport or game behavior. By attending a twice-monthly "friendly" poker game over a period of one year the author analyzed the structure of the attending small group and the social psychological benefits that each member enjoyed from participation in this game setting. "Ephemeral role"[44] is the major theoretical

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[42]Ibid., pp. 53-54.

[43]L. A. Zurcher, "The 'Friendly' Poker Game: A Study of an Ephemeral Role," Social Forces, XLIX (December, 1970), 173-186.

[44]Zurcher defines ephemeral role as "...a temporary or ancillary position - related behavior pattern chosen by the enactor to satisfy social-psychological needs incompletely satisfied by the more dominant and lasting roles he regularly must enact in everyday life positions." Ibid., p. 174.

concept used and the benefits and functions of the group are discussed in relation to it.

By definition an ephemeral role implies a setting which is unreal or removed from the roles and expectations of everyday life. It is a deliberately constructed "unreal" situation within which the actor is able to enact behavioral patterns which are not normally socially sanctioned. By playing this ephemeral role the actor derives many benefits which are limited or impossible in real-life situations but without which he is subject to increasing frustration and tension. It thus serves as a safetly valve for the actor.

Among many of the opportunities for satisfaction found by Zurcher in the poker game situation were the following:

> ...to share in the establishing and/or maintaining of a personally relevant group structure and interaction pattern; to compete vigorously but safely with equals;...to become deeply involved in intense but controlled personal interaction;...to control and become immersed in action, included a series of thrills and the exhilaration of "pace";...to exert control over self, others and luck or fate; to capture or relive some of the competencies and freedoms of youth;...to enjoy legitimized deviancy;...to declare as irrelevant norms and roles which society at large deems mandatory in favor of idiosyncratic groups norms and roles; and to escape the routine and "ordinary" social dynamics of everyday life.[45]

The common denominator among these benefits is the aspect of unavailability. Without the "unreal" situation the actors that comprise the poker game would fail or be severely

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[45]Ibid., p. 184

limited in their opportunity to enact this multiplicity of behavioral patterns.

Zurcher's observations can be interpreted in the light of the "excitement generation" theory of Elias and Dunning. Moreover it would validate their rebuttal of the tension release theories advocated by others. In Zurcher's sample the members of the poker game had quite emphatic regulatory norms against any member introducing the "outside" world. Instead they preferred to generate and assuage their own form of tension which was intended to be quite independent of "real world" problems. However it should be noted that many members testified to the mere physical act of being present in the isolated setting as acting as a release from the tensions of work and family. Thus the setting, depending upon the factors involved but not the game, may serve as a social[46] tension-release mechanism.

Individual Level

The function of sport on the individual plane is perhaps the most widely investigated area within the social sciences of sport. Using sport as both the dependent and independent variable, such constructs as personality, attitude and social behavior have been extensively studied. In

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[46]Social as it is used here is intended to imply tension developed through everyday role behavior and is contrasted to game tension which may be generated through artificially constructed role interaction.

this section one aspect of social behavior, namely aggression, will be reviewed and two recent studies will be investigated in an attempt to define the effect of sport[47] on aggressive behavior.

General theories of aggression may be conveniently split into three groups. First, the frustration-aggression theories[48] which emphasize frustration, anger and failure to realize goal-directed behavior suggest that aggressive behavior may be a functionof exposure to a violent stimulus. Second, the catharsis theories[49] suggest that observation of an aggressive sport serves to reduce hostility among spectators. Apparently this effect is achieved through vicarious aggressive activity. The third group could be labelled disinhibition theories.[50] In this approach, unlike the other

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[47]Only secondary involvement, i.e., viewing directly or indirectly or in some other way observing sport activities, will be investigated.

[48]For example the theories of L. Berkowitz, "The Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis Revisited," Roots of Aggression, ed. L. Berkowitz (New York: Atherton Press, 1969), pp. 1-29.

[49]S. Feshbach, "The Stimulating Versus Cathartic Effects of a Vicarious Aggressive Activity," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, LXIII (1961), 381-385; see also K. Lorenz, On Aggression (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, 1966); A. Storr, Human Aggression (New York: Atheneum, 1968).

[50]A Bandura and R. H. Walters, Social Learning and Personality Development (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1963).

two, prior frustration is not assumed but individuals are assumed to have the tendency to be aggressive. Observation of violence is thought to reduce the strength of the level of inhibition against aggression and so produce aggressive behavior.

The contradictory nature of these theories can be partially explained by the complexity of measuring aggression in realistic situations. Most frustration-aggression theory studies have been conducted in laboratory situations thus foregoing the insights gained from field settings. And similarly field studies, although superior from a realistic standpoint, tend to be deficient when controls are considered. Recognition of such methodological weaknesses occasioned both of the following studies.

In a study which set up to determine the relative merits of the above three theoretical positions Goldstein and Arms[51] examined the effect observed violence had upon a sample drawn from a regularly scheduled football game. A control group in the form of spectators at a gymnastic meet was used. Pre- and post-game interviews were administered to the samples to assess hostility, team preference and additional demographic data.

Analysis of the results indicated that, "...regardless of team preference and the outcome of the game, subjects were

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[51]J. H. Goldstein and R. L. Arms, "Effects of Observing Athletic Contests on Hostility," Sociometry, XXXIV (1971), 83-90.

significantly more hostile after observing the game than before."[52] The authors thus concluded that no support was obtained for the catharsis effect but that "...the failure to find an interaction of preferred team and game outcome seems to support a general disinhibition notion."[53]

Kingsmore[54] approached the problem with similar caution. Like Goldstein and Arms he felt that the phenomenon necessitated a field-type study but he also incorporated as much of the laboratory setting as possible. This he provided by using three groups differentially allocated along a continuum of contact versus non-contact sports. He also felt that it was important to study what he calls the "real spectator" because of the commitment characteristic often mentioned by others. Thus he used regular attenders at a professional wrestling match (high violence), professional basketball game spectators (medium violence) and a regularly scheduled academic class (low violence). A further precaution was taken in this study by utilizing a projective technique (T.A.T.) in conjunction with the pre- and post-test questionnaire.

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[52]Ibid., p. 88.

[53]Ibid., p. 89.

[54]J. M. Kingsmore, "The Effect of a Professional Wrestling and Professional Basketball Contest Upon the Aggressive Tendencies of Spectators," Contemporary Psychology of Sport, ed. G. S. Kenyon (Chicago: Athletic Institute, 1970), pp. 311-315.

In opposition to Goldstein and Arms' findings Kingsmore observed significantly less aggression after viewing the contest than before. He also found that both the wrestling spectators and the basketball spectators showed significantly less aggression after the experimental treatment than the control. Although the latter findings seem dubious the former results are validated by both questionnaire response and projective technique score and in view of the steps taken to control for extraneous factors the results of this study appear quite convincing.

Thus at the individual level there is some evidence to support the thesis that sport under certain conditions and for certain people serves the function of alleviating aggressive tendencies and inasmuch as aggression is detrimental to social integration acts as an agent of social cohesion.

If, as in the disinhibition theories of aggression, aggressive behavior is considered an individual need, the above findings may be interpreted in the light of Roberts and Sutton-Smith's theory of the role of play. Moreover if it is also conceded that tension preceeds aggression then these findings provide some support for the theory of Elias and Dunning.

Summary

The above review of sport studies is by no means complete. In the small group literature, for instance,

there exist several other studies which might have been used to reinforce the idea that sport provides cohesion in interpersonal relations.[55] Similarly on the individual plane the effect of sport on, for instance, personality, is fairly well documented.[56] But it is felt that the foregoing choice of studies is sufficiently composite to illustrate the integrative function of sport at several different levels.

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[55]For example A. Myers, "Team Competition, Success, and the Adjustment of Group Members," Sport, Culture and Society, A Reader on the Sociology of Sport, eds. J. W. Loy and G. S. Kenyon (New York: MacMillan Company, 1969), pp. 365-377; see also J. E. McGrath, "The Influence of Positive Interpersonal Relations on Adjustment and Effectiveness in Rifle Teams," Sport, Culture and Society, A Reader on the Sociology of Sport, eds. J. W. Loy and G. S. Kenyon (New York: MacMillan Company, 1969), pp. 378-397.

[56]Examples are to be found in G. S. Kenyon (ed.) Contemporary Psychology of Sport (Chicago: Athletic Institute, 1970).

CHAPTER VI

COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS OF SPORT AND RELIGION

Having discussed some illustrations of the integrative function of both religion and sport it now remains to compare the degree to which these studies are similar in structural content. To facilitate this inspection the structures of integration outlined in Chapter II i.e., socialization structures, regulatory structures, motivating structures, certainty/uncertainty structures and interest conflict structures, are used as a conceptual guide and the studies are analyzed with reference to them.

Socialization Structures

Within those structures relating to socialization rests the idea that an institution may act as an integrative agency by inculcating dominant social values. As was pointed out in the discussion of both conversionist and introversionist sects religion sometimes provides this latent function. Johnson[1] aptly points this out in his study of conversionist sects.

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[1]B. Johnson, "Do Holiness Sects Socialize Dominant Values," Social Forces, XXXIX (1961), pp. 309-316.

Similarly Roberts and Sutton-Smith's theory of game involvement illustrates how sport may serve to socialize individuals into the dominant cultural value patterns. Escobar's study of the game of soccer in Peru also provides an empirical illustration of this process. And Lloyd Street's study of factory games provides a clear example of how individuals are socialized into the dominant norms and values of the group through ludic structures. Thus it would seem from the studies presented that a measure of similarity is to be found in the way both sport and religion integrate individuals through socialization structures.

Regulatory Structures

Poblete and O'Dea's study of the role of Pentecostal sects among New York's Puerto Rican communities provides an illustration of how religion sometimes integrates individuals by providing regulatory norms as controlling mechanisms. Among other provisions, the Pentecostal churches in this study were found to act as agents of normative legislation. Because of the breakdown of consensus on standards and norms which provided meaning for the Puerto Ricans in their original environment, these churches were able to integrate the Puerto Ricans into American society by recreating a set of universally accepted norms and regulations.

Similarly the individuals which comprised the introversionist sects at the time in history when industrialization was beginning to erode the norms and values of close communities forestalled the alienating nature of industrialization by identifying themselves as a group that retained the norms and values of the close community in its normative orientation. And the reformist sects, most notably the Quakers, fulfill an integrative function by similar process. However instead of retreating into a community which provides its own regulatory norms they choose to eliminate social deficiencies in a much more positive manner. Nevertheless the mechanism is essentially the same.

Among the sport studies there is a comparative norm regulation pattern in operation. Frederickson's theory of the function of sport speaks to this notion. However her theory does not incorporate (except by implication) the content of alienation which the studies on religion emphasize. In the religious studies it is readily comprehensible that the institution acts to impose and regulate the norms and values in an ex post facto manner whereas Frederickson's theory merely implies an emphasizing of the already accepted and predominantly respectable values. Scotch's study on the other hand provides an example of how sport may also provide a set

of regulating norms to substitute for the established cultural norms lost in the process of social change. For the Zulus of Durban soccer acts as a socially accepted means for the traditional military values and male-aggressive pattern of the Zulu culture. And in providing a socially accepted outlook for these otherwise destructive norms the game, in a cathartic fashion, acts as a regulatory mechanism.

Motivating Structures

The third integrating structure which Levy emphasizes is that which provides motivation. Imbued in this notion is the idea of reward. Individuals conform to established norms to the degree to which they are rewarded for such conformity. Thus structures which can provide motivation, enhance the reward content of social life and in the process fulfill an immensely integrative function. Examples of this process in history are many; the subtle use of the Janissaries by the Ottoman rulers, the use of "natives" in administration posts by the British in the latter part of their empire days, and the classic case of the use of ascetic norms to achieve ultimate salvation in Weber's "Protestant Ethic." These cases serve as examples of the two types of motivation; motivation for ultimate ends (rewards)

e.g., the Protestant Ethic and motivation for immediate ends (rewards) e.g., the Janissaries.

In the studies presented the introversionists serve as a good example of the former kind of motivation. These movements arose out of a disillusionment with society at a time when much of the western world was undergoing major transformations. The members of these sects, discontented with the situation which confronted them set out to change it. But rather than use political or military channels they chose to settle their discomfort by planning for the next world and either decrying or simply ignoring the prevalent social change patterns. It is perhaps this kind of sect that Marx was thinking of when he coined the "opiate of the masses" phrase. Thus, to continue in Marxian jargon, these sectarians lost their class or social consciousness substituting it for a yearning for the next life and in the process failed to perform what could be termed malintegrative activities.

Thaumaturgical sects present another example of motivation for ultimate ends. As was noted these groups usually arise in a social setting where fear of death is prevalent. By assuring its members of the life hereafter and thus ultimate reward through communication with the dead this type of religion motivates individuals to perform their social roles thus integrating them into society.

However it is difficult to find examples of sport serving this function. None of the previously examined studies lend support to the idea that sport serves as a motivation for ultimate ends. But if the Marxian idea of the numbing effect of religion has any validity (and the introversionist pattern would seem to talk to this dynamic) and if the hunch that sport acts as a substitute for religion in some countries has any credence then it may be tentatively hypothesized that sport may serve this ultimate function if only in an inverted fashion.[2]

Examples of sport serving a motivation for immediate ends function are more readily available. The studies on the role of sport for the Black sub-culture[3] offer only one example of this mechanism. However as noted previously the question here is whether this mechanism is functional or dysfunctional. If the reasoning of Cleaver[4] on the minstrel syndrome so prevalent among Blacks can be accepted as valid then to the extent that sport is conducive to the maintenance of these minstrel

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[2]For some ideas on this phenomenon in the Sovial Union see H. W. Morton, Soviet Sport (New York: Collier Books, 1963).

[3]See the section entitled primary subdivisions in Chapter V.

[4]E. Cleaver, Soul on Ice (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1968).

roles it tends to be dysfunctional for the sub-culture. Also the testimony of several "ethnic conscious" black athletes would seem to lend support to the dysfunctional nature of sport on an individual plane.[5]

However, it could not be contended that the determining factor in this dysfunctional effect is sport per se. Rather, the subtle and often unconscious discriminatory nature of American society would seem to be the causal variable. And to the extent that discrimination is less operative in the institution of sport than in other avenues it would seem that, at least on the individual plane, sport is comparatively functional. However if the reasoning of the sub-cultural effect of role-modelling in sport is sound then it would appear that sport at least on this unit of analysis is dysfunctional.

An example of religion serving this function is to be found in the manipulationist sect. As noted previously this kind of sect integrates its votaries by serving as a vehicle for achieving success as it is defined by value consensus. It is also perhaps worth noting that the three primary values of this kind of

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[5]Cf. G. Turbeville and G. Johnsrud, "The Changing Role of Minority Groups in American Athletics," (paper presented at the Congress of the International Sociological Association, September, 1970, Varna, Bulgaria).

sect, namely, health, happiness and a sense of achievement accord closely with the major values of the sport world. And another parallel is to be found in their mutual preoccupation with technology and scientific advancement.

Certainty/Uncertainty Structures

Several examples of sects serving to integrate individuals to uncertainty were presented previously. Poblete and O'Dea's article on the Puerto Rican communities aptly illustrates how religion provides a solution to the anomic feeling of urban life. Sumner's article on Mexican-Americans in California also illustrates how religion in the form of conversionist sects may provide its votaries with an identification and thus help to relieve the uncertainty generated by a new social setting. Also the revolutionist sects which arose out of the uncertainty generated by the Napoleonic wars or in North America the isolation of frontier areas, provide examples of the integration to uncertainty function of religion.

Scotch's article on the Zulus of Durban, South Africa provides an example of how sport may serve the same function. The anomic character of urban life apparently produces great anxiety and tension among the

Zulu tribes who have been compelled to move to the city. According to Scotch the explanation for the great appeal of soccer among these natives is that it helps to integrate them to the community by providing a release from the anxiety and tension generated by the uncertainty of this foreign environment.

Although uncertainty in the form of anomie may, at times, prove dysfunctional for an integrated society, the opposite state, namely, certainty in the sense of pessimistic determinism may, by presenting the individual with a dismal set of life expectancies, act in a similar manner. As was noted in the discussion of sects which indulge in snake handling, certain thaumaturgical sects help to integrate individuals by alleviating this deterministic quality of lower class life. By indulging in seemingly miraculous activities the votaries of this kind of sect are able to overlook their deficiencies, safe in the belief that they possess something more valuable than education or wealth.

In the studies of sport presented there appears several examples of this function being provided. Elias and Dunning's theory of the role of sport in unexciting societies offers this kind of an explanation. To these authors sport is popular in modern societies because it helps to generate some uncertainty in an otherwise

deterministic life style. It thus compensates for the routine nature of modern social life by giving individuals the periodic boost required to carry on in the face of certainty. Similarly in Lloyd Street's analysis of factory games the author points to this function of sport when he notes that the principal function of play activities in the factory is to serve as a creative release for the individual from the negative and possibly frustrating content of his working day. In other words it compensates for the boredom of factory employment. Finally, Zurcher's article aptly demonstrates how games provide an alternative to the social roles required in everyday life. His concept "ephemeral role" serves to create an unreal situation within which the individuals can enact exciting behavioral patterns which in turn serve to eliminate, at least temporarily, the certainty of routine social life.

Interest Conflict Structures

Within the structure of interest conflict are embedded two separate notions. First, there are situations which serve to dispel interest conflict in a non-escapist fashion. These situations may be thought of as the positive or aggressive means for solving the conflict of interest. Second, there are situations which

by shutting off the reality of the confrontation solve the conflict of interest in an escapist fashion.

Several different types of sects integrate their votaries by offering them a compromise with interest conflict in a non-escapist manner. Thus the Pentecostalists offer a solution to the language barrier among newly arrived immigrants by stressing the "glossalalia" aspect of their religion and the manipulationists help to fulfill the desire for wordly possessions without demanding from their votaries the realistic means for such acquisition.

Within the studies of sport perhaps the best example of this function is provided by the studies on aggression. If the rationale presented in these theories and the conclusions drawn, as exemplified by the Kingsmore study, are sound then it would appear that at least secondary involvement in sport serves to resolve a situation of conflict. According to this theory the individual accumulates a certain level of aggression and, by viewing sport contests in which the level of violence is high, he cathartically releases this aggression. In this way he redirects his aggressive tendencies in a harmless and therefore integrative fashion. However these theories are still in the formative stages and until a sound body of empirical validation can be obtained to support the catharsis idea it would be unwise to

categorically propose such an effect.

Roberts and Sutton-Smith's theory, however, seems to contain a greater measure of logical and empirical validity. For them involvement in sport serves to relieve the individual of cultural conflict induced by child-training processes. Their theory offers a clear illustration of sport serving to integrate to interest conflict and in as much as it is valid sport can be said to perform such a function.

Escobar's point about soccer in Peru serving as a group identification symbol which expresses the boundaries of local groups in a relatively peaceful manner also speaks to this function. Soccer, in this example, helps to resolve the malintegrative nature of inter-group conflict (tribal war) while at the same time maintaining the identification of the group through competition. It thus helps to solve this interest conflict in a peaceful manner. Similarly Scotch's point about soccer among the Zulu's serving as a means for coping with a "new situation of conflict" adds support to this thesis.

Street's study of factory games also throws light on this point. He uncovered an interest conflict situation when he stressed that games may act to integrate

colleague groups against the formal organization. When crew workers perform quota-breaking actions it becomes dangerous for the cohesion of the crew and this conflict is resolved in a subtle and very deliberate manner through game forms. Thus, one type of game in this article serves to integrate individuals by resolving interest conflict.

Frederickson's theory of games serves as the last example of sport serving this function. Interest conflict in this example is assuaged by a kind of protective mechanism. In her theory she, perhaps unconsciously, attributes to sport the characteristic of serving as a "collective representation." In a Dukeimian sense the collective representation acts in a symbolic fashion to reaffirm the norms and values of the group thus integrating the group by protecting its members against interest conflict. Frederickson's theory of the role of sport closely resembles this classic idea and to the extent that her rationale is valid sport may be said to serve this function.

Within the structure of interest conflict through escapist means there rests two subsets. First, if escapism acts to accentuate unrealistic values at the expense of socially sanctioned goals it tends to be dysfunctional. However the second subset may provide the opposite effect. If in escapist behavior the

individual alleviates his interest conflict by glimpsing the desirable situation he may become "soothed" to the conflict and in this sense the activity may be said to perform a functional role.

The Pentecostalist examples illustrate this latter subset. By escaping into the emotional and desirable world of fundamentalist religion they became "soothed" to the disadvantaged situation within which they were obliged to live. Liston Pope's study of Gastonia[6] clearly illustrates this function in operation. Similarly the utopian sects provide an example of this kind of function. Although the Oneida community represented, in its norm and value orientation, an escape from reality, its successful economic record would seem to negate the idea that it was entirely dysfunctional. In fact for a decade or so it represented the ideal retreat for many individuals who found serious fault with society at large. In this sense it was extremely functional in integrating these individuals into society.

In a similar way Zurcher and Meadow's study of bullfighting and baseball illustrates sport serving this escapist function. For the spectators of these sports

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[6]L. Pope, Millhands and Preachers (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1942).

the fantasy world of "how it should be" provides an opportunity to escape the imperfect reality of social life and in this way it allows them to carry on performing their "imperfect" social roles. Zurcher's study of the poker game offers a similar insight. The participants in this game have emphatic rules to ensure the escapist character of their meetings and in as much as involvement in the game allows them to enact desired roles in an "unreal" situation it motivates them to perform their social roles in the "real" situation.

Summary

Levy's analytic breakdown of the concept integration was used in this chapter to act as a base on which to compare the institutions of sport and religion. The common denominator, integration, was viewed as a complex phenomenon and evidence was found to support the thesis of comparability between sport and religious sects within the various dimensions outlined. It would appear, at least from the studies examined, that sport and religious sects, from the standpoint of integrating functions, perform a similar role at several different levels of society.

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[7]M. J. Levy Jr., The Structure of Society (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1952).

CHAPTER VII

SUMMARY, COMCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This chapter presents a brief summary of the study, the conclusions that may be drawn from it, and the implications arising out of the findings.

Summary

The purpose of this study was to determine, in an analytic fashion, an equivalency between sport and religion. From a functionalist perspective the primary function of religion is said to be integration. However, through closer examination, a possible discrepancy in the logic of this assertion was detected. Because of this it was felt that religion should be used in a more restricted sense, namely sectarian religion. Further examination of the literature revealed the possibility that in contemporary western society another phenomenon labelled "civil religion" may be the "real" integrating mechanism for the majority of people. It was proposed that sport forms part of this phenomenon and as such acts to integrate in a manner similar to that of sectarian religions.

For sport to perform this function it had to be demonstrated that as a phenomenon, it consisted of more

than an isolated event or series of events. Therefore a justification for considering sport as a social institution was developed and presented. Integration was also examined to isolate its various dimensions as percieved by functional analysis. Finally a definition of religion which encompassed the characteristics of sectarian religion was presented.

In examining several studies of sectarianism the various structures of integration, as defined by functionalism, were found to be in operation. An examination of several studies of sport revealed a similar set of functional structures. After comparing these detected structures it was concluded that sport acts as a functional equivalent of religion.

Conclusions

The hypothesis as stated in Chapter III was as follows;

> To the extent that sectarian religions are said to perform an integrative function sport, through a similar set of processes and with a similar set of outcomes, acts as a functional equivalent of religion.

Examination of studies from the areas of sport and religion provided evidence to support this hypothesis and therefore it is upheld.

However, caution must be exercised when interpreting this conclusion. First of all the statement that sport is a functional equivalent of religion does not

imply that sport is religion. On the contrary, sport differs from religion in many obvious respects and to say that the existence of sport equates with the complex phenomenon known as religion would be stretching the analogy too far. This study was merely concerned with providing one correlation and this correlation was not based on a phenomenological analysis. Rather it was a functional examination of the respective institutions and in this respect it tends to be limited in its scope. However, within the confines of functionalism there would appear to be some evidence for the correlation established here.

The conclusion that sport is a functional equivalent of religion with regard to the societal requisite integration was based upon meaning analysis. Therefore it is open to criticism from another analysis (positivist or otherwise) which might come up with an alternative conclusion. However, precautions were taken to limit erroneous conclusions by using a widely accepted theory of religious behavior and a broad choice of studies of sport. It is hoped that, in part, these precautions minimized the spuriousness of the correlation.

Implications

Assuming the conclusion is valid several implications arise out of it. A number of books and articles

have appeared in the last few years in which the authors have touched upon the connection between sport and religion[1]. However, the arguments presented in these treatises have tended to be either non-sociological or unsystematic and therefore, from a sociologist's point of view, rather weak. It is hoped that the findings of this study will contribute to the strength of future assertions about the affinity between sport and religion.

Other anecdotal or otherwise unsystematic studies have also appeared from European[2] and Eastern European[3] countries which have indirectly talked to the integrative aspects examined in this study. These studies have been concerned mainly with human relations or community cohesion but in exploring these concepts with regard to the function of sport, they have made mention of sport's role as a social integrator. The findings of this study also, perhaps, offer systematic evidence for this assertion.

Similarly studies dealing with sport's role in the

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[1]Among others, the following are worth noting: H. G. Cox, The Feast of Fools: A Theological Essay on Festivity and Fantasy (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1969); J. Lever, "Soccer: Opium of the Brazilian People," Transaction, VII (December, 1969), 36-43; D. Miller, Gods and Games: Toward a Theology of Play (New York: World Publishing Co., 1970).

[2]M. Bouet, "The Function of Sport in Human Relations," International Review of Sport Sociology, I (1966), 242-249.

[3]A. Wohl, "Integrational Functions of Sport," (paper presented at the International Workshop on the Sociology of Sport, September, 1969, Macolin, Switzerland).

area of mental health[4], ethnic group assimilation[5] and esprit de corps[6] have had to cope with the concept of integration in one way or another. It is hoped that the correlation established here and especially the systematic investigation of integration presented, will throw some further light onto these studies in a macro-social manner.

The last point to be established relates to the implications for empirical enquiry. In this regard there seem to be two main areas for investigation. First, the articles presented in this study point to several deficiencies and unexplored areas within the sociology of sport. Often studies are conducted in isolation from established theory. Granted that this theory is relatively meagre but, as was seen in this study, there exist some gross theories of the function of sport and any study which pertains to examine the role of sport in a micro- or macro-social plane should be referring back to these theories for the purposes

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[4]E. M. Layman, "The Role of Play and Sport in Healthy Emotional Development: A Reappraisal," Contemporary Psychology of Sport, ed. G. S. Kenyon (Chicago: Athletic Institute, 1970), see also D. H. Elliot and others, "Causes and Consequences of Differential Leisure Participation Among Females in Halifax, Nova Scotia," (paper presented at the CASS/ACSS Conference, October, 1970, Quebec, P.Q.)

[5]J. C. Pooley, "Ethnic Soccer Clubs in Milwaukee: A Study in Assimilation," (paper presented at the Research Section AAHPER National Convention, April, 1969, Boston, Massachusetts).

[6]J. Schwartz, "Causes and Effects of Spectator Sports," (paper presented at the Third International Symposium on the Sociology of Sport, August, 1971, Waterloo, Ontario).

of refinement or validation.

From the review presented in Chapter V it would seem that two areas, namely sport and ethnic groups and the role of sport in aggression, seem to warrant further investigation. From a social problems perspective, both these areas seem to be of considerable importance today, and therefore serious investigation of them would not only provide interesting research possibilities but also it would respond to Coleman's request for relevant social research and the accumulation of explanatory scientific knowledge[7]. Until now there seems to be more confusion than consensus and although precise investigation in both these areas is undoubtedly difficult, perhaps a synthesis is called for to enable rigorous and meaningful research.

The second point pertains to the implications of the findings for unapplied or "pure" research. In the past few years it would seem that a bond has been developing between sport and religion in North America. Thus, such organizations as the "Fellowship of Christian Athletes" or "Campus Crusade for Christ" have been utilizing sport as a means for obtaining "Godliness". The findings of this

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[7]J. S. Coleman, "The Methods of Sociology," A Design for Sociology: Scope Objectives and Methods, ed. R. Bierstedt (Philadelphia: American Academy of Political and Social Science, Monograph 9, April, 1969), pp.86-114.

study would suggest that in as much as the "religious factor" constitutes a high level of integration, sport would contribute to such a state. Thus, it might be hypothesised that these organizations are using the integrative nature of sport to supplement or even substitute for the diminishing appeal of traditional religion. An investigation of the extent to which these and similar groups succeed in their mission would not only provide an empirical test of this study but also it would provide insight into a relatively unexplored area.

Finally a phenomenon which demands investigation is the role of sport among sectarian groups. It would appear from the literature on sects that sport plays a minor role in such communities. Several conclusions can be drawn from such a state of affairs, but the one that logically arises from the present investigation is that the higher the integration of the group i.e., the closer the primary associations of the community, the less there is a need for other integrating mechanisms, namely sport. An examination of, for example, the Mennonite communities in South Western Ontario would provide an empirical test of such a proposition. It is hoped that such an investigation may be conducted in the near future.

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Approved

Approved

January 18, 1972
Date