COLLECTIVE CONSCIENCE IN COMPLEX

SOCIETY: A STUDY IN THE

SOCIOLOGY OF SPORT

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CHAPTER I

NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

In an effort to understand society, sociologists have developed numerous theoretical orientations which are used to systematize, classify, and interrelate the relevant phenomena under study. One of these approaches facilitates the viewing of society as a system organized around a number of social institutions. Traditionally, five institutions, including family, education, economics, politics, and religion, have been seen as basic and universal for any society. Although there has been little agreement concerning the relative importance of each institution, these five tend to occupy the top five positions of importance, whatever their order. While most researchers leave room in any society for a vast number of other institutions, none of these lesser ones has been considered as necessary or important as the "universal five." It is not only impossible to unseat one of these basic institutions in the hierarchy, it is heresy to suggest that rather than five, the number should be four, or six, or seven.

Often institutions are analyzed in terms of their basic structure, or form, through which they operate in a society and the functions which they perform for both the individual and societal levels. Most introductory texts will give consideration to the structures and functions of the basic five institutions. In addition, usually there is some attention focused on the changing of social functions that traditional

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institutions appear to experiencing, particularly in modern societies. This upheaval of social functions may be viewed either positively or negatively depending upon one's orientation.

Many researchers have attempted to analyze this realignment of institutional functions in relation to industrialization and bureaucratization. While institutional structures and functions are increasingly complex and diffuse, there appears to be less and less commitment, contentment, and satisfaction with the institutional roles members are expected to play. There is some evidence (cf. Cohen, 1970:390-399; Denhardt, 1968: 47-53; Ellul, 1966: 375-383; Kohn, 1971: 461-473; Smith, 1969: 25-31) to indicate that meeting the needs of modern man within the present institutional framework is becoming more problematic. In response, man has been viewed as withdrawing not only his support but also his personal involvement and allegiance to these institutions. He participates in them only to the degree that participation is necessary for survival.

Concurrent with this upheaval in the basic institutions is an increasing amount of time uncommitted to work. Industrial societies have no monopoly on free time. However, its emphasis, use, and function do seem particularly pertinent in today's world. Some (cf. Gree, 1964: Wenkart, 1963) have referred to this free time as leisure since it is time not obligated to the traditional requirements of the basic institutions. Others, such as deGrazia (1962), contrast this modern industrial view of leisure with the classical Greek ideal. Leisure in the latter view refers to a state of being, or a condition of man, which is not necessarily confined to man's free time.

Those who see leisure in terms of an industrial society believe it to be that time in which man can engage in those things that meet needs unfulfilled by other institutions. Some of these needs have been posited to be self-actualization, friendship, communal interest, and revitalization of the person. Others view this increase of leisure for a citizenry, ill-prepared for it, as a rising major social problem.

What man does during that time free from institutional require-ments may be of interest to the social scientist. As more and more evidence seems to indicate disengagement from traditional institutions, to what is man turning? What fills his free time? It is possible that whatever it is, it now assumes the role of major institution--if not more important than the institutions traditionally considered universal, then at least as important.

Evidence would seem to indicate that more and more free time is being directed toward sports (cf. Beisser, 1970: 235-245; Boyle, 1963: 45; Sage, 1970: 1). According to Edwards (1973), sport may be defined as:

> . . . activities having formally recorded histories and
> traditions, stressing physical exertion through com-
> petition with limits set in explicit and formal rules
> governing role and position relationships, and carried
> out by actors who represent or who are part of formally
> organized associations having the goal of achieving
> valued tangibles or intangibles through defeating oppos-
> ing groups (p. 57-58).

If not by participation, then by spectatorship, people are becoming involved in sports. Some (cf. Rooney, 1973: 1; Luschen, 1967: 34; Wohl, 1966: 13) believe that sport is a universal institution; others (cf. Huizinga, 1955; Mead, 1934: 229-241; Caillois, 1961) indicate that only a play form, and not sport, is universal. Whether sport is a

universal institution or one developed out of the socio-cultural complex

of particular societies, this aspect of modern society which consumes

so much of the time and energy of people should no longer be over-

looked.

If the sociologist is serious about understanding society, he must

not only be concerned with investigating the traditional "universal five"

institutions, but must widen his scope to include this major phenomenon

of our time, called sport. Although often overlooked by the social

scientist as relevant for understanding modern society, sport has not

been overlooked by man himself. Recent literature suggests that in

modern society, particularly in the United States, man no longer limits

or confines sport to leisure or free time. People talk sport at work

and at church, they plan their activities around sport, they use sport

for political protests, they eat breakfast according to the number of

yards they will gain. Sport associated ideologies pervade much of the

fabric of life with sayings such as "be a good sport" or "winners never

quit." Perhaps more than any other one thing, today's American

society is known as a sporting nation. Man is as much involved and

pays as much allegiance, if not more, to sport as he does to the other

institutions historically considered important. It is possible that new

insights concerning man and society could result from focusing atten-

tion of the institution of sport.

Recently, several social scientists have turned their attention

toward sport and the socio-cultural complex of which it is a part.

Some have attempted to define sport; some trace the historical

beginnings of various sports; others attempt to analyze it in terms of

the economy. There are preliminary studies on such diverse aspects

as sport and fitness (emotional, mental, and physical), sport and religion, sport and recreation, sport and race, sport and mobility, and sport and society. The participant, as well as the spectator, has been the subject of inquiry. Some view sports quite negatively while others find them of positive value. If for no other reason than that sport consumes so much time and energy, many are beginning to try to uncover the effect of sport on modern man. What does he see in sport? What does it do for him? What is the relationship between man, sport, and society?

Perhaps because of the newness of this field of study, or perhaps for lack of a conceptual scheme that will encompass sport, most studies have been carried out on a very microscopic level. There are studies about a specific sport or a particular group. There are a few more inclusive theoretical discussions concerning sport, but none tie together the independent threads into a comprehensive overview of sport and society. Obviously no such complete picture is possible for any human phenomenon, but the social scientist must at least begin to make some effort in understanding the larger significance of sport as he has done with so many other important social aspects of man's society.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF SELECTED LITERATURE

Introduction

The following review of literature is concerned with the relation-
ship between sport, man, and society. While there are numerous
points of view and conceptual schemes from which to view any social
phenomenon, it seems necessary to focus on one approach as a guide
for study in an area which has not yet begun to be synthesized. Every
approach could perhaps offer insight and understanding unrevealed
from any other approach, but each also permits, to some degree, the
occurrence of closure.

Once a commitment is made to some particular approach, it will
exclude some aspects of a phenomenon that might otherwise have been
included. Thus some could be tempted to use no specific approach and
so include all. However, the mass accumulation of information and
data without some attempt at conceptualization is of little use in under-
standing social phenomena. In order for understanding to occur,
conceptualization must occur, and in order for conceptualization to
occur, closure must occur.

An attempt will be made to draw together much of the diverse and
conflicting literature concerning sport within the framework of social
functions. The focus of this literature review will be an examination

of some proposed consequences of sport for society and the individual.
This study is not intended to be an attempt to find rational justifications
for sport. Although these consequences can, and have been, evaluated
in both positive and negative terms, the first task seems to be a
specification of sport functions before a value judgement of them can be
made. This is only one of the many possible theoretical orientations,
but it does seem to be one useful for gaining some understanding of
those aspects of sport with which this study is concerned.

The first section of this literature review will document the
growth and impact of sport on society and man in terms of the money,
time, and energy which is invested. The second section will be
concerned with some of the possible social functions of sport for the
participant, the spectator, and the society. Section three will present
a brief summary.

Impact Of Sport On Society

"Sport-o-mania" is perhaps nowhere more evident than it is in
the United States. It has become a major concern for much of society.
One need only to read the newspaper, turn on the television or radio,
or buy a magazine to become aware of the overwhelming interest of
this society in sport. Some indication of the importance attached to
sport can be seen in the tremendous support given Pete Rozelle,
Commissioner of professional football, when he announced the
uninterrupted continuance of the professional football schedule on the
Sunday after the assasination of President Kennedy on Friday,
November 22, 1963, or the complimentary editorials heaped on Avery

Brundage for the continuance of the Olympic Games after the death of

the eleven Israeli team members in September, 1972.

Beisser (1970: 235) indicated that more than any other one thing

America is known as a sporting nation. As Beisser (1970) envisioned

the impact of sport, he said:

> In a nation conscious of having a strong, efficient,
> Capitalist economic system, there is less newspaper
> space devoted to financial matters than to sports. In
> a nation proud of its heritage as a political democracy,
> its citizens are often less interested in political con-
> tests than they are in sports competition. In schools
> and colleges of a nation providing the greatest educa-
> tional opportunity for all, the academic is often sub-
> merged by sports. In the mass communication media
> struggling with entertainment programming for the
> seemingly insatiable appetites of its consumers, nothing
> endures as well as current sports contests (p. 235).

Boyle (1963: 45) indicated that The New York Times devotes more

space to sports in a daily edition than to art, books, education, tele-

vision, and the theater combined. Three to four percent of all books

published are about sport, seven to twelve percent of radio time is

devoted to sport, and Americans spend about one-sixth (or $20 billion)

of the national disposable income on sports (American Association For

Health, Physical Education and Recreation, 1961: 1; Boyle, 1970: 43).

Sage (1970) said about America and sport that:

> America has become the most advanced nation in sports.
> Americans are sports enthusiasts, and their natural love
> for sports, fostered by a variety of historical, social,
> and economic institutions, has caused sports to generate
> into a tremendous national pastime. From a nation of
> farmers who had little time for games and sports, except
> for special occasions, the U.S. has developed into a
> nation of urbanities who watch ten to twleve hours of sport
> on television each weekend and almost consider it a duty
> to participate in some form of sport for recreation (p. 1).

Since the 1880's when there was a virtual explosion of organized sports

America seems to have plunged itself into an obsession with sports.
This addiction to sport has become so pronounced that when Goffman
(1963: 39) spoke of the only completely unstigmatized person, he did
not fail to include the necessity of having a recent record in sports.

As indicated above, one can easily observe the increasing interest
of this society in sport. However, the major concern here is not simply
that Americans are spending more and more time, energy, and money
on more and more sport events; it is rather an attempt to discover
some of the wider implications of the seeming "sport addition"
innundating our society.

Cozens and Stumpf (1953) recognized the insight that might be
gained by more than a superficial investigation of sport. They stated:

> Innumerable attempts have been made to analyze the fac-
> tors which have given spectator sports the hold they have
> on America, and many attempts have been made to
> explain how they have woven themselves so deeply into
> our way of living. Increased leisure and a rising stand-
> ared of living are a part of the answer, but not all. The
> American citizen with time on his hands and money to
> spend is also free to choose what he shall do with both.
> The answer as to why he has singled out sports for the
> attention he has may be an unconscious tribute to the part
> such activities play in the successful functioning of the
> culture (p. 284).

Kluckhohn (1964: 32) indicated that, "Any cultural practice must
be functional or it will disappear before long. . . . It must somehow
contribute to the survival of the society or the adjustment of the
individual." Thus it is possible that the American people are paying
allegiance to the cultural practice, sport, because it is contributing,
or at least it is perceived as contributing, in a significant way, not
only to the adjustment of particular individuals to the society, but also

to the survival of the society itself. It would seem pertinent to investigate some of the social functions perhaps served by sport.

<p style="text-align:center">Social Functions Of Sport</p>

Emotional Release

In Cavan's (1968:222) analysis of various cultures and juvenile delinquency, she found that all societies had techniques for reducing social and psychological pressures and tensions that might lead to non-normative behavior. The various techniques, including religion, festivals, use of alcohol, and migration, were considered "safety valves for pent up emotions" (Cavan, 1968:225). Luschen (1970:9) believed that sport provided one way to relieve these tensions so that society could be preserved and order restored within and between the sociocultural systems. Kluckhohn (1964) commented that in American culture such

> . . . tensions can be drained off more effectively than most
> human societies have done in the past through socially use-
> ful competition, through socially harmless releases for
> aggression, as in sports, and in other, as yet undiscov-
> ered ways (p. 237).

Paxon (1970) also was concerned about outlets for man's tensions. In 1893 Frederick J. Turner spoke of the frontier as a "safety valve" for America. However, by 1917, Paxon (1970) believed that the frontier was gone as a safety valve and some new outlet for man's tensions had to be found.

> The free lands were used up. The cow country rose and
> fell. The social safety valve was screwed down. But the
> explosion did not come. The reason for continued bear-
> able existence under increasing pressure generated in
> industrial society cannot yet be seen from all its sides;

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but one side is already clear: a new safety valve was
built upon the new society (p. 20).

According to Paxon, this new safety valve of sport was designed, built,

and applied, and hence, the explosion of America did not occur.

Howard Cosel (Playboy: 1972) referred to this safety valve as a tech-

nique for escaping the stresses of daily life when he indicated that:

> Sport is the toy department of human life in this sense:
> . . .the contest in the arena fulfills the primary function
> of sport, which is escape. In the face of the stress and
> complexities of daily existence, people have to escape
> (p. 76).

Aggression is another of those emotional components of man for

which sport has been considered an outlet. While some believe agres-

sion to be the result of the American socialization process, others see

it as an inherent characteristic of human beings. Regardless of the

source, many are concerned with socially approved ways of expressing

agression. Competitive sport appears to allow for certain kinds of

acceptable physical aggression. Referees and umpires are employed

to insure that the assualts of the players upon each other are carried

out according to a prescribed set of rules. Beisser (1970:241)

indicated that, "Sports are one of the last outposts where physical

aggression has an established, acceptable place in our culture."

Adrian Stokes (1958:164) saw games as a substitute for warfare.

As such, they permitted the player to discharge innocuously not only

considerable aggression but a corresponding masochism as well.

Stanley Wagner (1971:12, 14) also saw sport as a constructive release

of individual aggressive tendencies and as a technique to avert war

between nations. Wagner (1971) indicated that:

> The way to put an end to wars as they are now known is
> through the area of organized sports . . . . Sports and
> games can provide the outlet for man's aggressive tend-
> encies without tearing up the world (p. 12).

A. A. Brill (1929):429-434) believed man had an inborn aggres-
sive component. He postulated that the conditions of life had eased

leaving man with a primary aggressive instinct, but few ways to

exercise it. Thus man developed sport and games as mock struggles

and artificial dangers. Brill (1929) concluded:

> Games and sport, often frowned on, sometimes banned,
> have survived as a human institution and today are firmly
> established over almost the whole earth because they are
> necessary substitutes for the old struggle of tooth and
> claw--necessary by-paths and outlets for the aggressive
> components . . . . The fact of the matter is sports are a
> great and necessary catharsis, indispensable to civilized
> man--a salutary purgation of the combative instincts
> which, if dammed up within him, would break out in disas-
> trous ways (p. 431-432).

Besides tension and aggression release, some have seen sport as

an outlet for the full range of the emotions of man's inner self. In some

societies, one of the most difficult of emotions for males to exteriorize,

without fear of stigma, is brotherly love. There are few acceptable

times or places for such an expression to occur. Sport may be viewed

not only as allowing but encouraging physical contact, affectionate

displays, and emotional attachments between and among men. Beisser

(1972:265) indicated that, "In a subtle way, these supermasculine

'frontier rites' also allow for the expression of warmth and closeness

among men which society compels them to disown. "

Elias and Dunning (1970:31-51) were concerned with the contain-

ment and suppression of passionate excitement. They felt that, in the

advanced industrial societies of our time, the open and many times the

private expressions of excitment were controlled and held in check.

Sport was seen as one of the leisure activities which could effect a

"refreshment of the soul." Elias and Dunning (1970) stated that:

> Unless the organism is intermittently flushed and stirred
> by some exciting experience with the help of strong feel-
> ings, overall routinization and restraint as conditions of
> orderliness and security are apt to engender a dryness of
> the emotions, a feeling of monotony of which the emotion-
> al monotony of work is only one example (p. 35-36).

Jokl (1964: 15-16) believed that technology had fragmented man's

body from his mind. Man was thus unable to express the desires and

satisfactions which were awakened in him. However, sport could offer

the restricted bureaucratic worker an opportunity to project and display

his inner self. This catharsis was seen as possible for the participant

and the spectator. Sport exteriorized the feelings and emotions of the

player and, by empathy, caused the spectator to experience "catharsis,"

the purification of the soul (Maheu, 1966: 194-195).

If it is true that all societies have various outlets for emotional

release and, as several have suggested, sport serves as one of those

outlets, then a critical examination should be made regarding the

effects of this release. Some have viewed the effects as being

potentially beneficial, by placing emphasis on such things as mainten-

ance of order, preservation of society, and aversion of war. Others

posit negative ramifications of such emotional releases through sports.

The Provo treatment center for juveniles, for example, excludes

organized athletics since they see them as an artificial release of

emotions (Empey and Rabow, 1966: 531-550). It is also possible that

this release of tensions, which may allow for the maintenance of

order, can be viewed negatively in that it might inhibit social change and provide for an over emphasis on the status quo.

Affirmation Of Identity

Arnold Toynbee (1947:305) has suggested that in a modern industrial society sport represents "a conscious attempt to counter-balance the soul-destroying specialization which the division of labor under Industrialization entails." In a time of service oriented industries, when people are becoming faceless components of super-human organizations, sport and recreation may represent the last chance for many to find themselves as unique individuals (Revelle, 1967:1174).

This crisis concerning the uniqueness and identity of human beings is perhaps most devastating for the male. The sweeping changes brought about by technology appear to be requiring new behavior patterns particularly for man, but a new orientation of maleness does not seem to be accompanying these innovations. Physical strength, aggression and agility appear to be the primary qualities by which traditional man was measured, a kind of orientation more suited to the frontier days than to the office. However, modern society has been unable to develop a masculine identity for a bureaucratic age that is different from the traditional image. Consequently, Beisser (1970:239; 1972:264) suggested that as the need for traditional indicators of maleness decreased, the demand for a show of maleness increased.

In this dilemma, Lahr (1972) indicated that man must often resort to artificial and non-productive outlets through which he can display his masculinity.

> . . .as the opportunity for physical prowess and un-
> complicated noble victory is denied mechanized man,
> the spectacle of sport has assumed a potency and ritual
> importance in America that most theatre has lost.
> Sports have become a twentieth century obsession (Lahr,
> 1972: 106).

Luschen (1967: 134-135) believed that the disproportionately high

participation in sports by males could be expected since to be identified

with sport was to be identified with the power and achievement image

which tradition had established as masculine. Brill (1929: 432) also

was concerned with modern man's tendency to identify with a hero

whose proficiency in sport required physical prowess. Brill did not

consider it surprising that the male has a strong affinity for sports

since, according to him, it is one area where there is no doubt about

sexual differences. In a society where male and female functions

appear more and more to resemble each other, sport helps to reassure

the male of his unique identity (Beisser, 1972: 268; Higdon, 1970: 322).

Some (cf. Fiske, 1972: 241-258; Beisser, 1972: 259-268) have

considered sport to be a form of "rites of passage." As such, it

served as an initiation ceremony for entrance into adulthood. During

puberty it was believed to be particularly important for the male to

separate his identity from his female peer. Perhaps the most masculine

of activities with which he could align himself and thus insure his male

identity was sport. Although he might be restrained from full entrance

into adulthood, he could satisfy his need to affirm his maleness through

sport.

Lahr (1972: 109) believed that man's fanaticism toward sport

would increase as his identity was more and more strangled by tech-

nology. He believed that sport recast man in an heroic mold, and thus

was able to create for him a sense of well being. Although sport was

seen as only a temporary reprieve for man from his identity dilemma,

it did reaffirm his as a male by traditional standards. This reaffirma-

tion has been viewed as being effective for the participant as well as

the spectator. Beisser (1972) indicated:

> They can both (participant and spectator) then return
> to the office and the home with renewed respect for the
> uniqueness of the sexes and the re-establishment of
> their own identities, until the distinction gradually
> diminishes and another masculinity rite is necessary
> (p. 265).

Some evidence of man's attachment to sport can be seen in the

continuous parade of different sport seasons which encompass the

entire year. In past years, only one sport season, baseball, seemed

to satisfy the society's appetite for sport. Today, one sport season

fuses with another forming a continuous succession of ceremonial

masculinity rites (Beisser, 1972:266).

To the extent that masculine identity is anchored in the traditional

criteria, and to the extent that sport provides for the reaffirming of

these qualities, it would not seem surprising to find "sport-o-mania"

most prevalent among males. Whether or not it is advantageous for

American society to provide ways to reaffirm these particular

characteristics is open to question. The function of sport as a tem-

porary sustainer of traditional masculinity is viewed as a positive

aspect by some in that it helps males establish not only an identity, but

an identity which is congruent with traditional expectations, on the

basis of which society operates. On the other hand, this same function

may be viewed negatively from at least two perspectives: (1) those

who cannot or do not conform to this traditional image are left to find

an identity or to define themselves outside society, and (2) continual emphasis on traditional identity inhibits the emergence of a male identity more in harmony with changing reality.

Social Control

There are various techniques used by a society which help to assure some degree of conformity to prevailing behavioral and norm- ative patterns. Sport has been viewed by some as one of those mechanisms of social control. Matza (1964:206) pointed out that social control of athletes occurred largely as a result of a physical training program that prohibited such things as drinking, smoking, and staying out late. Athletics, by encouraging behavior judged moral and upright, may be viewed as simplifying police work (Waller, 1932:116). Unlike social control mechanisms, such as police, prison, or physical punishment, sport has been seen as controling people by generating a strong positive identification with the system of which it is a functioning part (Coleman, 1965:501).

Albert Parry (1934:305-308) was also interested in the social control function of sport. However, as he visualized sport, it was an instrument with which the masses could be kept in check, awed, or distracted. Thus, according to Parry (1934:306), a wide interest in sport would ". . . alloy social unrest and lessen the possibility of political uprisings."

If social control is a function of sport, then as these writers suggest, it does reward conformity to a system. Whether or not this function is viewed positively or negatively would seem to be dependent

on one's view of the system to which adherence and conformity is being encouraged.

Socialization

The socialization process has been considered by some as a tecnnique by which society enculturates its members. Thus the survival of society and the individual is viewed as dependent upon the infant's being educated, trained, oriented, and conditioned toward the essential role expectations of the society into which he is born. Accordingly, he must acquire the necessary skills and knowledge if he is to be an integral part of his society. Also, it would be necessary for him to enculturate the basic values and beliefs which have been deemed important. As Lowry and Rankin (1969:78) indicated, "Through socialization individuals personalize or inculcate the skills, knowledge, and values of their society into their own self conceptions."

Others believe the process of socialization to be more than a one way directive of society to the individual. They have been oriented toward viewing the process as an interdependent relationship between society and the individual. While society does reflect to the person the knowledge, beliefs, skills, and values of the system into which he has been born, the individual has also been viewed as reflecting something of his individual uniqueness on the system. Thus the survival of society is impossible without people, and individual personality is impossible without society.

From this latter point of view, socialization is a type of inter-play between the society and the person. As such, those groups, organizations, institutions, and individuals involved in the continuous

process of socialization act as both dependent variables (they can be explained in terms of the individuals who compose them) and independent variables (they can be considered factors in explaining the individuals).

Viewing sport as one of those institutions exemplary of an interdependent relation between the society and the individual appears to be useful for pursual. Thus the socialization process through sport reflects both society and the individual and helps to bring into the system any newcomers. Boyle (1963) saw sport as a mirror of life, reflecting the socio-cultural complex of America. Thus from Boyle's point of view, the reflection that America casts from the mirror of sport can give valuable insights for understanding man and society.

As a reinforcement of the established cultural and behavioral patterns, Schafer (1971a) stated that athletics:

> Contribute to an instrumental--or goal-orientation, to achievement as a virtue second only to Godliness, to a commitment to hard work, to learning to adjust one's self to others within a formal organization, to accpeting standards of personal conduct defined as desirable by the mainline, dominant part of the adult population and passed on by the coach, to the development of an apolitical or politically conservative stance toward social problems, to an elitist stance toward sport (participate only if you are an expert), and to conditional self worth (p. 2).

Thus Schafer (1971a:5) saw sport socializing the athlete toward "the Technocracy, the Established Society, or the Corporate State." It was Schafer's (1971b) contention that, whatever else the outcome:

> . . . interscholastic athletics served first and formost as a social device for steering young people--participants and spectators alike--into the mainstream of American life through the overt and covert teaching of 'appropriate' attitudes, values, norms and behavior patterns (p. 6).

In Wenkart's (1963:397) effort to explain the meaning of sport for mankind, he posited that it manifested man's inner self through his existential act, and by mirroring the historical development of a nation, it reflected an image of man in regard to his position in the world. Consistent with Wenkart's view, William F. Whyte (1965:571-582) found that the social ranking of the street corner, and not ability, was the primary factor reflected by bowling performance. Luschen (1967:130) also saw sport "as an expression of the socio-cultural system in which it occurs." He indicated that sport reflected the achievement orientation, the Protestant success ethic, the technolog- ical procedures, and the hierarchy of values in American society. John Betts (1972:116) saw the sporting scene mirroring such factors as the decline of Puritan orthodoxy, the immigrant, frontier traditions of manliness and strength, and urbanization. John Finlay (1972) saw the relationship of sport to American society in the following way:

> . . . when capitalism matures and moves into the stage of staid corporateness that prefers safety to spectacle; cer- tain small gains to risky windfalls, its sports style must similarly shift (p. 35).

Of baseball, it is reported that Mark Twain (Boyle, 1963:17) said, "Baseball is the very symbol, the outward and visible expression of the drive and push and rush and struggle of the raging, tearing booming nineteenth century." Football, as described by John Finlay (1972:34-35) is indicative of such various American cultural traits as the preciseness and preciousness of time, standardization and efficiency of procedure, installment owning, and the specialization of task. Football is thus viewed as being attuned to a rational, mature, and capitalistic environment. Riesman and Denny (1969:306-319)

traced the beginnings of football as an adaptation to the game of rugby.
They believed that rugby failed in America because it could not, as
football could, reflect the vigor, hard contact and individualism which
were basic traits in American culture. George Sauer (Scott, 1971:53)
also felt that "football reinforces the social ethic that agression and
competition is a healthy thing--that that's the way to become a
success." He said:

> I think the values of football as it is now played reflect
> a segment of thought, a particular kind of thought, that
> is prevalent in our society. The way to do anything in
> the world, the way to get ahead, is to compete against
> somebody, work your way up the ladder, and in so doing
> you have to judge yourself and be judged in relation to
> somebody else (p. 53).

Sport can be seen not only as a mirror of culture, but as an agent
to socialize individuals into a culture. Luschen's (1967:136) studies
indicate that the process of socialization through the exposure of
children to competitive sport will cause them to become achievement
oriented. Wayne Dennis (1957:431-438) compared children from four
different cultural backgrounds and found that American children were
rewarded with praise for performing in sports and games much more
frequently than were other children. The kinds of behavior which are
rewarded play a key role in socialization, and Luschen (1970:9)
believed that sport could serve as a social setting through which
various patterns of behavior could be rewarded and thus implanted in
young people.

Kenyon (1968:31-33) was concerned with the goals of the social-
ization process taking place in physical education and sport. He was
primarily interested in whether or not this socialization resulted in the

development of generalized and diffuse or particular and specific

characteristics. If it resulted in diffuse characteristics, Kenyon then

felt that perhaps sport and physical education contributed to demo-

cratic citizenship, moral character, adjusted personalities, respect

for constituted authority, and the ability to win and lose graciously.

Kenyon believed that evidence seemed to indicate that specific roles,

such as player, captain, substitute, were more likely the result,

particularly from physical education classes. However, he saw the

possibility for both diffuse and specific role development through

organized sport, but was unsure how it could occur.

Eldon Snyder (1970: 1-7) felt that the situational complex within

which the socialization process of physical education and sport

occurred was a vital consideration. He named five situational compon-

ents which he believed would contribute to an understanding of the

development of specific and/or diffuse characteristics. They were:

1. The degree of involvement in the activity by the participant.

2. Voluntary or involuntary selection and/or participation.

3. Instrumental or expressive socialization relationship.

4. The prestiege and power of the socializer.

5. Personal and social characteristics. (p. 2-5).

Snyder believed that the inclusion of these situational variables would

facilitate better predictions concerning the results of socialization

through physical activity and sport. Although no evidence was

presented, the implication was that the development of diffuse charac-

teristics would be more likely through sport, than physical activity.

Sport is often marked by rich and abundant folk wisdom concerning the reason for its existence and strength, its internal dynamics, and its consequences for the society, the culture, and the participant. Much of the public support for sport is grounded in the belief that sport allows for diffuse character development and the alleged benefits are many:

> Participation in sound athletic programs, we believe contributed to health and happiness, physical skills and emotional maturity, social competence and moral values.
> We believe that cooperation and competition are both important components of American life. Athletic participation can help teach the values of cooperation as well as the spirit of competition.
> Playing hard and playing to win can help to build character. So also do learning to 'take it' in the rough and tumble of vigorous play, experiencing defeat without whimpering and victory without gloating, and disciplining one's self to comply with the rules of the games and of good sportsmanship.
> Athletics may also exemplify the value of the democratic process and of fair play. Through team play the student athlete often learns how to work with others for the achievement of group goals. Athletic competition can be a wholesome equalizer. Individuals on the playing field are judged for what they are and for what they can do, not on the basis of social, ethnic, or economic group to which their families belong (Educational Policies Commission, 1954: 1).

Fred Cole (1965) believed the sport experience could be represented as:

> . . . instilling self-reliance, as fostering simultaneously the desire to excel and a spirit of fair play, and as inculcating the ability to cooperate for mutual ends, even at the sacrifice of immediate self-aggrandizement (p. 525).

In their introduction to an article by Coleman, Patterson and Hallberg (1965) also specified certain benefits derived from sport. They said:

> Through athletic participation students gain many qualities for effective citizenry. Adherence to rules, which is essential to most games carries over to the social

order. Fair play and respect for the rights of others
constitute a part of the planned athletic program
(p. 490).

Charles Cowell (1966:134-156) provided an extensive documentation of
various contributions of physical activity to the total development of
the person. Some contributions were helping the participant become a
functioning member of society, opportunities for social participation
and friendship, sportsmanship and democratic values, dissuasion of
dropouts, academic success, sexual maturity, mental health, social
adjustment, and learning techniques of leadership and cooperation.
Sports have also been thought to socialize the participant away from
deviant behavior, that is, sport is an effective deterrent to delinquency
and crime (cf. Nolan, 1954-55:263-265; Waller, 1932:114).

Many have been less convinced of sport's contribution to the
production of these qualities of life. Walter Schafer (1969a:40-48)
suggested that the negative relationship between delinquency and
athletic participation might be the result of a selective process that
brought conformers, rather than deviants, into the athletic program.
Others (cf. Tappan, 1949:150; Sutherland and Cressey, 1966:169)
found sport to be an ineffective preventative measure for delinquency.
However, Schafer (1969b:32) indicated that whether or not the athlete
was more conforming or not was immaterial since school authorities
believed it to be true.

Ogilvie and Tutko (1971:61-63) found no character molding
process occurring through sport. They believed that sport competition
had no more beneficial effects than intense endeavor in any other field.
Like Schafer, they saw the traditional athletic personality emerging
out of a selection rather than a socialization process. Ogilvie and

Tutko (1971:62) indicated that, "Sport is like most other activities--those who survive tend to have stronger personalities."

Some have even suggested that the character being socialized through sport may be an unanticipated outcome which they view as undesirable. Snyder (1970:6) spoke of the player's being expected to "cover up" or blame the official for his own violations. Sauer (Scott, 1971:52) revealed the ethic of "winning at any cost" in professional football. Reed (1972:18-21) also indicated the "win ethic" in college basketball. In the game between Minnesota and Ohio State, Luke Witte, the Ohio State center, was knocked to the floor and kneed in the groin. Two Minnesota players were suspended and their coach, Musselman, severely criticized. Luke Witte's father reported that he was not surprised since, "Musselman's attempt seems to be to win at all cost. His players are brutalized and animalized to achieve that goal" (Reed, 1972:19).

In the preface to Slusher's book, Friedenberg (Slusher, 1967: xiii) indicated that sport as a social institution was a tool of the authorities and was hostile to the existential values of man. Sauer (Scott, 1971:55) believed that football reflected the "...profanation of the human spirit." Meggyesy (1970) spoke of the dehumanizing impact of football. Riesman, et al (1965) saw organized athletics as possibly restricting the autonomous, creative aspect of the individual. T. W. Adorno called sport an area of unfreedom (Luschen, 1967:136). Schafer (1971a) said:

> I wonder more and more about the redeeming value of
> highly competitive, spectator-oriented, elitist, win-
> above-all-else, conform-or-quit sport as it currently
> is practiced in most schools and colleges (p. 21).

In another article, Schafer (1971b:1) commented, "... sports are an important mechanism for fostering enculturation and contribute only in a limited way to the maturity of the participant or spectator."

As has been indicated, some believe that socialization through sport produces qualities that are of positive value. Emphasis is placed on such things as self-reliance, learning to compete, and effective citizenry. Others are not only doubtful as to the beneficiality of such qualities, they have posited negative ramifications such as winning at all cost, cheating, and immaturity. Whether or not this process is viewed positively or negatively, many seem to agree that, in addition to specific role development, there are diffuse, carry-over effects which result from socialization through sport participation.

Social Change And Mobility

Socialization and social change are in many ways opposing processes: the former is usually viewed as making behavior somewhat predictable and conforming with the latter seen as disrupting stable patterns and encouraging new ways of thinking and acting. There are many factors which can stimulate change in a society. Sport has been considered as one of those aspects of society which enhances change. Lahr (1972:106) indicated that sport not only reflected but also influenced a society's view of the world. Boyle (1963:25) believed that, "sport has gained sufficient place in the life of the country to begin feeding back ideas and techniques of its own." He further indicated that:

> 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, clothes styles, the concept of
> the hero, language, and ethical values. For better or
> worse it gives form and substance to much in American
> life (p. 3-4).

Others (cf. Kroeber, 1963: 163-165; Luschen, 1967: 138; Cozens and

Stumpf, 1953: 6) have also posited the impact of sport as a change

agent in both the material and non-material aspects of society.

Some believe that one of the most pervasive impacts of sport has

been on the ideas concerning social mobility, particularly for the non-

white population. Although it was not until 1948 that organized base-

ball allowed a black player to be on a major league team, since that

time sport has been viewed as coming close to providing a model for

an open-class system (De Fleur, et al, 1971: 202). Cowell (1966: 147)

believed sport acted as a common denominator to bring together people

from various socio-economic backgrounds. Coleman (1965) stated

that:

> In effect, athletics provides for boys an interruption of
> this pattern, breaking down the organization based on
> common background and replacing it with organization
> based on common activity or achievement (p. 499).

Schafer (1969b: 34) believed sport to be a channel for upward

mobility. He indicated that sport could contribute to educational

attainment, occupational success, and public notoriety. Boyle (1963)

felt that:

> Sport has often served minority groups as the first rung
> of the social ladder. As such, it has helped further their
> assimilation into American life. It would not be far-
> fetched to say that it has done more in this regard than
> any other agency, including church and school (p. 100).

Not all have been convinced of sport's ability to bring into being

the successful culmination of the Horatio Alger "rag to riches" story.

Meggyesy (1970:91) wrote that vast numbers of poor kids, of all colors, spend countless hours practicing sports of all types, driven by dreams of immortality as a professional. He saw coaches cynically capitalizing on these dreams but making no effort to honestly confront the devastating reality that very few would actually succeed. Some indication of the small number who make it was reported by Rooney (1973:83-84); for professional baseball, one plays for every 250,000 people in the United States; for college football, one for every 12,500; and for college basketball, one for every 42,500. These ratios do not begin to indicate the small chance one has of becoming a "super star."

Edwards (1972:58-60) saw black people cut off from full participation in society. While whites have access to all means of achieving desirable goals, blacks are channeled into one, or perhaps two, endeavors--sport and entertainment. Edwards (1972:60) indicated that, "sports participation holds the greatest promise of escape from the material degradation of oppressed black society." By limiting the success avenues for blacks to sport, society overtly perpetuates the myth of black physical superiority. However, the racists, covertly, enhance the ideology of white intellectual superiority which has been used as justification for black slavery, segregation, and general oppression.

There is much disagreement as to the degree of assimilation and upward mobility which is actually enhanced by sport. It is also debatable whether or not sport represents a model of the ethic of open-class. Lipset and Bendix (1963:79) indicated that the American people "continue to believe in the equalitarianism of American society despite their daily familiarity with economic inequality and status distinction."

Americans want to believe that with hard work anyone can make it to
the top. Laski (1948:266) saw Americans hypnotized in the "psycho-
logical coma embodied in Horatio Alger." Perhaps for Americans
those few who do succeed in sport serve as proof of the truth of the
"rags to riches" story. As long as the story does come true for a few,
it may perpetuate the myth for the masses who want very much to
believe in it. If mobility and open-class are American myths, then
perhaps the preservation of these myths is as important as their
actualization.

Summary

The many perspectives from which sport might be viewed suggest
various ways of conceptualization. In this review the impact of sport
on man and society has been considered in terms of some of its
possible social functions, such as emotional release, affirmation of
male identity, social change and mobility, socialization, and social
control. Although each of these social functions perhaps offers some
insight into the nature of the social relationships among and between
human beings, in most cases these arbitrary categories seem to
overlap in an interrelated network with each other.

In an effort to effect a more comprehensive analysis of the impact
and consequence of sport for man and society, a synthesis will be made
of these specific functions in terms of a more generalized concept.
Chapter III will select out those aspects which in combination with
each other directly relate to the major concern of this study: collective
conscience. Through this more generalized concept the basis for a
theoretical analysis of sport will be operationalized.

CHAPTER III

COLLECTIVE CONSCIENCE

Introduction

Perhaps of crucial importance for the sociologist is the nature of social bondings that occur among and between human beings on both the individual and societal levels. Sometimes called cohesion, solidarity, or integration, these bondings have often been considered the basis of society. In considering the nature of social bonding, some of the major differences in schools of thought become evident. The symbolic inter-actionists would perhaps characterize the social bond as one-to-one reciprocal interaction based in the shared meanings of the communicative symbols. Thus the similarities or the commonalities of people are crucial considerations. The functionalists, on the other hand, might tend to view the social bond in terms of an interdependent network of mutually exclusive role requirements. That is, through man's specialization, he may be structurally tied to a system which for him fulfills some utilitarian purpose. What appears to be in question is not the existence of bonding but rather the nature of the basis of that bonding.

The first section of this chapter is intended to provide a historical perspective from which the basis of social bonding may be viewed. The second concern of this chapter is an analysis of collective

conscience and its role in complex society. Section three examines
the literature which implicitly suggests the relationship between sport,
collective conscience, and complex society. The fourth section
reviews the literature pertaining to the measurement of collective
conscience. A summary concludes the chapter.

Review Of Literature

Concept Of Collective Conscience

There have been efforts (Miller and Form, 1964:26-47; Nisbet,
1953:3-22) to trace historically the nature of man's relationships to
other man and to society. During the Middle Ages, it is believed that
people were bound together by their deep identity with family, church,
and village. By the 1400's, however, these traditional ties were being
viewed as repressive and inhibiting to the growth and development of
individual human beings. Urbanization and industrialization were
thought to liberate individualistic qualities. With the anticipated
escape to freedom, city life became characterized in almost idyllic
terms. Through the next three hundred years, the Reformation, the
Renaissance, and the Industrial Revolution were to bring numerous
changes, many of which were unanticipated, for the individual and
society.

The stable, secure, integrated, and predictable person of the
Middle Ages would diminish to make room for the development of a
social self based on something other than tradition and common identity.
By the 1700's, the emphasis on individualism had emerged as the major
orientation of man. Industrialization, mechanization, and urbanization

continued almost unchecked, accompanied by a heralded ideology of individualism. Miller and Form (1964:31) indicated that as the social world became less predictable and stable, traditional cohesiveness and social solidarity began to vanish.

With advancing industrialization came urbanization and specialization of tasks. Extensive division of labor emerged, separating individuals from each other as people but creating an interdependent network of roles and positions as the new basis for social solidarity. Individualism and personal uniqueness were accentuated while similarity and commonality were de-emphasized.

Possibly the most astute analysis of the changing basis for social solidarity and cohesion was done by Durkheim. In The Division Of Labor, written in 1883, he was primarily concerned with the social solidarity exhibited by different societies. In the pre-industrial, non-urbanized society, he labeled the cohesive force "collective conscience." For the industrialized society, it was called "division of labor." However, both of these facets were posited to be present in all individuals and societies.

> There are in us two consciences: one contains states
> which are personal to each of us and which character-
> ize us, while the states which comprehend the other are
> common to all society. The first represents only our
> individual personality and constitutes it; the second
> represents the collective type and, consequently, society,
> without which it would not exist. Although distinct, these
> two consciences are linked one to the other, since, in
> sum, they are only one, having one and the same organic
> substratum (Durkheim, 1933: 105-106).

The collective conscience which maintained the solidarity of the pre-industrial society was defined (Durkheim, 1933: 79) as "the totality of beliefs and sentiments common to average citizens of the

same society. " In societies based on this type of cohesion, solidarity is maintained through a conformity of individual consciences to a common psychic orientation toward life. Members of a group are attracted to each other by their similarity and shared common states of conscience. Durkheim called this type of solidarity "mechanical."

As society moved from pre-industrial to industrial, the basis for solidarity shifted from collective conscience to the division of labor. By accentuating and emphasizing the uniqueness rather than the commonness, the division of labor created a solidarity through inter-dependence. This type of cohesion allowed for the bourgeoning of individual and personal characteristics which were stifled and subdued by the collective conscience. Durkheim (1933: 137) indicated that, "Each individual is more and more acquiring his own way of thinking and acting, and submits less completely to the common corporate opinion. " This type of solidarity was labeled "organic."

Mechanical solidarity binds the individual directly to society without any intermediary since society (Durkheim, 1933: 129) is the "organized totality of beliefs and sentiments common to all the members of the group. " Organic solidarity binds the individual to society through the roles and positions upon which he depends. Society (Durkheim, 1933:129), in this case, "is a system of different, special functions which definite relations unite. " It must be remembered, however, that these two types of solidarity are actually two aspects of the same reality. This analytical distinction between them is necessary only because one type is often accentuated at the expense of the other.

Durkheim applauded the movement toward the division of labor because it freed the individual from the heavy restraints of the

collective conscience. He (1933:131) indicated that, "...the yoke that we submit to is much less heavy than when society completely controls us, and it leaves much more place open for the free play of our initiative." Durkheim felt stagnation occurred when all individuality succumbed to a collectivity. But he also wrote about "deviant forms of the division of labor." True division of labor would produce social solidarity, while the abnormal or deviant forms would produce anomie and alienation. Actually, extremism of either type of solidarity could have serious consequences. Durkheim could identify extremism in collective conscience but could only refer to that same phenomenon in the division of labor as abnormal and deviant. Perhaps it was because of the rationalistic commitment of the 1800's that Durkheim's first analysis of the division of labor acclaimed it as a great moral force which would liberate man and produce order, harmony, and solidarity for society.

Durkheim (1951) was later concerned with the degree of social integration and corresponding types of suicide. As his classifications indicate, he was beginning to identify some of the consequences of extremism in the division of labor. When collective conscience is maximized, all individual personality is enveloped in a common psychic unity. The person is so completely integrated that he is willing to die for his society; thus altruistic suicide. At the other extreme is a maximization of the division of labor, an exaggerated emphasis on uniqueness which leads to an individual's being related to society only through functional positions. With no common psychic tie to society, a person's sentiments and beliefs are exclusively personal; thus egoistic suicide.

According to Durkheim (1951:214), there is always something collective remaining in man no matter how individualized he may become. He was concerned, however, because man might be unable to activate his collective conscience; i.e., man would be unable to attach himself to anything that transcended and survived him, and so life would become unbearable. When man was left on his own, cut off from being a part of a collective unity, he had no bond which could unite him with a common or collective cause.

Perhaps one of the most vital contributions made by Durkheim was his insight into useful conceptualizations of the nature of man and society. He believed that both collective conscience and division of labor were intrinsic aspects of man and that both were basic pre-requisites for human society. Durkheim preceded many who have felt that people need a common unity that ties them to society without an intermediary and that they need an opportunity to express unique and individualistic facets of their personality. Thus it would appear that when societies are organized in a way such that either division of labor or collective conscience is maximized at the expense of the other, there will be attempts made to activate the minimized facet.

Collective Conscience And Complex Society

As society was propelled into an industrial age, many become concerned with the resultant impact on man. According to Nisbet (1953:4), words such as individual, change, progress, reason, and freedom dominated the thought and literature of the nineteenth century. Today the words seem to be disorganization, disintegration, decline, insecurity, breakdown, instability, alienation, fragmentation, and

segmentalization. Perhaps modern industrial society is now expe-
riencing, or is close to experiencing, that maximization of the division
of labor which allows for man's relationship to other man and to
society only by way of roles and positions. Man would then have
virtually no collective unity with society except through the interlocking
of interdependent roles. As he becomes more and more individualized
he becomes more and more dependent on others, but he can only
identify with others to the extent that they perform their roles and fill
their structural positions. As earlier indicated, Durkheim saw this
type of society bound together through an intermediary of system
requirements.

The central theme of Nisbet's book, Community And Power, was
man's alienation. Man was seen as neither being a part of the social
order or desiring to become a part. According to Nisbet, the present
age is more individualistic than any other has been. The rationalists
of the 1800's had called for individualization, dislocation of status and
custom, impersonality, and moral anonymity as necessary require-
ments for the freeing of man from the dead hand of the past. In their
optimistic view, liberated man could then develop his inherent
potentialities. The success of this emancipation effort is perhaps most
evident in modern, complex society. However, some have seen this
liberation with less enthusiasm than might have been predicted by
those early rationalists. Nisbet (1953:11) indicated that Berdyaev
spoke of a "disintegration of the human image;" Toynbee said man had
lost all sense of identity and belonging; Ortega y Gasset referred to
mass man, the autonomous creature of the market place and the mass
ballot; and John Dewey saw the individual deprived of the loyalties and

values which once endowed life with meaning. Nisbet (1953)

summarized his own feelings in this way:

> The modern release of the individual from traditional
> ties of class, religion, and kinship has made him free;
> but, on the testimony of innumerable works in our age,
> this freedom is accompanied not by the sense of creative
> release but by the sense of disenchantment and aliena-
> tion (p. 10).

Perhaps, as Nisbet has suggested, this era is an Age of Pessi-

mism in which man is alienated, disenchanted, rootless and neurotic.

Gone is the over-riding faith in individualism that plummeted man into

the industrial era. Man's desire for social belonging is frustrated at

every turn. Mayo (1945) also noted a profound insecurity and empti-

ness in modern man. According to Mayo (1945: 7, 56), industrial man

is cut off from the joy of comradeship and security that his forefathers

had known.

In Wirth's (1938: 1-24) discussion of "urbanism as a way of life,"

he indicated that the city brought people together because they were

different and thus useful to each other. However,

> The bonds of kinship, of neighborliness, and the senti-
> ments arising out of living together for generations
> under a common folk tradition are likely to be absent
> or, at best, relatively weak in an aggregate the members
> of which have such diverse origins and backgrounds
> (Wirth, 1938: 11).

According to Wirth, urbanites relate to each other in highly segmental

roles and thus their face-to-face contacts are impersonal, superficial,

and transitory. In urban life, there is a close living and working

together, but a relative lack of a sentimental or emotional tie. Wirth

summarized some of the distinctive features of the urban mode of life

as substituting secondary for primary contacts, weakening of bonds of

kinship, declining significance of the family, and the undermining of

the traditional basis of social solidarity. In 1937, The National

Resource Committee had voiced a view of urban life very much like

that of Wirth's.

> The urban mode of life tends to create solitary souls,
> to uproot the individual from his customs to confront
> him with a social void, and to weaken traditional
> restraints on personal conduct. . . . Personal exist-
> ence and social solidarity in the urban community
> appear to hang by a slender thread (National Resource
> Committee, 1937: 53).

Ellul (1964:335) believed that people were no longer integrated

as people in groups, but as elements in groups. The industrial

freedom which augmented the existence of human life have, in actuality,

cut him off from the essence of life and now sustain him only through

various techniques which he performs for some larger system. Ellul

saw an exaggerated division of labor, or specialization, not only as

inhibiting, but preventing mutual understanding between and among

people.

> Today the sharp knife of specialization has passed like
> a razor into the living flesh. It has cut the umbilical
> cord which linked men with each other and with nature.
> The man of today is no longer able to understand his
> neighbor because his profession is his whole life, and
> the technical specialization of this life has forced him
> to live in a closed universe. He no longer understands
> the underlying motivations of the others (Ellul, 1964:132).

Faunce (1968) also believed that there were conditions inherent

in the social structure of industrial society which resulted in the

alienation of industrial man. He indicated that an extensive division of

labor, which culminated in the segmentation of social experience, made

it difficult to maintain social integration. Man, freed from the bonds

of small-group pre-industrial society, was confronted with an unstable,

fragmented, social order whose integration rested on structural interdependence. The process of individuation had left man virtually devoid of interaction with other people except in the social context of structural roles--an existence characterized by powerlessness, meaninglessness, and normlessness. Hence the attributes of a society which encouraged freedom and self-actualization were the same attributes that produced apathy and alienation. Thus according to Faunce, in the attempt to gain individual freedom man had unwittingly severed his communal tie with mankind.

In Fromm's (1941) book, Escape From Freedom, he described freedom as being a product of the changes which occurred in the 1800's. The seeds of alienation and insecurity were also unknowingly sown, but are only now making themselves known. The process of individuation was accompanied by the breakup of the medieval structures and constraints of small-group society. The price, according to Fromm, for this new found freedom was a loss of security which comes from a stable social order. As Fromm (1941) concluded his book, he said:

> It has been the thesis of this book that freedom has a two-fold meaning for modern man: that he has been freed from traditional authorities and has become an 'individual,' but that at the same time he has become isolated, powerless, and an instrument of purposes outside of himself, alienated from himself and others; furthermore, that this state undermines his self, weakens and frightens him, and makes him ready for submission to new kinds of bondage (p. 270).

When social integration is based solely on role definitions and requirements, people are tied together because of their interdependence. While there may be some commonalities which unite people, these are secondary, not primary, concerns. Thus, it is possible that when extensive division of labor occurs, people become

segmentalized to the extent that they may even fail to recognize their interdependence. They feel little structural tie, and possibly no commonality tie, with society. They are cut off, isolated, estranged, and alienated from a system which has maximized the potential for individual freedom but minimized the opportunity for a collective experience.

Directly opposed to a maximized division of labor is social solidarity based solely on collective conscience. Here the individual has essentially no will of his own but is subdued in every aspect of his personhood to the will of the collective. Continuous denial of individual uniqueness may leave a person frustrated and apathetic about his existence.

Assuming that Nisbet, Fromm, Ellul, and others have accurately described modern man, it appears that the division of labor is reaching maximization while collective conscience is vanishing. Although it has been suggested that a new social solidarity could perhaps be built on the autonomous, mobile, segmentalized character of modern man, nothing thus far seems able to appreciably reduce man's feeling of separation from his society.

Some have suggested that any new social order, if it is to be successful, must re-establish, in some form and to some degree, a collective conscience. For example, Roszak (1972:194) indicated that man is a communal being with an undeniable craving for community ties. He believed that man would throw his whole self into thousands of improvisations of community in the hopes that one would turn out to be real. Klapp (1969:viii) said that, "Although technologh has a mystique of its own-. . . . so far it has not supplied man with identity

and a sense of belonging to the world." He suggested that society is

not only failing to supply man with enough reference points to establish

his identity, it is erasing old ones. In man's search for identity,

Klapp believed he would turn to collectives.

> Where does a man look for meaning? In nature and in
> himself first, perhaps; but almost unavoidably he turns
> to collectivities where he can get reassurance and con-
> sensus, and have emotional experiences to become a
> new man or confirm the old one. He looks for soul-
> mates, comrades, fellows, partners-in-crime (Klapp,
> 1969:38).

Sennett (1970) too was concerned with modern man's desperate

attempts to establish himself as part of a unified group. This desire

for community was so entrenched that:

> . . . men frame for themselves a belief in emotional
> cohesion and shared values with each other that has
> little to do with their actual social experiences to-
> gether (p. 32).

Thus, community comes into being by an "act of will" rather than by

experience. The common goals, common beliefs, and the intimacy of

"we-ness" only exist as acts of will. Complex society lacks the

common, shared experiences which could transform counterfeit

community into a legitimate expression of mankind's common identity

with each other. According to Sennett, the consequences of solidarity

built on counterfiet communities are the loss of actual participation in

community life, the repression of deviants, and accentuated artificial

discord with other communities.

Although the nature of complex society may discourage common

experiences, it encourages such things as division of labor, speciali-

zation of tasks, and competition for limited numbers of positions. The

impersonal nature of complex society requires impersonal techniques by which judgements of success and failure will be made. Hence, external indicators, recognizable to the masses, become the standards by which success or failure is measured.

Veblen's (1953) work is indicative of the movement in modern society toward dependence on external, non-personal standards of worth. According to Veblen, in the primitive stage of societal development, the worth of a man was directly related to his contribution to the group's survival; i.e., a man's worth was evaluated in terms that were meaningful on a personal level and by people who had an intimate knowledge of him. As the society passes into the predatory phase, booty and trophies come to be prized. In this phase (Veblen, 1953:30), "the accredited, worthy form of self-assertion is contest. . . . " The last stage is called pecuniary and the basis for respect is accumulation of goods and property or conspicuous consumption. The advanced technology and complexity of society now (Veblen, 1953:71) "expose the individual to the observation of many persons who have no other means of judging of his reputability than the display of goods which he is able to make while under their direct observation. "

Veblen believed that in modern society man's "instinct for workmanship" as a meaningful indication of worth was being subverted and that external, non-personal criteria were being used as measures of individual worth. He indicated that:

> Since the consumption of these more excellent goods
> is an evidence of wealth, it becomes honorific; and
> conversely, the failure to consume in one quantity and
> quality becomes a mark of inferiority and demerit
> (p. 64).

Thus, validation, or the positive confirmation of worth, is viewed as dependent upon some symbol which can be held up before a non-personal public as an indication of such things as good repute, success, and dignity. These external criteria must be recognizable to society as indicators of worth. Thus modern man relies on secondary, physical, and visible indicators from which he believes society will impute his worthiness.

It would seem that man in complex society has no less of a need for collective conscience than did his counterpart in Durkheim's mechanical society. However, his varied attempts at collectivity appear dissuaded at every turn. As analyzed by Durkheim, collective conscience is based in the commonality, the sameness, and the constancy of the mechanical society. This kind of collectivity for modern, complex society is perhaps impossible and therefore its reactivation may depend on whether or not it can be restructured in terms of current complex society. Thus collective conscience in complex society is dependent upon some phenomenon which can offer participation in common experiences, a development of shared beliefs and goals, and external validation or confirmation of emerging collectivity. There are perhaps numerous activities which may be potentially capable of eliciting collective conscience. Of primary concern in this research is whether or not sport is one of these activities. Although the term, collective conscience, has not specifically been used, it is often implied in much of the literature concerning sport and its role in modern, complex society.

Collective Conscience And Sport

According to Stone (1970:405), members of a sport audience, even though perhaps strangers in a mass society, could easily enter into relationships with one another because they had shared a common critical experience. He believed this community of experience which bound people together was available for both participant and spectator. Beisser (1970:238) also spoke of strangers in an anonymous society who, through sport, found immediate common grounds for conversation and expressions of feelings with an intensity rarely experienced elsewhere. Some indication of the intensity of these feelings is revealed in Myron Cope's (1968) article concerning the Texas Aggies. In it he said:

> On football Saturdays at Kyle Field, the Aggie Spirit--
> always capitalize the "S" --charges the air with a
> tension so overpowering that it moves everyone, save
> visiting sportswriters (p. 104).

Snyder (1969:268) and Cowell (1966:148-149) centered their investigations on the sport participant only. However, their analyses, much like Stone's and Beisser's, attributed to sport an increased awareness and collective bonding of the individual with the larger society.

Cozens and Stumpf (1952:56) believed that sport, as a "counter-disintegrating force" in American culture, could provide common interests, common loyalties, and common enthusiasms for a people. Thus they stated that sport could provide these commonality bases, or collective unity for integration, to as great a degree as any other single factor. Ringel (1932) too was aware of sport's ability to elicit a collective feeling. He indicated that when people unite with interest in

or worship of an athlete or a team, they feel a sense of homogeneity which can be acquired in no other way,

Bouet (1966: 137-140) indicated that since the basic aim of sport was community, friendship, comradeship, mutual assistance, and human ties, many barriers impeding human relations disappear. Thus, according to Bouet, sport not only facilitated meaningful inter-relationships among people, it also developed them. Wohl (1966) also referred to sport's role in facilitating socially cohesive relation-ships.

> Due to this ability to shape social ties on the basis of features of motive activity, i.e., the most universal and communicative activity, sport, constitutes an exceptionally strong, most vital factor of social integration, is an instrument for the successful breaking through national and religious, racial and political barriers, and all the various prejudices connected with them (Wohl, 1966: 13).

Sport activated collective conscience has been referred to on the national, community, and individual levels. Cozens and Stumpf (1953: 4) felt that "no observer could fail to note that the promotion of programs of sport and physical education played an important role in the developing nationalism of many European countries." Meggyesy (1970) related the speech of Jack Drees, a sportcaster, concerning the decision to play football on the weekend following the assasination of President Kennedy. Drees (Meggyesy, 1970) said:

> . . . playing out the NFL football games that weekend provided a cohesive force, binding the country together when there were many doubts about our internal and international security. . . . the country had been rapidly disintegrating and football and the NFL had met the challenge to pull the country together (p. 146).

Research findings from many community studies have also indicated the cohesive "we" feeling and common interests stimulated by sport participation. Cozens and Stumpf (1953:236) stated that, "Sport in American schools has proved an important influence in uniting parents, children, and the community in a common interest. " In spite of Coleman's (1965) criticisms of sport, he too saw sport providing a common interest, or as he called it "collective goals, " for a community. According to him, sport was one of the few mechanisms which could engender a "communal spirit" among the members of a community. Coleman (1965) said:

> Communities, like schools without interscholastic games, have few common goals. They fight no wars, seldom engage in community rallies, and are rarely faced with such crises as floods or tornadoes that can engender a communal spirit and make members feel close to one another by creating collective goals. One of the few mechanisms by means of which this can occur is that of games or contests between communities. Sometimes these games are between professional teams representing the communities. More often, they are high school games, and these contests serve the purpose admirably. The community supports the team, and the team rewards the community when it wins. The team is a community enterprise, and its successes are shared by the community, its losses mourned in concern. It is indisputable that the interscholastic sports function to give the school and the community a collective identity (p. 503-504).

In the study of Plainville, conducted between 1939 and 1941, West indicated that the school represented a new focus for community life. Part of that new focus was directed by sport, as indicated by West's (1945:80) report of the irrate comments of the vocational agriculture teacher; "People remember all the ball players from 1931 winning team, but they don't even know about the prizes my boys take every year. "

In Hollingshead's (1949) study of the youth of Elmtown, he

reported that through basketball the community tied its members to-

gether and reinforced their identity as being quite distinct from their

rivals.

> Community pride is at issue in basketball games. Elm-
> town is approximately two and a half times larger than
> Diamond City, and it reflects the usual belief in Amer-
> ican culture that bigger is equivalent to better. Besides,
> Elmtown considers itself a "cleaner" town than
> Diamond City. Elmtowners for generations have asso-
> ciated immorality, vice and crime with Diamond City.
> Thus when the Indians (Elmtown) and the Jewells meet
> on the athletic field more is at stake than winning or
> losing the game, particularly if the game is basketball
> (Hollingshead, 1949: 194).

The Lynds (1929) also recognized the collective "we-ness" that was

evidenced when Middletowners packed the gymnasium for basketball

games.

> An even more widespread agency of group cohesion is
> the high school basketball team. In 1890, with no school
> athletics, such a thing as an annual state high school
> basketball tournament was undreamed of. . . . Baseball
> received much newspaper space, but support for the
> team had to be urged. Today more civic loyalty centers
> around basketball than around any other one thing. No
> distinctions divide the crowds which pack the school
> gymnasium for home games and which in every kind of
> machine crowd the roads for out-of-town games (Lynd
> and Lynd, 1929: 435).

Within the school itself, sport has been considered an agent of

collective identity and orientation. Coleman (1965: 490-505) believed

that athletic contests functioned to generate a positive identification

and a collective orientation towards common goals for the school.

"Sports seem to transform the disorganized and explosive student body

into a close-knit community with strong common goals" (Coleman,

1965: 502). Waller (1932) had earlier recognized the group spirit

which could be stimulated by sport. He (1932) indicated:

> It is perhaps as a means of unifying the entire school
> group that athletics seem most useful from the socio-
> logical viewpoint . . . [it] is a powerful factor in building
> up a group spirit which includes students of all kinds
> and degrees and unifies the teachers and the taught
> (p. 115).

Whether sport activated collectivity is viewed from a national,

local, or individual level, a crucial consideration appears to be whether

or not the athlete or team with which one aligns himself wins or loses.

In modern, complex society it would seem impossible to play the game

without regard to the outcome. Sport has become a theatrical liturgy,

a life drama in which success and failure can easily be determined.

The dramatization which occurs is staged like a theatre play that

combines a spectacle with the reality of the struggle of life. Lahr

(1972:106) has indicated that "sport has assumed a potency and ritual

tha most theatre has lost. "

Sport's effort to recast man in a heroic mold would appear

largely dependent on a winning versus a losing effort. For the athlete,

Ward (Boyle, 1963:62) posited defeat as an "indescribable anguish, a

chaotic hell. " The contest becomes a life and death struggle for the

maintenance of integrity and ego. Winning is not only important to

the athlete. Feagin (Dee, 1972:18) indicated that "spectators watch

because they can't participate. People who are not winners can go to

a game and if their team wins, then they, too, are winners. " They

are winners not only on a playing field in some athletic contest, they

are winners in life. As is exemplified (Hollingshead; 1949) in the

games between Elmstown and Diamond City, a way of life is at stake

when the contest begins. Winning football in Nebraska has been viewed

(Rooney, 1973:59-60) as "a tremendous shot in the arm for the state insofar as prestige, the human ego, and even the economy is concerned."

In Siedenton's (1972:19) analysis of sport for the Soviet people, he stated that "Victory for an individual or a team is considered to be a victory for Marxism." Sport as a mirror of life, whether American or Russian, can verify that life only through winning. Thus, according to Siedenton (1972:22), "One should recognize that all nations view success in sport as a measure of national vitality and as a reflection of the success of the national political system."

Probably the win ethic, expressed by Lombardi as "winning isn't everything, it's the only thing," would be hard pressed for acceptance in less complex society where collective conscience is prevalent and based on more traditional criteria. Asch (Thompson; 1950), who studied the customs of the Hopi Indians, observed that:

> the children, young and old, are never interested in keep-
> ing score during a game. They will play basket-ball by
> the hour without knowing who is winning or losing. They
> continue simply because they delight in the game itself...
> (p. 95).

In modern society, the worthwhileness of life appears grounded on a more tenuous basis than in these less complex societies. Thus it would seem that winning in sport can offer that vital requirement for validation and confirmation. One's way of life, one's beliefs, one's values are good, as they have been proven through contest and victory. They can be placed on display for all to see, to marvel at, and to pay alligence to.

As earlier indicated collective conscience in complex society seems dependent on some phenomenon which can provide such things as shared experiences, common beliefs, values, and goals, and validation. By considering these necessary components in relation to sport, it would appear that sport is possibly one of those activities where the potential for shared common experiences can be maximized. Participation in these experiences perhaps provides a basis for the development and maintenance of shared values and beliefs. There is much evidence to indicate that sport does encourage participation, adherence to many values and beliefs and, through winning, may serve to offer confirmation of the commonly shared experiences and beliefs. Sport's relationship to collective conscience is perhaps best sum- marized by Miller and Russell (1971):

> A thousand explanations of the why of spectator motiva-
> tions might all add up to a quantitative one-sport repre-
> sents a social group that is easily identified and
> commonly understood. Each person may need to feel
> that his interests are validated by a relationship to those
> generally shared by some larger group of individuals
> (p. 43-44).

Manifestation and Measurement of Collective
Conscience

While there have been few research efforts directly concerned with investigating collective conscience, there have been several related studies which indirectly may indicate some of the manifesta- tions of collective conscience in complex society. For example, Lang and Lang (1961: 539-540) analyzed the relationship between the bonds developed out of common emotions and social movements. Both positive identification and pride of accomplishment were believed

highly correlated with the "esprit de corp" of a movement. Anderson (1959:207-232) indicated that "civic consciousness" would find expression in types of community behavior in the event of such things as crises or elections and in the moods of people as they go about their work or other activities.

Hoselitz (Anderson, 1959:209) used the terms "sentiment of a community" and "city consciousness" to indicate a bond which is forged "between rich and poor, old and new families, native sons and immigrants." Hoselitz (Anderson, 1959:209) further specified the result of this bond to be "joint interest in the government of the city, its civic improvements, finances, embellishment and growth."

Displays, such as monuments, statues, museums, new buildings, and historic old ones, may also be indicative of the pride which people feel for the community of which they are a part. Thus, according to Tunnard (1953:361), a Frenchman, especially if he lives in Paris, is proud of the monuments in his city, because he knows that all the world admires them, and he takes some of that admiration to himself.

Klapp's (1972:1-12) work on collective identity also has some implications for collective conscience. He posited high morale and cohesiveness, effective communication, greater interpersonal interaction, satisfying self-concepts, active defenses against outsiders, ethnocentrism, and consensus on attitudes and concepts to be directly related to a strong collective identity. Conversely, alienation, estrangement, and anomie were considered to develop from a lack of cohesiveness and feelings of collective identity.

Bogart (1955) in a study of comic strips and Stone (1970) in a study of sports, demonstrated the mobilization of social solidarity by

the amount of conversation prompted by and about these phenomena. Blau's (1960) theory of integration placed emphasis on the bonds of attractiveness that unite people (i, e. , people are concerned with attracting and impressing one another).

These various authors imply some of the possible expressions of the broader concept collective conscience, although they make no specific reference to the term. Likewise uncommon are attempts to operationalize and measure it. Such things as cohesion and integration have often been imputed from questionnaires or participant observation but little has been done to make the concept, collective conscience, amenable to research. This may be true because as Cole and Miller (1965) suggested:

> . . . bonds produce cohesiveness within the system, often called "group cohesiveness. " The term applies to the integrative bonds between the members of a system. It produces a quality that is sometimes more easily detected than measured (p. 507).

Perhaps Durkheim was first to try to relate a lack of integration and overintegration to an objective criteria. His study (Durkheim, 1951) posited suicide as a behavioral demonstration of the degree to which one felt collectively identified with a society. Later studies, such as Srole's (1956), which considered social integration in terms of loyalty to a system, and Landecker's (1951), which distinguished and characterized four types of integration, do provide some insight into the integrative dimension of collective conscience. Nettler developed a scale for measuring alienation, or feelings of estrangement from society, which may be viewed as a lack of integration. Of interest may be the fact that item nine on his (Nettler, 1957:695)

alienation scale read, "Do national spectator sports (football, base-ball) interest you?"

Perhaps the most persistant effort to operationalize collective conscience is found in the work of Angell (1942, 1947, 1949). His work was oriented around the concept "social integration" but his definition of this term has some special implications for collective conscience. In his first two articles, he developed an index for social integration based on the crime index, taken negatively, and the welfare effort index. Causal factors, identified by Angell, for high and low integration were mobility of the population and composition of the population.

Angell (1947) experimented with other data, such as percent of newspaper deliveries to homes versus street sales, amount spent by municipalities on sanitation, health, and hospitals, and recreation, divided by retail sales, proportion of husbands or wives not living with their spouses, ratio of receipts from commercial amusements to retail sales, rate of growth of the city, and proportion of absentee-owned to locally owned businesses. However, he found that only the welfare effort correlated highly with the crime index which he had previously established as the best single indicator of the degree to which social integration existed.

In later work, Angell (1949) separated social integration into moral and interpersonal integration. He believed his previous social integration index measured only moral integration. In an attempt to identify the impact of these two components of integration, he selected two previously classified highly integrated cities to compare with two lesser integrated ones.

The dimensions of social integration were posited to be general satisfaction with community, level of personal conduct, relations among groups, participation in civic affairs, and fellow feeling. The first four constituted a measure of moral integration; the last, interpersonal integration. As was indicated by Angell, moral integration is very similar to Durkheim's mechanical solidarity which is based in collective conscience. Angell (1949:248) defined moral integration as "the degree to which the life of the group proceeds in terms of shared ends and values." Angell concluded that social integration must take into account both moral and interpersonal integration. However, in most cases, it appeared that the two were highly related.

Another study of particular interest is Fessler's (1952) work to develop a scale for measuring community solidarity. The primary criteria (Fessler, 1952:145) for solidarity was "the extent to which community members express opinions indicating the possession of common attitudes." He believed that almost any subject about which people could express an attitude could be used for an index of community solidarity. From his original survey, eight major areas of community behavior were selected for the final test. This study, as well as Angell's, although not specifically referring to collective conscience, does provide useful insight into the manifestation and measurement of collective conscience.

As can be seen from this brief look at the related literature, no extensive research has been aimed at specifically studying collective conscience. While there are several related studies, any effort to directly measure this phenomenon will, of necessity, entail some original scale construction.

Summary

From reviewing various writers, it would appear that this
society is quickly advancing towards a maximized, efficient division of
labor. Some have posited such positive impacts as increased individual
freedom and efficient production, while concomitant impacts such as
alienation, separateness, and lack of community have often been
negatively viewed.

By considering both of these points of view in terms of Durkheim's
work, it would appear that the crucial issue is not simply an increasing
division of labor, but a corresponding decreasing collective conscience.
Durkheim posited both division of labor and collective conscience as
inherent facets of man's being. To ignore either is to damage the basic
nature of mankind.

From Durkheim's conceptualization of the nature of man and
others descriptions of the state of man in modern industrial society,
collective conscience becomes a central concept. If it is a necessary
component in meaningful life, various techniques and mechanizations
which could create, or activate, or maintain collective conscience may
be burgeoning in present society. While various social phenomena
such as religion, funerals, and marriages, have been suggested as
capable of eliciting a collective conscience, the primary concern of
this research project is sport.

To suggest sport as an agent for collective conscience is not
meant to indicate the morality, or immorality, of sport. Durkheim
does assert that both collective conscience and division of labor are
great moral forces in that they promote social solidarity. Viewing

collective conscience as one of the potential ramifications of sport involvement, however, should not imply any necessary judgement on sport itself.

Some would indicate that maintenance and stimulation of collective conscience in this society simply perpetuates such things as racism, competition, and authoritarianism. Others would posit different consequences. While these questions of good or bad and right or wrong are perhaps personally of great importance, what is of interest here is not a moral judgement, but an investigation of sport and its possible relationship to collective conscience.

CHAPTER IV

THEORETICAL MODEL

This model is specifically designed to provide a theoretical framework through which the relationship between sport and collective conscience can be analyzed. However, the model is general in nature and could possibly be used to investigate any activity which presumably activates collective conscience. Models concerning the nature and behavior of human beings are based on certain basic assumptions. In order to explicate the assumptions which are the basis of the model presented in this chapter, the concepts of critical importance in this study will be defined.

Nominal Definition Of Concepts

Division of Labor — separation, according to specialization and expertise, of skills and tasks binding people together into a structurally inter-dependent system.

Collective Conscience — common elements of the human existence binding people together into a unity.

Complex Society — a society where the tendency toward the division of labor is being maximized.

Theatrical Liturgy — staged drama through which the meanings of life are ritualistically portrayed and with which the general populace can identify.

Participation — to become a part, through attendance and support, of some activity.

<u>Sport</u>	- competitive encounter where the primary asset is physical prowess and skill.
<u>Major Sport</u>	- sport (or sports) which elicits the greatest recognition, interest, participation, and support of a nation.
<u>Win</u>	- victory as opposed to defeat according to the final score in a competitive encounter.

Assumptions

A_1 : The nature of integration in complex societies is essentially based on the maximization of the division of labor. [1]

A_2 : This type of integration is best characterized by a tendency toward maximizing the interdependence of strata in the division of labor while minimizing collective conscience.

A_3 : The division of labor and collective conscience are not, however, independent bases of integration but both, together, make up the same basis.

A_4 : When society is integrated by maximizing the division of labor while minimizing collective conscience (or vice versa), there will be attempts, conscious or unconscious, at some level to activate collective conscience.

A_5 : In complex societies, activities which foster a resurgence of collective conscience will generally gain increasing participation.

A_6 : The major sports in complex societies represent theatrical liturgies of the meanings of life in a society.

A_7 : The nature of sport as a theatrical liturgy allows for such things as shared life experiences, personal involvement, acknowledgment of common goals and values, and validation, which are basic requisites for the reactivation of collective conscience.

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[1]According to Durkheim's classification, this would have constituted an abnormal or deviant form of the division of labor and could not have been considered the basis for organic society.

A_8 : Participation (as athlete or spectator) in major sports generally provides a potential basis for collective conscience.

A_9 : Winning in the major sports tends to validate and confirm one's self, one's goals and values, one's community, and one's society.

A_{10}: Association, by participation, in a winning effort in major sports is potentially capable of reactivating collective conscience.

The nature of social integration in complex society appears to be based essentially on excessive and extensive division of labor. This type of integration accentuates an interdependence of mutually exclusive role behaviors and requirements. Thus mankind is structurally tied to a social system by his uniqueness and his specialization.

As a maximization of the division of labor occurs, it seems that collective conscience begins to diminish. Because division of labor accentuates differences, mutually shared characteristics, beliefs, values, and goals are no longer recognized as necessary for functionally integrated community life. Collective conscience is then de-emphasized and commonality ties which can bind people together as people, rather than as functional units, disappear.

Since both division of labor, which accentuates uniqueness, and collective conscience, which accentuates commonality, are considered to be two aspects of the same generic basis for social integration, each is considered essential to the development of mankind and society. Thus when division of labor becomes so extreme that man cannot relate to other man as human being, his need for reaffirmation as a person will give impetus to his attempts to re-activate collective conscience.

Historically, there were movements to activate individualism and uniqueness when society was integrated by a maximization of

collective conscience and a minimization of division of labor. In complex society, where the opposite appears to be the case, it would seem reasonable to predict that there will be efforts, conscious or unconscious, to revitalize collective conscience. That being the case, complex society should then be experiencing vigorous attempts by modern man to re-establish collective conscience. However, modern society dissuades the natural collectivity of traditional societies, and if it is to be re-established, it must be done in terms of the basic nature of contemporary society. Such things as common experiences, perceived by the people to be significant and consequential, which can be equally shared in and by all strata of the division of labor, reduction of communication barriers so that there is less directional communication between all people and all strata, engagement in the total process of the experience rather than in specific role categories, complete personal participation rather than segmental involvement, and common goals, values, and beliefs that can be shared by all people, which characterize collective conscience, must not only be provided for, they must also be confirmed as legitimate and worthwhile.

Activities which can be characterized in terms of the requisites of collectivity, and are therefore capable of activating collective conscience, will gain increasing participation in complex society. While there are perhaps various activities which could be investigated as potentially capable of eliciting collective conscience, the social phenomenon of concern in this study is sport and its relationship to collective conscience in complex society. Much of the literature on sport implicity suggests collective conscience as a potential consequence of a person's involvement in the sport experience. Even

though the term itself has not been used, such things as common critical experiences, common grounds for communication, shared interests, loyalties, and enthusiasms, common goals, pride, and validation have often been mentioned in relation to sport.

Generally speaking, the sport experience may be viewed as equally available to all, spectator and athlete alike. The player becomes an extension of the spectator's self. Old men talk to young men, fathers with sons, minorities to majorities, in two directional communication; each seeking out the sport secrets that the other knows. People can become involved in the total process, from recruiting, to the practice field, to the game. They understand the plays, they study the language, they suffer with the injured, they mourn in defeat, and revel in victory. Not the most insignificant detail of the sport is denied their interest or persual. Sport allows for the total involvement of people as complete people. One may enter into the total experience as a whole person and emerge refreshed and revitalized. Through sport one can see the exemplification of the values, beliefs, and goals to which he pays allegiance. He recognizes such things as competition, hard work, and winning being dramatized in every contest. Thus he knows that he shares with other sport participants many of the basic meanings of life.

However, collective conscience is not totally a function of participation in a shared common experience. Mankind must also feel that he is justified, or judged worthy, by his fellowman. But as modern mankind is less able to establish his worth and dignity through inter-personal relationships, he becomes dependent on secondary criteria as signs of success or failure. These criteria, when recognized by

people as the standards against which they can measure other people, are a crucial consideration in the justification of the collectivities to which man has attached himself. Thus modern man relies on the recognizable, secondary indicators from which he believes society will impute his worth.

Winning in sports can provide a validation of worth; i. e., one's way of life, one's beliefs, one's values can be designated legitimate and good as they have been proven through contest and victory. They may be placed on display for all to see, to marvel at, and to pay alligence to. So much personal investment has been made, that sport becomes more than playing a game. It is dramatization of a life and death struggle between good and evil. Winning is crucial. Confirmation of a way of life is at stake when the contest begins. Sport becomes a theatrical liturgy through which mankind can be transformed into a legitimate heroic image. Thus winning capitalizes on the shared collective experience, the emotional commitments, and the intensity of feelings to maximize the potential for collective conscience.

Collective conscience, once reactivated, should begin to manifest itself in various ways through individual, community, and societal frameworks. On the personal level, it is perhaps noted by such things as a more definite acknowledgement of the meaning of life, a greater personal identity, a greater sense of belongingness, and a greater personal involvement in society. On the societal level, collective conscience may be evidenced by such things as saluting the flag, singing the national anthem, and binding together to face an outside threat. However, the primary concern in this study is the relationship between sport and collective conscience as it is manifested on the

community level through such things as civic projects, passage of bond issues, and community pride.

Hypotheses

Considering the above reviewed literature and the conceptual scheme here developed, the following hypotheses have been formulated for empirical investigation:

H_1 : Communities with less division of labor will have a greater collective conscience.

H_2 : Communities with equal division of labor which have higher participation in the major sports will have greater collective conscience.

H_3 : Communities with equal division of labor which win in the major sports will have greater collective conscience.

H_4 : Communities with equal division of labor which have higher participation and winning in the major sports will have greater collective conscience.

H_5 : Within each community, collective conscience will vary as participation and win-loss records in the major sports fluctuate.

CHAPTER V

METHODOLOGY

Introduction

Although the nature of social integration is perhaps one of the fundamental concepts at the heart of the sociological endeavor, little has been done in terms of operationalizing this theoretical concept. Little guidance for research efforts is found in the voluminous writings on the subject. The few attempts at empirical investigation which have been made have attracted relatively little attention particularly if any level other than the individual was the central concern. Community and societal integration, or cohesion, or solidarity seem outside the research inquiries of the sociologists. Moreover, even though these terms may often enter into conversation or lecture, they are seldom explained, defined, or analyzed. Supposedly some kind of consensual understanding is present which allows the sociologist to speak about this phenomenon but not to scientifically analyze it.

Perhaps the greatest reason for avoiding social integration is the theoretical and verbal complexity which encompasses it. Even Durkheim's work leaves unanalyzed the basic nature of social integration or solidarity as he referred to it. His postulation of its dual basis; i.e., collective conscience and division of labor, has been expanded, renamed, and plagiarized by many modern-day theorists.

However, the measurement of these concepts remains as undeveloped now as it was during Durkheim's time.

To understand the significance of social integration for an individual, a community, or a society, some effort must be directed toward an unraveling of its basic nature. According to various theoretical literature, part of that nature is apparently the phenomenon of collective conscience. However, collective conscience in relation to complex society is seemingly of little concern for the modern social researcher. As a result, there is a limited amount of methodological guidance for an investigation of collective conscience. Add to this an interest in a social phenomenon, sport, which is seldom recognized as a legitimate concern for sociologists and research precedents and aids become virtually nonexistent. Consequently, the operationalization of the model in this study required some rather new and unique techniques, original scale construction, and non-traditional procedures.

Combining two such untested social phenomenon, collective conscience and sport, in a single research design also means of course that there will be few standards against which the reliability and validity of the study can be measured. Therefore, rather than depending on any one measuring technique, it was decided that the most productive approach would be an attempt in triangulation of measurement; i.e., various techniques would be utilized to measure the same phenomenon. According to Web, et al (1971):

> Once a proposition has been confirmed by two or more independent measurement processes, the uncertainty of its interpretation is greatly reduced. The most persuasive evidence comes through a triangulation of measurement processes (p. 3).

Willer (1970:7) also has indicated that one alternative to problems of inefficient measurement is a combination of methods whose weaknesses and strengths compliment each other.

Thus a combination of three methodological techniques, which included questionnaires, interviews, and subjective impressions, was utilized for measuring the variables under consideration in this study. From the questionnaires both attitude scales and quantifiable data were obtained. Secondly, interviews provided an opportunity to encourage participation of respondents and to secure missing data. The third technique was subjective evaluations of the communities based on the feelings and impressions that this researcher gained while visiting each community. This "sense data" was believed to provide useful and valuable insights into the nature of the variables and their relationship to each other.

By combining these methodological procedures, via triangulation, it was hoped that each measuring technique would augment the other. Qualitative as well as quantitative analyses do have limitations, but by using them in conjunction with each other, it was thought that the researcher's perception of the scope of the variables could be greatly increased. The purpose of this chapter, then, is to present not only the original plans for implementing this study but also the changes and alterations made necessary by the nature of the data, the sample, and the communities.

The Sample

A sample of nine communities in Oklahoma was used to test the model. In order to make an adequate test of a model, it is necessary

for the sample to include a large number of cases which display the full range of variation on the model's major variables. However, the concern here is with communities rather than with specific individuals which greatly increases the expense of time and money, making it impractical to select a large number of cases. Consequently, a deliberate attempt was made to select a sample which, although quite small, would still include substantial variation on the major variables.

In Oklahoma, high schools are divided into classes according to the average daily attendance. These classifications range from Class C for the smallest schools to Class 4A for the largest. Each of the classes is then subdivided into various districts theoretically according to geographical area. Originally these classes and district alignments were thought to provide an excellent bases for selecting the sample communities. By choosing districts from different classes and then communities from within each district, it was believed that the necessary variations in win-loss records and community size could be implemented. This type of selection could also control for such possible interfering variables as geographical location, proximity to major metropolitan areas, and influence of major college and university sports.

This intended procedure, however, proved inoperative. Depending on the number of schools which participate in each sport, the classification and district affiliation for some schools can change with different sport seasons. That is, a single school may participate in different classes depending on the sport. In addition, communities with more than one high school could be included in more than one district or in the same district with larger communities which have

only one high school. Since only communities with one high school were to be considered, sampling by district would have excluded all larger communities. There are no districts of Class 4A which do not include multiple high school cities. And finally, since communities with schools which are classified 2A, 3A, and 4A are less numerous, their district assignments are not necessarily confined to any particular geographical area.

With these limitations apparent, an alternate sampling procedure was devised. Since football appeared to be the most prevalent sport, its class and district alignments were used to divide the cities into geographical areas and population categories. Although average daily attendance in school does not directly indicate population, it can be used to generally separate the communities in terms of size. All cities with more than one high school[1] or where six-man football was played were eliminated. Next the win-loss records for the 1971-72 and 1972-73 football seasons for the remaining schools were recorded. It was hoped that these records of the past two years would be indicative of the kind of success the schools had had for the past several years in the total sport program.

Since major college and university sports were believed to be potentially interfering variables, an attempt was made to control for a community's proximity to colleges and universities. Originally only those communities which had no college or university located in them

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[1]Although it would perhaps be possible to separate out those communal areas associated with each high school in cities with more than one high school, this seemed an unnecessary complication which could easily be averted by limiting the sample to one high school communities.

and which were an equal and substantial distance from these educational institutions were to be included in the sample. However, there are so many junior colleges, colleges, and universities in Oklahoma that this latter criteria was almost disregarded in the final selection of communities. After plotting the locations of these institutions, it was found that the west and northwest parts of the state were the least saturated with schools, and thus this area contains most of the communities used in this study. Limiting the sample to communities without colleges or universities was not problematic in the smaller communities. In the larger cities this was not the case and this requirement could not be met without violating other more crucial criteria. Thus the final sample includes one community which has a junior college and one which has a senior college, but in neither were the sports programs of particular interest to the local community.

In order to obtain variation on the variables of division of labor and collective conscience it was decided to choose communities from three population groupings. It was assumed that those communities with small populations would be different from the middle and larger communities in relation to these variables, and that these latter two categories would be different from each other. Since as has been repeatedly stressed in Chapter III, diminishing collective conscience is apparently expected to be accompanied by increased population size and density, it was believed that the range in community populations from around 1,000 to 50,000 would provide sufficient variation in collective conscience.

Three communities within each population category were selected; i.e., three communities with populations around 1,000,

three around 10, 000 , and three over 20, 000 . This made a total of nine communities. By consulting the win-loss records in football an attempt was made to choose within each category three communities whose records were as different as possible.

Although the original intention of this researcher was to choose within each population category one community in which the high school had a winning record, one in which it had a loosing one, and one in which it had lost about as many times as it had won, the impossibility of carring out these plans and at the same time matching the commun-ities on other previously mentioned criteria soon became evident. Thus the final sample of small communities contained two communities with very similar win-loss records in football. For the medium sized communities the selection process was even more difficult. There are not many cities of this size located in this specific region. In order to gain the needed variation in win-loss records, one city was chosen in the northern part of the state. When selecting the larger communities, many of the pre-established criteria were abandoned due to the scarcity of large cities with only one high school. As a result, they almost selected themselves and variability in win-loss records was almost impossible. An attempt was made to confine the selection to cities somewhere in the general area of the other communities.

Once the communities were selected, it was decided that the most efficient way to survey each community in terms of its collective conscience was with the use of informed respondents. On the assump-tion that high school personnel (staff and faculty) had their hand on the pulse of the community and that they could give an accurate response to the collective conscience questionnaire, they were chosen to speak for

their respective communities. Athletic directors in each school were
of course considered to be the best source of information on the high
school sports programs.

In order to gain entry into the schools, a letter of introduction
was sent to each school superintendent by Dr. Kenneth St. Clair (See
Appendix A) in the Education Department. Because of his contact with
the public schools in Oklahoma, it was felt that his endorsement would
be influencial in the school's decision to permit its personnel to
participate in this study. Along with his letter was this writer's letter
(See Appendix B) explaining the nature of the study and the sample
questionnaires for the faculty and athletic director. Eight of the nine
schools in the original selection agreed to allow faculty participation.
An alternate community was selected and permission for the study
secured.

Since there have been few efforts to directly or indirectly
measure collective conscience, either by attitude surveys or objective
indicators, a second technique aimed also at measuring collective
conscience was employed. On the assumption that there would be data,
available on the local level, concerning various facets of the community,
questionnaires were constructed to gather information on variables
believed to reflect the degree to which collective conscience was
present within a given community. Each questionnaire was designed
for selected community leaders which included the city clerk, manager
of the Chamber of Commerce, editor of the local newspaper, director
of the United Fund, and the secretary of the Election Board. Thus
these individuals became part of the people-sample taken from each
community.

After securing permission from the schools, a date was cleared
for this researcher to visit the schools, administer the collective
conscience questionnaires, and talk with principals and athletic
directors. About two weeks before a scheduled community visit,
letters explaining this research were sent to the athletic director (See
Appendix C) and to the community leaders (See Appendix D). Their
respective questionnaires were included with a reminder that their
community would be visited on the specified date to secure the infor-
mation requested on the questionnaires. Return envelopes were also
provided in the event that any wished to return the questionnaires by
mail. Table I presents a summarization of the characteristics of each
of the nine communities selected for this study. Each community has
been assigned a letter which will serve hereafter as its name. The
smallest community is "A" and the largest "I".

In summary, the sample for this study may be designated as a
purposive sample. An attempt was made to select each community
according to the previously described criteria and to provide for as
much variation as possible in the major variables.[2] Within each
community there is a subsample of informed respondents; i.e., high
school faculties, athletic directors, and community leaders, who were
chosen because of their assumed knowledge about their own commun-
ities.

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[2]Due to the size of this sample, it is not possible to assume that
the full range of variation has been represented in this study. Thus, it
cannot meet the requirements of scope sampling suggested by Willer
(1967:114) to be the most appropriate sampling technique in model
testing.

TABLE I

COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS

Communities	Population	Average Daily Attendance In School	Class	District	Number of Faculty Responding to Collective Conscience Questionnaire	Win-Loss Record* In Football For Last Two Seasons
A	1,011	109.19	B	4	18	8 - 14
B	1,304	93.38	B	3	16	8 - 13
C	1,420	138.92	B	4	17	19 - 5
D	7,323	358.25	AA	2	14	19 - 5
E	8,654	508.37	AA	1	23	9 - 11
F	9,412	541.28	AAA	1	24	3 - 17
G	23,302	1,114.18	AAA	2	43	15 - 8
H	25,940	1,544.73	AAAA	4	57	9 - 13
I	44,986	1,851.63	AAAA	4	71	9 - 13

*In this win-loss tabulation, ties have been counted as losses.

The Collective Conscience Questionnaire

The questionnaire (See Appendix E) used in this study was specifically intended to measure the extent to which collective conscience is present in various communities. Since extensive literature research produced no previous attempts to directly measure this phenomenon, it was necessary to utilize some original scale construction.

The major interest was on the communal and not the individual level, thus numerous demographic variables concerning the particular respondent were believed unnecessary. The only two which were included were length of time one had lived in the community and whether or not the respondent was a faculty or staff member in the school.

In the remainder of the questionnaire, the respondents were asked to speak for the community; i. e., to respond to the statements in the same way that they felt the people in the community would respond. Twenty-two items were constructed to reflect the definition of collective conscience as it is used in this study. Seven of these items (see items 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 12, and 18) were stated in a negative fashion to prevent an agree response set (Carr, 1971). Also, all items were randomly ordered in an attempt to control for other possible kinds of response sets. Furthermore an effort was made to pose the statements in terms of the people in general rather than calling for a personal response of the respondent's own view (e. g., Item one reads, "People here think this is a good community in which to live. "),

The respondents were instructed to indicate their position on a line numbered one through seven and ranging from Strongly Agree to Strongly Disagree for each of the twenty-two items as this has been suggested (Finn, 1972) as the most reliable and valid response continuum. This Likert-type scale

> . . . presents the respondent with a set of unscaled items and requests him to indicate the extent to which he agrees or disagrees with the statement. The individual's total score is then obtained by summation of the ratings (Helmstadter, 1970:370).

In order to assess the isomorphism of construct and empirical validity, an item-analysis was carried out by using the computer program TESTAT (Veldman, 1967:170-176). This program calculates means, sigmas, point-biserial correlations between items and the total scale score, and the percentages of the sample selecting each possible item choice. In addition, an alpha coefficient of internal consistency is calculated. This reflects the reliability among the items of the scale; i.e., the degree to which these items vary together in a consistent pattern.

The discussion of the collective conscience scale will thus include a presentation of original and final correlations (point-biserial), means, sigmas, and alpha coefficients. In the first preliminary analysis of the questionnaire, all the questionnaires from all respondents in all schools were combined. This was done to get some indication of the overall internal consistency of the scale and to obtain some idea of how the scale was performing. As is shown in Table II, all twenty-two items appeared to vary together and the correlation

TABLE II

COLLECTIVE CONSCIENCE SCALE BY ITEMS

Items	Original R Value (N = 283)
1. People here think this is a good community in which to live.	.64
2. There are good relationships between all the kinds of people in this community.	.65
3. No one seems to care much how the community looks.	.48
4. People here would rather live here than any place else.	.59
5. In this community, those who don't have a good paying job don't have much of a chance.	.46
6. People here think this is a good community in which to raise a family.	.68
7. In this community, adults and youth participate in only a few activities together.	.42
8. People here are willing to help those who are in need.	.56
9. In this community the youth get into trouble too often.	.45
10. In this community, the people vote in city elections.	.35
11. There are not many good things to say about this community.	.52
12. People here have too little respect for the law.	.54
13. Youth here want to live out their lives in this community	.43
14. This community is very peaceful.	.59
15. People here work together to get things done for the community.	.70
16. The people here have a lot of pride in this community.	.68
17. In this community, youth and adults understand each other.	.63
18. People here have little interest in this community's affairs.	.55
19. All nationalities, races, and religions equally benefit from living in this community.	.62
20. People here take an active part in this community's projects.	.70
21. In this community, most bond issues are easily passed.	.38
22. Everything in this community works together in an orderly fashion.	.70

Original Scale: Mean	108.95
Sigma	17.29
Alpha	.89

values were sufficiently large enough to maintain that the items were consistently measuring the same phenomenon.

However, since each community was considered an entity within itself, and particularly since the number of informed respondents varied drastically between communities, the TESTAT procedure was carried out separately for each set of questionnaires from the nine communities.[3] Following traditional acceptance criteria, it was decided to use a correlation value of .30 as a cut-off mark; i.e., only those items with correlation values of at least .30 in every community were to be retained for the final scale. However, items four and eight were later included since their correlation values were below .30 (.29 and .28 respectively) in only one community and relatively high in all others. Thus the final scale consisted of ten items which appeared to consistently reflect within each community the higher correlation values. After the ten items for the final scale were selected TESTAT was again used to further verify the internal consistency of the scale. The final correlation values, means, sigmas, and alpha coefficients for each item in each community, as well as for the combined populations, are shown in Table III. Reference to the items is made by the number of the item as it appeared on the questionnaire.

The Sport Questionnaire

To obtain information concerning the degree of community participation and the win-loss records in the three sports, football,

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[3] Consult Appendix G for the correlation values of these items in terms of each of the nine communities.

TABLE III

FINAL COLLECTIVE CONSCIENCE SCALE BY ITEMS AND COMMUNITIES

Items	Communities									Total
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	
	N = 18	N = 16	N = 17	N = 14	N =23	N = 24	N =43	N = 57	N = 71	N = 283
4	.38	.66	.41	.27	.71	.82	.55	.70	.54	.62
6	.85	.70	.77	.48	.80	.87	.46	.65	.58	.71
8	.85	.64	.67	.40	.74	.49	.44	.71	.63	.62
12	.47	.72	.78	.37	.62	.36	.65	.51	.58	.52
14	.81	.46	.77	.65	.74	.74	.64	.68	.65	.67
16	.49	.77	.58	.44	.81	.82	.77	.67	.65	.68
19	.70	.43	.70	.64	.70	.55	.64	.71	.73	.66
20	.72	.54	.82	.76	.73	.91	.71	.72	.65	.74
21	.59	.71	.52	.61	.52	.45	.56	.51	.44	.47
22	.70	.52	.75	.72	.88	.69	.77	.83	.71	.75
Mean	44.94	55.37	48.53	55.86	50.26	49.79	51.95	52.19	52.76	51.62
Sigma	10.43	7.10	8.69	6.14	9.94	10.69	7.74	8.24	7.09	8.79
Alpha	.85	.79	.87	.68	.89	.86	.82	.85	.80	.83

basketball, and baseball, a questionnaire (See Appendix F) was devised and distributed to the athletic directors at each high school. The first part of the questionnaire is concerned with such things as seating capacity, average game attendance, number of coaches, and booster club membership. Since one of the primary interests in this study was the degree to which collective conscience would change in each community with fluctuations in community participation and win-loss records, the questionnaire called for data beginning with the 1968-69 school year. This information was intended to provide an objective community participation index for each of the five years for each sport in each of the communities.

Unfortunately the assumption that these kinds of data would be kept on record and available for investigation proved to be unfounded. In many cases even the win-loss records for last year's games were unknown. This researcher was able to find some of the needed data with tedious search through such things as school papers and annuals. And, athletic directors who would do so, were encouraged to give a personal estimate for some of the questions. However, this was not particularly beneficial since many had not been at the schools for the entire five year period of time being investigated.

Rather than disregard the data that was collected, an effort was made to construct an overall community participation index. Every piece of information for any of the five years was tabulated to determine whether or not any of it was consistently reported by every athletic director. Although baseball may be considered a major sport on the national level, none of the nine communities seemed particularly concerned with it. One school did not field a team and there was no

consistent data reported in relation to any facet of the baseball pro-

grams. Thus, all information on baseball was the first deletion from

the data to be used in the overall participation index. Information

from questions on athletic facilities, number of coaches, cost of

athletic programs, and booster club membership was also deleted

since in most cases these questions were ignored. (See Appendix K).

Estimates of average game attendance for each of the five years

were reported for football and basketball. Except for two cities in

basketball and one in football almost no variation in average game

attendance over the five year period was reported. After a final

editing of the first part of the questionnaire, only this attendance data

and seating capacity for football and basketball were retained for

further analysis.

This data thus became the basis of the community participation

indexes to be computed for each community. In order to produce the

overall participation indexes, attendance per capita[4] by population and

by seating capacity for each sport in each community were first

calculated. Since the major comparisons were to be made between

communities of similar sizes, separate indexes were used in each

population grouping. To obtain these per capita attendances, the mean

attendances for each sport for the last five years were used as attend-

ances rates.

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[4]The per capita indexes for attendance are computed with the
technique utilized by Rooney (1969) to obtain per capita rates for foot-
ball player production.

The total population for each community grouping was then divided by the total attendance in that group to obtain a ratio of attendance to population. This ratio was divided into each community's population to produce a calculated attendance as if the ratio held equally in all communities. The calculated attendance was divided into the actual attendance to obtain a per capita attendance index by population for each community. The same procedure was followed to obtain per capita attendances by seating capacity. These calculations produced two per capita indexes for football (attendance by population and by seating capacity) and two for basketball. By adding the two for each sport, a community participation index for each sport was obtained. Summing all four indexes produced an over-all community participation index. With this procedure, 1.00 becomes the norm. Therefore, an index higher or lower than 1.00 would indicate greater or lesser attendance than would be the norm for a community of its size or a community with its size seating capacity for football and basketball. Table IV presents the per capita attendances[5] for each sport and the total overall community participation index.

Although the original intent was to calculate year-by-year community participation indexes by using the data for each sport in each year, the dearth of information received prevented all but a more generalized index. Thus these comprehensive indexes were calculated with the data which could be salvaged in an effort to establish some kind of objective index based on quantifiable data for community

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[5]Consult Appendix H for further description of the mathematical manipulations involved in the procedure used to obtain these per capita indexes.

TABLE IV

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION INDEXES BY SPORT AND IN COMBINATION

| Communities | FOOTBALL | | | BASKETBALL | | | COMBINED FOOTBALL-BASKETBALL | | |
| | Per Capita Attendance | | Community | Per Capita Attendance | | Community | Per Capita Attendance | | Community |
	By Population	By Seating Capacity	Participation Index	By Population	By Seating Capacity	Participation Index	By Population	By Seating Capacity	Participation Index
A	.77	.67	1.44	.57	1.39	1.96	1.34	2.06	3.40
B	.84	.93	1.77	.66	1.04	1.70	1.50	1.97	3.47
C	1.32	1.33	2.65	1.62	.92	2.54	2.94	2.25	5.19
D	1.11	1.38	2.49	.65	.82	1.47	1.76	2.20	3.96
E	.68	.60	1.28	.33	.44	.77	1.01	1.04	2.05
F	1.21	1.16	2.37	1.84	1.42	3.26	3.05	2.58	5.63
G	.87	1.66	2.53	1.21	.70	1.91	2.08	2.36	4.44
H	.84	.69	1.53	.54	.70	1.24	1.38	1.39	2.77
I	1.16	1.49	2.65	1.15	1.54	2.69	2.31	3.03	5.34

participation. Failing to produce these year-by-year indexes of course meant that any possible variation was cancelled out. This also meant that the fifth hypothesis (H_5: Within each community, collective conscience will vary as participation and win-loss records in the major sports fluctuate.) generated for this study was in danger of being abandoned.

The second part of the questionnaire allowed for subjective value judgements by the athletic directors. The nine items (numbered fourteen through twenty-two) in this section permitted the athletic directors to judge such things as the degree of community support, the impact of sport on the community, and the adequacy of facilities. Responses were summated and a subjective community participation score was obtained.

The procedure followed for refining this scale is similar to that used for the collective conscience scale. However, since there are only nine questionnaires, the decision to retain all nine items was made on the basis of the high correlation values of each item when all nine questionnaires were considered together. Table V indicates the correlation values, means, sigmas, and alpha coefficients for the football, basketball, and combined football-basketball scales. Each questionnaire was then analyzed separately to give each community an overall score on this subjective scale of community participation as well as a participation score for football and basketball. Table VI shows these scores.

TABLE V

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION SCALE BY ITEMS

Items	Football Original and Final R Value (N = 9)	Basketball Original and Final R Value (N = 9)	Football-Basketball Original and Final R Value (N = 9)	
14	.86	.79	Football	.91
			Basketball	.85
15	.51	.46	Football	.61
			Basketball	.58
16	.71	.83	Football	.68
			Basketball	.92
17	.60	.78	Football	.74
			Basketball	.73
18	.92	.73	Football	.90
			Basketball	.82
19	.92	.85	Football	.90
			Basketball	.84
20	.68	.55	Football	.81
			Basketball	.66
21	.67	.71	Football	.71
			Basketball	.66
22	.62	.62	Football	.60
			Basketball	.56

Original and Final Scale:

Mean	29.89	26.44	56.33	
Sigma	4.43	4.50	8.38	
Alpha	.91	.90	.94	

TABLE VI

COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION SCALE
BY COMMUNITY

Communities	Football	Basketball	Football-Basketball
A	25	23	48
B	27	20	47
C	31	30	61
D	29	30	59
E	31	27	58
F	34	33	67
G	36	30	66
H	26	21	47
I	34	26	60

The third critical concern of the sport questionnaire was win-
loss records over the past five years. Again, the lack of data reported
for baseball prohibited its inclusion for further analysis. For football
there was consistent reporting in all communities for four of the five
years. Basketball was not well reported. Win-loss records for only
two seasons, 1971-72 and 1972-73, were consistently reported by all
athletic directors. Since other year-by-year data was summarized, it
was decided to calculate the percentages of wins for football and basket-
ball for the reported seasons and then combine the records in the two

sports for an overall win percentage. Table VII indicates the win-loss records and the win percentages.

In summary the sport questionnaire was intended to provide this researcher with a five year win-loss record for football, basketball, and baseball. In addition, an objective community participation index based on quantifiable data for each sport for each year and a subjective attitude scale of community participation was to be developed. A lack of "available" data caused this researcher to alter many of the original plans. However, with the data that was collected an attempt has been made to provide some measurement of the crucial variables, participation and win-loss records.

Community Questionnaires

On the assumption that collective conscience will manifest itself in various observable ways within the community, five questionnaires were designed to gather objective quantifiable data believed to reflect the presence (or non-presence) of collective conscience. Each questionnaire was designed for the specific individual who was thought to know or to have available the needed information. Previous research by Angell (1942, 1947, and 1949), has implied that such community data as population growth, civic improvements and awards, budget increases, subscriptions to home-town newspapers, increased retail sales, increase in registered voters, passage of bond issues, contributions to United Funds or Community Chests, declining unemployment and welfare rates, and number of new businesses may be indicative of the collective conscience in a community.

TABLE VII

WIN-LOSS RECORDS

| | COMMUNITIES | | | | | | | | |
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Basketball									
1972-73	15-5	12-10	22-4	17-11	12-11	13-8	22-4	10-10	14-9
1971-72	14-5	15-5	19-8	6-20	7-14	17-3	19-5	6-14	8-16
Total	29-10	27-15	41-12	23-31	19-25	30-11	41-9	16-24	22-25
Percent of Wins	74.36	64.29	77.36	42.59	43.18	73.17	82.00	40.00	46.81
Football									
1972-73	2-8	2-8	9-3	10-2	6-4	3-7	5-5	6-5	3-8
1971-72	6-6	6-5	10-2	9-3	3-7	0-10	10-3	3-8	6-5
1970-71	3-8	6-5	10-2	8-3	3-7	0-10	7-4	6-5	5-5
1969-70	6-4	7-3	11-2	7-3	4-6	4-6	11-1	3-8	6-5
Total	17-26	21-21	40-9	34-11	16-24	7-33	33-13	18-26	22-21
Percent of Wins	39.53	50.00	81.63	75.56	40.00	17.50	71.74	40.91	51.16
Football-Basketball									
Total	46-36	48-36	81-21	57-42	35-49	37-44	74-22	34-50	44-46
Percent of Wins	56.10	57.14	79.41	57.58	41.67	45.68	77.08	40.48	48.89

The original intent was to gather the data for a five-year time period matching that period of time with which the sport questionnaire was concerned. Then, an objective, available data, tabulation of observable community variables could be used to construct a collective conscience index for each year in each community. This index was to be used to indicate the fluctuation, or constancy, of collective conscience within a community in relation to the changing win-loss records and community participation. Also, it was believed that measurement of collective conscience could result not only from an attitude scale but also from observable and quantifiable characteristics of a community.

These questionnaires, much like those dealing with "available" data on sport, proved very unproductive in securing consistent information. The only item reported in all communities was population for 1970. No other items were complete enough for any comparisons to be made. In some cases the questionnaires were not returned even though almost all were personally contacted during the visits to the communities. The types of data called for seemed not to be available even though records and files are made at one time or another which contain most of the information. Back files, particularly in smaller communities are incomplete or, many times, destroyed or misplaced.

The information collected from this questionnaire was so incomplete and inconsistently reported that it was virtually unusable. Thus a visit to the state offices was made to investigate the types of data available on this level. Unfortunately, most of the information found was summarized in terms of county reports and there are few breakdowns on individual communities. Also, little of the desired

information could be found for the five year period under investigation. Data on the larger cities is somewhat more plentiful. However, only that data which was consistently available for all communities being considered could be utilized.

This researcher was able to obtain a three year (1970, 1971, and 1972) report on state sales tax receipts. These figures were thought to reflect to some degree the retail sales in a community and thus its economic growth. The amount of the general fund budgets for each community over a five year period were also obtained. This data was originally intended to partially reflect a community's willingness to expend money on its projects and improvements.

The County And City Data Book, The Municipal Yearbook, and other various census materials were also consulted, but the results proved little more favorable than did the questionnaires or the state offices (See Appendix K). With so little useable and consistent information, this researcher decided to disregard quantifiable data on the community as a source information in the analysis of the hypotheses to be tested in this study.

Community Visits

On the day of each community visit, this researcher arrived at the school about 8:00 a.m. Usually the principal was consulted concerning the research and the manner in which he wished questionnaire distribution handled. Then, either in a group or singly, the personnel in the school were contacted. In either case, it was explained that they were to act as respondents for the community as a whole. After distributing the questionnaires, a box for the completed

forms was left in the principal's office. The athletic director was contacted and as much time as he had available was spent discussing sport and its role in the community with him.

Normally the visits with the community personnel began after lunch. An effort was made to see each of those with whom this researcher had earlier corresponded. Appreciation was expressed to those who had already returned their questionnaires. Those who had not completed their questionnaires were encouraged to do so at their earliest convenience. Many times these people wanted to know about the project and were eager to converse about the high school sports in their community. Some time was spent in the libraries of those communities which had one to get some kind of impression and feeling for the place itself.

Around three-thirty another visit was made to the school to collect the questionnaires, confer with interested faculty members, look at old annuals and newspapers, and, in some cases, talk with students. After leaving the school, the community personnel visits were completed. At five o'clock most offices closed and thus this researcher's day in each community was ended.

Summary

Primarily this chapter presents the original and altered intentions of this researcher in operationalizing this study. All information consistently reported for each community was coded, indexed, and retained for the final analysis of data. Relatively little quantifiable data was obtained on either the community or the sport

programs. However, that which was secured was indexed accordingly. Subjective data was also noted for later use.

The data analysis presented in Chapters VI and VII views the hypotheses of this study from observational and from measurement perspectives. Each can perhaps offer useful insights into the nature of the variables and their relationship to each other.

CHAPTER VI

HYPOTHESIS EVALUATION: QUALITATIVE

DATA

Introduction

In an attempt to analyze the model and the hypotheses generated
from it, a subjective discourse may perhaps be useful. Each com-
munity is within itself a unique collective; however, there are common
characteristics in their views and relationships to high school athletic
programs. There are obvious limitations to any analysis based
primarily on sense impressions. And, since only one day was spent in
each of these communities, the possibility of misinterpretation is
present. However, a view of these towns not based on "objective,"
quantified data can possibly add to a clearer, more complete picture
of what they are like. Various comments, reactions, and impressions
are possibly important in gaining some insight into the internal nature
of a community. The specific intent for the community visits in this
study was to gather community data and detect, if possible, people's
feelings about their town and their high school athletic program,
particularly in regard to football, basketball, and baseball.

This chapter is intended to present the writer's general overall
reaction to each of the communities; and, more specifically, a view of
the role of sport in the community. An attempt is made to present the

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kinds of feelings and attitudes that were expressed by the citizens. In the conclusion of this chapter, the basic hypotheses of this study are reviewed in relation to the author's subjective, sense impressions gained of the communities.

The Small Communities

Community A

Coming into community A is like seeing the realization of the stereotype of a small rural town. Roads are not paved, buildings are old, and grain trucks and farmers line the road to the mill. A tractor and farm equipment store seem to be where most of the action in town is concentrated. Perhaps the best analysis of A was related by a newcomer who said, "They're thinking about paving a road to connect A with the cemetary and then call this place Twin Cities."

From the people who have lived in A for many years comes a quite different impression. Superficial objects like roads, buildings, and progress are unimportant when compared to the benefits derived from living in a community with such good "folks." According to one, there is always something going on in A from church meetings to Mason meetings.

Perhaps the greatest problem for this community is its proximity to a much larger city. Many do the biggest part of their buying and shopping there. Also, a large number of the teachers at the school live there and commute to A only to teach school. In addition, many students from outlying areas are bused to the school and have no other tie to the community. These divisive factors are readily

communicated to the outsider. Often times feelings of hostility, panic, and entrapment enter into the conversation.

In contrast to the less than modern appearance of the town is the school. Located at one end of the main street, almost isolated from the rest of the town, the school is a modern, very adequate facility. However, most faculty members feel that the town does not really identify with the school or its activities. Participation is low and the community is little involved in any of its programs. Students here are reported to cause more trouble, to be less respectful of authority, and to be less interested or concerned with sports than students in other schools. Some seem to believe that the school and the community would identify with a winning sports program. But, the overall win-loss record in football, basketball, and baseball for the last five years is not particularly bad and A still lacks the community support and involvement in sports enjoyed by other communities with worse records.

Community B

Although a small town, community B serves as county seat for smaller towns in the county. The community appears relatively progressive with paved streets, numerous businesses, two banks, and an impressive modern school plant. There is quite a bit of money in the town from oil developments. Most of the people seem to do their shopping and buying in B. There are good feelings among and between the people and the homogeneity of the community seems to carry over and include the school teachers who, in other towns, are often con-sidered outsiders.

B is a football town. Even though their record this year was less than spectacular, the community has maintained its enthusiasm for the game. The whole town turned out for the state play-offs two years ago. When B plays out-of-town games, a caravan of cars, reportedly a mile long, makes the trip. After the games, all the folks like to stop and eat at the same place, win or lose. When it is too cold or wet to sit in the bleachers, the cars line up around the stadium to take in the action.

According to one, "nothing else is the equalizer that sport is. No other activity can bring out the oneness and feeling of unity like sport." People in B take their sports very personally. When the team loses, B loses, and when they win, the people rejoice. It seems that the whole school runs better in winning seasons. In fact, it is easier to get things for the whole school, not just the athletic program, when the teams do well.

The basketball and baseball teams do not have bad records, but the community seems less interested in what they do. This does not mean they do not want victory. In fact, they want to be "Number One" in everything, from the band, to the agriculture programs, to the athletic field. However, success in these other programs seems to function mainly to whet the community's appetite for football victory.

Community C

The first impression one gets when entering community C is that no town of this size can possibly be this big, have so many businesses, offer so many services, and look so good. There is a hospital, a public library, two nursing homes, two banks, and a very

adequate school plant. People are friendly but have an air of efficiency and time-consciousness quite similar to larger cities. C is a relatively wealthy town, and industry and manufacturing are plentiful. The city won a first place community achievement award last year. People in C like their city, they are proud of it, and they like each other.

Although there is a strong identity of the community members with each other, the closeness of the town people does not seem to include the school faculty. In fact an undercurrent of faculty hostility toward the town is apparent. Perhaps this is true because in the teachers' opinion, the town is fanatical about sport. Except for the football coach, the town is believed to be little concerned with what's happening at school. When the high school coach resigned this year, he received a full page story concerning his contributions to the community. However, the lady who established the kindergarten program, and ran it for the last five years, was only cited in the list of those faculty resigning. No other faculty member received extensive news coverage either.

According to one source, the worth of the school is judged by the success of the athletic teams. In fact, he estimated that seventy-five percent of the communities in Oklahoma judge their schools by athletic success. The town takes a personal interest in sports, especially football. When new bleachers were ordered, the citizens took off from work and put them together in readiness for an up-coming game. The community, with trucks of all kinds, hauled the fill dirt and leveled it for the football field. In addition, one hundred percent of the businesses in C bought memberships in last year's Quarterback

Club. Although the crucial interest is football, the basketball team has
also brought home its share of honors. Winning in football and basket-
ball seems to be a tradition at C. The people expect victory and are
willing to overlook somewhat less than otherwise acceptable behavior
on the part of a coach as long as he wins. Participation and involve-
ment are high; and the people love their winners.

The Middle-Sized Communities

Community D

Community D is a middle-sized, clean, all-American town. Its
people are friendly and eager to tell a stranger about their girl's
basketball team and the state championship they won this year. This
"Gas Capitol of the World," so billed by the Chamber of Commerce,
won first place in the community achievement contest last year and is
top contention for this year's award.

Coaches here believe that their city is much like others in this
part of Oklahoma, in that it seems to be oriented around the top sport
of the school. Town-folk identify with the teams, with the coach, and
especially with victory. They follow the team on out-of-town trips,
they buy the team's meals, and they encourage their winners to make
speaking trips to other towns. However, this kind of community
support seems highly dependent on winning. For example, it was not
uncommon for the bleachers to be full during the girl's basketball
games and populated only by parents and a few loyal fans for the boy's.
Although the boy's season was not particularly bad, it was in no way
comparable with the girl's.

There are signs and monuments, especially around the school, which would indicate the community's identity with the athletic teams. According to various officials, everything in the school and community seems to function more smoothly and efficiently when teams are winning. There are fewer student problems and less community discontent. There are complimentary remarks for the school, the principal, and the community which are readily expressed during winning seasons. Losing seasons are noted not only by defeat on the scoreboard but also by much community discontent. This tenuous basis for support is recognized by coaches as it tends to leave them somewhat insecure in their jobs.

Quite obviously high school sports have an impact on the attitude which the people have about their community. When asked about community awards, the Chamber of Commerce listed the girl's state championship. However, according to many, the sport of crucial concern is football. And for the last few years the coach has been a town "hero" as his teams have consistently turned out winning seasons.

Community E

The "City On The Move," as community E is referred to by the Chamber of Commerce, has been the subject of much current upheaval. The huge industrial plant, which had employed as many as 825 workers, is closing its doors. Since 1916, when it was established, it has been a major source of revenue for the city and its population.

Faced with the inevitable loss of the plant, the city has thus far managed to escape a panic situation. However, the undercurrents of unrest and insecurity are not far from the surface. The plant is a

primary topic of conversation especially since several citizens brought

a pollution suit against the industry shortly before it's announced

closing. Life for these citizens has been somewhat less than pleasant

since their names were made known publically.

The city's Industrial Foundation is busily readying two new

industrial sites and encouraging new businesses in an effort to avert

massive unemployment with the closing of the plant. The Chamber of

Commerce has financed a study of business prospects for E, and the

two banks anxiously await the outcome. As one banker indicated when

he looked around at the new building, "the plant is largely responsible

for this."

While E is a combination of the new and the old, it would appear

that the old has the definite edge. The slow down, easy-going pace is

at once obvious to the outsider. There are many historic buildings.

The city looks old and tired. For a community with nearly 8700

inhabitants, impressions of ruralness seem particularly heavy.

However, it is most difficult to put any kind of label on E.

The progressive spirit is perhaps best represented by the public

school system. Winner of the "First Honor Award" and school of the

month, the city is justly proud of its schools. Perhaps shocked into

awareness of the present by the closing of the plant, other facets of E

may soon feel the push to keep up with the times.

The Maroons, as the local high school athletic teams are called,

have had some moments of glory in spite of this season's poor records.

When the basketball team lost two home games in overtime "disappoint-

ment fell heavily on the whole town." The movement of football from

Class AA to AAA has left the team somewhat outclassed but,

according to one source, the new coach has begun the process of instilling pride and a winning attitude in his players. In 1970, the baseball team qualified for the State Tourney for the first time in E's history. Even though they did not win the championship, the city reveled in their success.

This year's state championship team in wrestling was flown to the National Collegiate Championships at the town's expense. Perhaps the most obvious indication of collective conscience were evidenced when the wrestlers went on an out of town trip on a Friday. There was no trouble filling a charter bus for spectators. People took off from work, canceled appointments, and returned at an "ungodly" hour Saturday morning. These fans will be ready to travel again next week. Wrestling is the strong suit for E and attendance and support seem to surge during the season. However, perhaps because wrestling is somewhat less status rewarding on a societal level than football or basketball or baseball, there does not appear to be a community wide identification with the athletic teams of the high school. Although there are some very staunch supporters, facilities and equipment are readily provided, and the community enjoys a winning effort by the teams, high school sports do not seem to be a crucial concern for the community as a whole.

It is not difficult to engage the ardent fans in conversations about their favorite subject. It seems that last summer, there was a camper's convention at the fairgrounds. People were everywhere, buying things and wandering up and down the streets. Business soared and when the campers had gone and the merchants surveyed their profits a surprising realization struck them; most of the buying had been done

by the citizens of E. The joining together, the seeing and conversing, the visiting had worked like contagion to pull the people into the action network of the community. Therefore, according to one, what E needs is good recreational and athletic involvement to encourage the city's economic growth.

A few years ago there was no field for softball playing for the men of the community so they go together, cleared the space, and now increasing participation by "town-folk" is having quite an impact in other areas of social action. A further indication of the role of sports in E is the youth center which handles most of the athletic activities until the youths reach high school. With nearly 1000 youth participating each week in the activities of the center, it has become a popular place.

Although there does appear to be to some degree a collective unity in E, the role of sport in relation to it seems obscure. The impact of the plant must of course be considered a crucial factor in past feelings of collectivity. And the inevitable closing of the company has perhaps left little time for any interest other than securing a new job. Thus any analysis of this community concerning any social phenomenon is particularly difficult.

Community F

Community F is the largest city in northwest Oklahoma. Perhaps most significant in its development was the oil boom of 1959. At that time the two major industries, wheat and livestock, were suffering. The boom gave the city new life and it has since maintained itself as a leader in wheat and cattle production.

Of significant interest is the city youth program which operates to give "every child a well rounded sports and sportsmanship background." The emphasis seems to be participation and perhaps this has carried over into high school sports. Talking with the coaches, one gets the distinct impression that winning is nice but it is not a primary concern. The main thrust of the sport program is student and community involvement,

In spite of a very poor win record, particularly in football, there is apparently good attendance and community support for the athletic programs. Perhaps one tragic event, the death of a boy during a practice, in 1969, has helped to foster the less pronounced emphasis on winning. There seems to be good community feelings regardless of the scoreboard. This does not mean F does not appreciate victory, as evidenced by the enthusiasm of the crowds when the football team won three games this year. They had lost every game in the two preceding years. Consequently, winning does not appear to be the crucial consideration in the sport's contest as it is played in F.

Furthermore, there are other explanations which may explain the de-emphasis on winning. Traditionally F has been a winner, in spite of recent records, and perhaps people continue to identify with the tradition. It may also be that the impacts of a maximized division of labor are felt less here due to its location and function for northwestern Oklahoma. Relatively isolated from other trade areas, the smaller towns in this part of the state depend on F for services and supplies otherwise unavailable. This source of collective pride may be sufficient to counter the effects of losing on the athletic field.

The Large Communities

Community G

Located in the southwest corner of Oklahoma, community G boasts a growing population and expanding industries. It is large enough to provide almost any desired service. Its size and location, in a relatively isolated part of Oklahoma, make it a center for outlying trade. Although not conspicuously apparent to a visitor, there are some signs of collective unity at work in the community. It is difficult to determine the extent or the potentcy of this collective spirit since there is an obvious separation of the town-folk from the military personnel stationed at the air force base.

On first contact, the high school appears somewhat antiquated. However, major additions and expansions seem to make it a quite adequate facility. Football is the major sport and the community really gets involved when the team is winning. A couple of years ago, the team was in contention for state championship. The mayor chartered a plane and painted the sides with the victorious intentions of G. He then flew over the opposing town to drop leaflets, printed with similar sentiments, all over the community. There was a parade, instigated by the drivers of the city trucks, of trash trucks around the school to enliven school spirit and exemplify community support. On the day of the big game, the mayor declared a holiday so that the entire populace could take off and attend the game. After the team took the state championship, the people collected enough donations to send the entire team to the Orange Bowl. During that same season a particularly bad

snow storm left the football field covered and unuseable. Volunteers

in G took off from work and cleared the field for the up-coming game.

It is not uncommon for the mayor to sit on the bench with the

football team. According to the students, the All-Sports Banquet is

really for the football players. In spite of the emphasis on football,

it is reported that one school official solicited heavenly assistance in a

crucial basketball contest. Some indication of the role of sport may be

evidenced by this statement in one school annual: "We depend on you

[the athletic teams] to defend the honor of the school through the up-

coming year."

The community's attitude toward sports seems to be highly

dependent on the final score. This year's less than impressive record

seems to have dampened the enthusiasms of the community. Perhaps

one student best analyzed the situation when he said, "To have spirit

you have to have unity." A visible community spirit not obvious to a

visitor may possibly indicate an accompanying lack of community unity.

Community H

Perhaps the most striking impression of community H on any

visitor is oil. The complex of one oil company covers more than 1000

acres and has a work force of about 3500. It seems like nearly every-

body there works for this company. However, there are other

industries, and these, with oil, combine to place H first in the state

in per household income. By just driving through H, it seems that

there are no poor people living there. Homes are well kept and yards

well tended. H has also been reported to be very "clickish" where

newcomers are concerned.

The high school is most impressive with modern facilities and buildings. The athletic program is so varied that almost all activities are available for participation. From the coaches the most vociferous complaint however was lack of participation by the students. Relatively few young men are willing to subject themselves to the rigors of training and practice. This lack of participation may be a reflection of the community's demand for a winner. In the last few years, H's inability to field a winning team in the major sports may be taking its toll on the attitude of people about the sports teams.

The win ethic in H is pervasive enough that coaches fear the loss of their jobs if they do not produce winning teams. As was indicated by a coach, "We had a scrappy, young basketball team this year but they didn't win much" and the community was not impressed. Attendance was sparce and unenthuiastic. H simply must have a winner. Thus it would seem that any collective conscience potentially available through sport involvement is highly dependent on winning.

Community I

Perhaps because of its size, it is difficult to get any specific impressions of I either from conversations or sightseeing. Although people seem to like I, it may be that they like the neighbors where they live and have no real feelings for the entire community as a whole. The city has grown particularly fast and apparently provides almost any service one could need. It appears progressive, modern, and aware of the "outside world." Several possible reasons may be the varied economic industries, the large oil productions, and the four-year university located there.

Entering I one gets the strange impression that no city of this size could possibly have only one high school. Students are everywhere, and the school, run somewhat similar to a college, appears to function no less efficiently than might a smaller one. Although recent records fail to indicate much success by the athletic teams, there have been some very fine football teams in the past. Rumor is that a few years ago the bond issue to build a second high school failed because the citizens didn't want to split up the football team. Many seem to think the bond will pass when it comes up again. Considering the win-loss record in the last three years, they could be right.

Despite the records, sports seem to provide to some degree a unifying force in the community. Statements such as "the entire student body and faculty unite" to show their support, or "the enthusiasm of both the team and the whole community was overwhelming," or "sports play a major role in the lives of students" whether player or participant, or "jubilant dads show estatic approval and support" would suggest that some collective sentiment is centered around the high school teams. However, with the city so diversified and the population so large, it would be difficult to say that these pro-sport comments are a reflection of the entire community.

This citation from a poster in the school hal will perhaps indicate some of the affection students feel for their athletes:

The [Team's] Creation

On the first day, a team was created
On the second day a coach was created as a helpmate
On the third day they were assigned to beat the Bombers
On the fourth day they knew they had the power to conquer
    the Bombers
On the fifth day they were given the signs of spirit
On the sixth day they defeated the Bombers
On the seventh day they rested.

Conclusion

When considering each of these communities as separate entities,
the uniqueness of each seem to overshadow any similarities that might
exist. However, when information about each is summarized in terms
of the hypotheses for this study, some of the more general character-
istics become more apparent. The first concern is with the strength
of the collective conscience in these communities. Generally speaking,
there seemed to be greater collective conscience among the town
people of smaller areas than among those from the larger ones. The
people in the small communities knew their neighbors, were more
involved in school activities, and appeared to feel integrated into the
life of the town. However, the separation of the school faculty
members from the mainstream of community life was more frequently
referred to in the smaller towns. Feelings of detachment and disillu-
sionment with the community often came to the surface in conversations
with school teachers in smaller towns.

In all the communities the status sport was football. Although
some have excellent records in wrestling and basketball, the real
interest was football. Baseball seemed of little importance and one
school did not field a team. Most of the conversations with school
coaches, officials, and town people seemed always to be oriented
around football.

Smaller communities had a great deal of involvement and
participation in their high school athletic programs. Possibly because
there is little else to do and the bureaucracy of the school seems less
formidable, the people feel a real identity with the teams. As the

communities get larger, community participation seems more dependent on winning. The verdict of the scoreboard appears to be so crucial that without winning community participation can have little, if any, impact on collective conscience. Possibly larger communities, with more alternatives for involvement, turn to other activities which can perhaps validate collective conscience.

Comments, such as "this town must have a winner," "we can't get the boys to even come out for sports when we're losing," and "attendance is poor when we lose," indicate the central role that winning plays in athletics. This is not meant to leave the impression that the smaller towns are unconcerned about winning. In these too, attendance records and community involvement seem to fluctuate with winning and losing seasons. However, the fluctuation does not seem to be as dramatic.

In each community, an attempt was made to talk at some length to the coaches and high school officials. The hypotheses were generally explained and discussed. In most cases, respondents seem to feel that there was indeed a direct relationship between high school athletics, particularly football, and the community. While no one used the term collective conscience to communicate their view of sport and its relationship to the community, they often commented on such facets of community life as pride, attitude, goodwill, and unity. Citizens in the community were reported to have fewer complaints about the school and to pass school bond issues more readily during winning football seasons. Students, too, were said to cause less trouble, to cut school less frequently, and to communicate better with the teachers when the football team was having success.

Most of those with whom this researcher spoke were in general agreement with the hypotheses of this study. There seemed no doubt in their mind that sport's impact on the community was indeed significant. None could suggest exactly how the impact could be measured or specifically how it manifest itself. But, most believed that they were definitely able to feel the difference that winning seasons could have on a community.

Whether or not these subjective impressions can be measured by quantifiable data is difficult to determine. From comments and statements of community members it would appear that there is a relationship between collective conscience and high school sports. However, the operationalization of the concept collective conscience is not easily accomplished. Chapter VII will present the results of this researcher's attempt to quantitatively test the hypotheses which thus far have been viewed primarily in relation to sense impressions and comments made by school officials and community members.

CHAPTER VII

HYPOTHESIS EVALUATION: QUANTITATIVE

DATA

Introduction

The utilization of appropriate statistical procedures is perhaps the most acceptable technique for determining the status of any hypothesis. These procedures require that the data be in a quantifiable form; i. e., the data must be transformed into indices which can be enumerated and measured. Thus, in this chapter, the information which was collected for this research and which has been quantified will provide the data for the statistical analysis of the hypotheses.

With a sample size of nine, the assumptions underlying para-metric statics cannot be met. Although an attempt was made to stratify the sample along the dimensions of the major variables, the representativeness of this selection procedure cannot be determined. There are also some difficulties in utilizing nonparametric tests due mainly to the sample size and the manner in which both the commun-ities and the informed respondents were chosen,

Primarily, the variables are measured at either the ordinal or interval level. Such data as population , participation indexes, and win percentages represent the interval level while the collective conscience scale and the participation scale represent the ordinal level.

These levels of measurement would justify the use of relatively power-ful statistical tests if other assumptions underlying statistical measure-ment could be met.

Considering the characteristics of this data, it was decided to rely on a parametric statistic, Pearson, and a nonparametric statistic, Kendall's tau. Both of these are concerned with measuring the degree of association or correlation between two variables. However, in some of the hypothesized relationships, the variables are measured on different levels of scales; thus the use of Pearson is a more stringent test than is desired. Rather than assuming that the differences between the scores on a variable are at equal intervals, the tau statistic allows for a ranking of the scores. Therefore only the ranks are of crucial importance. Tau accesses the over-all correlation for every set of ranks on two variables with every other set of ranks; i. e., the ranks on one variable are arranged in order and the difference between the number of times which the ranks on the second variable hold in the same order as those on the first and the number of times in which they do not hold is then divided by the maximum total which is possible when perfect agreement between the ranks is observed. In essence, tau yields the percent of times that the ranks hold in the predicted order minus the number of times they do not hold.

Establishing a level of significance and thus a rejection region for such a small sample does not seem particularly crucial, especially since the sample size is reduced to three for the hypotheses dealing with communities of similar population size. The likelihood of achieving such a level is very unlikely even if the sample were randomly chosen. However, for the sake of adhering to requirements

of statistical testing, the .05 level may be considered the designated level for this study.

This chapter's first concern is a presentation of an analysis of this researcher's attempt to appraise certain variables by more than one type of measurement. Second, each hypothesis will be tested in terms of both Pearson and tau. No attempt will be made in this chapter to discuss the implications of the findings. The final section will summarize the results of the tests of the hypotheses.

Multi-measurement of Specified Variables

The original intent in this study was to measure collective conscience on an attitude scale and with available data. Unfortunately the available data on the communities was not of sufficient quality or quantity to justify such a measurement. However, another possible indication of the validity of the collective conscience attitude scale may be attained from accessing the correlation between the means and the standard deviations on the collective conscience scale across all of the communities. As was earlier indicated (Fessler, 1952), community integration may be evidenced by a high degree of agreement on virtually any topic by community members. Table VIII presents the means and standard deviations for the nine communities and the correlation coefficients. As is shown (r = -.84), those communities that have the higher collective conscience mean scores also have the lower standard deviations. Although the Pearson coefficient is not statistically significant, tau (τ = -.78, p < .05) for the same data would indicate that the predicted direction of the relationship between mean scores and standard deviations occurred 78% more often than did the reverse direction.

TABLE VIII

CORRELATION OF MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS
ON THE COLLECTIVE CONSCIENCE SCALE

| Community | Collective Conscience Scale (N = 9) | |
	Means	Standard Deviations
A	44. 94	10. 43
B	53. 37	7. 10
C	48. 53	8. 69
D	55. 86	6. 14
E	50. 26	9. 94
F	49. 79	10. 69
G	51. 95	7. 74
H	52. 19	8. 24
I	52. 76	7. 09

$$r = -.84$$
$$\tau = -.78$$

The correlation value for tau is sometimes misinterpreted. In this case the comparison between the ranks for mean scores and standard deviations showed that thirty-two of thirty-six, or 88. 9%, of the paired sets of ranks were inversely related. At the same time, four, or 11. 1%, were directly related. Subtracting 89% from 11% (11% - 89% = -78%) indicated that an inverse relationship between mean scores and standard deviations was observed 78% more often

than a direct relationship. Tau is a nonparametric statistic, designed for use with small samples, which specifies this percent of the difference in decimal form; hence a tau of -.78. Thus it would appear that there is more agreement among the respondents who scored their community higher in collective conscience than among those who scored their community lower.

Community participation was also accessed on two measures: an attitude scale and an index based on available data. Table IX presents the correlations between the overall participation scale and the index, as well as the correlations for the two measures in football and in basketball. Since all indexes were standardized by community size, the correlations are computed separately for the three subgroups which are small communities, medium-sized communities, and large communities. An overall percent is calculated for the number of times in which the sets of ranks on the two measures within each population grouping occurred in the same order minus the number of times in which the orders were reversed.

As Table IX indicates, in all community subgroups both Pearson ($r = .99$, $r = .90$, and $r = .79$, respectively) and tau ($\tau = .33$, $\tau = 1.00$, and $\tau = .33$, respectively) suggest that the two measures of overall community participation vary together in a consistent manner such that higher scores on one are accompanied by higher scores on the other. The overall percent indicates that a direct relationship between the scale and the index was observed 55% more often than a reverse relationship.

When the two measures are analyzed by sport, it would appear that the relationship between them holds more consistently across the

TABLE IX

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION
SCALE AND INDEX

Community	Overall Community Participation		Football Community Participation		Basketball Community Participation	
	Scale	Index	Scale	Index	Scale	Index
A	48	3.40	25	1.44	23	1.96
B	47	3.47	27	1.77	20	1.70
C	61	5.19	31	2.65	30	2.54
	N = 3 r = .99 τ = .33		N = 3 r = .99 τ = 1.00		N = 3 r = 1.00 τ = 1.00	
D	59	3.96	29	2.49	30	1.47
E	58	2.05	31	1.28	27	.77
F	67	5.63	34	2.37	33	3.26
	N = 3 r = .90 τ = 1.00		N = 3 r = .02 τ = -.33		N = 3 r = .97 τ = 1.00	
G	66	4.44	36	2.53	30	1.91
H	47	2.77	26	1.53	21	1.24
I	60	5.34	34	2.65	26	2.69
	N = 3 r = .79 τ = .33		N = 3 r = .96 τ = .33		N = 3 r = .52 τ = .33	
Overall % of Right Minus Wrong Directions	55.56		33.33		77.78	

three community subgroups for basketball than for football. The specified relationship was present for basketball participation 78% more often than the reverse relationship. For football, however, the specified relationship was observed only 33% more often. In summary, it would seem that the two measures of community participation generally vary in a uniform relationship across the three community subgroups. But, the relationship holds most consistently for basketball participation, then total participation, and, lastly, for football participation.

<div align="center">Evaluation of Hypothesis One</div>

Hypothesis one states: Communities with less division of labor will have a greater collective conscience. Division of labor has been operationalized by community size and thus those communities with the smallest populations are hypothesized to have the greatest collective conscience. The Pearson and tau for community size and collective conscience are shown in Table X. Both statistical tests fail to support the hypothesis; and both suggest that collective conscience is greater in the larger communities. Tau specifically indicates that the wrong direction occurred 28% more times than the correct direction as specified in Hypothesis One.

TABLE X

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COLLECTIVE CONSCIENCE
AND POPULATION SIZE

Community	Population	Collective Conscience
A	1101	44.94
B	1304	53.37
C	1420	48.53
	$\bar{x} = 1245$	$\bar{x} = 48.96$
D	7323	55.86
E	8654	50.26
F	9412	49.79
	$\bar{x} = 8463$	$\bar{x} = 51.97$
G	23302	51.95
H	25940	52.19
I	44986	52.76
	$\bar{x} = 31409$	$\bar{x} = 52.30$
N = 9	r = .36	τ = .28

Evaluation of Hypothesis Two

Hypothesis two states: Communities with equal division of labor
which have higher participation in the major sports will have greater
collective conscience. This hypothesis calls for an investigation of
communities of similar size and thus Table XI shows the correlations
values (Pearson and tau) on each subgroup separately. In addition,
the community participation index and scale are both shown with their

TABLE XI

CORRELATION BETWEEN COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION
INDEXES AND SCALES AND COLLECTIVE
CONSCIENCE

Community	Community Participation	Community Participation	Collective Conscience
	Index	Scale	
A	3.40	48	44.94
B	3.47	47	53.37
C	5.19	61	44.94
	N = 3	N = 3	
	r = -.05	r = -.15	
	τ = .33	τ = -.33	
D	3.96	59	55.86
E	2.05	58	50.26
F	5.63	67	49.79
	N = 3	N = 3	
	r = -.03	r = -.47	
	τ = -.33	τ = -.33	
G	4.44	66	51.95
H	2.77	47	52.19
I	5.34	60	52.76
	N = 3	N = 3	
	r = .55	r = -.08	
	τ = .33	τ = -.33	
Overall % of Right Minus Wrong Directions	11.11	-33.33	

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respective correlations. The overall percent of hypothesized correct

minus wrong directions for the comparisons in each population

category for each measurement of community participation is also

calculated.

In only one community subgroup (r = .55 for the largest com-

munities) is there a trend toward the hypothesized relationship for the

community participation index and collective conscience. For the

community participation scale the correlations in every subgroup are

reversed. For both measures of community participation tau shows

only two subgroups (τ = .33 for the large communities and τ = .33

for the small communities) with the correct direction observed more

frequently than the wrong. Perhaps the best way to summarize the

findings presented on this table is to combine the subgroups and

calculate an overall percent of the observed correct minus wrong

directions. This summarization indicates that the hypothesized

direction of the relationship between the community participation index

and collective conscience manifested itself 11% more often than did

the reverse direction. However, the reverse direction was present

33% more often in the relationship between the community participation

scale and collective conscience. Thus hypothesis two is unconfirmed;

and in fact these data tend to indicate that it is less, rather than

greater, community participation which is accompanied by greater

collective conscience.

Hypothesis two was also evaluated in terms of the participation

scale and index for football and basketball separately and in terms of

each of the four per capita indexes that were summated to obtain the

participation indexes. However, none of these offered further

clarification of the relationship between community participation and collective conscience. The Pearson and tau coefficients for the participation indexes and scales are reported in Appendix I.

Evaluation of Hypothesis Three

Hypothesis three states: Communities with equal division of labor which win in the major sports will have greater collective conscience. This hypothesis, too, calls for an evaluation to be made in terms of the subgroupings of the communities. Table XII presents separately the correlation coefficients for total wins, football wins, and basketball wins and collective conscience. The overall percents of observed correct minus wrong directions are also reported.

Only for the medium-sized communities in total wins ($r = .95$, $\tau = .33$) and in football wins ($r = .95$, $\tau = 1.00$) is there strong evidence for the hypothesized relationship between winning and collective conscience. Considering the other community subgroups in terms of total wins and football wins in relation to collective conscience, the hypothesized trend is either so negligible that it appears non-existent, or it appears in the direction opposite to that which was predicted. For example, in the small communities the correlation coefficients show little, if any, relationship between total wins and collective conscience ($r = -.05$, $\tau = .33$) or between football wins and collective conscience ($r = .16$, $\tau = .33$). In the large communities the relationship between total wins and collective conscience ($r = -.57$, $\tau = -.33$) and football wins and collective conscience ($r = -.47$, $\tau = -.33$) seemingly suggest that the reversal of the hypothesized relationship is more often the case. Furthermore, all Pearson ($r = -.79$, $r = -.57$, $r = -.62$,

TABLE XII

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WINNING AND COLLECTIVE CONSCIENCE

Communities	Total % Wins	Football % Wins	Basketball % Wins	Collective Conscience
A	56.10	39.53	74.36	44.94
B	57.14	50.00	64.29	53.37
C	79.41	81.63	77.36	48.53
	N = 3	N = 3	N = 3	
	r = -.05	r = .16	r = -.79	
	τ = .33	τ = .33	τ = -.33	
D	57.58	75.56	42.59	55.86
E	41.67	40.00	43.18	50.26
F	45.68	17.50	73.17	49.79
	N = 3	N = 3	N = 3	
	r = .95	r = .95	r = -.57	
	τ = .33	τ = 1.00	τ = -1.00	
G	77.08	71.74	82.00	51.95
H	40.48	40.91	40.00	52.19
I	48.49	51.16	46.81	52.76
	N = 3	N = 3	N = 3	
	r = -.57	r = -.47	r = -.62	
	τ = -.33	τ = -.33	τ = -.33	
Overall % of Right Minus Wrong Directions	11.11	33.33	-55.56	

respectively) and tau ($\tau = -.33$), $\tau = -1.00$, $\tau = -.33$, respectively) correlation coefficients for every community subgroup are negative, and fairly strong, for basketball winning and collective conscience. Thus it appears that increased winning in basketball has a reverse relationship with increased collective conscience.

By consulting the overall percents of right minus wrong directions in the specified relationship between winning and collective conscience, it is noted that the correct direction is observed only 11% more often than the wrong for total wins and collective conscience, the correct direction 33% more often for football wins, but the reverse direction 55% more often for basketball wins and collective conscience. Winning in football appears to relate positively, to some extent, with collective conscience; but overall hypothesis three is considered unconfirmed.

Evaluation of Hypothesis Four

Hypothesis four states: Communities with equal division of labor which have higher participation and winning in the major sports will have greater collective conscience. Since this hypothesis calls for a combination of greater winning and greater participation, some accessment must be made of the relationship between participation and winning. In viewing Table XIII, it will be noted that an increase in either the participation scale or index is generally accompanied by an increase in winning. Of the two types of participation measurements, the index (with the correct direction occuring 56% more often than the wrong) appears to vary more consistently in the direction required for testing this hypothesis.

TABLE XIII

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION
AND PERCENT OF TOTAL WINS

| Community | Community Participation | | Total % Wins |
	Scale	Index	
A	48	3.40	56.10
B	47	3.47	57.14
C	61	5.19	79.41
	N = 3	N = 3	
	r = .99	r = 1.00	
	τ = .33	τ = 1.00	
D	59	3.96	57.58
E	58	2.05	41.67
F	67	5.63	4.68
	N = 3	N = 3	
	r = -.18	r = .28	
	τ = -.38	τ = .33	
G	66	4.44	77.08
H	47	2.77	40.48
I	60	5.34	48.49
	N = 3	N = 3	
	r = .87	r = .37	
	τ = 1.00	τ = .33	
Overall % of Right Minus Wrong Directions	33.33	55.56	

However, since both types of participation measurement are somewhat related (see Table IX) , Table XIV includes both the scale and the index in presenting the relationship between collective conscience and both greater participation and greater winning. Considering these three variables simultaneously would require the use of partial correlation. However, calculating first order partials for sets of three cases was considered to be meaningless; thus only tau has been calculated to indicate the degree of the relationship that exists between collective conscience and those sets of ranks which were highest on both participation and winning. Seven comparisons were possible for the variable combination of participation index, winning, and collective conscience and seven for the combination of participation scale, winning, and collective conscience.

Both the scale and the index combinations for the medium-sized communities reveal as many observations of the wrong directions as of the right and thus no relationship between participation, winning, and collective conscience is manifest (τ = .00 for the index and scale variable combinations). For the small communities, there is a slight trend toward the hypothesized relationship with the participation index, winning, and collective conscience combination (τ = .33) but, no relationship is evident when the scale is substituted for the index in the combination of variables. For the large communities, however, the participation scale combination shows an opposite trend (τ = -.33) from that predicted, and no relationship when the index is used in the combination.

TABLE XIV

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION,
PERCENT OF TOTAL WINS, AND COLLECTIVE
CONSCIENCE BY COMMUNITY

Communities	Community Participation		Total % Wins	Collective Conscience
	Scale	Index		
A	48	3.40	56.10	44.94
B	47	3.47	57.14	53.37
C	61	5.19	79.41	48.53
	$\tau = .00$	$\tau = .33$		
D	59	3.96	57.58	55.86
E	58	2.05	41.67	50.26
F	67	5.63	45.68	49.79
	$\tau = .00$	$\tau = .00$		
G	66	4.44	77.08	51.95
H	47	2.77	40.48	52.19
I	60	5.34	48.49	52.76
	$\tau = -.33$	$\tau = .00$		
Number of Comparisons Made	7	7		
Overall % of Right Minus Wrong Directions	-14.29	14.29		

As is indicated in Table XIV, the hypothesized relationship was observed over all the communities 14% more often when using the participation index combination but, the opposite relationship 14% more often when using the participation scale combination. However, it should be remembered that, in this particular case, both the negative and the positive trends were contained within a single community subgroup and not distributed throughout the communities as is implied by an overall percent. Consequently, hypothesis four is not confirmed.

This fourth hypothesis was also evaluated separately for the individual scales and indexes of football and basketball. Taken separately, each of the scales and indexes show a positive relationship to winning in the respective sports. That is, the football participation scale and football winning consistently vary together 33% more often than they vary inversely; the football participation index and football winning vary together 56% more often; the basketball participation index and basketball winning vary together 78% more often; and the basketball participation index and basketball winning vary together 56% more often. [1] Thus, the measurement of football participation which relates most consistently with football winning is the index and, the measurement of basketball participation which relates most consistently with basketball winning is the scale.

In order to access the relationship predicted by this hypothesis, each index and scale was put in combination with winning for the

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[1] Consult Appendix J for further clarification of the relationship between participation and winning by measurement technique and by sport.

respective sport and collective conscience. Table XV indicates the tau coefficients, number of possible comparisons, and the overall percent of right minus wrong directions observed in the relationship of the three variables within each community subgroup. In addition, the overall percent of right minus wrong directions for the relationship between the two different measuring techniques for participation and winning are given.

As is shown in Table XV, there is a tendency for collective conscience to vary in the predicted direction when analyzed in relation to winning and the football measure of community participation which related most consistently to winning; i. e., higher collective conscience is observed 43% more often than not when in combination with the foot-ball participation index and football winning. However, when collective conscience and winning are in combination with the football participation scale, the tendency is reversed with an inverse relationship being observed 33% more often than the hypothesized direction. When collective conscience was in combination with basketball winning and either of the basketball participation measures (scale or index), the trend is also reversed. That is, the opposite direction was observed 43% more often when the basketball participation index, basketball winning, and collective conscience were viewed in relation to each other, and 25% more often with the combination basketball participation scale, basketball wins, and collective conscience.

Since none of the relationships, either by total or by sport, are particularly significant, and since many of the percents of right minus wrong directions are reversed depending on whether the participation index or scale is used, identifying a general trend for Hypothesis Four

TABLE XV

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION, WINNING,
AND COLLECTIVE CONSCIENCE BY SPORT

Football	Overall % of Right Minus Wrong Directions For Participation and Winning	Participation - Winning - Collective Conscience		
		tau	Number of Comparisons	Overall % of Right Minus Wrong Directions
Scale:				
Small Communities		- .33		
Middle-Sized Communities	33.33	.00	6	-33.00
Large Communities		- .33		
Index:				
Small Communities		.33		
Middle-Sized Communities	55.56	1.00	7	42.86
Large Communities		.00		
Basketball				
Scale:				
Small Communities		.33		
Middle-Sized Communities	77.78	-1.00	8	-25.00
Large Communities		- .33		
Index:				
Small Communities		- .33		
Middle-Sized Communities	55.56	-1.00	7	-42.86
Large Communities		.00		

is difficult. There is, however, some indication that if the relation-
ship between participation, winning, and collective conscience does
exist, it does so primarily when the sport is football.

Evaluation of Hypothesis Five

Hypothesis five states: Within each community, collective
conscience will vary as participation and win-loss records in the major
sports fluctuate. Testing this hypothesis requires the measurement of
year-by-year variations in community participation, win-loss records,
and collective conscience. However, with the data that was collected
this kind of measurement was not possible. Thus hypothesis five can
not be evaluated in terms of quantifiable data.

Summary

The evaluation of the hypotheses in terms of the quantifiable data
collected for this research indicated that all predicted relationships
between the variables failed to be confirmed. Although statistical
significance was not considered a particularly crucial issue in
analyzing these hypotheses, statistical techniques (Pearson, tau, and
percent of right minus wrong directions) were utilized to investigate
the predicted relationships between the variables and to identify possible
directional tendencies in the relationships.

In the test of the first hypothesis, the relationship between
division of labor and collective conscience was not only unconfirmed,
it showed a general tendency in the reverse direction; i.e., those
communities with the greatest division of labor also tended to have the
greatest collective conscience. The test results for the second

hypothesis were somewhat obscured because of the contrary findings produced by the two separate measures of community participation. Since neither finding was particularly strong or consistent, little can be reported regarding any trends in the relationship between participation and collective conscience. A slight tendency toward the relationship between winning and collective conscience specified by the third hypothesis was obtained for total wins and for football wins, but a reversal was indicated for basketball wins. The results of the evaluation of the fourth hypothesis failed to establish the postulated relationship between participation, winning, and collective conscience. As was the case in the test of the second hypothesis, the two community participation measures in separate combinations with the other two variables revealed opposing tendencies. The fifth hypothesis was not tested due to lack of data.

In conclusion, evaluation of the hypotheses in terms of the quantifiable data did not support the hypotheses, nor were there consistent confirmations within any community size or for either sport. The interpretations and implications of the findings presented in this chapter will be discussed in Chapter VIII.

CHAPTER VIII

FINAL CONSIDERATIONS

Introduction

Primarily the impetus for this research has been the belief that
sport in complex society has a vital impact on modern man. While the
social scientist has been reluctant to consider sport research, people
appear to have methodically transformed themselves into sport addicts.
The tendency of the phenomenal growth of sport to include an elitist
profession which prevents all but the super stars from actual partici-
pation as athletes has not dissuaded the desire of people to be involved
in sport. Thus the super spectator has become a reality in modern
society as mankind seems intent on saturating himself with sport.

It would seem to this researcher that nothing could demand the
expenditures of time and energy and money that sport does unless it
was believed to be beneficial and rewarding for those who have
identified themselves with it. The crucial question then becomes,
"What is it that sport does for man?" or perhaps more to the point,
"What is it that sport is perceived to do for man?" These kinds of
questions have led this researcher to approach the study of the role of
sport in complex society from a functionalist perspective.

Sport has been credited with such varied functions as the
production of democratic citizenship, the enhancement of life, the

motivation of social mobility and change, emotional release, socialization, and social control. However, underlying much of the sport literature there seems to be obscure implications that sport was contributing to something far more fundamental and necessary in the basic nature of man and of society than these specialized functions would suggest. Whether called collective identity, or an affinity of spirit, or, as Durkheim called it, collective conscience, the ability of sport to enhance man's feeling of comradship with other man pervades much of the writing on sport. As a result, the principle concern in this research became the nature of the relationship between sport and collective conscience. The fundamental postulate was that sport is a social phenomenon with a potential capability for reactivating and reaffirming collective conscience in complex society.

Although collective conscience quite probably has an impact on the individuals who live in any community, it was decided to attempt to ascertain the manifestations of activated collective conscience on a collective level; i.e., the community level. However implementing such a research plan was problematic from the beginning. With little guidance being offered through the literature on either collective conscience or sport, operationalizing these concepts with established precedence was not possible. Various research techniques were designed with the hope that strengths and limitations of each would compliment each other, and that some degree of consistency between the measuring techniques would occur and thus add validity to this study.

The communities were selected, the research conducted, and the results noted, tabulated, and analyzed. The crucial issue then becomes the interpretation of the findings. Had there been few problems in

implementing the proposed research design, or had there been only quantifiable data, or had there been only one measuring technique, explanations would be relatively straightforward. However, these criteria are not characteristic of this study. Consequently, before further interpretations are attempted some added observations will be mentioned concerning the general, overall nature of this research endeavor.

The Research Design In Retrospect

At the outset it should be noted that seldom does a researcher have an opportunity to confront the data on a personal, intuitive level while simultaneously collecting information that can be quantified for statistical analysis. That being the case in this particular study, some added insights are perhaps possible concerning the limitations and obstacles which frustrate the attempts made by the social scientist to understand and evaluate the nature of social reality.

In this study the sample was composed of nine communities in Oklahoma. Each was selected, in reference to such criteria as population, location, and win-loss records for the high school, in an attempt to attain a representation of the full dimension of the variables under consideration. However, after all information on the communities was gathered there was less variation on the crucial variables than was intended. As a result, identifying the relationship between sport and collective conscience was particularly difficult. In addition, the restrictions that a sample of nine places on various statistical techniques should be considered. Established levels of significance become almost useless as an aid in interpreting the findings, and

although trends and tendencies may be imputed, these at best are
tentative.

Perhaps a more meaningful judgement of this sample is one which
concentrates not so much on the statistical limitations of the sample
but one which evaluates the communities themselves. The personal
contact which was made with each facilitates some observations that
would have been impossible had the communities been anonymous
entities. For example, Community E is facing a potential crisis with
the closing of its major industry. The unrest and insecurity that
pervade much of the atmosphere there would make it an unlikely choice
for a typical community. Community H, on the other hand, is
essentially a one-industry community and thus comparisons between
it and other similarly sized cities with multiple industries are very
difficult. As is specified by the research design, all of the larger
communities (G, H, and I) have a single high school. This perhaps
contributes to a heightened collective unity which is possibly not
characteristic of other cities of the same size with more than one high
school. Consider also that Community A is within commuting distance
of a much larger city. Substantial collective conscience may be much
less likely here than would be the case in another small community
which was a greater distance from the services and facilities offered
by a larger city.

Pointing out these uniquenesses is not meant to imply that the
hypotheses would have been confirmed had the communities been more
typical of a "normal" community in a particular population category.
However, it may be that with an increased sample size the unique-
nesses of these communities would have disappeared, making a more

adequate test of the predicted relationships. Thus, the intent here is simply to provide a more comprehensive view for possible explanations of the inconsistent findings revealed in the qualitative and quantitative analysis of the hypotheses.

A second aspect of this research design to be considered is the use of informed respondents. The assumption that they would respond to the questionnaire like the community as a whole would have responded is perhaps unfounded. Although an attempt was made to stress the importance of the respondents' speaking for the community, the impressions gained from contact with other community members often differed with the tabulated collective conscience recorded on the questionnaires. It is possible that these informed respondents did indeed speak for the community and that the sense impressions of this researcher were guided by that which was expected rather than that which was actually the case. Of interest would be the responses of other community members to the same questionnaire.

It did seem to this researcher that the school and its personnel felt separated from the mainstream of community life, particularly in the small communities. Teachers in the small communities appeared little impressed with the town or the people in it. Feelings of hostility toward the town were often expressed. It may be that in larger cities school personnel are less distinct from other community members and thus are more assimilated into the community itself.

Another assumption which unfortunately proved untrue was that key persons in the community could and would supply vital information on the community over a five-year period. Originally this type of data was intended to provide a second measure of collective conscience as

a check on the collective conscience reported by the informed respond-
ents. Without this data, it is difficult to access either the validity of
the questionnaire or the researcher's personal impressions.

Attempts to use official records as a source of community data
were as unsuccessful as the efforts made to collect information from
community leaders. The major difficulties involved in trying to
employ available data include such limitations as selective recording
of facts, inconsistent reporting, missing data, lost and misplaced
information, and non-accessability to files (cf. Webb, et al, 1971);
and this researcher was confronted with most of them. The resulting
lack of quantifiable community data severely restrains a comprehensive
analysis of the communities.

Available data was also intended to provide much of the needed
information on football, basketball, and baseball. Such sport-related
data as win-loss records, average game attendance, cost of facilities,
seating capacities, and booster club membership was believed to be
kept by athletic directors in the high schools. Win-loss records could
provide an indication of the success achieved in the different sports
and other quantifiable data could be utilized to indicate the degree to
which a community took part in high school sports. As was the case
for available data and the community, little data were actually
received. Even win-loss records were difficult to obtain. For lack
of information, baseball was finally excluded from the study and
although a community participation index was developed, its validity
is questionable because of the questionable accuracy of the reported
averages in game attendance.

Operationalizing theoretical concepts to make them amenable for quantitative evaluation is one of the most difficult tasks facing any researcher. Of the major variables (division of labor, winning, community participation, and collective conscience) operationalized in this study, the measurement technique for the division of labor is probably the least developed. Although it may be theoretically sound to assume that an increase in population size is accompanied by an increase in the division of labor, there is perhaps a community size below which a small population reflects hostility rather than collective conscience. The assumption that the division of labor is less severe in small communities may prove incorrect when it is viewed in terms of complex society. Separation, according to such things as occupation, family name, race, and religion, is possibly more pronounced when everybody knows everybody than when people are somewhat anonymous in larger cities.

Winning was operationalized with win-loss records for the major sports. The total percent of wins versus losses in all sports was taken as a measurement of the overall success of the sports program. Possibly a record of winning such crucial games as district, regional, or state championships would have provided a better indication of the validation and authentication of a way of life that is potentially available through winning.

In addition to the available data utilized to construct a participation index, the sport questionnaire included an attitude survey for the athletic director's perceived community participation. The greatest difficulty encountered with this attitude measurement was having to rely on only one respondent for each community. This increases the

probability of bias and distortion in the participation score calculated for each community.

Although an attitude questionnaire was not intended to be the single quantifiable measurement of collective conscience, the lack of other data left little other choice. The overall consistency of the scale among the various informed respondents across the nine communities would suggest, however, that the scale is not a totally unreliable measure. The major check on this scale was the personal perception of this researcher concerning each of the visited communities.

The possibility for error and misinterpretation from personal, intuitive, sense impressions is a pressing and legitimate concern for the social scientist. Suffice it to say that the limitations of this type of research tool are well recognized by this researcher. However, it is also believed that much valuable insight is available when the data is confronted in terms of something other than questionnaires and surveys. By combining as many different types of measuring techniques as possible, the likelihood that bias, whether from questionnaire, interview, available data, or personal feelings, will distort the actual picture of reality can be dramatically reduced.

Interpretation Of Findings

Defining the meanings and implications of the information amassed during this research will revolve primarily around an attempt to bring together both the quantitative and qualitative data as they combine to provide insights for evaluating the hypotheses generated for this study. Thus each hypothesis will be considered separately and conclusions which are believed to reflect the nature of the relationship

between sport and collective conscience in complex society will be
drawn.

Hypothesis One

The basic hypothesis of this study specified an inverse relation-
ship between collective conscience and community size. From the
impressions gained while in contact with the communities, this
postulated relationship generally seemed to hold. In smaller com-
munities the people knew each other, they appeared genuinely proud
of their town, and they had an intimate knowledge of what was happen-
ing in their town. Even in Community A, where it looked to this
visitor as though the world had passed by and left it in the western days
of the nineteenth century, the people were friendly and eager to let any
outsider know that "this was a fine place in which to live." Although
much more progressive and modern looking, Communities B and C
transmitted this same kind of pride of place and identity with other
community folks.

The medium-sized communities generally radiated much of the
intimacy and pride expressed by smaller communities. Particularly
was it so in Community D where awards and recognitions from the
state were numerous. Even in Community E, with all its uncertainty
and insecurity due to the closing of its major industry, the people
communicated a determinism and fierceness of pride in their com-
munity's survival. Community F was somewhat more difficult to
access. Perhaps because it rained the entire day in which the com-
munity was visited and the spirits of both this visitor and the town
people were dampened, the excitement and enthusiasm and pride, so

often expressed in communities of a similar size, appeared more depressed. Although several did speak of the community's involvement and spirit in various activities, it seemed less pervasive than this researcher had expected.

It was very difficult to differentiate degrees of collective conscience in the largest communities. The relaxed, easy-going "bull sessions" experienced in smaller communities became short, efficient, very business-like encounters. Probably the greatest difference noticed by this researcher was the tendency of large communities to express pride in their city in terms of statistics rather than people. Such things as ranks on socio-economic scales, job opportunities, and new housing editions were often referred to. Few comments about the people in general were made, and often when they were, they were made in terms of money contributed to some project or in terms of those who lived in a certain area or neighborhood. This is not meant to imply that there is little collective conscience but only that this visitor was hard pressed to identify its nature in the terms through which it was being expressed.

These personal impressions when viewed in reference to the quantifiable data may help explain the apparent contradictions that exist. The statistical implications of the analyzed collective conscience questionnaires would indicate that the collective conscience tended to be greater in the larger communities rather than less as was specified in the first hypothesis. It is possible that these larger communities do indeed possess the highest degree of collective conscience. Their being large enough to support more than one high school but choosing to have only one may be indicative of the closeness and personal

rapport that they feel for each other. The constraints of anonymity and the division of labor perhaps make personal relationships more amenable to heightened collective conscience than would be the case if they knew each other as intimate associates. The pecularities and differences among people are possibly more acute in the small communities where everybody knows everybody through daily contact with each other.

An alternative explanation for the contradiction in quantitative and qualitative data may be made in reference to the informed respondents. As has been indicated, there were clear and distinct impressions from the high school personnel about the separation they felt from the rest of the community. Generally they, like this researcher, were outsiders. Possibly identity with those who have little affinity for a more rural way of life is difficult for community folk. And, by nature of the educational experiences of most of the teachers they were perhaps more apt to judge the community in industrial, division of labor terms rather than in people terms. Thus the larger the community the less likely it may be that hostility and separation will influence the feelings of high school personnel about a community. Although all respondents were asked to speak for their communities, there is some question in this researcher's mind as to whether or not they did so.

In conclusion, had the communities been ranked by the informed respondents in a manner somewhat more consistent with the impressions received by this researcher, the hypothesized relationship between community size and collective conscience would have generally held across all community subgroups. The greatest discrepancies

appeared to be in the smaller communities, and particularly in

Community C. Since the greatest separation and hostility between

high school personnel and community people were also observed in the

smaller communities, and since large communities with a single high

school perhaps possess a degree of collective conscience perhaps

uncharacteristic of similar-sized communities with multiple high

schools, this sample may not have provided an adequate test of the

hypotheses. However, the quantitative data manifested such a con-

sistent trend in the reverse of the hypothesized relationship, that this

researcher is led to believe that the specified relationship would have

generally held had the community members themselves been the

respondents.

Hypothesis Two

Hypothesis Two predicts that there will be a direct relationship

within each population subgroup between community participation and

collective conscience. Although this researcher was not in the com-

munities to observe participation during any of the sport seasons,

various conversations did provide some indications of the degree to

which people in the community participated in high school sports. In

talking with the athletic directors of the six smaller communities

about community involvement in sports, all but one (Community A)

cited various times when the community took off from work to put

bleachers together, or haul fill dirt for the football field, or mow and

line the field, or to clear the field of snow. In only one instance

(Community G) were such stories related by an athletic director in a

large community. Caravans of cars for out-of-town games, town

holidays for the big games, parades, and city wide pep rallies also
seemed more characteristic of the smaller communities. In many
instances, the people of the community related similar glowing
descriptions of their community's interest and participation in high
school sports. And, often references were made to previous personal
feats and honors that they themselves had attained in athletic competi-
tion.

When considering each of the communities in terms of its own
subgroup, it did seem that these tales of community action were the
most numerous in communities where the people were also described
as involved and excited about the entire community as a whole.
Perhaps the most notable exception was in Community C where the
town people were reported to be football maniacs and yet the high
school personnel attributed to them a relatively low collective con-
science. Also, Community F was characterized by the athletic
director as highly involved and interested in high school sports but,
this researcher felt little of the interest and enthusiasm attributed to
the town when visiting other community people.

Differentiating relative degrees of community participation in
high school sports from a personal perspective became more difficult
in the larger cities. Few stories of community involvement were
related and very seldom did community members have time for
conversing about anything other than what was specifically asked for
in their respective questionnaires. In all of the three largest commun-
ities, comments of community participation were made in reference
to the times when teams were having winning seasons. The general

overall involvement of smaller communities in high school sports did not appear to be characteristic of larger communities.

When the participation index was utilized, collective conscience showed only a very slight overall trend in the predicted direction. However, within the largest communities (G, H, and I) the trend was much more substantial, although not statistically significant. Unfortunately, the inconsistency between measuring techniques became painfully obvious when the participation scale in relation to collective conscience reversed the trend suggested by the participation index for all community subgroups.

By sport, only the football participation index correlated positively with collective conscience across communities. Although none of the correlations were statistically significant, they perhaps suggest that (in Oklahoma) it is football which is perceived to typify the meaning of life. Attendance reports would also seem to lend credence to this possibility since in no case were average attendances for basketball and baseball reported to be higher than those for football. In addition, while there was some mention of community involvement in other sports, comments revolved primarily around football. Consider also that in all three of the smallest communities the seating capacity of their football stadiums was greater than the community's population and that across all communities football attendance was the least dependent of the sports on whether the teams were winning or losing.

In conclusion, the predicted relationship between overall community participation and collective conscience is believed to be generally unsubstantiated. However, the relationship of football to

collective conscience does appear to hold to some degree, particularly in the smaller communities. For the largest communities, the relationship seems more dependent on a third factor; i.e., whether or not the teams are winning. In all communities, basketball participation, in and of itself, seems little related to collective conscience.

Hypothesis Three

Hypothesis Three specifies that within each community subgroup an increase in winning will be accompanied by an increase in collective conscience. Winning seemed to excite everybody from the smallest to the largest communities. Coaches talked of the difference in the atmospheres of their communities when teams were winning. Both the school and the community were reported to run more smoothly and with fewer problematic interruptions during winning seasons.

For winning teams donations are collected that will send them to bowl games and national meets. Barbecues are held, speeches are given, and celebreties are made. According to one coach, the whole town wants to give a little advice, extend a helping hand, and take a little of the credit for a winner. It was not uncommon for winning teams to be spoken of as "our" team by community members. Acts such as flying over the town of the opposing team to drop leaflets stating that "We are number one" and that "We are going to win" would suggest that winning is a crucial consideration in the reactivating of collective conscience.

It is perhaps also important to note that people in communities with winning teams in sports other than football, basketball, and base-ball were usually somewhat anxious over the researcher's failure to

include their specific winning sport, particularly if the sport was
wrestling. However, in all nine of the communities, the sport which
demanded the greatest overall interest was football. And, generally
the comments about football were focused on the times when the "big"
games, such as those for championships and those with traditional
rivals, were won. Thus, a more insightful examination of the relation-
ship between winning and collective conscience may have been possible
had victory in crucial games been a controlled variable.

When the total percent of wins was correlated with collective
conscience, only a slight tendency was revealed in the specified
direction of the relationship. It held most consistently for the middle-
sized communities and least consistently for the largest communities.
However, when only the percent of football wins was considered, the
direction held in perfect order for the middle-sized communities, in
two of the three comparisons in the small communities, but in only
onw comparison for the largest communities. It is perhaps important
to note here that these largest communities had the least amount of
variation in both percent of football wins and collective conscience
scores and that this possibly restricts any delineation of a relationship
between these variables.

The most consistent findings from quantifiable data in this study
are the negative correlations for basketball winning and collective
conscience. Although some of these communities had consistent and
good win records, their relationship to collective conscience in every
community subgroup was in the reverse direction of that which was
predicted. As has been earlier mentioned, it may be that sport in
Oklahoma as a theatrical liturgy for the portrayal of the meaning of

life is best represented by football. As a result, winning in basketball is unable to reactivate collective conscience.

In conclusion it is believed that winning in the major sports has the potential to reactivate collective conscience primarily when the major sport is football. However, win-activated collective conscience seems to be short lived and to fluctuate dramatically in losing seasons. In addition, winning is apparently more crucial in smaller communities than this researcher had originally thought it to be. The negative tendency of the relationship between winning and collective conscience in the largest communities is the reverse of that which was predicted and is perhaps a result of the minimal variation on the variables. However, it may be that these cities can absorb loosing with less difficulty and that only substantial and consistent winning can influence the degree to which collective conscience will exist there.

Hypothesis Four

Hypothesis Four specified that within similar-sized communities, those communities which win and participate more often in the major sports will have the greatest collective conscience. Few conversations with athletic directors failed to include some mention of the impact of winning on participation. People come to games that have never before attended when the team is winning. They get involved in the sport process from getting equipment, to game attendance, and finally to sharing in victory. It did seem that those communities characterized by high participation in winning efforts by the high school teams radiated a kind of communal identity believed by this researcher to be indicative of a heightened collective conscience. It may also be

interesting to note that in only one community (Community D) did

coaches or town people refer to any extent to basketball's impact on

the community, and in this one case, it was the girl's basketball team

that had won the state championship.

These impressions are not substantially supported by the quanti-

tative data which was analyzed. Although the general overall tendency

was observed more often when the participation index was used in

combination with total winning and collective conscience, substituting

the participation scale reversed the tendency. However, the trend of

the relationship by sport is perhaps more illuminating. Viewing

collective conscience in combination with football winning and the

football community participation based on attendance per capita popula-

tion and per capita seating capacity (participation index), the predicted

trend held in five of the seven comparisons made. Although football

participation, measured either by scale or index, appears much less

dependent on winning than is basketball participation, it in combination

with winning does appear to be positively related to on collective

conscience. While increased winning in basketball is accompanied to

a substantial degree with increased participation in basketball; winning

and participation, in combination, showed no ability to heighten

collective conscience. And, in fact, the relationship between partici-

pation, winning, and collective conscience for basketball revealed a

relatively strong tendency to reverse itself accross all community

subgroups.

In conclusion, the relationship between collective conscience,

winning, and community participation seems highly dependent on

whether or not the sport being considered is football. In addition, it

appears that while collective conscience may be intensified by football winning, sustaining it may be highly dependent on the degree to which consistent, active participation is maintained. And, although collective conscience is perhaps reactivated by winning and participation in basketball, it is apparently less intense and lasting. Possibly these findings would imply that in Oklahoma, people are best able to identify themselves with the validation and confirmation needed for the reactivation of collective conscience when it is provided through the sport of football.

Hypothesis Five

The fifth hypothesis predicted that within each community, collective conscience will vary as fluctuation occurs in the win-loss records and the community participation in the major sports. Unfortunately testing this hypothesis was impossible since year-by-year data on the community and on the high school sports was not obtained. However, this hypothesis may be the most crucial postulate generated from the theoretical model. The various comparisons made between the communities possibly do not provide the most judicious examination of the real issue under consideration. Since there are so many unique qualities that make these communities distinct from each other, meaningful comparisons between them are perhaps impossible. Thus dealing with each of the communities separately could have provided better insight into the role of high school sport in a community and its possible impact on collective conscience.

Final Conclusion

The primary focus for this study has been the role of sport in complex society, specifically as it relates to collective conscience. Although conclusive proof linking sport and collective conscience was not produced, the interest and participation that people have in sport which was witnessed during the course of this research suggest to this writer that sport is fundamentally entangled with the basic nature of social integration. And, while various complications and limitations of the data have left the exact nature of this relationship still somewhat undetermined, the general overall study is believed to have provided some basic foundations on which future study may build. Since there is little previous research to give guidance or assistance to a scientific investigation of sport, what has been attempted here may be considered a pioneer venture aimed at gaining an understanding of the complicated nature of sport in complex society.

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APPENDIX A

DR. ST. CLAIR'S INTRODUCTORY LETTER

TO SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS

OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY — STILLWATER

OKLAHOMA PUBLIC SCHOOL RESEARCH COUNCIL
STILLWATER, OKLAHOMA 74074

AFFILIATED UNIVERSITIES
The University of Oklahoma
Oklahoma State University

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY
Gunderson Hall, Room 302 C
Phone 372-6211, ext. 6245

March 6, 1973

Dr. V. K. Curtis
Superintendent of Schools
Muskogee, Oklahoma 74401

Dear Dr. Curtis:

This is to introduce Miss Martha Wilkerson, a graduate
student in Sociology at Oklahoma State University. Her intended
doctoral study is an extremely interesting one which relates
certain aspects of high school sports activities to community life.

She is hoping to do the study in a small sample of school
districts in Oklahoma; the sample includes your school. I feel that
the data gathering will require a minimum amount of time from
your faculty and staff. We hope that you will be able to grant
permission to do the study.

Please call on me if further information is required. The
Oklahoma Public School Research Council Newsletter will report
an abstract of the findings, once the research is complete.

Cordially yours,

Kenneth St. Clair
Executive Secretary

KS:hjb

APPENDIX B

RESEARCHER'S INTRODUCTORY LETTER

TO SCHOOL SUPERINTENDENTS

OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY · STILLWATER 74074

Department of Sociology
(405) 372-6211, Exts. 7020, 7021

April 20, 1973

Dear Sir:

In this study my major concern is sport and its role in modern society. Because of the many facets of sport, there are numerous possible directions which could be taken. I am primarily interested in the role of sport in the community. Sport participation, both as spectator and athlete, has become a major phenomenon of our modern society. As people join together to be a part of the "sport scene," there are perhaps carry-over effects which may have an impact on the community itself.

To carry out this study, I will be gathering information from various community leaders, such as the city manager, the director of the Chamber of Commerce, and the editor of the newspaper, who have pertinent knowledge about your community. In addition, I will need some help from you, your high school principal, and your high school faculty and staff. In order for you to know the kinds of information that I will be wanting to find out, I am including: (1) An attitude survey for faculty and staff which concerns their feelings and views about the community (This survey sheet will take ten to fifteen minutes of the respondents' time.) and (2) A sport survey for the athletic director, or head coach, which concerns the organized athletic programs for the boys (This survey sheet may take from fourty-five minutes to an hour to complete).

Please share this research request and the enclosed survey materials with your high school principal as his support will be a vital factor in the collection of this data.

If this research proposal is acceptable, I plan to be in your community next Monday, around 8:00 a.m. If for some reason this date is not acceptable, please use the enclosed form and envelope to indicate a more convenient date.

I appreciate your time in considering this research proposal. Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Martha Wilkerson

P. S. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you desire additional information.

APPENDIX C

LETTER TO ATHLETIC DIRECTORS

OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY · STILLWATER 74074

Department of Sociology
(405) 372-6211, Exts. 7020, 7021

April 27, 1973

Dear Sir:

I am conducting a study concerning the role of sport in the community. I am interested in determining what impact, if any, participation, both as spectator and athlete, in sports has on the larger community. I have corresponded with your superintendent and he has given his consent for my coming to visit your high school.

In about a week I will be in your school and community gathering information on the community itself. Since the questionnaire on sport is somewhat longer, I am sending it early so that you can perhaps have time to complete it. There is an envelope included if you wish to return it by mail, or I will come by to pick it up when I am in your school.

Thank you very much for your time and help on this research project.

Sincerely yours,

Martha Wilkerson

P. S. If you desire further information, I will be happy to talk in detail to you concerning this project.

APPENDIX D

LETTER TO SELECTED PERSONNEL

IN THE COMMUNITY

OKLAHOMA STATE UNIVERSITY · STILLWATER 74074

Department of Sociology
(405) 372-6211, Exts. 7020, 7021

May 1, 1973

I am currently doing research which involves nine communities in Oklahoma. In order to facilitate this research it is necessary to gather information from those who know the most about your community. Your high school superintendent has agreed to allow me to gather data from the high school staff, teachers, and coaches. In addition, I will need some help from the Chamber of Commerce, the City Manager, the City Clerk, the United Fund, the editor of the newspaper, and the secretary of the election board at the county seat. Your cooperation in completing the enclosed questionnaire will be greatly appreciated. The data which you supply, along with that from these other sources, will be used for the primary purpose of analyzing the role of high school athletics in the community.

Please enclose the completed questionnaire in the envelope provided for your use. Or, if you prefer, I will come by and pick up the sheet from you when I am in your community.

I appreciate your taking time to help me with this project. Thank you very much.

Sincerely yours,

Martha Wilkerson

P. S. Please do not hesitate to contact me if you desire additional information.

APPENDIX E

COLLECTIVE CONSCIENCE ATTITUDE

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. How long have you lived in this   2. What is your position in this school?
   community? _____   _____ Faculty   _____ Staff

Please respond to each statement by circling the number which you feel represents
your position on the line from strongly agree to strongly disagree.

Strongly   Strongly
  Agree   Disagree

1 2 3 4 5 6 7   1. People here think this is a good community in which to live.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7   2. There are good relationships between all the kinds of people in this community.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7   3. No one seems to care much how the community looks.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7   4. People here would rather live here than any place else.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7   5. In this community, those who don't have a good paying job don't have much of a chance.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7   6. People here think this is a good community in which to raise a family.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7   7. In this community, adults and youth participate in only a few activities together.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7   8. People here are willing to help those who are in need.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7   9. In this community the youth get into trouble too often.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7   10. In this community, the people vote in city elections.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7   11. There are not many good things to say about this community.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7   12. People here have too little respect for the law.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7   13. Youth here want to live out their lives in this community.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7   14. This community is very peaceful.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7   15. People here work together to get things done for the community.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7   16. The people here have a lot of pride in this community.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7   17. In this community, youth and adults understand each other.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7   18. People here have little interest in this community's affairs.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7   19. All nationalities, races, and religions equally benefit from living in this community.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7   20. People here take an active part in this community's projects.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7   21. In this community, most bond issues are easily passed.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7   22. Everything in this community works together in an orderly fashion.

APPENDIX F

SPORT QUESTIONNAIRE

Please answer these questions in relation to the organized athletic programs for the boys in your high school.

1. In what grade do school organized athletic programs begin? _____

2. What kinds of teams do you have for each sport?

	Football	Basketball	Baseball
Freshman Team	_____	_____	_____
Junior Varsity Team	_____	_____	_____
Varsity Team	_____	_____	_____

3. What is the seating capacity of each facility for these sports?

_____ Football   _____ Basketball   _____ Baseball

4. What is the estimated cost of the facilities for these sports?

_____ Football   _____ Basketball   _____ Baseball

5. Do you have any new athletic facilities or have you remodeled any old ones in the last five years (1968-1973)? Please indicate the year and whether or not the facility is new or remodeled.

	Year	New	Remodeled
Football Field	_____	_____	_____
Field House	_____	_____	_____
Gymnasium	_____	_____	_____
Baseball Field	_____	_____	_____
Other Improvements:			
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

6. How many coaches are on the high school faculty?

	Football	Basketball	Baseball
1972-73	_____	_____	_____
1971-72	_____	_____	_____
1970-71	_____	_____	_____
1969-70	_____	_____	_____
1968-69	_____	_____	_____

7. What percent of the school budget goes for each sport?

	Football	Basketball	Baseball
1972-73	_____	_____	_____
1971-72	_____	_____	_____
1970-71	_____	_____	_____
1969-70	_____	_____	_____
1968-69	_____	_____	_____

8. What is the average attendance per game?

	Football	Basketball	Baseball
1972-73	_____	_____	_____
1971-72	_____	_____	_____
1970-71	_____	_____	_____
1969-70	_____	_____	_____
1968-69	_____	_____	_____

9. What is your win-loss record?

	Football	Basketball	Baseball
1972-73	_____	_____	_____
1971-72	_____	_____	_____
1970-71	_____	_____	_____
1969-70	_____	_____	_____
1968-69	_____	_____	_____

10. Do you have a booster club for your athletic teams? _____ yes _____ no

    If yes, please answer numbers 11, 12, and 13. If no, go to number 14.

11. How old is the club? _____

12. How many members are (or were) in the club?

    1973 _____ 1972 _____ 1971 _____ 1970 _____ 1969 _____

13. How is the club's attendance during each season?

	Very Good	Good	Poor	Very Poor
Football	___	___	___	___
Basketball	___	___	___	___
Baseball	___	___	___	___

14. What kind of support is given the high school athletic teams by the town people?

	Very Good	Good	Poor	Very Poor
Football	___	___	___	___
Basketball	___	___	___	___
Baseball	___	___	___	___

15. How would you rate the game attendance for these sports?

	Very Good	Good	Poor	Very Poor
Football	___	___	___	___
Basketball	___	___	___	___
Baseball	___	___	___	___

16. How would you rate these sports as to their importance in your community?

	Very Important	Important	Little Importance	No Importance
Football	___	___	___	___
Basketball	___	___	___	___
Baseball	___	___	___	___

17. Does a losing team have any noticable negative impact on your community?

	Definitely	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
Football	___	___	___	___
Basketball	___	___	___	___
Baseball	___	___	___	___

18. How much popularity do these sports have for the spectators in your community?

	Great Popularity	Some Popularity	Little Popularity	No Popularity
Football	___	___	___	___
Basketball	___	___	___	___
Baseball	___	___	___	___

19. Does a winning team have any noticable positive impact on your community?

	Definitely	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
Football	___	___	___	___
Basketball	___	___	___	___
Baseball	___	___	___	___

20. How adequate are the athletic facilities in your school?

	Very Adequate	Adequate	Inadequate	Very Inadequate
Football	___	___	___	___
Basketball	___	___	___	___
Baseball	___	___	___	___

21. Do town people attend practices or pep rallies?

	Very Often	Sometimes	Seldom	Never
Football	___	___	___	___
Basketball	___	___	___	___

22. How many of the businesses support the teams by contributing to athletic funds, buying ads in the programs, giving free milkshakes, displaying posters and signs, or advertising the games?

	Most	Some	Few	None
Football	___	___	___	___
Basketball	___	___	___	___
Baseball	___	___	___	___

APPENDIX G

ORIGINAL R VALUES FOR COLLECTIVE

CONSCIENCE SCALE BY ITEMS

AND COMMUNITIES

| | COMMUNITIES | | | | | | | | |
ITEMS	A (N = 18)	B (N = 16)	C (N = 17)	D (N = 14)	E (N = 23)	F (N = 24)	G (N = 43)	H (N = 57)	I (N = 71)
1	.59	.44	.64	.01	.64	.86	.48	.63	.51
2	-.10	.72	.60	-.19	.62	.84	.56	.75	.73
3	-.13	.76	.55	.28	.51	.44	.45	.33	.50
4	.38	.58	.29	.37	.65	.78	.42	.66	.54
5	.40	.44	.66	.22	.79	.25	.31	.62	.43
6	.77	.76	.70	.47	.75	.83	.52	.69	.51
7	-.01	.40	.61	.35	.47	.44	.42	.24	.58
8	.77	.65	.74	.46	.70	.39	.28	.72	.54
9	.21	.52	.49	.39	.58	-.23	.49	.61	.49
10	.42	.25	.34	.72	.31	.31	.41	.43	.48
11	.24	.70	.78	.42	.38	.76	.57	.44	.41
12	.40	.68	.80	.66	.57	.39	.58	.50	.63
13	.04	.28	.70	.37	.42	.52	.42	.58	.43
14	.61	.39	.67	.37	.66	.64	.70	.64	.59
15	.18	.75	.74	.83	.68	.84	.67	.75	.71
16	.48	.72	.61	.42	.78	.83	.74	.71	.59
17	.21	.51	.77	.59	.72	.81	.58	.66	.59
18	-.04	.71	.76	-.06	.60	.71	.17	.71	.62
19	.70	.38	.71	.60	.72	.52	.55	.66	.66
20	.66	.54	.83	.64	.77	.90	.59	.68	.61
21	.54	.66	.44	.36	.49	.48	.40	.40	.34
22	.78	.46	.69	.54	.83	.68	.67	.78	.62
Mean	93.11	117.12	104.47	119.57	104.61	105.58	109.09	110.16	111.23
Sigma	15.54	15.33	18.52	9.92	19.07	20.67	14.52	17.99	15.00
Alpha	.68	.87	.93	.73	.92	.91	.84	.91	.88

APPENDIX H

DEFINITIONS AND CALCULATIONS FOR

PER CAPITA INDEXES

DEFINITION OF TERMS

1. Ratio $= \dfrac{\text{Total Population (or Total Seating Capacity)}}{\text{Total Attendance}}$.

2. Calculated Attendance $= \dfrac{\text{Population (or seating capacity) of Each Community}}{\text{Ratio}}$.

3. Per Capite Attendance $= \dfrac{\text{Actual Attendance}}{\text{Calculated Attendance}}$.

FOOTBALL PER CAPITA ATTENDANCE
BY POPULATION

Communities	Population	Attendance	Ratio	Calculated Attendance	Per Capita Attendance
A	1,011	500		649.62	.77
B	1,304	700	$\frac{1}{1.56}$	837.88	.84
C	1,420	1,200		912.42	1.32
Total	3,735	2,400			
D	7,323	1,480		1338.32	1.11
E	8,654	1,080	$\frac{1}{5.47}$	1581.56	.68
F	9,412	2,080		1720.09	1.21
Total	25,389	4,640			
G	23,302	3,500		4018.56	.87
H	25,940	3,750	$\frac{1}{5.80}$	4473.49	.84
I	44,986	9,000		7758.08	1.16
Total	94,228	16,250			

FOOTBALL PER CAPITA ATTENDANCE
BY SEATING CAPACITY

Communities	Seating Capacity	Attendance	Ratio	Calculated Attendance	Per Capita Attendance
A	1,500	500		750.00	.67
B	1,500	700	$\frac{1}{2.00}$	750.00	.93
C	1,800	1,200		900.00	1.33
Total	4,800	2,400			
D	3,000	1,480		1071.43	1.38
E	5,000	1,080	$\frac{1}{2.80}$	1785.71	.60
F	5,000	2,080		1785.71	1.16
Total	13,000	4,640			
G	8,000	3,500		4819.28	1.66
H	9,000	3,750	$\frac{1}{1.66}$	5421.69	.69
I	10,000	9,000		6024.10	1.49
Total	27,000	16,250			

BASKETBALL PER CAPITA ATTENDANCE
BY POPULATION

Communities	Population	Attendance	Ratio	Calculated Attendance	Per Capita Attendance
A	1,011	200		351.88	.57
B	1,304	300	$\frac{1}{2.87}$	453.87	.66
C	1,420	800		494.24	1.62
Total	3,735	1,300			
D	7,323	500		764.41	.65
E	8,654	340	$\frac{1}{9.58}$	903.34	.33
F	9,412	1,810		982.46	1.84
Total	25,389	2,650			
G	23,302	600		494.59	1.21
H	25,940	300	$\frac{1}{47.11}$	550.58	.54
I	44,986	1,100		954.83	1.15
Total	94,228	2,650			

BASKETBALL PER CAPITA ATTENDANCE
BY SEATING CAPACITY

Communities	Capacity	Attendance	Ratio	Calculated Attendance	Per Capita Attendance
A	300	200		144.23	1.39
B	600	300	$\frac{1}{2.08}$	288.46	1.04
C	1,800	800		865.38	.92
Total	2,700	1,300			
D	1,200	500		612.24	.82
E	1,500	340	$\frac{1}{1.96}$	765.31	.44
F	2,500	1,810		1275.51	1.42
Total	5,200	2,650			
G	2,400	600		857.14	.70
H	1,200	300	$\frac{1}{2.80}$	428.57	.70
I	2,000	1,100		714.29	1.54
Total	5,600	2,000			

APPENDIX I

PEARSON AND TAU FOR COMMUNITY

PARTICIPATION SCALES AND

INDEXES AND COLLECTIVE

CONSCIENCE BY SPORT

	Pearson	tau
Football-Community Participation		
Scale:		
Small Communities	.25	.33
Middle-Sized Communities	-.84	-1.00
Large Communities	.04	- .33
Index:		
Small Communities	.18	.33
Middle-Sized Communities	.52	.33
Large Communities	.32	.33
Basketball-Community Participation		
Scale:		
Small Communities	-.37	- .33
Middle-Sized Communities	-.07	- .33
Large Communities	-.22	.33
Index:		
Small Communities	-.38	-1.00
Middle-Sized Communities	-.31	- .33
Large Communities	.72	.33

APPENDIX J

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN WINNING AND

PARTICIPATION BY MEASUREMENT

TECHNIQUE AND BY SPORT

Communities	FOOTBALL			BASKETBALL		
	Participation		% of Wins	Participation		% of Wins
	Scale	Index		Scale	Index	
A	25	1.44	39.53	20	1.96	74.36
B	27	1.77	50.00	23	1.70	64.29
C	31	2.65	81.63	30	2.54	77.36
Correlations of Scale & Winning	$r = .99$ $\tau = 1.00$			$r = .86$ $\tau = 1.00$		
Correlations of Index & Winning		$r = .99$ $\tau = 1.00$			$r = .87$ $\tau = 1.00$	
D	29	2.49	75.56	30	1.47	42.59
E	31	1.28	40.00	27	.77	43.18
F	34	2.37	17.50	33	3.26	73.17
Correlations of Scale & Winning	$r = -.97$ $\tau = 1.00$			$r = .86$ $\tau = .33$		
Correlations of Index & Winning		$r = .22$ $\tau = .33$			$r = .96$ $\tau = .33$	
G	36	2.53	71.74	30	1.91	82.00
H	26	1.53	40.91	21	1.24	40.00
I	34	2.65	51.16	26	2.69	46.81
Correlations of Scale & Winning	$r = .87$ $\tau = 1.00$			$r = .91$ $\tau = 1.00$		
Correlations of Index & Winning		$r = .69$ $\tau = .33$			$r = .11$ $\tau = .33$	
Overall % of Right Minus Wrong Directions	33.33	55.56		77.78	55.56	

APPENDIX K

DATA RECEIVED FROM COMMUNITY

AND SPORT QUESTIONNAIRES

BY YEAR

Types of Requested Data	Communities								
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I
Community:									
Membership in the Chamber of Commerce	70-73*		69-73		69-73	69-73	69-73		69-73
Population of community	70-73	70	70	70	70	70-73	70	70	69-73
Number of new businesses	71-73					71-73	72-73		
Number of businesses that have left the community	73						72-73		
Percent of population on welfare	69-73			73					
Percent of total labor force that is unemployed	73			73			70		
Budget for community	69-73	69-73	69-73	69-73	69-73	69-73	69-73	69-73	69-73
Amount of retail sales subject to state sales tax	70-72	70-72	69-72	69-72	69-72	69-72	69-72	69-72	69-72
Civic improvements									
Community awards			70-71						
Contributions to United Fund				70-72	69-72		69-73	69-73	69-73
Number of contributors to United Fund				69-72				72-73	69-73
Number of registered voters	69-73			69-72	69-73	71-73	69-73	69-73	69-73
Number of municipal elections						70-72	69-72		69-72
Number of bond issues passed						72	69-72		69-73
Number of voters in Presidential election by party	72			72	72	72	72	72	72
Subscription versus counter selling of newspaper	69-73	73			69-73		69-73	69-73	70-73
Columns per paper related to high school sports	73		73	73	73		73	73	73
Sport:									
Seating Capacity — Football	73	73	73	73	73	73	73	73	73
Seating Capacity — Basketball	73	73	73*	73	73	73	73	73	73
Seating Capacity — Baseball		73	73	73	73	73	73	73	73
Cost of Facilities — Football			73	73	73		73		73
Cost of Facilities — Basketball			73	73	73		73		
Cost of Facilities — Baseball				73	73		73		
Average Attendance per Game — Football	69-73	69-73	69-73	69-73	69-73	69-73	69-73	69-73	69-73
Average Attendance per Game — Basketball	69-73	69-73	69-73	69-73	69-73	69-73	69-73	69-73	69-73
Average Attendance per Game — Baseball	69-72	69-72		69-73	69-72	69-72	69-73	69-72	69-72
Win-Loss Record — Football	70-73	69-73	69-73	69-73	69-73	69-73	69-73	69-73	69-73
Win-Loss Record — Basketball	72-73	69-73	69-73	72-73	69-73	'72-73	69-73	69-73	69-73
Win-Loss Record — Baseball		69-72		69-72	69-72				72
Membership in booster club	71-73	71-73	69-73	69-73	69-73		69-73		
Age of booster club	73	73	73	73	73	73	73		
Number of coaches in high school	69-73	69-73	69-73	69-73	69-73		73	73	73
Improved or remodeled sport facilities			73		73	73	73		73
Percent of school budget for sports		73		73	73				

*The years for which data were obtained are indicated.

VITA

Martha Frances Wilkerson

Candidate for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Thesis: COLLECTIVE CONSCIENCE IN COMPLEX SOCIETY: A STUDY IN THE SOCIOLOGY OF SPORT

Major Field: Sociology

Biographical:

Personal Data: Daughter of Mr. and Mrs. G. T. Wilkerson, Devine, Texas, born in Fort Worth, Texas on May 28, 1944.

Education: Graduated from Devine High School, Devine, Texas, in May, 1962; received Bachelor of Arts degree in Sociology from Mary Hardin-Baylor College in 1966; received Master of Arts degree in Sociology from Texas Tech University in 1968; completed requirements for the Doctor of Philosophy degree at Oklahoma State University in July, 1973.

Professional Experience: Graduate Associate in Department of Sociology, Texas Tech University, 1966-1967; Instructor of Sociology, South Plains College, 1967-1968; Instructor of Sociology, Mary Hardin-Baylor College, 1968-1970; Graduate Assistant, Oklahoma State University, 1970-1972; Instructor of Sociology, East Central State College, Summer, 1972; NSF Graduate Traineeship Program, 1972-1973.