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BRIGHTMAN, DOROTHY LOUISE
ALTERNATIVE PATTERNS AND VALUES OF PLAY,
GAMES, AND SPORT IN AMERICA.

THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA AT
GREENSBORO, ED.D., 1979

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ALTERNATIVE PATTERNS AND VALUES OF
PLAY, GAMES, AND SPORT
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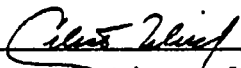
by

Dorothy L. Brightman

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the Faculty of the Graduate School at
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BRIGHTMAN, DOROTHY LOUISE. Alternative Patterns and Values of Play, Games, and Sport in America. (1979)
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During the late 1960s and early 1970s numerous individuals and groups questioned the purposes, values, and morality of sport and proposed alternatives to traditional forms and patterns of sport. The purpose of this study was to investigate the changing characteristics, norms, values, and structures of play, games, and sport in the United States as seen by dissenting subgroups and individuals during the years 1972-1977. An extensive review was made of selected books, newspapers, and magazines published during the period January 1, 1972 to January 1, 1977. Material studied was written by and about members of alternative subgroups, dissenting individuals, and other observers of American cultural patterns. Special consideration was given to material published by the "alternative press."

Much of the expressed dissatisfaction was directed at the world of organized sport and at the bureaucratic groups which controlled sport. While many critics deplored the growing alliance of sport with business and political interests, few believed that big-time, commercialized, and professionalized sport programs should be eliminated or even radically changed. Instead, many critics suggested that the environment surrounding the sport experience should be changed. Usually, suggestions for change were in accord with other changes occurring in the American society. While

most critics described ways that institutionalized sport could be organized and conducted, few suggested ways to change the form, essence, and value structure of this highly developed form of sport.

The dissidents felt that participation in play, games, and sport could be a positive experience. While there was less expressed dissatisfaction with the practices, values, and emphases of participatory, personal, and recreational sport, it was for this area that the dissidents and sport critics encouraged the development of alternatives to traditional sport patterns.

The sport critics proposed no one alternative sport pattern. They offered no one preferred value orientation for sport. However, most of the dissidents, reformers, and critics of the 1960s and 1970s believed that the experience and institution of sport should be built on values encompassing equality of opportunity, the worth and dignity of the individual, participatory governance, community, cooperative behavior, participation, and pleasure. Norms, characteristics, and values of new or alternative sport patterns were usually preexistent as secondary themes within sport and the American culture.

Individuals and groups proposed alternative to traditional sport in the hope of increasing participation. They also used sport to foster a sense of togetherness and community, to teach cooperative skills and behaviors, to

discover and develop the self, and to share new realms of meaning and being. As a result of their efforts, some traditional activities had a revival of interest, several traditional activities attracted new participants because of a change of emphasis, and a few new activities were created.

However, at no time did the dissidents attempt to radically change the form and structure of sport. New activities were presented as an addition to, not a substitute for, the wide range of sport and game activities that Americans have always enjoyed. Participants often were individuals who had been overlooked by previously existing forms of sport. New activities did not take participants, attention, or money away from traditional patterns of sport organization.

Within the dimensions of the present study there is little to indicate immediate or permanent change in sport. Expressed dissatisfaction with American cultural norms and values has lessened. The activity of the sport dissidents has abated and efforts to change the practices, forms, and values of institutionalized sport has diminished. However, many of the inequities, incongruities, and irregularities exposed by dissenting subgroups and individuals within society continue to be irritants and sponsor corrective action.

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The author wishes to express her gratitude to Dr. Celeste Ulrich who has served as a source of inspiration and practicality, freedom and discipline, creativity and logic. It has been an intellectual and literary challenge to work with her. Thanks go to her and other committee members for their encouragement of a study which encompassed philosophical, historical, and sociological areas of investigation. It was a valuable experience for the author to undertake such a multi-dimensional study.

Dr. Patrick Conover provided valuable assistance in the beginning stages of research. Many other individuals involved in the development of alternative lifestyles, sport-styles, and social institutions shared their hopes and selves with the author, thus making the research more real.

Finally, thanks go to family and friends who have offered encouragement. Special thanks go to my mother, Marion Webber Brightman, who has provided space and time to me to realize a dream that both of us have shared.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.	iii
CHAPTER	
I. INTRODUCTION.	1
II. PROCEDURES.	9
III. THE WAY IT HAS BEEN: CHARACTERISTICS, NORMS, AND VALUES OF PLAY, GAMES, AND SPORT IN AMERICA.	16
The Real Sports World	17
The Ideal	25
Strains and Tensions.	28
Summary	30
IV. SOME PEOPLE URGE CHANGE	32
V. WHAT SEEMS WRONG?	52
The Person as Object.	57
The Person's Body as Object	59
Exclusion	61
Inflexibility	63
Emphasis.	64
Specific Concerns	68
VI. HOW PEOPLE DISAGREE	71
VII. EXTENT OF DISAGREEMENT.	78
VIII. THE WAY IT COULD BE	81
Kinds of Activities	83
Who Will Participate.	86
Why Participate	86
How to Participate.	89
The Experience.	89
The Body.	92
Movement Styles	95
Interaction with Others	96

	Page
Structure and Controls.	97
Rules	97
Authority	97
Leadership.	98
What Happens.	99
The Experience.	99
The Person.	101
Rewards	101
The Heroes.	102
Predominant Values.	105
 IX. WHAT HAS BEEN DONE.	 110
Increasing Participation.	111
Encouraging Togetherness and Community.	118
Teaching New Values	121
Discovering and Developing the Self	122
Sharing New Realms of Meaning and Being	126
 X. WHAT IT ALL MEANS	 128
 XI. THE FUTURE PROSPECT	 134
 BIBLIOGRAPHY.	 137
 REFERENCE NOTES	 151
 APPENDIX A: REFERENCES ON THE ALTERNATIVE CULTURE.	 152
 APPENDIX B: LIST OF ALTERNATIVE PERIODICALS USED	 153

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The United States is truly a land of diversity. Many different peoples make up its population. Freedom of thought and action permit limitless possibilities of cultural growth and expression. Exploration, innovation, change, and progress are encouraged. Disagreement, dissension, and deviance are permitted and tolerated. These qualities give the American culture fluidity, mobility, and a distinct orientation toward the future.

Within American society, subgroups and individuals who engage in exploratory activity beyond that accepted as the norm usually have been identifiable. These subgroups have consisted of: economic reformers, social reformers, political activists, members of service groups, members of religious cults, members of minority groups of various kinds, utopians, and isolates from society. Additionally, restless and uncertain youth often question cultural norms and values as they attempt to become part of the adult world. Membership in these subgroups has often been transitory and has been sought as an experience rather than as a commitment. The existence of specific groups has often been short-lived. Accordingly, the questioning of value structures and the development of alternative social plans and models has tended

to be situational and temporary. Cultural change resulting from such situational and temporary deviance has often been lacking.

The emergence of diverse patterns of social thought and practice and the development of numerous societal alternatives increased during the twenty-five year period after the end of World War II. Furthermore, public knowledge about these deviations from the normal socio-cultural pattern greatly increased during that period of time. The media, especially television, reported what was taking place and in so doing had an intensifying and accelerative effect on this period of social change.

The 1960s and early 1970s appear as a period of intense social mutation. Basic and underlying societal values were questioned and new lifestyles were created and accepted. A sense of social unrest was pervasive. Much of the questioning and change was initiated by young people; the products of the post-war "baby boom" had suddenly become a large, identifiable, and potentially powerful group. An unpopular war in Vietnam, civil rights activism, and other economic and social pressures induced many Americans to become active participants in the evaluation of their cultural foundations.

Many dissidents of the sixties were part of what is now labelled the "counterculture." For purposes of this study, the term counterculture will refer to all individuals

involved in the revolutionary social movement which occurred in the United States of America during the 1960s. The roots of this movement resided in strong disillusionment and rejection of traditional values and norms of American society (Reich, 1970; Sage, 1974a). Although many of the tenets and beliefs of the counterculture were secondary themes in the mainstream American culture, various groups and individuals made serious attempts to substitute a series of inverse or counter values in order to build what they thought might be a better society (Melville, 1972; Conover, Note 1). When social activism and revolutionary acts failed to change society, many dissidents turned inward to focus on personal change (Rudikoff, 1972). Their action was a withdrawal from society; their goal was the development of an alternate rather than a counter culture. This emphasis on personal change often involved a search for new and different states of consciousness or being. Many times self-realization was sought through the use of drugs.

The counterculture movement was not a revolt of the masses or of the workers but was, in truth, a white, middle-class search for alternatives (Kretzman, 1976; Melville, 1972; Ouradnik, 1974). It comprised a blend of political dissent, simplified lifestyles, and collective cultural survival expressions (Kretzman, 1976). The movement could be defined neither by its tactics nor its goals but by the strong sense of common enemies: technology, rationality,

bureaucracy, the American corporate state, mass society, "the system" (Hodgson, 1976; Kando, 1975; Melville, 1972; Rudikoff, 1972). It involved a spiritual network of people who thought and acted in roughly the same way (Rothchild & Wolf, 1976). Expressions of anger and disillusionment ranged from serious and often violent efforts to reform society to expressions of indifference and withdrawal with accompanying hopes and efforts to create a new social order. Hippies, free schools, communes, guerilla theatre, flower children, the human potential movement, peace demonstrations, the free speech movement, people's parks, political radicalism, Students for a Democratic Society, yippies, and the underground press were all manifestations of the counterculture (Conover, 1973).

Kretzman (1976) and K. Kelly (1977) reported that by the mid-seventies, the outward signs of the counterculture had disappeared or been absorbed. Co-optation, repression, and commercialization had all played a part in the destruction of the counterculture (Kando, 1975). The end of the Vietnam War had changed the political and economic scene. There was less of an apocalyptic sense of urgency and less social and cultural experimentation (David, 1976; Kretzman, 1976). The fascination with and attention given to the more bizarre aspects of the counterculture tended to distort and absorb the elements of the rebellion before they had a chance to develop and mature. Finally, the fluctuat-

ing constituency, lack of agreed-upon beliefs and plans for action, discouragement of the development and use of leadership, and inability to build a lasting organizational and institutional framework were all internal factors which contributed to the demise of the counterculture (Kretzman, 1976).

However, the youthful opposition of the sixties had called into question assumptions normally buried in social habits and institutions. The dissidents had illuminated many of the weaknesses of the American culture (Melville, 1972). A significant number of individuals and groups continued to participate in the exploration and creation of alternative value systems, lifestyles, and social institutions (Conover, 1973). Many individuals and groups attempted to reshape their lives on a more intentional and self-determined basis, not necessarily bound by the prevailing values and norms of society. While few lasting efforts were made to implement desired societal changes, the generalized efforts of some individuals and groups do represent a viable alternative or addition to the present dominant American cultural pattern. Furthermore, the spirit of change, questioning, and flexibility has made a difference in the way many present-day Americans respond to the traditional societal norms, values, and institutions of the past.

All spheres of institutionalized American life came under the scrutiny of the dissidents. The world of sport

was no exception. Landers (1976) reported that during the 1960s, the tentacles of the counterculture movement reached out to sport to encourage what became known as the "athletic revolution." In the 1970s, the debate over alternative value systems continued to capture the attention of social commentators who became involved in a critique of the values, characteristics, and norms of play, games, and sport in America. These critics and commentators included: disgruntled present and former athletes; muckraking and crusading journalists and sports writers; a newborn group of philosophers, psychologists, and sociologists of sport; idealistic dissidents within society. Many expressed varying levels of discontent. Some proposed alternative value systems. However, few suggested ways to implement change.

Sport is an abstract and highly ambiguous term. While most Americans recognize sport for what it is, many have difficulty in defining and describing it (Vanderzwaag, 1972, p. 28). Vanderzwaag (1972) further noted, "probably the most confusing aspect of sport is its relationship to similar concepts....play, games, and athletics" (p. 51). Americans often use these terms synonymously. Furthermore, variations in word usage, such as "athletes play games," contribute to more confusion.

In this study, the terms play, games, sport, and athletics will not be defined in specific terms for such categorization would limit the scope of inquiry. The terms play,

games, sport, and athletics will refer to patterns of physical activity existing on a continuum. Variations in complexity, structure, organization, and purpose determine specific locations on the continuum.

It should be realized that play, games, sport, and athletics are a part of the American social system and have a unique relationship with the culture. It is usually acknowledged that sport is a social institution and may, indeed, be a unique social situation (Boyle, 1963; Edwards, 1973; Ingham, 1975; Ingham & Loy, 1973; Loy, 1968, 1978; Snyder & Spreitzer, 1975). As part of the American cultural system, sport is both directive and reflective of it. Changes in the culture produce changes in all manifestations of sport. In turn, changes in sport may have some effect upon the culture.

There has been much change in sport since the end of World War II. The phenomenal "sports boom" has been accompanied by an increased emphasis on commercialism, formalization, specialization, impersonality, organization, aggressive behavior, and violence. While there was continued interest in spectator sport, more Americans than ever before became active participants in a great variety of sport activities. Changing sport forms and emphases have been accompanied by great changes in the social environment. Edwards (1973) reported that many strains present in contemporary sport are a result of the "impact of the twentieth century,

with its affluence, its speed, its mass communications--all of which have combined to create a much smaller world and new definitions of reality" (p. 353).

It may take many years to adequately assess the effect and impact of the period of change which occurred from 1960 into the early years of the seventies. However, there is merit in studying the process of institutional change through an analysis of living history. This approach seems especially appropriate for a study of the counter-culture and athletic revolution since suggestions for change have been multiple, varied, and often short-lived. Furthermore, the availability of personal, community, visual, and written materials to study the era are becoming less evident. A final justification for this study is the absence of other research studies in this area and also the absence of systematic investigation into the area of change in sport.

CHAPTER II

PROCEDURES

The purpose of this study was to investigate the changing characteristics, norms, values, and structures of play, games, and sport in the United States as seen by dissenting alternative subgroups and individuals during the years 1972-1977. The study has focused on answering the following questions:

1. What are the basic characteristics, norms, and purported values of play, games, and sport in America?
2. What evidence was there of disagreement with the basic characteristics, norms, and values of play, games, and sport in America?
3. What were the desired characteristics, norms, and values of play, games, and sport as seen by dissenting subgroups and individuals?
4. If indicated, what are the implications and evidence of change in the patterns, characteristics, norms, and values of play, games, and sport in America?

To investigate this living history and to analyze prevalent and changing philosophies of sport, a review was made

of pertinent written materials published during the years 1972-1977. Material written by and about members of alternative sub-groups, dissenting individuals, and other observers of American cultural patterns constituted the primary data source for the study. This involved an extensive review of selected books, newspapers, and magazine articles written during the period January 1, 1972 to January 1, 1977. If especially pertinent, books and magazine articles written before 1972 and after January 1, 1977 were included to provide background information.

The author surveyed current literature in the history, philosophy, and sociology of sport to determine the prevailing characteristics, norms, and values of sport as America approached the turbulent years of the sixties. This process also enabled the author to identify strains and tensions existent in the sports world.

The identification of dissenting sub-groups and individuals within American society was also accomplished through a literature survey. Personal contacts, bibliographies and indices, and contemporary writings from the traditional and alternative press introduced the author to the social critics of the era. The following were identified as part of the alternate or counterculture of the 1960s and 1970s: many young people between the ages of 15 and 25, members of communal living experiments, utopians, educational reformers, members of service groups, political activists,

isolates, and dropouts from society. Dissidents within the sporting community were also identified. These various individuals were often seeking alternatives in traditional gender-role definitions and behaviors; in the development of a personal identity, lifestyle, and value system; in areas such as individual rights, decision making, and the use of authority; in the relationship between work and non-work or leisure; in education, and in the structure and value system of sport itself.

An important part of the research for the study was the location of primary source material on the alternate or counterculture. The search for this was begun by discussing the problem with several individuals who were attempting to live alternative lifestyles and were involved in a continuous personal process of social experimentation. Bookstores, community centers, and libraries were often located by looking through the People's Yellow Pages. These are telephone-book type listings which identify and describe resources, ideas, and programs of individuals and groups involved in community and social change organization. These "Yellow Pages" (note 2) are published for many of the major cities in America. Other publications, such as Richard Gardner's (Note 3) Alternative America, a computer printed directory of 5000 non-profit...cooperatively owned... community based...non-establishment...alternative groups, and the Co-Evolution Quarterly, a catalog of ideas and

artifacts of the alternative culture, proved to be helpful. Many libraries had some material from the counterculture in their collections. The author located readings on, and from, the alternative culture in the Alternatives Library located in the Salem, Massachusetts, State College Library; the Brown University Resources Center; and in the Social Ephemera File of the Rhode Island College Library. In addition, several libraries have been established which organize their collections around the counter or alternate culture. One such library is the Alternative Press Center in Baltimore, Maryland. This center is an alternative community library that has a collection of more than 200 newspapers, magazines, and journals covering the years 1972 to the present. The center also publishes the Alternative Press Index (Note 4) four times a year. This resource center provided much of the source material on the alternative and counter culture that was used for this study.

One manifestation of the counterculture was the development of the "underground press" in the mid-sixties. Kando (1975) described this new form of communication as consisting of publications that were frequently unsanctioned by the authorities, often clandestine student publications, usually subject to censorship. Topics and issues included drugs, music, food, ecology, radical political ideas, and police action and repression. Some publications were directed at a specific audience such as blacks, women, .

socialists, or commune dwellers. Many were short-lived, lasting only a few weeks or months. In time, the underground press came out from "under" and became what is now termed the alternative press.

During the 1970s, the alternative press dwindled in the number of publications printed; publications became more respectable and often narrowed their focus. Kevin Kelly (1977) reported that in 1971 the Liberation News Service supplied alternative news copy to approximately 800 papers; by 1977 that number had been cut in half. Kando (1975) noted that "the so-called underground press had not so much disappeared as mutated into a variety of either respectable, commercial, or pornographic tabloids" (pp. 172-173). The press often became a business enterprise and, as a result of the necessity to obtain advertising revenue, had to limit its freedom to speak out on revolutionary causes. Like other counter-cultural enterprises, much of the underground and alternative press became a part of "the system." However, publications such as The Black Panther, Communities, Co-Evolution Quarterly, Green Revolution, In These Times, Monthly Review, New Schools Exchange Newsletter, Radical America, and Win continue to represent the questioning and dissenting point of view of many Americans. A complete listing of the alternative publications used can be found in the Appendix.

Various indices were used to locate writings on the topic. These included: the Alternative Press Index, the

Citation Index for the Social Sciences, the Current Index to Journals in Education, the Humanities Index, the Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, the Social Sciences Index, and the Social Sciences and Humanities Index. To determine trends, the investigator conducted a review of all sport articles in 23 periodicals for the time period 1972-1977.

More than 500 articles were reviewed. These came from 145 different periodicals; 56 of these periodicals were from the alternative press. For the most part, the articles were written by different authors, thus representing a wide spectrum of opinion. Most of the authors were men. The articles were found in a variety of different publications: business, educational, health, historical, political, popular weeklies, social issues. The articles were distributed evenly throughout the years under study.

Current books dealing with the "athletic revolution" and the changing world of sport were reviewed. In addition, several first-person accounts of the development and living of new lifestyles were studied. The selection of readings was based on the judgment that they involved proposed value change, innovation, and development of alternatives in play, games, and sport. Writings concerned with other forms of movement such as dance, sensory body awareness, movement exploration, martial arts, and yoga were examined only as background material. In the area of play, games, and sport it was intended that attention be given to

the essence of the activity rather than to problems with the implementation of the activity.

Topical questions were used as a guide to study the present and changing characteristics, norms, and values of play, games, and sport in America. The questions were developed by the investigator. They encompass the concept and definition of sport as described in the Introduction, and are as follows:

1. What is the purpose of the activity?
2. Who can participate?
3. What is the nature of the participation?
4. What is the end result of the participation?
5. What social processes are evident?
6. What controls are in effect?
7. What is the source of authority?
8. What is the nature of the leadership?
9. What rewards are given?
10. What kinds of movement styles are permitted and encouraged?
11. What are the possibilities for personal growth?
12. Who are the identifiable heroes?

· CHAPTER III

THE WAY IT HAS BEEN: CHARACTERISTICS, NORMS,
AND VALUES OF PLAY, GAMES, AND SPORT
IN AMERICA

While play, games, and sport are found in all civilized societies, their forms and emphases vary and are culturally specific. Thus, the norms and values of play, games, and sport in America mirror norms and values that are an integral part of the American culture.

Strong cultural values such as achievement, competition, rationality, and the importance of hard work have had a strong effect upon the forms and emphases of contemporary American sport. The way that Americans play games has roots in a Christian ethic which recommends that the individual should obey the rules, sacrifice the self for the common end, and accept decisions made by those in authority (Tunis, 1958). Sport also has a historical tradition. Sage (1974) reported that:

the major historical forces which have molded American sport are the religious influence of the colonial Puritans, industrialization and urbanization in the nineteenth century, the growth and development of universal public education, and the emergence of mass media during this century. (p. 61)

To understand the dissension and criticism of sport which emerged during the 1960s and 1970s, it is necessary to become

familiar with the characteristics, norms, and values of contemporary American sport. To this end the author has looked at the real sports world, the ideal sports world, and at some of the strains and tensions existent in these areas during the twenty-five year period following the conclusion of World War II.

The Real Sports World

Although sport is a recent phenomenon, it has become one of the most visible and important parts of the mass culture and everyday life of most Americans (Beisser, 1967; Boyle, 1963; Naison, 1972). Page (1973) reported that "sport has emerged as a major social institution of worldwide scale, which directly or indirectly affects the lives of all of us" (p. 7).

In the years immediately following the end of the Second World War, an unprecedented sports boom spread over America. Increased leisure time and financial prosperity stimulated many Americans to look for opportunities to participate. Paul Gardner (1975) reported:

the post-war Americans wanted to watch, certainly, but they also wanted to participate....Americans wanted to enjoy themselves, and from all the measurable standards they had never been in a better position to do it. The war had banished the effects of the economic depression....money was there for the spending, and the other essential ingredient for recreation--time--was becoming increasingly available. (p. 20)

The post-war period saw an expansion of commercially sponsored sport and recreational programs. This was paralleled by significant growth in the sporting equipment and facilities industries (Edwards, 1973; Hoch, 1972). Americans eagerly took advantage of these new opportunities for participation in games and sport. They often became involved in several sports for, as Jury (1977) reported, "new activities by no means edge out the old standbys of American leisure....It's just that Americans today have enough leisure time to enjoy traditional spare-time activities--and then still have time left over" (p. 8).

During the postwar years, there was a strong and continued interest in spectator sport. This was accompanied by an intensified and spectacular growth of professional sport. Sage (1974) reported:

Professional sports undoubtedly produce the greatest amount of sports involvement in American society of any other single sports enterprise. During the past 15 years professional sports teams have multiplied at a bewildering rate, thus providing job opportunities for an increasing number of professional athletes. (p. 6)

By the late 1960s, professional athletics had become an acceptable field of employment for many Americans (Page, 1973). In addition, the postwar period saw the integration of black athletes into professional sport. Increased media coverage, night-time ball games, improvements in transportation, and high pressure publicity campaigns all contributed to the growth of professional sport while radio and television programs continued to create new sports fans.

American sport traditionally has been a participatory experience for the young. Small children devote much of their time to "play." While much of children's play is spontaneous, unorganized, and unsupervised, it is also imitative and the highly structured, professionalized, and commercialized world of adult sport has served as the model for youngsters to follow. The world of organized sport has been easily accessible and visible through the extensive television coverage given to sporting events. In addition, many children have obtained first-hand knowledge of the world of organized sport through their participation in adult-organized and controlled youth sport programs. Vanderzwaag (1972) wrote that :

It is an indisputable fact that the American boy in the 1970s is generally deterred from spontaneous participation in favor of belonging to a sport group with the associated sponsorship, coaches, codification of rules, and other aspects which characterize sport and/or athletics. (p. 25)

Prior to the mid-seventies, there was little or no opportunity for young girls to participate in similar organized sport programs.

Youngsters have participated in increasingly formalized game situations where the emphasis has often been focused on strength, mobility, team play, becoming the best, winning the contest, and defeating the opponent. As participants developed their skills and became better and more specialized performers, many others were excluded because they could not keep up with the natural abilities and trained skills of

their more exceptional peers. Girls have been excluded as opportunities for their continued participation were discouraged, diminished, and disappeared. Age has become an important factor as young adults have discovered that they cannot continue to participate in violent and strenuous team sports. Opportunity and time for continued participation have been limited after the individual graduates from school or college. In order to maintain a social and psychological reference point with sport, the individual has become a spectator. The individual's involvement with the world of highly organized and institutionalized sport has become more passive than active.

However, many Americans have continued to participate in what could be termed "folk-sport" or recreation. Page (1973) reported that "sport as a popular pastime extends far beyond organizational boundaries" (p. 33). He further stated that "although an important part of the sporting world wears the face of bureaucracy, participatory sport... is also strongly embedded in the popular culture of play" (p. 33). This "play" is similar to the play and games of childhood with less emphasis on structure, discipline, organization, work, instrumental values, and extrinsic rewards. However, competition and reinforcement of masculine behaviors continue to be an important part of this recreational and less exclusive kind of sport.

Kando (1975) has described the twentieth century as being a time when American sport became more organized, institutionalized, professionalized, and commercialized. In an effort to achieve, compete, and become the best, the athlete and coach turned to the worlds of science and business to discover and develop the best techniques for efficiency and success. As sport became more complex, the play element lessened and sport often became just another form of work (Kando, 1975). Beisser (1967) noted that "modern sports are dominated by the spirit of work" (p. 7). Landers (1976) wrote:

Today American sport has become increasingly appended to the complex of big business, entertainment, and instant media-produced superstardom.... Not only have the structural forms of sport changed over the years, but the ideational context of sport has changed as well. Sport has become increasingly like work, where much emphasis is placed on instrumental values. Expressive values, such as sociability and fun, have become subservient to ego demands and instrumental concerns (p. 61).

Sage (1974) noted that:

the dominant approach in current institutionalized sport is an authoritarian, product-oriented enterprise. The basic concern is with athletes subjecting themselves to the will of the coach whose primary concern is with winning athletic contests. The rise of increasingly institutionalized and codified sports teams has caused many coaches to view team members as objects in a machine-like environment who need to be conditioned to perform prescribed, fragmented tasks as instrumental to team performance. Thus the players become the instrument of another man...and are used to reach the objectives and goals of the organizational collectivity (p. 420).

Scott (1973) reported that "the dominant American sport ethic is best captured in Vince Lombardi's famous and often repeated

remark that "winning isn't everything, it's the only thing" (p. 71). This ethic sustains a product-oriented system that turns out an excellent product but pays little attention to the process. The opponent is viewed as an enemy and an obstacle to be overcome on the path to victory. Finally, such a sport-struggle takes place in a rigidly authoritarian structure (Scott, 1973, p. 73). Edwards (1973) determined that the American sports creed contains elements of character development, discipline, competition, physical fitness, mental fitness, religiosity, and nationalism. Other sport sociologists, historians, and philosophers have noted the following significant characteristics of contemporary American sport: formalized, specialized, standardized, institutionalized, competitive with an emphasis on winning, disciplined, authoritarian, elaborate and complex rules, institutional and organizational goals, work-like, less playful, rational, exclusionary, elitist, discriminatory, masculine, part of business world, an entertainment (Beisser, 1967; Betts, 1974; Boyle, 1963; P. Gardner, 1975; Labrecque, 1972; Lawson, 1974; Naison, 1972; Page, 1973; Park, 1974a; Tunis, 1958).

Most American sports and games are competitive and reflect the achievement orientation of the culture. Orlick (1978) noted that "although games have been played cooperatively in many cultures for centuries....genuine cooperative games with no losers are extremely rare in the Western world "

(p. 4). Boyle (1963) wrote that Americans have a "compulsion to win, no matter what the game is or its level of play" (p. 56). Paul Gardner (1975) described success as being within everyone's reach; it was only necessary to compete for it.

Cozens and Stumpf (1953) described a cultural expectation of male dominance with an accompanying idolization of muscular and aggressive men. In America, sport has served as a pathway to manhood. Various sporting events serve as masculinity rites; young American males perform and endure numerous ritual acts as part of their transition to manhood and maturity. Felshin (1975) noted:

In social terms, athletic and masculine models are interchangeable....the rituals of sport are the rites of manhood....As rites, the modes of sport must be stylized to emphasize their relationship to manhood; the styles of sport express an ethic of competition, power, dominance, and male bonding. (p. 33)

Sport has become a business enterprise. Economic benefits come from a variety of commercial ventures such as the selling of tickets to sporting events, advertising revenue, sporting goods manufacture, and the development of recreational facilities. Numerous Americans have found employment in the "sport industry." Paul Gardner (1975) reported that "professional sport is steeped in an atmosphere of overt commercialism, and there seems to be hardly any potentially profitable angle that has been overlooked" (p. 31). Much money has been spent to develop winning teams. Consequently

there has been a standardization and specialization of technique, more highly codified rules and standards for the game, and more rigidly enforced directives of the coach or manager. As sport has become more highly organized it has often become more work-like and less playful. Sport participation has become a job.

The business of sport is entertainment. The game has become more than a contest between two players or two teams. The game often became a show and a spectacle. Similarly, the athlete became more than a game-player. He, and more recently she, became an entertainer and a star. As such, he or she became a "worker" rather than, or as well as, a "player." The player became a commodity to be bought, sold, used, trained, manipulated, and changed.

Sport as entertainment came to exist at many levels. Colleges and universities developed sophisticated, specialized, and professionalized athletic programs for the entertainment of the school community and the general public. In many towns, high school sport became big business. Finally, numerous youth sport programs were organized to provide entertainment and diversion for adults, as well as to give children a chance to learn and compete.

Sport has continued to serve as a form of communication and a means of social intercourse. Conventional norms and values of American society have been embodied and transmitted through sport. The disparities, strains, and tensions within

the American culture have been enlarged and emphasized by sport. Sport has become a common language and can often identify individuals within and out of the mainstream culture.

Finally, sport has had a strong connection with the schooling or educational process. Sport has been used as a training ground to instill such positive values and attitudes as cooperation, sportsmanship, loyalty, altruism, and discipline. Schaefer (1976) reported that:

sport is an important agency of enculturation within the American schooling process....In a number of important ways, athletics contribute to fitting the athlete into established mainstream cultural and behavioral patterns of the society and in this way contribute to the stability, maintenance, and perpetuation of the established society....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 oneself to others within a formal organization, to accepting standards of personal conduct defined as desirable by the mainstream, 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...and to conditional self-worthathletics help reinforce many established cultural and behavioral patterns, thereby contributing to the social assimilation of athletics into the mainstream adult society. (p. 184)

The Ideal

Americans hold certain beliefs about the role and function of sport in their culture. These basic beliefs, which can be termed the "ideals of sport," have had a strong connection with the underlying value structure of American society. Many are nonutilitarian, nonpurposeful, and

impractical. Others indicate points of strain and tension within the culture. Still others have received undue emphasis for, as Paul Gardner (1975) reported, "sport is a man-made, totally artificial little world, and it would be surprising if man did not take the opportunity to idealize or exaggerate the role of those values he treasures most"

(p. 46).

Edwards (1973) reported that:

nationalism has a relatively vague and diffuse place in the sports creed....Some expressions in the creed depict sports involvement as in and of itself conducive to the development of a patriotic attitude.
(p. 125)

Two sources of American nationalistic pride are the importance of democracy as a political and social system and of capitalism as an economic way of life.

Many Americans believe that sport has a unique relationship with the practice of democracy. Ulrich (1968) reported that:

in the United States play has a tendency to be democratic, both as a reflection of the culture and as a guide to the culture. Play insists upon equal opportunity for its participants. There is freedom of choice with regard to participation, role playing, and rule acceptance.
(p. 108)

Participation in sport is not restricted to a certain social, economic, or political elite. Sport offers the opportunity for anyone to achieve and find success. The fact that America's best athletes come from many diverse backgrounds indicates that democracy indeed works in the area of sport.

Similarly, when American teams and individuals triumph in the Olympic Games and other international sport competitions, this is looked upon as further evidence that democracy works. Finally, many believe that sport provides an excellent framework for teaching the ideals of democracy.

Americans believe that participation in sport can lead to success. The poor can escape from the ghettos, immigrants can become important and valued citizens, the rejected can become acceptable. Boyle (1963) noted that sports have often served minority groups as the first rung on the social ladder and provided the way for further assimilation into American life. Betts (1974) wrote that "minority groups have found in sport a process of Americanization and an instrument of social equality" (p. 326).

Americans believe that the foundations of their economic and political systems rest upon the base of competition. Edwards (1973) reported that "the overriding value orientation salient throughout the institution of sport and the dominant sports creed is that of the 'individual achievement through competition'" (p. 334). Sadler (1973) wrote that "the spirit of competition has been uniquely located at the heart of our cultural heritage" (p. 125). Sport becomes important as a medium through which the young can be taught how to compete. Although there has been some criticism of competition in economic areas, competition has continued to thrive in other parts of institutionalized American life

such as in the political arena, in the military, in religion, and in education (Sadler, 1973). The competitive ethic has been an accepted and integral part of American sport.

Strains and Tensions

Snyder and Spreitzer (1975) wrote that "sport contains many of the sources of conflict inherent in the larger society" (p. 17). During wartime, sport has often been used to solidify the nation. Citizens band together to cheer on their team. There is increased interest and effort in becoming fit and thus ready to defend the nation against the enemy. During previous wars, the unification of sport with the goals of the nation and the military was acceptable to most Americans. During the sixties and seventies, American involvement in an unpopular war in Vietnam influenced the promotion and sometimes rejection of several traditionally acceptable sport emphases. During the Vietnam war, conscious and unconscious efforts were made to link the game of football with America's military preparedness. Sporting events were used as an arena for the promotion and display of national goals and solidarity. However, many Americans were confused and concerned with the role their country was playing in the Vietnam war and were very resistant to linking sport with militaristic and nationalistic goals.

Changes in the sports world itself have created strain and tension. College sport has become more commercialized and professionalized in recent years. College athletes have

become the raw materials to be manipulated, changed, and used in the business of producing winning and successful teams for their schools. Their play has become work. The number of professional sport teams, contests, and activities has increased greatly since the end of World War II. Accordingly, professional sport has increasingly turned to the colleges and universities to develop highly trained and specialized athletes to fill the rosters of professional teams. It is not unusual for college athletes to join the professional ranks as soon as their collegiate athletic eligibility has expired. These, and other changed standards, goals, and emphases have produced strain and tension among college educators, athletes, and fans.

As games and sport have become more standardized, specialized, and organized, the individual participants have often become less important to the whole. Page (1973) described:

the decreasing degree of autonomy for the athlete himself, whose onetime position as a more or less independent participant has been largely replaced by the status of skilled athletic worker under the strict discipline of coaches. (p. 33) ..

This changed status and role of the athlete seems to have produced strain and tension in many individuals.

Little consideration has been given to treating the expressive and instrumental dimensions of sport as separate entities. These different aspects of sport are often seen

as having similar characteristics, norms, and values. Furthermore, most Americans continue to view sport as a game. Sport is fun, diverting, relaxing, cathartic, nonserious. Sport is to be played. This ideal or belief is in opposition to the reality of sport as a business. Many Americans believe that while sport is a business it can also be a game. Athletes may be paid for their participation but they are still "playing." Sport may be professional but it is still "sporting." To do well in the game, athletes must work but this is enjoyable and playful work. Much of the ambiguity and criticism regarding sport centers around an understanding and acceptance of the meaning, role, and reality of those entities thought of as play, games, and sport in contemporary America.

Summary

To summarize, the following words of Robert Lipsyte (1975) describe many of the characteristics, norms, and values of sport in mid-twentieth century America.

For the past one hundred years most Americans have believed that playing and watching competitive games are not only healthful activities, but represent a positive force on our national psyche. In sports, they believe, children will learn courage and self-control, old people will find blissful nostalgia, and families will discover new ways to communicate among themselves. Immigrants will find shortcuts to recognition as Americans. Rich and poor, black and white, educated and unskilled, we will all find a unifying language. The melting pot may be a myth, but we will all come together in the ballpark.

This faith in sports has been vigorously promoted by industry, the military, government, the media. The values of the arena and the locker room have been imposed upon our national life. Coaches and sportswriters are speaking for generals and businessmen, too, when they tell us that a man must be physically and psychologically "tough" to succeed, that he must be clean and punctual and honest, that he must bear pain, bad luck, and defeat without whimpering or making excuses. A man must prove his faith in sports and the American Way by whipping himself into shape, playing by the rules, being part of the team, and putting out all the way. If his faith is strong enough, he will triumph. It's his own fault if he loses, fails, remains poor.

Even for ballgames, these values, with their implicit definitions of manhood, courage, and success, are not necessarily in the individual's best interests. But for daily life they tend to create a dangerous and grotesque web of ethics and attitudes, an amorphous infrastructure that acts to contain our energies, divert our passions, and socialize us for work or war or depression. (p. ix)

CHAPTER IV

SOME PEOPLE URGE CHANGE

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, numerous people questioned the purposes, values, and morality of sport and offered alternatives to what was presently existent. These dissident individuals and groups proposed alternatives to traditional sport because they felt that they, and others, could not participate in sport the way it was; because they wanted to use sport to bring people together for a sense of community; because they wanted to use sport as a medium for teaching a different value system; because they wanted to use sport as an avenue to a different experience or existence; and because they found new and different meanings in sport that they wanted to share with others.

This questioning of the values and practices of sport arose from several sources. One source was a spin-off of the counterculture movement of the sixties. Accompanying the assumption of those in the counterculture that most American institutions had something wrong with them was the belief that it was a civic responsibility for Americans to examine and question their culture. Prevalent values and norms did not have to be accepted; cultural standards and institutions were not fixed forever. Accordingly, all parts

of the American cultural pattern were subject to evaluation. In addition to generalized questions posed by members of the counterculture, individuals within and surrounding the sports world had become so disturbed by conditions within the institution of sport itself that they felt forced to question and propose alternatives for their own peace of mind and body. A third impetus for dissent came from a new and growing focus on humanistic values.

Although most characteristics, norms, and values of traditional American play, games, and sport lie in complete opposition to ideas posed by members of the counterculture little has been written about sport by people who could be called members of this group. In 1973, William Sadler reported that he had "found no reference to sports or athletics in the counter-culture literature" (p. 124). This investigator has also found little reference to sport in the small amount of material that has been written by and about people of the counterculture.

This may be because sport has not been a primary interest or concern of the groups and individuals identified as a part of the counterculture. Survival has been of major importance; the crises of day-to-day life have occupied their attention and energies. Secondly, many of the counterculture people have preferred to live lives reflecting their new values rather than to project and evangelize them. Theirs has been a search for personal meaning and understanding (David,

1976; Kando, 1975; Kanter, 1972; Ouradnik, 1974; Rudikoff, 1972; Conover, Note 1). Such a subscription may have curtailed explanatory literature.

Often there has been little opportunity for participation in organized games and sport due to a scarcity of equipment, space, and suitable facilities. American sport, as we know it, has usually been an urban experience; many of the changed lifestyles of the counterculture were developed in rural areas.

It may well be that participants in the counterculture movement have not consciously rejected or disagreed with the values and norms of sport. They just may not have been players or gamesters, either as participants or as spectators. Finally, the simplest explanation regarding the dearth of literature about play, games, and sport may be that most people do not have the language skills to describe new meanings that they find in play activity. Desire, satisfaction, fun, and enjoyment may be an important part of a value system but they are entities which cannot be described easily.

Whatever the reason, it appears that games and sport have not been considered often by members of the counterculture as being in need of restructuring. In biographical and survey writings of individuals and groups in the counterculture, there has been little mention of games and sport being a part of their daily lives (Diamond, 1971; Fairfield, 1972; Gunther, 1971; Hedgepeth & Stock, 1970; Houriet, 1971;

Jerome, 1974; Keniston, 1968; Kinkade, 1973; Melville, 1972; Rothchild & Wolf, 1976; Sundancer, 1973; Weiss, 1974; Wizansky, 1973; Conover, Note 1). There has been some interest in a time for play and recreation when individuals have participated in such "activities" as badminton, canoeing, frisbee, skating, swimming, table tennis, and volleyball (Brand, 1971; "Federation of Egalitarian," 1978; Kinkade, 1973; Sundancer, 1973). Dance has also been a common activity ("Federation of Egalitarian," 1978; Hedgepeth & Stock, 1970).

The Last Whole Earth Catalog served as an encyclopedia and merchandise catalog of the counterculture. Materials and books advertised in this catalog in 1971 indicated an interest in: Aerobics, Physical Fitness, Fishing, Camping, Backpacking, Mountaineering, Sailing, Canoeing, Cross-Country Skiing, Aikido, Yoga, Tai-Chi, Boffing, and Children's Games. There was no mention of traditional competitive sport (Brand, 1971).

Whatever has happened with regard to playful activity seems to have been spontaneous and has required little or no organization. As counterculturists and dissident individuals and groups have not provided an organized lifestyle with special modifications for their children, they have not seemed to be concerned about the provision of any organized play and game activities for the young. Children have lived in an adult world. Furthermore, in the youth-oriented counterculture, many of the adults were still children themselves;

they seem to have had scant interest in analyzing the play element inherent in their lifestyle.

Where then did dissension come from if not from the counterculture. One of the first indications of unrest came from racially conscious, serious, and assertive black athletes who wanted to have equal participatory rights and opportunities with whites. This expression of dissatisfaction with the world of sport paralleled other kinds of black civil rights activism during the sixties.

Under the leadership of Dr. Harry Edwards, the Olympic Project for Human Rights was organized in the fall of 1967. A boycott by athletes of the New York Athletic Club Track Meet in February 1968 was successful. The issue in question was why black athletes should participate in an event at a club that endorsed discriminatory racial patterns of membership and gave tacit approval to racism in attendance practices. Further solidarity of action threatened a black athlete boycott of the 1968 Olympic Games. The boycott did not materialize. However, when Tommie Smith and John Carlos stood on the victory stand after the 200-meter dash with their gloved hands raised defiantly and their heads bowed as America's national anthem was played, the attention of the world was drawn to the social situation of blacks in America and to the solidarity of the black athletes (Edwards, 1969; Huey, 1976; Scott, 1971a, p. 86). This symbolic protest engendered the wrath and disapproval of the United States

Olympic Committee and intensified feelings of solidarity among all black athletes. Continued rebellion by black athletes became but one phase of the overall black liberation movement in America (Edwards, 1969). The larger goals of the movement were equality, justice, the regaining of black dignity, and the attainment of black civil rights.

Harry Edwards, a professor of sociology at San Jose State University in California, was a prime leading and organizing force behind the revolt of the black athletes. As a former star athlete in basketball and track and as a trained sociologist, Edwards had certain insights which were relevant to the area of social change in sport. He recognized that athletes had great power, the power to perform. If athletes refused to perform, games could not be played and meets could not be held. Edwards reasoned that since blacks were a significant part of most athletic ventures they might improve conditions for themselves if they worked together. He worked to create a feeling of black awareness on the campus at San Jose State and also in the larger arena of sport. However, Edwards was primarily interested in society, not in sport (Armstrong, 1974). His technique was "geared to call attention to as many things as it could and to get attention for things that weren't even within the scope of sports in America by using sports" (Izenberg, 1973, p. 16). Such efforts were undertaken to attract attention to areas of calculated and subconscious white racism.

"Books slightly critical of sport began to appear in the 1960s, as those with sociological orientations began to analyze sport. During the 1970s the literature mushroomed" (Butt, 1976, p. 154). Butt (1976) further explained that until that time, most athletes had written glowingly of their sports experiences. They had extolled the virtue of the gaming ethic, lauded sport as a vehicle of social mobility, and attributed to sport positive carry-over values. The early books tended to be written by successful athletes who had not questioned their social role. The exposés of the 1960s and 1970s were written by individuals who felt that they were being subjected to dehumanizing practices and were being held ideological or political pawns in the sporting enterprise.

The new sport critics deplored such evils as: The suppression of personal autonomy, the excessive power of coaches, an abnormal emphasis placed on winning, institutionalized racism, excessive use of drugs, the increasing amount of violence and brutality in sport, the unwritten requirement that athletes must play when injured. The critics demanded more humane treatment of players and insisted that more attention be given to the individual rights of athletes.

Gary Shaw (1972), a successful football player at the University of Texas during the mid-sixties, described the personal world of the big-time college football player in Meat On The Hoof. This book was written, in reflection, several years after Shaw's playing days were over. He

described and criticized such characteristics and norms of football as: unquestioning obedience, regimentation, discipline, continual emphasis on masculinity, focus on winning and violence, and the excessive power of the coach and his staff. The psychological bondage of adolescent athletes, football as a way of dealing with life, and the athlete's alienation with his body were also discussed.

Dave Meggyesy, a college player at Syracuse University and a professional player with the St. Louis Cardinals, quit football at the end of the 1969 season. In the book Out of Their League (1970, p. 6), Meggyesy described how he came to believe that football was "one of the most dehumanizing experiences a person can face." He saw football as a reflection and reinforcement of the worst aspects of the American culture: racism, violence, and militarism. Meggyesy opposed the commercial nature of college football, the violence and brutality present in the game, the use and abuse of drugs, the extensive power of coaches, and the dehumanizing conditions under which athletes were forced to work.

Bernie Parrish, a former all-pro back with the Cleveland Browns, described how efforts to organize a Players' Association led to his being blackballed by the National Football League. In They Call It A Game (1971), Parrish also discussed the greed of owners, the oppression and exploitation of players, illegal bookmaking and gambling, the influence of television on the game, and the helplessness of players when

dealing with such monopolistic practices as the player draft and option clause.

Tom Meschery, a professional basketball player, expressed his concern in an article in Sports Illustrated (1972). He stated that such characteristics as increasingly dehumanized athletes, sport as a business, the winning-is-everything ethic, the substitution of sport for war, sport operated behind closed doors, meaningless contracts, and players being paid for their publicity value, all were indications that basketball indeed "had a sickness."

A Running Start, by Lynda Huey (1976), is a more recent book which describes the injustices that have been perpetrated upon the female athlete. These include a lack of participatory and competitive opportunities; the presence of a double-standard regarding coaching, funding, and availability of facilities; and the necessity to follow the male model of sport due to a lack of female-identified programs.

Don Schollander, world-class swimmer and winner of four gold medals at the 1964 Olympic Games, described how the athlete was caught in the no win situation of maintaining an amateur status in a professional world. In Deep Water (Schollander & Savage, 1971), he also voiced his concern for the athlete who was caught in the midst of the conflict among the AAU, NCAA, and the United States Olympic Committee. He observed that these organizations often exploited the athlete in their struggle for personal and political power.

Writings by other athletes or former athletes further described the world of contemporary sport. These included Ball Four by Jim Bouton (1971), The Way It Is by Curt Flood with Richard Carter (1972), Instant Replay by Jerry Kramer and Dick Schaap (1968), My Race Be Won by Vincent Matthews with Neil Amdur (1974), and High For The Game by Chip Oliver and Ron Rapoport (1971).

For the most part, the anger and energy of these athletes was dissipated by one or two symbolic acts: the writing of their own personal experiences in sport or by their appearance at an arranged news conference when the athlete announced that he was "quitting the team." After the first splash of news, little else was heard from that disgruntled individual. Few permanent or practical solutions were posed to counteract the stated evils present in the world of organized sport (Butt, 1976).

Other dissension in the world of sport came from sports writers who also were dissatisfied with "the system." Several of these reporters--Pete Axthelm, Neil Amdur, Glenn Dickey, Joseph Durso, Bil Gilbert, Jerry Izenberg, Robert Lipsyte, Jack Olsen, Sandy Pawde, Leonard Schechter, and David Wolf, wrote of abuses present in the sports world and consistently tried to expose the truth, as they saw it, about the abuses of sport at many levels. Nice Guys Finish Last by Paul Gardner (1975), How Many Miles to Camelot by Jerry Izenberg (1972), Sports World: An American Dreamland by

Robert Lipsyte (1975), and The Jocks by Leonard Schecter (1969) described and questioned a variety of generally acceptable practices present in the world of organized sport. These included: the unlimited and unreasonable power of coaches, college sport as entertainment and big business, sport as a monopoly, the power and relationship of television and sport, the growing relationship between nationalism and sport, gambling, the conflict between the AAU and the NCAA, racial discrimination, the depersonalized athlete, pressures for winning, and the increase in violence and injury.

In Foul: The Connie Hawkins Story, David Wolf (1972) described the struggle of Hawkins to escape from the ghetto, to get an education, and to be allowed to play basketball once again after he had been blacklisted by the National Basketball Association following gambling scandals. The Sports Factory, by Joseph Durso and members of the New York Times Sports Department (1975), described the investigation of abuses present in college sport. In The Fifth Down, Neil Amdur (1971) described such practices and conditions of big-time football as the power of coaches, depersonalization of players, scholarship abuses, racism, and gambling. The second part of the book described the efforts of one coach, George Davis, to democratize the game by putting discipline, strategy, and responsibility into the hands of the players through use of "the vote." Martin Ralbovsky (1974) wrote of the pressures of Little League baseball and other youth

sport activities and spoke up on behalf of the civil rights of young athletes in Lords of the Locker Room.

Discontent, unrest, disruption, and controversy all make for good news copy. Thus, news of the athletic rebellion and revolution was also dispersed by more conventional sports reporters.

One of the leading activists in this early "athletic revolution" was Dr. Jack Scott. Scott, a former collegiate athlete at Stanford and Syracuse, had coached and been a faculty member in a number of conventional and alternative schools and colleges. Through his teaching, writing, and speaking, he stimulated many athletes to question the status quo and induced several to try to effect change. Lynda Huey, Dave Meggyesy, Chip Oliver, George Sauer, and Gary Shaw were several of the alienated, disgruntled, and dissenting athletes who worked closely with Scott to understand, explain, and publicize what was wrong with present-day American sport.

While studying and teaching at the University of California at Berkeley, Scott was able to synthesize his thoughts about what was wrong with American sport and to develop a prescription for remedial action. His primary concern was with athletic programs then currently existing in schools and colleges. Scott was disturbed that: sport served as a masculinity rite, women were discriminated against and were excluded from competitive sport, racism was rampant and feelings of mistrust and hostility acted as a barrier between

black and white athletes, dictatorial coaches held a great deal of power over their players, there was a growing emphasis on winning with an accompanying viewing of the opponent as "the enemy," there was a lack of communication between athletes and coaches, collegiate sport was becoming more professional and less educational, there was a widespread and increasing use of drugs among college athletes (Brown, 1972; Goodman & Irving, 1975; Huey, 1976; Scott, 1971a, 1971c, 1972a, 1972b, 1973, 1975; "Sports," 1973). These ideas were more fully explored in Scott's books, Athletics for Athletes (1969) and The Athletic Revolution (1971a), and in numerous magazines, newspaper articles, and speaking engagements.

In the fall of 1972, Scott was appointed to be the Chairman of the Department of Physical Education and Director of Intercollegiate Athletics at Oberlin College. In this position he was able to implement many of his ideas for change. Lynda Huey worked with Scott at Oberlin and described Scott's brief tenure at the school (Huey, 1976). Scott immediately began to acquire a staff that could work with new ideas and hired two competent blacks, Tommie Smith and Cass Jackson, to be head coaches in track and football. Students had parity in the decision-making process and athletes were given a vote in the screening process for hiring new coaches. Funding for women's athletic teams was tripled. An attempt was made to integrate the sexes in sport by having various exhibition matches precede athletic contests. Scott did

away with entrance fees into major sporting events and opened the college sport facilities to the community. An attempt was made to eliminate the "dumb jock" stereotype with enriched curriculum offerings. Apparently all of the changes were too much for Oberlin, as was Jack Scott's personality and administrative style. Scott was forced to resign in January 1974. Branding his theories as unrealistic, the college returned to "normal" and a more traditional approach to sport and athletics.

Since that time Scott has remained a political activist. He has shown a continued and consistent interest and influence on sport through his writing, speaking, and availability as an adviser and consultant. He has also continued to work through the Institute for the Study of Sport and Society.

During the early 1970s, more and more Americans questioned the system of organized sport. Dissension was not limited to disgruntled athletes, coaches, or sportswriters; it was not confined to groups attached to specific militant power movements. Amdur (1971) reported that:

College athletes protested in significant numbers in the spring of 1970. But the reaction was spontaneous and largely due to the general campus outcry against the United States invasion of Cambodia and the expansion of the war in Southeast Asia. In the fall, however, the issues among the involved minority hardened around athletic policy, the rights and privileges of athletes, and the relationship between the coach and the athlete.
(p. 60)

Women expressed dissatisfaction that they did not have an equal opportunity to participate (Baugh, 1976; Blakkan, 1974; Huey, 1976; Kelly, D., 1972; Smolenski, 1974; "Women and Sports," 1974). Other minority groups, such as Blacks and Hispanics, continued to express their discontent (Naison, 1972; "Sports for the," 1974). Several writers, such as John Mitzel (1976) in Sports and the Macho Male, Joseph Pleck (1974) in "My Male Sex Role - And Ours," and Louie Crew (1973) in "Physical Miseducation of a Former Fat Boy," spoke up and criticized the sports world for its obsession with masculinity and the exclusion of all those who did not fit the pattern of ascribed athletic prowess. At times teenagers voiced their concern (Baugh, 1976; Clepper, 1973). They wished to be able to participate freely in nonstereotyped, nonspecialized, less competitive activities which were fun and not work oriented.

Numerous educators bemoaned the overspecialization, professionalism, and exclusiveness of high school and college athletics and focused their hopes on lifetime sports activities and a return to intramural competition ("Academics vs Athletics," 1973; Knicker, 1974; Sadler, 1973). Some physical educators directed their attention to the growing unrest and discontent in the world of sport (Butt, 1976; Crase, 1972, 1974; Kenyon, 1972; Landers, 1976; Stern, 1972). Their concern was with the abuses of sport and with the results of overspecialization, commercialism, and profession-

alism. Others were concerned with the effect of sport on the behavioral manifestations of athletes and the possibility of more humanistic approaches to sport (Caldwell, 1974, 1975a, 1975b; Hellison, 1973, 1978; Park, 1973, 1974a, 1974b; Sage, 1974). All in all, however, the voices of these questioning educators have been soft and their numbers have been small.

Sociologists, historians, psychologists, and other observers of the American culture were often effective witnesses to such problems as depersonalization, commercialism, and the politicization of sport. Many wrote thoughtful analyses of the relationships among the counterculture; humanistic psychology, the athletic revolution, and sport in present-day America (Balbus, 1973, 1975; Bennett, 1976; Bueter, 1972; Hoch, 1972; Kando, 1975; Leonard, 1974; Lowrey, 1976; Michener, 1976; Naison, 1972, 1973, 1975; Novak, 1976; Sadler, 1973; Schaefer, 1974, 1976; Sisk, 1973; Spring, 1974).

Issac Balbus (1975) described how the dictates of monopoly capital have shaped the form and context of organized sport. He stated that "a contemporary sports contest is the very model of purposive-rational or instrumental action governed by technical rules and strategies" (p. 30). Balbus also wrote of the emergence of new patterns that were radically antagonistic to the commercial sport scene in America: participation by women, noncompetitive activities, emphasis

of the aesthetic dimensions of athletics.

Burling Lowrey (1976) expressed concern that sport had become one of the most oppressive and dehumanizing institutions of contemporary society. He identified several factors such as specialization, the sheer size and bulk of modern athletes, and the breakdown of the concept of fair play, which have contributed to the negative face of athletics. He was also able to identify and synthesize a number of generally agreed-upon ideas which characterized the sports liberation movement.

George Leonard (1974) wrote disparagingly of the following characteristics of present-day sport: the body as an instrument, performance at the expense of experience, the use of scientific methods on the human machine, a split between the body and the spirit, the institutionalization and overemphasis on competition, and professionalism. Leonard stated that he did not wish to criticize sport but to describe and promote the transcendent, life-giving possibilities that lie within sport.

Mark Naison, a socialist, sports critic, and reporter, has written numerous critical articles for the alternative press. Naison (1972) described mass spectator sport as being one of the major psychological reference points for American men. He noted that the sports industry has been used as a safety valve for social discontent and a vehicle for the political and cultural unification of the American

population, and that athletic events have increasingly reflected the dynamics of an emergent American imperialism. Naison wrote of a "growing resistance within the sports world to many of its most repressive cultural and political patterns" (p. 113). Signs of this resistance have been the growing strength and militance of players' associations, the significant number of star athletes in major sports who have begun to challenge the reserve clause, and the beginnings of a political and cultural critique of the sports establishment's values and goals by a number of leading sports figures. Naison (1972) also observed that:

sports, particularly on a local level, continue to serve as vehicles for creativity, self-expression and cultural growth for oppressed people. In work class and poor neighborhoods throughout America, both black and white, participation in sports... serves as a highly affirmative experience which can define communities, express personalities, and help people endure the pains of daily life. (p. 96)

His implication was that there has been less cause and impetus for change from these groups.

In 1972, Paul Hoch wrote Rip Off the Big Game: The Exploitation of Sports by the Power Elite. In this book Hoch described how sport was used as a device to socialize and repress the working people's movement in the United States; how societal norms such as escapism, consumerism, and elitism were facilitated by the mass consumption of mass spectator sport; and how sport socializes and reflects authoritarianism, competitiveness, elitism, sexism, nationalism, militarism, and racism. Although this book was

primarily an attack upon monopoly capitalism, it was widely read and helped others to identify problems with the American system of sport. Hoch has continued to echo the identified problems in his writings for the alternate press.

Educators, parents, physicians, reporters, and former athletes often felt that children were being pushed into programs that were beyond their capacities, both physically and emotionally. In Winning is Everything and Other American Myths, Tutko and Bruns (1976) stated that an emphasis on winning-at-all-costs was steadily engulfing children's sport. They expressed concern that professional sport has become an increasingly destructive model for childhood sport. They also felt that increased opportunity for participation in organized competition at very young ages has caused many children to be eliminated. In Lords of the Locker Room, Ralbovsky (1974) expressed concern over the physical and psychological power that coaches have over young athletes. The system has been such that a young player must please the coach first and the self second. Orlick and Botterhill (1975) stated that "elimination is a critical problem, perhaps the most critical problem which exists in children's sport" (p. 15). Devereux (1972) described how the introduction of highly organized, adult supervised and controlled, competitive sport threatens to wipe out the spontaneous culture of self-organized play and games. Others have expressed concern with the overemphasis on team sports; the overemphasis on

adult needs, interests, and goals; the emotionalism involved in highly competitive activities; developmental injuries; safety; and the value and purpose of games based largely on physical aggressiveness (Bryn, 1974; Carro, 1976; Franco, 1975; Knox, 1972; Leonard, 1974; Michener, 1975, 1976).

Finally, there has been one seldom identified group of individuals who have consistently expressed dissatisfaction with gaming and sport (Bowen, 1974; Crew, 1973; Franco, 1975; Leonard, 1974; Pleck, 1974). These individuals are those whom the sports establishment, and often physical education programs, have ignored. These are the clumsy and unskilled; women and nonathletic men; young adults and the elderly. These individuals seek participation which will fit in with their interests, abilities, and lifestyles. They have expressed dissatisfaction with the fact that sport seems to have become the exclusive property of the super-athlete, the mesomorphic, young male. The changing and questioning spirit of the 1960s and 1970s enabled these neglected individuals to voice their needs and concerns.

CHAPTER V

WHAT SEEMS WRONG?

During the late 1960s and early 1970s numerous individuals questioned many aspects of the lifestyle, values, and culture of the average American citizen. Much of this disagreement with existent norms and values came from alienated and restive youth, participants in the counter-culture movement, political and economic reformers, and other more conventional social critics.

These dissidents viewed the average American as an increasingly manipulated and powerless being subject to the forces of majority rule, group goals, external governance, and authoritarian leadership (Hedgepeth & Stock, 1970). They believed that the individual was becoming a faceless person who was often treated in an impersonal way. Their criticism reflected the influence of existentialism as a philosophical basis for reason (Hedgepeth & Stock, 1970). At the same time, other writings revealed an increasing concern with the worth and dignity of the individual (Caldwell, 1974, 1975a; Hellison, 1973; Lande, 1976; Sage, 1974). This came from a growing and increasing emphasis on humanistic values.

Once foci for dissent were identified, social critics often proposed a series of inverse or countervalues and norms.

While some of the new values were similar to secondary values previously existent in the American culture, many were new and different and were reflective of the changing consciousness, changing lifestyles, and changing values of many Americans. Values and norms of the traditional culture which inspired dissent included: the worship of science and technology; the importance given to the intellect and to objective and rational thought and behavior; the achievement orientation of the American culture with emphasis on competition, upward mobility, and success; the maintenance of economic, political, and social inequality reinforced by a system of hierarchy; the importance of the work ethic; overconsumption and materialism; the toleration of discrimination based on racial, sexual, and economic differences; acceptance of deferred gratification and living for the future; a belief in the "rightness of America" regardless of the morality of the situation (Hedgepeth & Stock, 1970; Hoch, 1972; Hodgson, 1976; Kando, 1975; Keniston, 1968; Labrecque, 1972; Melville, 1972; Ouradnik, 1974; Reich, 1970; Slater, 1970; Snyder, 1972).

The dissidents noted that Americans were living in a collectivistic and impersonal society where personal lives were often being lived in conformity with corporate organizational values. Many Americans experienced feelings of alienation and personal powerlessness (Kando, 1975; Labrecque, 1972; Melville, 1972; Reich, 1970). Several dissidents noted

an absence of any sense of community (Melville, 1972; Reich, 1970). Others expressed concern for the fragmented self that performed fragmented tasks while acting out a series of fragmented roles (The Berkeley Tribe, 1972; Ouradnik, 1974).

There was specific disagreement with the war in South-east Asia and with the growing economic and political oppression of other third-world nations (Hedgepeth & Stock, 1970; Hoch, 1972; Keniston, 1968; Reich, 1970). Many were concerned with the pollution and destruction of the natural environment (The Berkeley Tribe, 1972; Reich, 1970; Snyder, 1972). Other specific points of disagreement centered around the necessity of conforming to traditional family life and marriage patterns, inflexible and stereotyped gender roles, a puritanical sexual code, and various other social customs, mores, and folkways (The Berkeley Tribe, 1972; Hodgson, 1976; Kando, 1975; Ouradnik, 1974; Slater, 1970).

Melville (1972) wrote that a "sense of the possible" was an important part of the sensibility of the counter-culture (p. 27). Thus, an openness of mind and spirit characterized the dissident individuals of the 1960s and 1970s. They believed that the universe was more than science and logic and also believed in an instinctual approach to existence (Hedgepeth & Stock, 1970; Melville, 1972). Many became involved in the process of discovering new ways of knowing, learning, and experiencing reality and in

searching for alternate realities (Keniston, 1968).

The interaction among people received much attention. Many wrote of the importance of expressive and affective behaviors and of the necessity of reaching out to others to create a sense of community (Hedgepeth & Stock, 1970; Kando, 1975; Kanter, 1972; Keniston, 1968; Melville, 1972; Ouradnik, 1974; Conover, Note 1). Melville (1972) observed that the development of this sense of community has turned out to be one of the most important by-products of the protest activities of the mid-sixties. Numerous attempts were made to create new social groupings that would reinforce the emerging sense of community. Such cooperative and communal living and working situations have proved to be fertile ground for the development of new child-rearing practices, new forms of "family" life, new kinds of learning, new forms of decision making, new economic patterns, and for the practical utilization of cooperative behaviors.

Diversity was one of the characteristics of the protest movements of the 1960s and 1970s. Involved and dissident individuals and groups did not present a specific prescription or program for change but offered a series of choices. Most of the choices centered around the following alternative values: cooperation, the devaluation of the work ethic, simple living, a devaluation of material considerations, a concern with the welfare of others, the sharing of resources, ecological awareness and conservation, non-violence, peace,

social and racial equality, individual rights, local autonomy, equal status for all in decision making, the importance of expressive and affective behaviors, and the importance of living in the present rather than for the future (Hedgepeth & Stock, 1970; Hodgson, 1976; Kando, 1975; Kanter, 1972; Keniston, 1968; Labrecque, 1972; Melville, 1972; Ouradnik, 1974; Roszak, 1972; Rothchild & Wolf, 1976; Slater, 1970; Snyder, 1972; Conover, Note 1; Gardner, R., Note 3).

The dissidents of the 1960s and 1970s believed that individuals should direct their attention toward the quality rather than the quantity of life experiences. They should be concerned with "how to be" rather than "what to do" (Hedgepeth & Stock, 1970). It was felt that Americans should turn away from materialistic competition and give higher priority to a fuller experiencing of life, valuing of personal growth, and development of human relationships (Ouradnik, 1974).

Sadler (1973) stated that "sports are not experienced as activities outside the institutional pattern of the American way of life; they are integrally a part of it" (p. 128). Thus, as basic and underlying societal values and norms were being questioned and challenged by the dissidents of the 1960s and 1970s, the world of institutionalized sport was also scrutinized by many social critics.

Much of the dissension was focused on sport at its most specialized and most institutionalized level. This was the

arena of the professional athlete, the college athlete, and the increasingly complex world of the child athlete. There seemed to be little expressed dissatisfaction with the practices, values, and emphases of recreational, community, or neighborhood games and sport.

Some of the dissension paralleled criticism which had been voiced about such characteristics of the American culture as: competition, struggle, achievement, materialism, consumption, elitism, rugged individualism, militarism, obedience to authority, rationality, conformity to universalistic standards, and emphasis on the future. Other dissension was directed toward specific current social problems such as racism and sexism. The dissension or disagreement with sport centered around the following themes: the person as object, the person's body as object, exclusion, inflexibility, and emphasis.

The Person as Object

Participants in sport came to feel that they were being treated as objects. Shaw (1972) believed that there was a "total disregard by the coaches of us as people" (p. 223). In high school, Meggyesy (1970) learned that the coach's "prime concern was in winning football games and that he was concerned about his players only to the extent that they could contribute to that" (p. 20). Scott (1971a) reported that college football programs often were run like industrialized corporations. The game had been taken away from

players to such an extent that many felt like robots (p.163).

The dissidents criticized the fact that "the game" had become the focus of the sport experience. Individual players were selected and trained to perform specific and specialized tasks in the game. To succeed, and be allowed to play, athletes had to obey authoritarian coaches, accept whatever discipline was exacted, adopt the goals of others, and suppress personal needs and interests for the good of the team. Players were evaluated on the basis of appearance, improvement, and performance.

Present and former athletes who have been critical of sport expressed specific dissatisfaction with the dehumanizing and impersonal aspects of sport. They suggested that the game had become more important than the participant. They also recognized that players were not able to question the authority figures, that players had little control over their own lives, and that players had little power to effect change. Edwards (1973) stated:

As the least powerful component of the sports unit, the athlete has little or no input into decisions affecting most of his outcomes, down to and including his physical safety. It apparently is assumed, in both amateur and professional sports, that what is good for sport is good for the athlete. (p. 182)

Professional players began to see their role as commodities and realized that they were truly "owned" by those in power. Butt (1976) stated that this realization helped change the athletes' motivation towards individualism and

commercialism and influenced the development of players' associations which directed their efforts toward improving the financial status of the athletes.

The Person's Body as Object

Sport critics observed that "the body" had been trained, punished, pushed, and made to obey so that standardized and efficient movement patterns would predominate. The body was considered an efficient tool to perform a specific function in the game; it was not a part of the total human being sensitive to pleasure or gratification.

Most of the dissidents from within the sports establishment spoke only of "the body" with little reference to mind, spirit, or the whole person. Hoch (1972) wrote that athletes were "socialized to split their minds from their bodies and to do what they're told" (p. 111). Shaw (1972) recalled the development of the ability to dissociate from his own body. Meggyesy (1970) wrote :

I also realized, paradoxically, how cut off and removed I was from my body. I knew my body more thoroughly than most men are ever able to, but I had used it and thought of it as a machine, a thing that had to be well-oiled, well-fed, and well-taken-care-of, to do a specific job. (p. 231)

Critics outside of the sports world have noted the absence of a unified mind-body relationship in sport. Sobel (1971) noted that some attention was paid to the body in athletics but rather than encouraging movement as expression

and the body as a way of learning, competition and achievement were reinforced as products and processes of sport. Pleck (1974) described how his experience with sport left him hating and feeling distant from his body. His "experience" of his own body was not based on any real exploration or encounter with his body but was based on how well his body performed certain highly specialized acts of coordination when competing with other men.

Because the body was treated as an object it was easily used and abused. Critics noted situations that forced athletes to play when injured (Hoch, 1972; Izenberg, 1972; Meggyesy, 1970; Shaw, 1972). Huey (1976) observed that coaches do not respect athletes' bodies and that individual players are not allowed to listen to their own bodies but must play with pain. Professional basketball star, Bill Walton, has consistently insisted that players should have the responsibility and control over their own health (Goodman & Irving, 1975; Rosenberg, 1975; Scott, 1978). A final abuse of the body-object in sport has been an increasing use of drugs to change and control the body of the athlete so he or she can play with injury, grow stronger, and be more attentive and aggressive. This use and abuse of drugs has been criticized by many, in and out of the sports establishment (Hoch, 1972; Lowrey, 1976; Scott, 1971a, 1971b; "Sports and Drugs," 1974; "Sports for the," 1974).

Exclusion

The dissidents have noted that although sport participation has increased since World War II, many individuals have been excluded on the basis of ability, skill, age, sex, race, or economic factors. The world of organized sport and athletics has come under the greatest criticism as activities at this level have often been elitist. In an attempt to find and develop the best athletes, many have been excluded.

With the increased development of youth sport programs for both boys and girls, many youngsters play but many have been eliminated (Tutko & Bruns, 1976). Orlick and Botterill (1975) warned "whether elimination is intentional or unintentional, it has similar effects. Kids come to feel unworthy, unwanted, and unacceptable" (p. 16).

Dissatisfaction has also been voiced over the exclusion of students from sport programs in high school and college. Critics have questioned the educational value of school athletics and the use of public funds to produce an entertainment. Lowrey (1976) wrote that one of the fundamental beliefs of the sports dissidents was that college athletic programs should benefit all of the students rather than being primarily a training ground for professional athletes.

Numerous athletes, educators, sports writers, and social critics have described evidence of discrimination against blacks and against women. Although more black athletes have participated in college and professional sport in recent

years, sport has not become free of discrimination. In 1970, Loy and Mc Elvogue [sic Elvogue] wrote that:

sport seems to mirror American life at large, in that, integration has been very slow, and where it has been rather fully achieved there remain many forms of discrimination other than that of segregation. (p. 15)

Edwards (1973) wrote of informal quotas that are placed on the number of blacks that can play with a team and of restrictions placed on the positions that black players can hold. Other evidence of continued discrimination has involved the exclusion of black athletes from sports such as diving and gymnastics, racist attitudes of coaches, differential treatment in the care of injuries, difficulties with housing, and restrictions placed on social interaction (Edwards, 1969, 1973; Hellison, 1973; Hoch, 1972; Huey, 1976). Hellison (1973) stated:

It does not matter whether these practices are entirely real or partially distorted; they motivate Blacks and some whites to increasingly sharp criticism of the athletic establishment as well as to protests, boycotts, and the like. (p. 58)

Edwards (1973) stated that "the values shared by the institution of sport and the larger society have functioned to covertly exclude females as potential beneficiaries of the believed rewards of sport" (p. 230). Huey (1976) wrote that from kindergarten up, the physical development of girls and women is not considered of serious importance (p. 120). Hellison (1973) noted that "cultural expectations for women have reduced full participation in competitive sport"

(p. 60). Darlene Kelly (1972) described contemporary sport as an "exercise in masculinity" (p. 14). Discrimination and exclusion on the basis of sex has resulted in inadequate coaching, little or no media coverage of women's sporting events, second-rate facilities and equipment, little financial support for girls' and women's sports programs, lack of competitive opportunities, little knowledge and care of women's athletic injuries, and the restriction of women's participation to certain types of noncontact and nonaggressive sport.

Several critics noted that some people have been excluded by the nature of the dominant American team sports pattern. Leonard (1974) and Lipsyte (1975) expressed concern that young people have not been taught sports in school that they can continue to enjoy and play as adults. Lipsyte (1975) described the major American sports as being created by men for the superior muscles, size, and endurance of the male body. Thus, because of the nature of the game itself, young, strong, athletic males have been favored while many others who do not possess these physical characteristics have been excluded.

Inflexibility

Sport has also been questioned because of its inflexibility. Players have had to obey numerous standardized game rules, to conform to the authoritarian demands of

obdurate coaches, and to accept disciplinary controls over their sporting and personal lives. The inflexibility of institutionalized sport has been maintained through a bureaucratic and authoritarian organizational structure (Naison, 1972; Scott, 1973).

Efforts to improve "the game" have resulted in the application of industrial norms and methodology with resultant specialization, systematization, and mechanization. Often improvements have come from the efforts of owners, the media, and other business interests. Such changes as the use of synthetic turf on playing fields and the rescheduling of athletic contests to serve the media have been resisted by the players to no avail (Edwards, 1973; Scott, 1971a).

Emphasis

There have been several specific points of disagreement with the emphases of sport at all levels. The greatest area of dissension rests on the competitive ethic and the accompanying winning-at-all-costs philosophy. In 1974, then Vice-President Gerald Ford defended the competitive urge when he stated:

It is not enough to just compete. Winning is very important. Maybe more important than ever... outside of a national character and an educated society, there are few things more important to a country's growth and well-being than competitive athletics. (Ford & Underwood, 1974, p. 17)

The dissidents of the 1960s and 1970s questioned this position. Sadler (1973) wrote:

The counter cultures to be sure are extremely diversified, but there are a few convictions which individuals associated with them seem to hold in common....specifically they have singled out competition for attack. (p. 125)

He further stated that "antipathy toward competition is not restricted to the counter cultures. There seems to be a growing suspicion throughout our society that competition may be getting out of hand" (p. 125).

While members of the counterculture and other social critics questioned the predominant American competitive ethic, they also criticized the world of sport for its emphasis on winning and domination. More and more people involved in sport came to question whether games based largely on physical aggressiveness provided the best outlet for more complex instincts and feelings. Accordingly, there was a serious feeling that other kinds of sport should be explored and integrated with existing models (Miller, 1975, p. 57). Although many sport critics became sensitized to the abuses resulting from an overemphasis of the competitive ethic, Miller (1975) stated that "few in the reform movement see their activities as a complete replacement for competition" (p. 64). Similarly, Cozens and Stumpf (1953) stated earlier that "the average American has never actually acknowledged that there is anything intrinsically wrong in playing to win" (p. 129).

Sports critics also criticized the militaristic emphases present in sport. Hoch (1972) described sport as being

a kind of mock-war, a war without killing. A team was often built by using militaristic rules, strategies, and techniques. Players were taught to think of the opponent as the enemy. In the effort to win the game, and the war, uncontrolled violence and brutality were often pervasive. Scott (1971a) noted that "while the newspapers heap acclaim upon the most skillful athletes, the players and coaches often recognize the most violent and brutal players as the real heroes" (p. 173).

Other critics were concerned with a new alliance among nationalism, patriotism, and sport. Michener (1976) stated:

Our political leaders have been goading sports into performing three improper functions, and if this trend continues, sports will be hopelessly contaminated. 1) Sports are being asked to serve as propoganda in support of specific political parties. 2) They are being used to buttress military goals. 3) They are being grossly misused to create a fuzzy, shallow, patriotism.
(p. 377)

Hoch (1972), Izenberg (1972), Meggyesy (1979), and Michener (1976) described specific instances of what they considered to be an improper alliance beteen sport and nationalism. These included the manipulation of the American public at sporting events to propogandize a war over which the country was sharply divided, the heavyweight boxing championship being tied to a particular brand of patriotism, the attempt to protect and solidify a power base over hunters and target shooters by linking their acts with patriotism, and the use

of FBI surveillance to monitor the activities of such sports rebels as Dave Meggyesy and Bill Walton.

As early as mid-century, Cozens and Stumpf (1953) reported:

The amount of time and money spent by Americans in viewing sports events has been a continual source of pro-and-con argument and comment throughout the years of the twentieth century. (p. 46)

The dissidents of the 1960s and 1970s decried the seeming growth and emphasis of spectator sport. Most critics believed that this emphasis on spectator sport meant reduced participation for many. Russell (1977) observed:

whatever value we take from sport watching, we remain passive before the spectacle. It is vicarious experience...we do, indeed, experience the thrill of victory and the agony of defeat, but only as an audience which has paid the price of admission. (p. 16)

Hoch (1972) warned of additional evils of spectatorism when he stated that "sports watching is still one of the most powerful socializers for the habit of passive consumption" (p. 132). He further stated that "players and fans are thus socialized for capitalist production. They are socialized to have the kind of acquisitive personalities the system demands" (p. 106).

A different focus for dissension concerned the area of children's sport. Critics such as Devereux (1972), Orlick and Botterill (1975), Ralbovsky (1974), and Tutko and Bruns (1976) wrote of the need for a different kind of participation for children which would encourage more childlike

activities and reduce the amount of interference and influence by adults. Michener (1976) summarized the feelings of most of the dissidents when he stated that "children are being introduced into highly organized sports too young. Adults conducting children's programs place too much stress on winning" (p. 16).

Dissidents also frowned on the following emphases of contemporary sport: sport as a masculinity rite, the achievement and product orientation of sport, commercialism, entertainment, and the emphasis on preparing for the game of the future rather than the enjoyment of the present. A final disagreement was with the emphasis on verbal and intellectual ways of knowing with accompanying taboos on the use of the body as a way to knowledge and pleasure.

Specific Concerns

The game of football received a great deal of attention. In addition to the abuses of violence inherent to the game, several commentators criticized the sport for its connection with the advancement of nationalism, use as a training ground for future soldiers, and its power as a socializing agent for questionable American values such as competition, aggression, and authoritarianism (Amdur, 1971; Edwards, 1969; Hoch, 1972; Meggyesy, 1970; Shaw, 1972; Smith, G., 1974). Vince Lombardi, former coach of the Green Bay Packers, became a symbol of the "winning is all" philosophy. When carried to its limits, this philosophy strengthened

and enlarged the power of the coach and opened the door for more abuse through violence, brutality, increased injury, use of drugs, and physical and psychological abuse of the athlete's body and being. This approach to sport was the subject of much of the early dissension by athletes. Once the professionals expressed their doubts about Lombardi and the winning ethic, other writers felt free to question the necessity of this approach (Michener, 1976).

The increase in the media coverage and control of sporting events has been a source of concern for many. Schecter (1969) pointed out that many sports writers were little more than public relations men for college and professional teams. Hoch (1972) described how television changed the format and rules of some games so that commercials could be worked in, sports contests could be shown during prime time, and games could be made more exciting. Scott (1971a) described problems that sprang up with the televising of amateur track and field meets. These included delaying the start of races, requiring runners to compete at specific times regardless of weather conditions, and scheduling meets on Thursdays and Fridays so highlights could be viewed on weekends (p. 99).

Other specific abuses which attracted the attention of sport dissidents included: the unlimited power of coaches, often outside of the sporting arena; the use of the reserve clause and player draft to maintain the monopoly enjoyed by many professional sport teams and leagues; abuses in

recruitment and the awarding of scholarships; the question of collegiate sport being educationally defensible and accusations that there was little concern with the academic experience of athletes; the presence of double standards in the meaning and application of the concepts of amateur and professional; the power struggle between the NCAA and the AAU which often showed little concern for the rights or freedom of the individual athlete.

CHAPTER VI

HOW PEOPLE DISAGREE

Disagreement with the world of sport has surfaced in various ways in different situations. These have ranged from the withdrawal of players' services through strikes and boycotts to the development of new community programs and re-creation of new sport patterns and game forms. The nature of the disagreement and the character of the dissenting group has often determined the form and focus of the protest.

Newman (1973) stated that individuals or groups express their dissatisfaction or dissension by aggression, rebellion, withdrawal, apathy, or by simply ignoring the conflict. Spady (1976) noted that dissidents have rejected societal values through protest, rebellion, withdrawal, or apathy. Participants in the athletic revolution and re-evaluation of the 1960s and 1970s expressed their dissatisfaction through withdrawal and rebellion. Their way of expressing rebellion generally has been conservative and law-abiding.

Many individuals have been discouraged or excluded from participation in sport. In most instances, their displeasure appears through their withdrawal from the world of sport. When these individuals do attempt to participate, they usually take an oblique approach. Dissatisfaction is not expressed

and change is not sought from established institutions and organizations such as schools, competitive teams, or organized recreation programs. Rather, new groupings are created which allow participation by those previously excluded.

Stern (1972) noted a different form of withdrawal by nonconformists. He stated that "those students who choose not to conform are no longer choosing athletics as a form of self-expression" (p. 43). He further theorized that :

these turned off individuals are not turned off by the physical or non-verbal aspects of human experience....these youngsters identify organized athletics with those elements of American "establishment" culture that they no longer respect. (p. 43)

A third form of withdrawal has been seen in the number of high school and college athletes who have "quit the team" in recent years (Hoch, 1972). Professional athletes, such as Dave Meggyesy, Chip Oliver, and George Sauer, have all retired at the peak of their careers because of the abuses and dehumanizing aspects of sport. Amdur (1971) reported that for football:

the dropout syndrome has become an unfortunate outgrowth of the current movement. Unlike previous dropout periods for the sport, however, the mood of the current athlete is more with philosophical principles of self-motivation than academic deficiencies or physical inadequacies. (p. 61)

Izenberg (1972) noted that students were able to find other sources of financial aid and thus were able to give up restrictive and confining athletic scholarships.

Numerous athletes and former athletes protested the abuses and inequities present in organized sport and attempted to raise the consciousness of the public by writing about these abuses. Sports writers contributed additional realistic accounts of the problems and excesses of the sports world.

Hoch (1972) reported that in the late 1960s "players in almost all major sports began to band together in real associations...and began to attack the monopolistic reserve and option clauses" (p. 63). Scott (1971a) described how players came to realize that:

Athletic contests cannot be played without athletes, and the most powerful weapon athletes have in attempting to bring about change in a peaceful, constructive manner is the withdrawal of their services. (p. 212)

In 1970, the National Football League Players' Association boycotted summer training camps in a dispute over pensions, salaries, and fringe benefits (Amdur, 1971). Hoch (1972) wrote that "boycotts, strikes, disruptions, pickets, threatened resignations, and more took place in the athletic programs of more than two hundred American colleges and universities" (p. 206). Scott (1971a) reported:

Over the past few years at schools such as Maryland, Providence College, and Georgetown, the actual or threatened withdrawal of services by athletes over what they felt was inhumane treatment by coaches resulted in the dismissal of these coaches. (p. 212)

Thus, by threatening the withdrawal of their services through the use of boycotts and strikes, athletes made their voices heard.

Strikes and boycotts were also used to draw attention to certain inequities which were not restricted to the world of sport. Such tactics were usually used in American colleges and universities and were directed at the areas of student rights, black rights, and women's rights.

Much of the agitation on the college campus was initiated by students and faculty members outside of the athletic complex (Scott, 1971a). These nonathletic dissenters questioned the exclusion of many students from school-sponsored programs, the emphasis on team sports and contact sports, the fact that many coaches were not educators, the relationship between sport and education, unfair disciplinary rules, continued commercialism, educational accountability, rising costs, and the role of collegiate sport as entertainment (Cruse, 1972; Rue, 1976; Schaefer, 1974).

In some schools, such as the University of California and the University of Kansas, students refused to pay student activity fees which would support a small number of specialized athletes and would not be of benefit to the large majority of students (Gardner, P., 1975, p. 184). Other students voted to cut off or cut down funds for elite intercollegiate teams and to use the money to promote intramural sports (Hoch, 1972, p.210). Scott (1971a) reported that in 1968:

the student body at San Francisco State...decided that teaching ghetto children and assisting an experimental college were more important than intercollegiate athletics and refused to fund the varsity program.(p. 205)

The questioning of the expenditure of public funds for commercialized athletic programs caused several institutions to evaluate and even restrict some of their programs. One victim of this cut was the football program at SUNY-Buffalo (Amdur, 1971, p. 58). Knicker (1974) reported that administrators continued to question the value of athletics in an educational institution.

Community groups, such as the Radical Sports Center in New York, expressed their dissatisfaction with the availability of public land and funds for recreation and sport programs. Similar groups were often formed to serve as "watchdogs" over municipalities; they readily publicized shortcomings in programs that were supposedly available to "the people." Other groups such as the Chicago People's Sports Institute, Sports for the People, and the Oakland Community Learning Center, created innovative programs to meet the needs of their communities and welcomed all to participate in new forms of sport (Goodman, 1976; O.C.L.C. Martial Arts Festival," 1976; "Sports for the," 1974).

Several organizations were formed to study the relationship of sport to the American culture and to social change. These included the Radical Sports Center in New York City and Scott's Institute for the Study of Sport and Society.

The Radical Sports Center, a group involved in an anti-capitalist critique of sport, recreation, and parks administration, was intended to be the beginning of a national radical sports organization. The immediate aim was to get community control of recreation funds and to end discrimination in sport. On a more general and idealistic level, this group wished to put fun and self-development back into sports. To this end they did research on the New York City Parks Department, wrote articles for the City Star, and organized study groups. Cary Goodman, Paul Hoch, Mike Jay, and Mark Naison are individuals who have worked with this group (Goodman & Irving, 1975; Naison, 1975).

The Institute for the Study of Sport and Society was founded by Jack and Micki Scott in 1970 to examine the political, economic, and social implications of sport in America (Huey, 1976: "Jeremiah of," 1971). This nonprofit organization has maintained a library of books and other materials, offered research assistance, published a monthly newsletter, and made legal advice available (Bass, 1971; Huey, 1976). Several athletes, Lynda Huey, Dave Meggyesy, Chip Oliver, and Gary Shaw, received assistance with the writing of "their" sports story. Others such as George Sauer, former professional football player with the New York Jets, were helped to make important personal decisions about the continuation of their own athletic careers. The Institute has apparently been located wherever the Scotts were currently living.

Some protests have been litigated and consequently the courts have become involved in this area of social change. Girls can now play on Little League Baseball teams. Professional athletes are now able to play out their option and become free agents. Individual athletes, such as Connie Hawkins, have attacked the monopolistic world of professional sport and won the reinstatement of their playing rights. However, there have been some losses, as exemplified by the 1972 Supreme Court decision which stated that the exemption of baseball from anti-trust legislation was an anomaly but one that would have to be changed by Congress and not the courts (Gardner, P., 1975, p. 45).

Edwards (1976) has suggested that "there has been no revolution in domestic sport because there have been no revolutionaries" (p. 61). He further stated:

Even a casual reading of the works produced by the leading advocates of change reveals that their demands and methods as well as the moral and political foundations employed in their ideological justifications are as American as cherry pie. They have sought equality of opportunity, provision for due process in disciplinary procedures, more equitable remuneration for services rendered, less autocracy and greater democracy in the operation of athletic organizations and an end to "dehumanizing" practices. (p. 61)

Tactical methods such as organized protests, boycotts, disruptions, agitation, and strikes have long been established aspects of the American political scene.

CHAPTER VII

EXTENT OF DISAGREEMENT

No single group or individual has advocated the abolishment of sport or enunciated strong, primary, and immediate disagreement with the practices and values of sport. In many instances, the attention of the dissidents has been focused on other changes occurring in the American culture which are of greater significance to their particular group. Usually, changes in the sports world have not been their primary concern.

The values and practices prevalent in sport have seldom been seriously questioned by persons of the counterculture. Educators, and specifically physical educators, have offered few suggestions for radical change. Schools teach what is, or what was; physical education and athletic programs perform an enculturating function in American society and are resistant to significant change (Schaefer, 1974). Participants in the free-schools movement and other educational reformers have valued the opportunities for personal growth and creativity found in play but have given little attention to the problems and possibilities of sport. Often their school facilities have not lent themselves to participation in traditional game and sport activities. Within the sport

establishment itself, few alternatives have been suggested. While athletes criticized the system, they still benefited from it and were heavily locked into a destructive but self-perpetuating system of satisfactions and rewards (Butt, 1976). For the most part, claims about the virtues and vices of athletics emanated from personal experience, rather than controlled research (Cruse, 1974).

Expressions of dissatisfaction were often directed at the world of organized sport and with the bureaucratic groups which controlled sport. The critics did not suggest that sport be done away with because the sport experience was bad. Rather, they believed that the environment surrounding the sport experience should be changed. What was bad about sport was the use to which it was put. Thus, much of the dissatisfaction was with the American culture rather than with sport itself. This is in accordance with Edwards' (1973) belief that "an attack upon sport constitutes an attack upon the society itself" (p. 90).

It has been difficult to determine the presence of a questioning attitude toward the essence of sport. Little has been written expressing dissatisfaction with unorganized or recreational sport. There has been no inter-communicating network for the sharing of ideas, hopes, and solutions among the dissident subgroups of society. Sport means different things to different people. Yet, there seems to have been an "athletic revolution" of thought which has

accompanied the questioning and dissension of the 1960s and 1970s. This concurs with Lipsyte's (1975) opinion that the "so-called Athletic Revolution was more a mood than a revolution" (p. 126).

The media spread the news of this athletic revolution. Americans became familiar with protesting long-and short-haired college athletes, Olympians who criticized the bureaucracy and hypocrisy of the amateur sport establishment, freckle-faced little girls causing dissension in their communities because of their desire to play Little League Baseball, and striking umpires holding up the start of the professional football season. Americans saw the outward manifestations of rebellion. They observed protests about the world which surrounds sport--where, when, and how it is played. They saw expressions of dissatisfaction with the institutionalized aspects of the sport experience. What they did not easily see was a change in attitude and personal belief and the presentation of an alternative vision of mankind and the world. Such an attitude change was basic to change in the sports world.

CHAPTER VIII

THE WAY IT COULD BE

The dissidents of the 1960s and 1970s identified much that was wrong with contemporary sport. Many of these critics also described how the practices, norms, and values of sport should be changed. The criticism and proposed changes often revealed the multidimensional quality of American sport. Two of these dimensions have significance for this study--sport at the most specialized, organized, and professionalized level and sport at the simple, personal, and re-creative level.

Many sport critics deplored the growing alliance of sport with business and political interests; however, few, if any, believed that big-time, commercialized, and professionalized sport should be eradicated. Instead, some suggested ways that highly organized and institutionalized sport could be improved to concur with other changes occurring in the American society. The prescription for change was in accordance with the increased importance given to the worth and dignity of the individual. Proposed changes and improvements were few and were based on the following beliefs: players should have a voice in how their skills and services are used, players should have control over their

own bodies, players should be able to question and bargain with coaches and management, women and blacks should be given equal opportunity to participate and achieve, the collegiate sport experience should be educationally justifiable, young children should not become enmeshed in the world of highly organized and competitive sport at too young an age (Edwards, 1973; Huey, 1976; Lowrey, 1976; Michener, 1976; Novak, 1976; Scott, 1973). While critics described ways that institutionalized sport could be organized and conducted, few suggested ways to change the foundation and essence of this highly developed form of sport.

For the most part, the dissidents felt good about the positive benefits that participation in play, games, and sport could bring. The extent of expressed dissatisfaction with the area of participatory, personal, and recreational sport was less than the criticism voiced against the area of organized sport. However, it was for this area that the dissidents and sport critics proposed significant changes and alternatives.

Hoped-for characteristics, values, and norms of alternative sport patterns can be grouped according to the following concerns:

1. What is the activity?
2. Who can participate?
3. Why do they participate?
4. How do they participate?

- a. The experience.
 - b. The body.
 - c. Movement styles.
 - d. Social processes.
5. What controls are in effect?
 - a. Rules.
 - b. Authority.
 - c. Leadership.
 6. What happens?
 - a. The experience.
 - b. The person.
 - c. The rewards.
 7. Who are the heroes?
 8. What are the predominant values?

Kinds of Activities

The dissidents did not agree upon a preferred plan for activity. They did not synthesize their beliefs and devise a new and better form of sport. They did, however, describe what kind of activities would be good for a new and changed culture. These new activities are similar to what has been termed True Sport or Ecosport, two new sports concepts devised by sportswriters Bil Gilbert and William Johnson.

Gilbert (1972) wrote of the existence of three kinds of sport: True Sport, High Sport, and Big Sport. True Sport satisfies man's seemingly innate urge to play. This kind

of sport is organized for and by the participants and is essentially a private matter. High Sport is True Sport raised to the level of art by the talent of the participants. Big Sport includes elements of True and High Sport which are modified by other considerations such as commerce and politics. Gilbert suggested that political maneuvering is the background of any Big Sport event. Big Sport is a social institution and, as such, is bureaucratic, conservative, slow-reacting, and resistant to change.

William Johnson (1974) predicted the future co-existence of two kinds of sport - Technosport and Ecosport. Technosport would be a continued development of the combination of technology and sport. He predicted that this kind of sport would be concerned with maximizing the output of athletes for performance records and maximizing spectator access to the world of sport. Ecosports will

involve natural play and unstructured games, usually out-of-doors, without boundaries, often without codified rules, and frequently emphasizing cooperation rather than competition, the struggle rather than the triumph. The main point of ecosport is to play, to enjoy, to exist.
(Eitzen & Sage, 1978, p. 300)

Although the sport critics suggested numerous ways that sports and games could be changed to encourage participation, it seemed to be understood that no one form or pattern of activity would be suitable for everyone, or even the majority. Yet most critics agreed that the following characteristics describe new and changed sport activities.

People will be able to "play." This involves being free and having fun. Games will be flexible and unpredictable. New games and sports will also be simpler than current activities. Another emphasis will be spontaneity. Players will be able to play whenever or wherever they like. Eager players will not have to find an open gym, a floodlit baseball field, or a tennis court to be able to play. It will be possible to change the boundaries, rules, playing time, and positions. There will be little need for specialized, specific, or permanent equipment. Special costumes or uniforms will be unnecessary. Many new sports activities will be non-competitive. If not, the cooperative aspects will be emphasized. In these games, skills will not be so highly developed and specialized that novice and expert cannot play together (DeKoven, 1978b; Fluegelman, 1976; "From Boffing to," 1973; Johnson, S., 1975; Leonard, 1974; McCullagh, 1978; Michener, 1976; Orlick, 1978a; Orlick & Botterill, 1975; Schneider, 1976; Spino, 1976).

Games and sports will be suitable for the group playing them. The game will be changed to meet the needs of the players. Young children will be able to participate in activities which are suitable for them, as children, and are not imitations and small-scale copies of complex adult games. Adults will also be able to play according to their own abilities and interests.

New sport and game forms will be created to keep pace with technological developments. Many activities, such as

hang-gliding and scuba-diving, will involve an experience in the air or under water (Emrich, 1970; Gittelsohn, 1975; Volk, 1974). Other activities which involve risk and danger will continue to be sought (Donnelly, 1977). A significant number will be outdoor and wilderness kinds of activities (Wilson, 1977).

Who Will Participate

One of the universal hopes of the dissidents is that the sport experience will be available to every American regardless of their age, sex, race, ability, skill, economic or social status. Sports activities will involve and benefit many, rather than a select few.

A specific wish of the sport critics is that adults, as well as young people, will be able to participate in sport. To this end, facilities and programs that emphasize community participation should be developed (Goodman, 1975; Joseph, 1977). Women and girls should have more sport opportunities made available to them. Similarly, there should be equal participatory rights for blacks and members of other racial or ethnic groups.

Why Participate

There are many reasons for participating in sport. Writers from the counterculture and other dissidents indicated little interest in skill development, exercise, fitness, or sport as a limited physical experience. Much

emphasis is placed on the self and on how participation in play, games, and sport can help the self actuate.

Participation can provide a means for self-expression. At the same time, there is opportunity for self-discovery and growth. Spino (1976) wrote "my purpose goes beyond the physiological; my purpose is to help you release your own inner meanings, to run to the drummer that is you" (p. 12). He further stated "my main objective is to test our limits by using running as a way to self understanding" (p. 17). Sheehan (1978) said that sport "has this tremendous potential for self-revelation. What we want to know is who we are, and sport can tell us quickly, painlessly and as surely as any other human activity" (p. 10).

For some, the sport experience can open the doors to new perception, increased awareness, and altered consciousness. This is applicable both to the highly skilled athlete who finds a new reason to appreciate sport and to the novice who finds that the experience, rather than the game, is meaningful. Doust (1974) stated that "all people who participate in sport experience, at one fleeting moment or another, a mystical feeling that shifts sport into an entirely different level of perception" (p. 32). Marcovicci (Note 5) observed:

When we can let go and Be as Free as We Can Be...
we TRANSCEND EGO...and BECOME the rhythm of our souls
...through the developing of one's consciousness,
one learns not only how to play better tennis, but
how to better center their own life. (p. 29)

For other individuals, the sport experience can have transformational aspects with the person "being" in another time, space, or realm of existence. Participation in sport may serve as a form of meditation for some individuals. Others find the sport experience to be a "natural-high." For all of these people, the emphasis is on the transcendent possibilities of sport. Leonard (1974) was describing such a transformed existence when he wrote:

Pressing us up against the limits of physical exertion and mental acuity, leading us up to the edge of the precipice separating life from death, sports may open the door to infinite realms of perception and being. (pp. 39-40)

Leonard (1974) furthermore stated:

In the most immediate sense, our involvement in games connects us to the mythic elements in human existence and thus awakens our senses to realms that reach beyond conventional limits of space and time. (p. 99)

Many individuals can find a sense of community through participation in sport. Games bring people together through play. Shared experiences and a feeling of belonging motivate individuals to continue their participation in sport. De Koven (1978a) wrote that "the event is meaningful because people feel meaningful doing it, because it's an act of unity and community. Don't worry about the games. They come from the joy of sharing anything" (p. 209). Wattles (1977) wrote that "games provide shared experiences for a group" (p. 14). In The New Games Book, Pat Farrington wrote that:

by reexamining the basic idea of play, we could involve families, groups, and individuals in a joyous recreation experience that creates a sense of community and personal expression. People could center on the joy of playing, cooperating, and trusting, rather than striving to win. (Fluegelman, 1976, p. 10)

While playing, people can respond with the wholeness of their being and realize a true unity of mind, body, and spirit. When speaking of golf, Murphy (1972) wrote:

Our feelin's, fantasies, thoughts and muscles all must join to play....It rewards us when we bring them all together, our bodies and our minds, our feelings and our fantasies.(p. 63)

Marcovicci (Note 5) wrote "tennis is not just hitting. It's a way of integrating the whole of man, His mind, body and spirit" (p. 51). She also wrote:

By integrating MIND, BODY and SOUL into a whole... through the grace and unhurried movements of one's body...a person is cultivating a relaxed meditative state that helps a person lead a fuller, clearer less manipulated life.(p. 47)

The person becomes real. The player is able to experience a feeling of control over his or her own life. He or she can be in charge.

Sport can provide an opportunity for chance, risk, and thrill-seeking experiences. Sport can be a peak-experience. Above all, people often will play because it is fun and simply because they want to. They can be free and just play.

How to Participate

The Experience. The nature of the individual's participation in sport will be changed. The emphasis will be on

the people who are involved in the activity and games will be conducted according to their needs, not those of coaches, managers, owners, or fans. Furthermore, people will be more important than any game.

The quality of the sport experience will be all important. Again, the experience is one that is personally meaningful. Gallwey observed that although Americans have been over-oriented toward results, the pendulum now seems to be swinging the other way (Lichtenstein, 1977, p. 91). This involves a change in emphasis from achievement to awareness; it has become more important to experience something than to achieve something. Rohe (1974) observed "it's your choice of whether to run to punish yourself or to experience your self." Gallwey and Kriegel (1977) noted that:

skiing becomes re-creation in the original sense of the word: an opportunity to discover something important about oneself and to learn skills that improve not only one's skiing but the quality of one's life. (p. 14)

Marcovicci (Note 5) described:

This is tennis as i feel it....bein' easy with yourself and feelin' the music of your feet...soaring and dancing and feelin' the rhythm of our movements. Channeling your movements behind the ball coming towards you. Feelin' your streams of energy... Letting go and bein' FREE. FREE from the tennis ball being in or being out. FREE from the winning and losing....Let it flow...let it be...let it be you...the spirit within you...flowin' through the ball...through the rhythm of movement...feelin' life. (p. 13)

The individual will set personal goals and will compete

against self rather than against others. The individual will judge himself or herself and will not compare that performance with others. Each person will be able to find a personal and individual style rather than having to learn and conform to predetermined and stylized movement patterns. There will be no "right" way to perform an activity; there will be no experts. Gallwey and Kriegel (1977) noted "the quality of our enjoyment and the excellence of our performance depend primarily on internal conditions. Value lies within, not without" (135). Rohe (1974) wrote "of course do it your way. Nobody but you should tell you what to do." Marcovicci (Note 5) wrote of being able to "flow with your instincts to the rhythms that are comfortable for you and you will just naturally be preparing yourself to meet the ball in the best possible flow and balance" (p. 38).

The experience will be an active one with participation being encouraged and involvement as a spectator being discouraged. The emphasis will be inclusive rather than exclusive.

Attention will be given to action in the present moment, not in the future. Sobel (1971) wrote that learning with the body is centered on the here and now. Wattles (1977) observed that "a game is an end in itself" (p. 14). Marcovicci (Note 5) described "playing each ball as it comes - UNATTACHED to the score" (p. 25).

The activity will often be cooperative and nonviolent. One will play to win but will not adopt a winning-is-all

philosophy. The opponent will be a partner and a brother or sister. Marcovicci (Note 5) stated "we are helping Our Opponent, Our Partner, Our Brother across the net to play his best possible game" (p. 30). Scott (1971d) wrote that opponents in sport are not enemies but are brothers, mutual servants, seekers together, a means for each to test their limits and strength.

Finally, there will be increasing importance given to the playful and gamelike aspects of sports. Participation will involve play, not work, and will be fun. Rohe (1974) admonished "if the dance of the run isn't fun then discover another dance because without fun the good of the run is undone."

The Body. Members of the alternate or counterculture, participants in the human potential and other humanistic movements, and various dissidents and idealists within the American sporting community have given increasing attention to what the body knows and can do. They have shown a strong interest in the physical essence of the individual and in how this dimension of self offers unique possibilities for discovery, growth, and expression. Relationships among the mental, spiritual, and physical dimensions of the individual have also received significant attention. Most of the dissidents felt that the individual should work to dissolve any barriers existing among the mental, spiritual, or physical aspects of his or her being.

Proponents of new or alternative sport and game experiences seem to have differing ideas about the mind-body-spirit relationship. Some emphasize the wholeness and unity of being but still refer to the separate entities of mind and body. Marcovicci (Note 5) wrote "just Let It Flow... the idea is to balance Mind, Body and Spirit" (p. 29). And Rohe (1974) wrote that:

running is obviously a wonderful tonic for this body. and what is good for the body is good for the whole man. Our spirit is not separate from our body any more than the water is separate from the stream.

Leonard (1974) wrote "it is only through a heresy in Western thought that we could consider any aspect of life as 'non-physical.' The body is always involved, even in what we call the most cerebral pursuit" (pp. 168-169).

Others such as Mike Spino, Director of the Esalen Sports Center, and Tim Gallwey, creator of the new learning techniques of Inner Tennis and Inner Skiing, seem to believe in an important but separate physical essence of the individual. Spino (1976) stated:

An important realization for me has been that my inner being does not necessarily have to relate to my physical body. Each day can produce a different spirituality as well as physical presence. (pp. 78-79)

Gallwey (1976) stated "the mind learns from the body....It's your body that has to learn to play and once it has learned, it's your body that plays" (p. 16). For all of these people, the absence of alternative phraseology has made changes in

usage difficult and has limited the ability to handle mind-body concepts.

New approaches to a holistic type of participation in a physical/movement/activity have usually been such activities as aikido, tai-chi, or yoga (Caldwell, 1974; Leonard, 1974; Miller, 1975). However, these activities are not usually classified as sports in the American frame of reference. Altered traditional sports activities and new learning techniques found in Yoga Tennis, Inner Tennis, or Inner Skiing promote natural learning and "getting in touch with yourself" but concentrate on "quieting the mind" and "liberating the natural body" to achieve one's best performance (Gallwey, 1974, 1976; Gallwey & Kriegel, 1977; Smith, A. 1975). Running has become a meaningful activity form for some because of the possibilities for holistic experience and expression (Rohe, 1974). However, for many this is still a physical experience and is done to satisfy the needs of "the body." Spino (1976) wrote that in the future "the finest athletes and teams will be integrated people developing themselves in holistic ways. There will be a new sense that we bring our whole selves into the game" (p. 71). However, little has been written to explain how the "whole" person can participate in activities which in the past have isolated and objectified the body.

Many individuals continue to show interest in the integration, education, discovery, and development of the whole

person. The recent plethora of articles and books on the paranormal and mystical phenomena found in sport have encouraged many individuals to explore relationships among the mental, spiritual, and physical aspects of the athlete (Murphy & White, 1978; Sullivan & McCall, 1976).

Movement Styles. Movements encouraged and permitted will be of all patterns and forms. A diversity of movements will be possible; movements will not be stilted or stereotyped. There will be less stress on form and a de-emphasis of technique. Precision and agility will be valued more than sheer, brute force. Spino (1976) wrote that "natural rather than prefabricated principles will reappear...there will be a reemphasis on relaxation" (p. 72). Marcovicci (Note 5) directed:

Be as relaxed as you can be....Try to keep all your limbs as loose as possible. Forget about being a tennis player and be a DANCER. Forget about aiming or steering the ball, forget about leaning or rushing, forget about the net, the flight of the ball, the limits of the court.... Rely on your natural instincts. (p. 36)

She furthermore directed "let your arms go - feel their FREEDOM...the grace of their movements...let them fly and BE FREE...feel how it feels to flow in a rhythmic manner" (p. 32).

It is realized that each person will move differently and that it is important to find the style right for your own self. There is no mention of different styles of movement for men and women. Marcovicci (Note 5) wrote "do what

feels comfortable to you...be the dance, don't let someone superimpose upon you their attitudes of right and wrong... for that is the way of our culture"(p. 27). Rohe (1974) wrote "you shouldn't let anyone tell you how to run, any more than you should let anyone tell you how to run your life."

Interaction with Others. Cooperative activity is of increased importance. Competition is acceptable but little importance should be given to winning. Miller (1975) wrote:

The outcome of the dissatisfaction with the way sports and physical education are taught has been a move not away from strenuous exercise but simply away from the harshest kinds of competition. (p. 58)

Scott (1973) stated that:

the radical ethic of sport holds that there is nothing fundamentally wrong with the essence of competitive sport....The radical position holds sport to be neither a solely competitive nor a solely cooperative venture....there is a vital interplay between competition and cooperation in healthy sport activity. (p. 75)

Fluegelman (1976) wrote that in "New Games" the "Player-Referee values competition, but places no importance on winning. No one keeps track of the results" (p. 88).

Athletes and players will work together, rather than against each other. DeKoven (1978a) observed that "playing together is different from playing against each other.... playing with people is, in fact, more rewarding than playing

against them" (p. 222). Marcovicci (Note 5) wrote that one "doesn't have to conquer somebody or something to feel good" (p. 52). Orlick (1978a) noted:

in cooperative games everybody cooperates...everybody wins...and nobody loses. Children play with one another rather than against one another. These games eliminate the fear of failure and the feeling of failure. (p. 3)

The Chinese slogan of "Friendship First - Competition Second" has become a rallying cry of several dissenting athletes ("Basketball Super Star," 1974; Hoch, 1976; "O.C.L.C. Martial Arts Festival," 1976).

Structure and Controls

Rules. The structure of games will be flexible. Thus, players will not have to play a game in a certain way. Furthermore, the game will be changed to fit the needs and desires of the participants instead of having the participants change to fit the game.

It will always be possible for the participants to change the rules and roles of the game. As Rohe (1974) noted, "this is your game -- you decide what rules you want to play by." Rules and regulations will be kept to a minimum in order to encourage participation and personal growth and expression and to reduce alienation and dehumanization (Orlick, 1978a; Scott, 1973).

Authority. It should be realized that there is no one final authority. There are no experts. Each individual

becomes an authority, and finds it is all right to act in his or her own way. Marcovicci (Note 5) wrote "there is no right or wrong way. Just be the dance and you will learn this game called tennis" (p. 27). Spino (1976) noted that "each person moves differently and must be coached individually" (p. 44). Gallwey (1976) noted that "the student comes to trust himself because the authority for right and wrong has proved to be within himself" (p. 95).

Players will be encouraged to take responsibility for themselves and their actions and often will serve as their own game referees. In "The Whole Earth Ball" (1975) it was noted that "referees do not impose rules of behavior, they encourage people to take responsibility for their behavior and environment" (p. 12). In the area of organized sport, players will be able to share in the governance of their sport (Lowrey, 1976; Rosenberg, 1975; Scott, 1971a). Governance will often be participatory rather than representative. This kind of player involvement has been described in The Fifth Down: Democracy and the Football Revolution (Amdur, 1971). At the professional level, players' associations will become an increasingly important force in the management of sport.

Leadership. The instructor or coach will function as a helper and a teacher. This person will serve as a guide, one who can help others to grow. Gallwey (1976) noted that the teacher is not an external authority but merely

someone who helps put the player in touch with his internal authority (p. 95). Gallwey (1976) further stated that "the instructor never imposes his own concepts on another individual" (p. 102). Marcovicci (Note 5) described the teacher as "a guide...a channel...illustrating what tennis could be" (p. 9). There will be a disappearance of any master-servant relationship ("O.C.L.C. Martial Arts. Set," 1976). The teacher-coach will not impose leadership and dictate direction in an authoritarian way.

What Happens

The Experience. The sport experience can be particularly significant for many people. Participation can be a means for self-discovery and expression. The player can benefit from increased awareness. There will be a unity of mind, body, and spirit; the individual will be able to develop as a whole person. The player may be able to change his or her consciousness. It is possible that the individual's being can be transposed to other worlds, worlds of the "spirit."

Wattles (1977) noted that the person who participates in games finds a breaking down of the barriers between people, a building of community, a release of feelings, and a sense of experiencing the self in the present moment (p. 14). Spino (1976) reported that "as an individual becomes more fit he spends less time concentrating on the physical activity and has the possibility of transcendence.

With optimum fitness altered states of consciousness are possible" (p. 77). Murphy (1972) described gowf (golf) as "a place to practice fascination....in gowf ye see the essence of what the world itself demands" (p. 63). Leonard (1974) wrote:

Precognition, the ability to know of events before they happen, is reputed to go along with episodes of great emotional tension and high physical risk. Certain sports have more than their share of such episodes. (p. 36)

Gallwey and Kriegel (1977) described Inner Skiing by writing:

In the breakthrough stage of concentration your busy, chattering mind stops altogether and you enter into a world that is pure experience. You are calm, quiet, immersed in your activity. There is no separation between action and awareness, thinking and doing. (p. 134)

Goals, results, and rewards of the sport experience will be many. Spino (1976) noted that "emphasis will be on preparation of the total person. Excellence in the particular sport or game will be a by-product" (p. 74). He further stated "there will be a different feeling surrounding athletic events. They will remain serious but become joyful. Old concepts of superiority and dominance will subside" (p. 75). DeKoven (1978B) observed:

Winning, though the goal of a game, can't be the purpose for playing. Winning serves the purpose of helping us focus, of allowing us to create the challenge that lets us manifest our powers through the game. Winning ends the game, but not our purpose. (p. 171)

Marcovicci (Note 5) wrote that "through the developing of one's consciousness, one learns not only how to play better tennis, but how to better center their own life" (p. 29). What will happen in sport cannot be predicted. Accordingly, the goal or the way to the goal should not be defined, pre-determined, or measured.

The person. As sport becomes part of a humanizing process, there will be many opportunities for personal growth. Each player will be able to participate in his or her own way. Players will set personal goals and compete against personal limits. People will play in a way that includes and there will be no winners and losers. The experience will be nonjudgmental. Numerous activities will be available and each participant should be able to find an activity and style of movement which is comfortable for him or her. The player will find that it is not necessary to find or develop a new body or a different body; the existing one is acceptable. Participants will be encouraged to discover the self, express the self, and experience increased awareness and a new form of consciousness through their participation in sport. Of great significance is the fact that players will be encouraged to exert control over their own lives.

Rewards. Rewards will be received in the present. They will be personal and intrinsic rather than extrinsic. Enjoyment will come from doing and experiencing. Rohe (1974) suggested "feel the flow of your dance and know you are not running for some future reward--the real reward is now."

The Heroes

The heroes of alternative sport are different and not as prevalent as in previous eras. With emphasis on participation by all and a communal sharing of abilities, skills, experiences, responsibilities, and governance, there seems to be less of a need or desire to create or discover super-people or heroes. As each individual is valued for his or her own unique abilities, it is less probable that one performer will be singled out as special over all others.

Still, some individuals have received attention from the counterculture and other critics of sport and society because, at times, their action or inaction has been in accordance with the values of the social critics of the sixties and seventies. Prominent athletes, such as Muhammed Ali, Kareem Abdul-Jabbar, Billie Jean King, Teofile Stevenson, and Bill Walton, have become a different kind of hero and have used their privileged positions to promote radical views on the war in Vietnam, race relations, drug use, political corruption, and the role of women in America. (Naison, 1975). Additionally, Jack Scott and Harry Edwards, two of the few nationally known leaders of the athletic revolution, seem to have taken on qualities and dimensions that are larger than life; they also have been thought of as heroes by the radicals and dissidents.

Cassius Clay, as Muhammed Ali, was the first free black champion ever to confront white America (Browne, 1972).

Naison (1972) noted that through his actions, in and out of the ring, Ali "helped legitimize black nationalism as a political and cultural stance" (p. 105). His enthusiasm, confidence, and competence conflicted with the white image of the black man. His rejection of Christianity and refusal to bear arms in Vietnam resulted in the curtailment of his personal freedoms and in limitations being placed on his athletic participation. This, in turn, gave Ali increased visibility as a victim of the American/bureaucratic, militaristic/imperialist/capitalist/racist system. In addition to their effect on the American sports-world, Ali's actions also demonstrated the new solidarity of black people with other nonwhites.

Professional basketball star Bill Walton is a self-styled socialist and antiwar activist. He has been especially vehement in recent years in expressing his opinion that the government does not represent the people of the country and that the people have a moral obligation to dissociate themselves from it (Rosenberg, 1975; Walton, 1975). Hero or not, Walton has been made into a superperson by his size, by his abilities, and by the attention given to him by the media. Whatever Walton says and does is news--whether he is promoting natural foods, refusing to talk with reporters, visiting with the United Farm Workers, or leaving his team to be with the mother of his newborn child. He has received additional attention through his recent

association with Jack and Micki Scott (Allan, 1975; "Basketball Super Star," 1974; Scott, 1978; Walton, 1975).

Probably Walton's most important statements relative to sport concern his feelings that the health and physical condition of the individual should be valued more than money. He has stated that the individual's own personal skills create goods and services and that one should not let outsiders prevent one from using them (Walton, 1975, p. 7). He also has stated that he prefers the fluid, selfless motion of a team without a star. He would like to have sport better organized for a mass participation type of program (Rosenberg, 1975; Scott, 1978). These beliefs and values are similar to those that many in the counterculture have expressed.

Artists have often served as accurate critics of society. Thus it is not surprising that Charlie Brown, Snoopy, and Zonker Harris, fictional creations of cartoonists Charles Schulz and Gary Trudeau, have become heroes of sorts. They have questioned what sport is. They have made fun of how sport happens. They have described the sports world as many distressed, dissatisfied, and alienated Americans experience it.

At times, several foreign nations and individuals have been recipients of hero status, again because some of their sports practices mirror values espoused by those in the counterculture (Hoch, 1976). For the most part, this attention has come from political dissidents and some members

of minority groups. The "special" countries include China and Cuba. Teofile Stevenson, the Cuban Olympic Heavyweight Boxing Champion, has been an object of admiration because of his refusal to become a professional. Since professional boxing has been abolished in Cuba, he would have to leave his country to box. Stevenson has been looked up to as a hero of the people because of his refusal to be "bought by money" ("Olympic Champ Turns," 1974; "Yankee Arrogance Suffers," 1976).

Predominant Values

The societal dissidents have promoted no one alternative sports pattern. They have not offered one preferred value orientation for sport. However, many of the proposed value changes are similar and congruent with one another.

Lowrey (1976) wrote that there has been no official sports liberation movement and no recognized credo in print. However, Lowrey wrote that there has existed a more or less agreed upon body of ideas and hopes which could be described as new values for sport. These included:

1. One should play to win while avoiding the excesses of the "winning is everything" philosophy.
2. Athletes should be given a voice in the hiring of coaches and in the conditions under which they are expected to play.
3. Athletes should be made conscious of the potential destructiveness of the machismo role which has been imposed upon them.

4. Women should be encouraged to participate more fully in sports.
5. Institutionalized racism should be eliminated. Talented blacks should be employed in managerial positions and as coaches.
6. The use and abuse of drugs should be scrutinized carefully, especially as it applies to athletes playing with injuries and getting "up" for key games.
7. College athletic departments should be placed into the academic mainstream. They should be made responsible to the central authority of the institution along with other departments.
8. Recruiting abuses and the emphasis on acquiring "superstars" should be eliminated.
9. College athletic programs should benefit all the students rather than being primarily a training ground for professional athletes.
10. Children should be eased out of organized sports and away from authoritarian coaches into free spontaneous play. (pp. 556-557)

Scott (1973) described a counterculture ethic in which a series of inverse values was substituted for the traditional and dominant American sport ethic. Sport would become process-oriented, cooperative, individualistic, expressive, and intrinsically rewarding. Hierarchical and role-specific relationships would be abolished. Sport would become a coeducational activity. Scott (1973) noted that this "antithetical ethic has been rejected...for it does not offer a rational, humane, and viable alternative....it's the other side of the coin, but still the same old coin" (p. 74).

Noting that "there is nothing fundamentally wrong with the essence of competitive sport" (p. 75), Scott (1973)

suggested a radical ethic for sport. The radical ethic :

holds sport to be neither a solely competitive nor a solely cooperative venture....recognizes the excellence of the outcome as important, but holds equally important the way that excellence is achieved.... holds there is nothing wrong or dehumanizing about a person wanting to take pride in the accomplishment of his work....predicts that the sport experience will be even richer when a humanistic process...replaces the present dehumanizing system....assumes women will have equal access to the competitive sport experience. (p. 75)

Scott continued:

radical proponents understand the need for dedication and hard work....team spirit stems from a genuine development of community rather than from authoritarian intimidation....Perhaps the most fundamental aspect of the radical ethic of sport is reflected in how one views his opponent. The opponent is not simply an obstacle in the way of victory....the opponent is a brother who is presenting you with a challenge. You cannot experience the agonistic struggle of sport without the cooperation of your brother — your opponent. (p. 76)

Edwards (1973) described an equalitarian countercreed.

The equalitarian ideology does not advocate broad sweeping changes in the overall structure and functioning of sport, but rather a change in a single, specific area of its functioning. In essence, dissenting blacks have demanded equal status and opportunity with whites in sports. (p. 347)

Looking at sport from the widest point of view, it is found that most of the cultural dissidents, sport revolutionaries, educational reformers, and social critics of the 1960s and 1970s felt that the experience and institution of sport should be based upon the following values.

1. There should be equal opportunity for all regardless of sex, age, race, economic, and status factors.

2. Blacks and females are competent to participate in sports. Accordingly, opportunities for participation should be especially available for members of these groups.
3. The worth, rights, interests, and abilities of the individual are all-important. Players should be treated as human beings and not as objects to be trained, manipulated, and used.
4. The individual's body is important. Physical condition and health should be valued more than winning or financial rewards.
5. Participation is to be valued over spectation.
6. Program offerings, especially in schools and other public agencies, should benefit all rather than a few select individuals.
7. Participants should share in the governance of their sports activities.
8. Increasing importance should be given to the creation of a play community and to the development of sharing and cooperative behaviors.
9. Winning should not be a primary value. Participants can play to win but should not adopt a winning-is-all philosophy.
10. Alternatives to competition should be available.
11. Violence should be controlled and de-emphasized.
12. The individual should have respect for the environment in which the game takes place.
13. It is important and good to have fun.

Values emphasized in sport are dependent upon the American cultural heritage (Edwards, 1973). The American culture is such that a number of value orientations can exist within the total society. Most of the proposed "new" values seem familiar and in congruence with the culture.

In reality, most of these values are not new but are reflective of secondary values that have always been a part of the American culture. The desire of the dissidents is that these values should receive more emphasis now; indeed, such values should be primary.

CHAPTER IX

WHAT HAS BEEN DONE

Numerous individuals have expressed dissatisfaction with the traditional American sports pattern. While it has been easy to locate these critics, to describe their dissatisfaction, and to catalogue their suggestions for change, it has been more difficult to discover evidence of new programs and changed directions. Still, several individuals and groups have proposed and promoted alternatives to traditional sport in the hope of increasing participation. They have also used sport to foster a sense of togetherness and community, to teach cooperative skills and behaviors, to discover and develop the self, and to share new realms of meaning and being.

As a result of their efforts, some traditional sport activities have had a new revival of interest. Several traditional activities have attracted new participants because of a change of emphasis. A few new activities have been created.

These activities have not usually been organized, created, or conducted by members of alternative or counter-culture groups. Yet, the characteristics, norms, and values of these activities are consistent with the characteristics,

norms, and values of sport as described by members of the counterculture and other dissenting groups and individuals.

The new activities have been an addition and an alternative to the wide range of sport and game activities that Americans have always enjoyed. Participants have usually been individuals who have not been involved in, or who have been overlooked by, previously existing patterns of sport. Many innovative sport programs are found at a local level. The scope of these programs is small; benefits of new participatory opportunities are not extended to a large audience.

Increasing Participation

Many of the sports dissidents centered their anger and frustration around themes of discrimination, exclusion, dehumanization, exploitation, the lack of personal autonomy, and the power of authority figures. Some of this discontent has been alleviated by increased participatory opportunities for blacks, women, and other minorities. The creation of Players' Associations in many major sports has also helped to relieve some of the specific frustrations of the professional athlete.

Since 1972, there has been a tremendous expansion of program offerings for girls and women. Little girls now play on a variety of organized teams, with each other and also as members of boys' or coed teams. High school and college students play and compete at the local, regional,

and national level. For these female athletes, recruitment and athletic scholarships have become an important part of the athletic scene. Recently, women have become more evident as participants in professional sports: as golfers, tennis players, jockeys, softball players, basketball players, racing automobile drivers. On the recreational level, girls and women are participating in traditional and non-traditional sports in increasing numbers. They also participate in other "movement" activities such as dance, tai-chi, yoga, self-defense, and jogging. In areas outside of sport, women have taken a greater interest in their bodies and in their own personal health.

Newly organized and developed women's sport programs follow the traditional American pattern. There is usually an emphasis on achievement, competition, specialization, elitism, and conformity. One result of this has been the exclusion of many women from the new programs. In this instance, equal opportunity has been defined and realized as similar opportunity, and often as a chance to finally be a part of what has been the traditional sport pattern.

Despite the benefits of increased participatory opportunities, an increase in program funding, improvements in instruction and coaching, and the broadening of programs to include many new offerings, several sport critics feel that women have already been seduced and co-opted by the "system." Girls who have been taken into boys' leagues

have faced the same problems of exploitation as the boys have (Goodman & Irving, 1975). Edwards noted that women :

are not asking for a change in the ideological system to allow women to function in society and in sport as full and adequate human beings. They are asking for a cut of the action....They are essentially asking for an equal opportunity to be exploited. (Armstrong, 1974, p. 17)

There has been increased participation in sport by blacks and members of other minority groups. The meaning and effect of this increased participation continues to receive the attention of sport and social critics. Butt (1976) noted that "other than the achievement of competence, there are few permanent rewards in sport for the Black athlete" (p. 160). Paul Gardner (1975) observed that there are still few opportunities for blacks and people of Hispanic background to advance in the areas of coaching and management. Furthermore, blacks are in a less advantageous position to be recipients of the various fringe benefits of sport--advertising, business partnership, a future job. Discrimination has persisted. Blacks still have to be better than whites to "make the team"; their participation is often confined to playing certain physical and nonthreatening positions, such as tackle, guard, or outfielder (Armstrong, 1974; Talamini & Page, 1973). Critics have also commented that the emphasis on making it out of the ghetto through achievement in sport has often limited the horizons of many young blacks who may be talented in other areas.

Professional athletes have gained recognition and identity from the efforts of their unions and professional associations. Although many athletes have organized and participated in boycotts and strikes to assert their independence and win their freedom, often what they were really working for was more money ("Not Just A Game," 1974). As salaries and other material benefits have increased, the athlete's role has become that of a worker rather than a player. Professional athletes have become business people and, as such, devote most of their efforts to bettering their own lot; it is only secondarily that they try to advance the broader interests of their sport (Butt, 1976, p. 169).

In the colleges and universities, more attention has been given to the rights of students. This is especially true in the case of females and minorities. Members of these groups have continued to demand equality of opportunity. On the other hand, little has been heard from male college athletes in recent years. If they are still subject to the arbitrary will and power of their coaches, they are not voicing this concern.

Many schools and colleges have expanded their physical education and recreation offerings to include more intramurals and instruction in a variety of new sports. These include such diverse activities as: body flying, cycling, mountaineering, inner-tube water polo, ultimate frisbee,

rotational volleyball, "new games," aikido, and kayaking. ("From Boofing to," 1973; Heywood & Warnick, 1976; Leonard, 1974; Orlick, 1978a; Stanley, 1974). "Project Adventure" is a new type of physical education program used in many schools. It is based on Outward Bound training concepts and techniques and emphasizes self-discovery, inter-disciplinary learning, problem solving, and cooperative interaction--again, values of the counter-culture (Little, 1977; Nold, 1976; Rohnke, 1977). Such new program offerings reflect a student interest and demand for individualistic, participatory, and noncompetitive sport programs.

Some changes have been made in the direction and implementation of youth sport programs. These changes have been directed toward correcting health and safety hazards and toward providing for more participation, rather than providing an alternative form of activity and participation for youngsters. Usually changes have been local rather than national in scope.

The American Youth Soccer Organization conducts its programs with the objective that all of the participants should have fun. Games are structured so that each child will get to play for at least one half of each game. At the end of each season, the best players are redistributed among all of the teams. Players are not made to play a position where they must succeed or fail (Schneider, 1976; Tutko & Bruns, 1976). The National Junior Tennis League

eliminated national championship play when league officials realized that this type of competition was in opposition to the objectives of participation, learning, and fun. In some Little League baseball groups, pitching machines are being used to eliminate the strain and possibility of injury to young players' arms. Players are forced to switch positions periodically so that all will get to play the "good" positions. Each player bats at least once and plays a minimum of two innings (Tutko & Bruns, 1976).

However, as changes and improvements are being made in some areas, children's sport programs continue to expand. Children are becoming involved in organized competitive sport programs at very young ages. Furthermore, many, many girls are participating in sport. If sport reflects and reinforces society, participants in youth sport programs will absorb both adult sport and cultural values. The possibility of great change occurring in youth sport programs seems slight.

Several new sports have arisen out of older activities or have been created as a result of technological advances. Many are unique because they conform to the characteristics and values of sport as described by members of the counterculture and other dissidents. Often participants have been those who are not completely immersed in another activity, those who have outgrown other sports, and those who have the time and energy to participate in a

variety of activities. Thus these "new" sports have been able to co-exist with traditional sport activities with little conflict.

Wilson (1977) reported that "between the middle of the 1960s and the mid-1970s the number of Americans engaging in wilderness sport activities grew dramatically" (p. 54).

Leonard (1974) noted that:

while all sports have boomed since World War II, the growth of dangerous sports--from skin-diving to rock-climbing to hang-gliding--has been truly phenomenal. The urge for risk in sports runs counter to the tendency in modern industrial society to reduce or eliminate risk from every aspect of life.(p. 217)

Donnelly (1977) observed that "participation in high-risk sports which are characterized by the pursuit of vertigo appears to have increased markedly in the United States during the 1970s" (p. 106). Emrich (1970), Gittelsohn (1975), Leonard (1974), and Volk (1974) described a growing interest in sports that take place in water or air environments. These include such sports as scuba diving, kayaking, surfing, sky diving, and parachuting.

These activities allow people to escape from their urban environment and commune with nature. Most emphasize individual work and achievement. Experiences found in these activities can enable the individual to find and define a personal place in the world. Although skill is needed, this can be developed easily and usually does not involve long years of preparation and specialization.

Participation is emphasized and participants control and govern their own sports. To date there is little evidence of bureaucracy or authoritarian leadership within these new sport patterns. The new sports and activities have provided many adolescents and young adults with a way to spend their time and money. Similarly, these new sports are having an important impact on the world of business by their use as "money-makers."

Frisbee is another activity which perhaps can be classified as an alternative sport. Stancil Johnson (1975) reported that it is fun, inclusive, flexible, inexpensive, spontaneous, easily learned, and can be done anywhere and at any time. Although team competition and championship tournaments have been held, frisbee is not a complex or institutionalized sport, yet.

Encouraging Togetherness and Community

Numerous people believe that one of the unique features of sport is that it can bring people together. Several programs have been developed which use the experiences found in games and sport to foster a sense of community among the participants.

One of the programs developed during the seventies is called "New Games." "New Games" is an innovative recreation program which emphasizes participation rather than winning and uses games to bring people together through play. The founders of "New Games" included Stewart Brand, sometime

editor of The Whole Earth Catalog; Pat Farrington, a community social-change worker; and George Leonard, educator and author. In October 1973, these and other people organized and conducted the First New Games Tournament at Marin Headlands, California. The New Games Foundation, a nonprofit organization, was created in 1974 to serve as a clearing house for information on "New Games" and to promote the program through "referee" training sessions, newsletters, books, and other public relations material. This is a systematic, well organized, national program. Training sessions are held periodically for individuals and groups who want to learn of this approach to play. Local groups and individuals are encouraged to create and play their own new games and to offer suggestions for improvement and change to the Foundation (Fluegelman, 1976; The New Games Training Manual Note 6).

Tembeck (1976) reported that "New Games" are not an alternative or a replacement for big time sport but are an addition to the realm of play.

Through the restructuring of play, New Games is attempting to bring man into harmony with his environment, provide space for families to play together, and eliminate the barriers of age, sex, race and economics from leisure time activities. ("The Whole Earth Ball," 1975, p. 1)

Emphasis is on participation by all, cooperative activity, sharing, and choice.

Activities usually are simple games and recreation activities and are similar to the playground games of children. They are organized around three themes--softwar is conflict which is regionalized, refereed, and cushioned; soft touch activities emphasize trust and cooperation; and creative play. In "Boffing," participants fence with each other but have styrofoam weapons. Partners in "Hunker-Hawser" crouch on two tree stumps and share a rope; the objective is to pull your partner off the stump while you keep your own balance. "Hug Tag" encourages touching, sharing, security, and much exercise. In "Infinity Volleyball" the object is to keep the ball in the air and encourage the other team to hit, rather than miss, the ball (Fluegelman, 1976).

Opportunities for creativity, sharing, cooperation, and interaction are limitless in "New Games." Advocates of this innovative program have worked hard to share with others their belief that these games are fun, that play is good, that there is no reason to forget fun and play just because one has grown older, and that it is important to be and play with others.

Numerous neighborhood, ethnic, and minority groups have used sport to strengthen feelings of community within their group. They have developed programs in which people of all ages can play, learn, and share together. Games are used to build a sense of community and trust. The

ping-pong program at the "Paddle Palace" in Portland, Oregon, and the martial arts program at the Oakland Community Learning Center in California typify sports programs that have been used to foster a sense of togetherness and community ("O.C.L.C. Martial Arts Festival," 1976; Parks, 1975).

Teaching New Values

Throughout the years, American sport has been used to teach values such as citizenship, sportsmanship, and team play (Betts, 1974; Cozens & Stumpf, 1953; Schaefer, 1974, 1976). One of the primary targets of those in the counter-culture and other dissidents was the American emphasis on achievement and competition and the accompanying obsession with winning. Many of the social critics suggested that cooperation was a better value than competition. Sport critics noted that many excesses of the competitive ethic could be found in sport. In recent years many individuals have become interested in the idea of cooperative games and sports.

This interest has often been twofold. Through cooperative play individuals should become more aware of positive things about themselves, should improve their self-confidence, and should be able to eliminate or reduce any feelings of failure (Orlick, 1978a). Secondly, the enactment of cooperative behavior in games and sport may have carry-over value for other areas of social interaction. Thus, educators and social change workers often use games to teach cooperative skills.

Harrison (1975) noted:

we use cooperative activities to help build a feeling of support and caring in a group. Thinking about the participants and their needs, we have tried to weed out any games that leave people out, force children to compete against each other or participate unequally. (p. 4)

Orlick (1978b) questioned:

why not develop games that create, in miniature, the utopias in which we would like to live? Why not create and play games that make us more cooperative, honest and considerate of others? Why not use the transforming power of games to help us become the kinds of persons we really would like to be? (pp. 138-139)

Cooperative games often require little equipment, use a wide variety of populations, can be played in a variety of physical settings, and need a minimum of supervision. Social critics and sport critics alike feel that cooperative play is especially important for children. For adults, important participatory benefits are also to be gained through cooperative play and game experiences. Cooperative activity lends itself naturally to intramural and recreational activity. Innovative programs featuring this kind of sport have been developed by William Harper at Kansas State College, and Lou Fabian and Kathy Evans at the University of Pittsburg (Gilbert, 1975; Orlick, 1978a).

Discovering and Developing the Self

Significant numbers of people are coming to realize that sport is more than a physical or social experience. Participation in sport can be a psychological and spiritual experience, one in which the player can experience different

states of awareness or being. Murphy and White (1978) reported that "sport has enormous power to sweep us beyond the ordinary sense of self, to evoke capacities that have generally been regarded as mystical, occult, or religious" (pp. 5-6). Leonard (1974) observed:

The intensity of the experience, the intricacy of the relationships, the total involvement of body and senses, all come together in sports to create the preconditions for those extraordinary events that the culture calls "paranormal" or "mystical." (p. 34)

Through participation in sport the individual can experience and become more aware of the self. Gallwey (1976) wrote of an "Inner Game" through which the individual attempts to discover and overcome mental attitudes that inhibit performance and restrict the development of individual potential. Murphy (1972) described golf as a "game to teach you about the messages from within, about the subtle voices of the body-mind" (p. 167). Marcovicci (Note 5) described tennis as a "positive way of working through blocked energy...a way of achieving a balance between the outer and inner elements of this life" (p. 52).

Several individuals who have become fascinated with the inner or mystical side of sport have actively promoted their "activity." Such new activities as Yoga Tennis, Zen Tennis, Inner Tennis, Inner Skiing and Zen Running have been promoted throughout the country and have received exposure in the national media. Although programs are individualized and

personalized, many of these transformative activities already have a definite commercial tone and value.

Two new and nontraditional approaches to sport are called Inner Tennis and Inner Skiing. Inner Tennis, as created by Timothy Gallwey, is a synthesis of yoga, meditation, and humanistic psychology. The goal is to overcome mental attitudes that inhibit performance and restrict the development of individual potential. The player learns to quiet the mind and to trust the natural potential of the body. Because of an increased awareness of reality, the player learns what is feared, realistically evaluates personal competence, and receives nonjudgmental feedback on performance. The ego attachment with results and success is broken (Gallwey, 1976). Gallwey and Kriegel (1977) reported:

The Inner Game approach is hardly new. It is similar to the natural way that, as children, we learned to walk, talk or throw a ball. It uses the unconscious rather than the deliberately self-conscious, mind. The process doesn't have to be learned; we already know it. All that is needed is to unlearn the habits and concepts which interfere with our natural learning ability, and to trust the innate intelligence of our bodies. (p. 6)

Since the same mental obstacles that keep the player from playing the best game also prevent living the best life, natural learnings acquired through Inner Tennis can be applied to games played in real life (Gallwey, 1976).

Other individuals who use similar approaches have promoted tennis, golf, skiing, and running (Lande, 1976; Murphy, 1972; Pfeiffer, 1976; Smith, A., 1975; Marcovicci, Note 5). Leonard (1974) noted:

Alternative approaches involving energy awareness and other training methods that can be oversimplified as "mystical" are also being used in sports such as mountaineering, hiking, jogging, swimming, canoeing, and sailing. (pp. 103-104)

Again, the emphasis is on eliminating the ego, quieting the mind, increasing awareness, and coordinating physical and psychic experiences. Visualization, centering, flow, and effortless effort are important qualities of the experience. It is assumed that the individual innately knows how to play the game; thus the task is one of self-discovery.

Recently, running has changed from a mere locomotor or physical experience to a spiritual happening. Leonard (1974) wrote:

Distance running is indeed a powerful instrument for altering human consciousness....The rhythmic repetitive movements of the body and the steady flow of visual stimuli are well constituted to induce visions and reveal mysteries. (p. 40)

During a long run, the individual often enters a meditative state and is able to transcend the boundaries of ordinary life and existence (Henderson, 1976; Rohe, 1974; Sheehan, 1978; Spino, 1976). This new focus has induced many non-athletes and nonracers to participate in running programs.

Sharing New Realms of Meaning and Being

In recent years, numerous individuals have been engaged in a search for personal meaning, knowledge, truth, wholeness, peace. Some have found significance in the sport experience and have shared personal meanings that they have found there. Others continue their search.

Caldwell (1975b) has described a social humanist movement that emerged and developed during the 1960s and 1970s. This movement focused on the search, demand, and need of many for a different, changing America for the fulfillment and realization of the American Dream. This search for personal growth and meaning often took place in alternative, nonconventional institutions, agencies, and places, often called growth centers. These growth centers provided programs to help affluent and advantaged individuals in their search for personal growth, awareness, change, and enlightenment. Caldwell (1975a) noted:

Within the Human Potential Movement, and more specifically growth center experiential emphasis, the body has rejoined the mind/psyche in the social, humanist emphasis on the integrated, holistic, total human being. There has been a rediscovery, renaissance, resurrection of the body as central, integral to man's unified being and becoming.
(p. 34)

One of the best known places for individual psychological development, the Esalen Institute, opened in the fall of 1962. Esalen has been unique among other growth centers for its emphasis on sport and athletics. Possibilities for

study at Esalen have included: tennis flow, golf and energy awareness, western sport as yoga, conditioning and creativity, sensory awareness in sport, a reunion with the sea, women in motion, "new games," structural patterning in sports, athletics and the energy bond, sport and the human potential, Yosemite mountaineering meditation, dance, coaches and their hangups, sport and consciousness, cross-country skiing, and running home: recent developments in the mind-body approach to running (Caldwell, 1975b; The Esalen Catalog, 1978).

The Esalen Sports Center was:

established in the spring of 1973 to "help broaden the perspective in athletics and physical education," effect "a psychosynthesis of sports," "increase participation in sports," and explore "the potential of athletic experiences for eliciting higher levels of awareness." (Caldwell, 1975b, pp. 3-4)

In addition to developing programs to offer to participants, the Esalen Sports Center is involved in experimental work focusing on the presence of extraordinary powers and altered states of consciousness found in sports. Areas of exploration include: how spiritual awareness found in sport can carry over to other parts of life, the nature of mystical experiences found during exertion, how to harness newly found potentials of the mind so that they can be used to help a performer improve his or her techniques in a variety of sports (Cohen, 1977; Leonard, 1974; Smith, A., 1975).

CHAPTER X

WHAT IT ALL MEANS

Although it is too soon to evaluate realistically the effect of this period of social upheaval and crisis on the world of sport, some tentative conclusions can be reached. The close and often symbiotic relationship of sport and culture is of major importance when attempting to understand and assess social change. Hoch (1972) described sport as being a mirror, socializing agent, and opiate of society. He wrote that we will only have humane, creative sports when we have a humane, creative environment (p. 10). Micki Scott noted:

Sports is both a reflection and a reinforcement of the dominant values of the system. As the system changes, so do sports. There's a time lag involved of anywhere from two to 10 years. (Goodman & Irving, 1975, p. 12)

Zelman (1976) observed that as sport is an integral part of the American culture, radical changes in the sports world will probably only come with radical changes in the social, political, and economic aspects of the American culture. Such changes have not occurred.

As Americans entered the last quarter of the twentieth century, the frenetic and impulsive activity that characterized the counterculture, New Left, and other revolutionary social movements of the sixties and early seventies

diminished. With the resolution or abatement of specific social and political problems, there was no unified or consistent focus for dissent. Furthermore, changed economic conditions in the mid-seventies put a damper on continued social experimentation. The press and other forms of the media paid less attention to social protest, changed lifestyles, and other expressions of dissatisfaction with the culture. At the same time, many of the outward symbols and expressions of the counterculture either disappeared or were totally absorbed by the mainstream American culture.

Expressed dissatisfaction with the world of sport also has lessened. Specific conditions and problems which angered numerous sport critics were resolved, or at least improved upon. Barriers of age, sex, and race were lowered enabling more and more Americans to participate in sport. With more money to spend, differentially scheduled working hours, and an extension of the time when gaming facilities were available, Americans demanded more from sport, both as participants and as spectators. The mushrooming sports industry was glad to oblige by building more facilities, developing new and improved kinds of equipment and sport clothing, and by promoting the idea that sports are healthful, fun, necessary, and truly American. Additionally, new games and activities were created to fill the needs of previously uninvolved Americans.

Within the dimensions of the present study, there is little to indicate immediate or permanent change in sport. Despite the social unrest of the past fifteen years, society has changed little. Most individuals within the counterculture were not interested in changing, improving, or abolishing sport. Their writings reveal little interest in the benefits of participation in this kind of activity. As individuals in the counterculture turned inward toward personal fulfillment and change, the likelihood of major societal change became more remote. Withdrawal was not consistent with revolution and reformation. Conformity to the pervasive ethic of "doing your own thing" limited the prospects for social reform and change. The dissension of the era was characterized by "protest without a program."

It seems safe to say that the people who were involved in the "athletic revolution" of the 1960s and 1970s were not able to change qualitatively the character of institutionalized and commercialized sport in America (Naison, 1972). The traditions of American sport are strong; the forms, standards, and values of institutionalized sport are pervasive and a significant part of the American culture. The so-called "athletic revolution" was a revolution with few strong leaders. It was a revolution with no one identifiable cause and with no prescription for rebellion. Strengths of flexibility, openness, eclecticism, and inclusiveness became weaknesses. Many grievances were

specific to one particular situation and were concerned more with the organization and implementation of sport rather than with the essence of sport. When some of these immediate problems were solved, the dissension lessened. Finally, there is some suspicion that several "causes" were really platforms for self-aggrandizement for specific individuals.

At no time did the dissidents attempt to do away with sport or to radically change its form and structure. Individuals and groups posed solutions to immediate problems but did little to create new forms of institutionalized sport. New sports activities were an addition to, rather than a substitute for, previous activities. They did not take participants, attention, or money away from traditional sport forms or traditional patterns of sport organization. Furthermore, new sport and game patterns soon became systematized and standardized; many aroused commercial interest.

There was more emphasis on cooperation, community, individuality, and process but traditional American values of achievement, competition, and progress still predominated. Norms, characteristics, and values of new or alternative sport patterns were usually existent as secondary themes within sport and the American culture. Thus, there could be little disagreement with "new" values and ideals of individuality, humanism, inclusion, equality, opportunity,

participation, cooperation, community, participatory governance, fun, play, and respect for the environment. New programs with emphases on community and cooperation were similar to activities which have always attracted certain types of participants.

Traditional forms and values of institutionalized sport persist and predominate; new forms and values of play, games, and sport are an addition, rather than an alternative, to the traditional American pattern. However, some aspects of the sport experience are changing. The growing awareness of sports participation as an avenue to self-discovery, increased awareness, and mystical transformation is new to the American culture. For many, sport is a valuable psychological and spiritual experience. Continued interest in this kind of participation and experience enriches the lives of participants and enlarges the dimensions of sport. Because of recent changes in gender roles, behaviors, and expectations, the nature of the sport experience is changing. Men and women, alike, participate in a wide variety of sports activities. Movement styles are becoming more flexible as they have less of a connection with gender identification.

The "sports boom" continues as Americans in increasing numbers become immersed in the many facets of the sport experience. As the world of organized, professionalized, and institutionalized sport becomes more complex, the

corresponding world of personal, participatory, and recreational sport becomes more inviting, varied, flexible, and amenable to growth and change. On a smaller scale, the inequities, incongruities, and irregularities exposed by dissenting subgroups and individuals within society continue to be irritants and thus sponsor corrective action. The "sports revolution" is not yet over!

CHAPTER XI

THE FUTURE PROSPECT

Writings of various social critics in the traditional and alternative press have provided a unique insight into the social and sport revolution and re-evaluation of the sixties and early seventies. However, this study has exposed only the tip of an iceberg. There is a need for other investigations into the changing relationship between sport and society. There is also a need to develop non-traditional methods to investigate and record the changing role of sport in America and to understand the meaning and significance of the sport experience. Much of what one finds in books, magazines, and newspapers is reflective of the organized, professionalized, and commercialized world of "Big Sport." Yet many people know that sport is more than what the newspaper or television tells them. Most Americans have a close personal relationship with the area of participatory, recreational sport. This area of personal meaning and significance cannot be overlooked if we are to truly understand the changing role of sport in America. Current historical and personal sources should not be neglected as scholars attempt to study the personal history and popular culture of the majority of Americans.

What of the future? Participants in the cultural and athletic "revolutions" of the recent past have questioned the norms and values of the traditional American sport pattern. The dissidents of the 1960s and 1970s have identified problems and made suggestions for change. Many of their suggestions indicate and predict the following developments in the "sport of the future."

1. Sport will continue to be affected by economic and political crises. To date, the sports world has been minimally affected by the growing shortages of energy and oil. If such conditions increase, sport should be greatly affected.
2. If leisure time continues to increase, Americans will need to have a number of recreational interests. Experiences found in play, games, and sport should become an integral part of life.
3. If the American culture continues to encourage and tolerate a diversity of lifestyles, there will also be a continuing diversity of sport styles.
4. It is likely that continued consideration will be given to individual rights and to the elimination of overtly discriminatory practices in sport.
5. It is probable that sport will continue to serve a political function and will be used to publicize a variety of social concerns.

6. The idea of using sport for self-discovery, increased awareness, and mystical transformation still has not been explored fully and will continue to receive attention in the future.
7. It is likely that personal change sponsored by sport will continue to be important. Interest in social change will probably decrease.
8. If professional, collegiate, school, and youth sport continue to become more specialized, organized, and stereotyped, many people may lose their illusions about this kind of sport being playful, fun, or personally meaningful and look at sport as primarily entertainment and business. Such a realization could motivate people to create and participate in more personalized sports activities.
9. Models of sport which imply a linear progression of many to few, simple to complex, unorganized to organized, amateur to professional may become obsolete and replaced by less restrictive models. Inter-relationships in new sport forms will not be linear; many kinds of sport will exist for many kinds of situations and people.

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- Women and sports. Rising Up Angry, January 13, 1974, p. 7.
- Yankee arrogance suffers double defeat at Olympics. Black Panther, August 7, 1976, p. 23.
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4. Alternative press index (Vols. 1-3; 6-8). Alternative Press Center, P.O. Box 7229, Baltimore, Maryland 21218.
5. Marcovicci, J. Tantric tennis: The gypsy warrior and his dance. Published by author, 1975.
6. The new games training manual. New Games Foundation, P.O. Box 7901, San Francisco, California 94120. c. 1977.

APPENDIX A

REFERENCES ON THE ALTERNATIVE CULTURE

Alternatives in Print: Catalog of Social Change Publications
San Francisco: New Glide Publications, 1977 (5th ed.).

This is an annual catalog of social change publications. It is a listing of titles of books and periodicals. The catalog is compiled by the Task Force on Alternatives in Print, Social Responsibilities Round Table, American Library Association.

Alternative Press Index (Vols. 1-3; 6-9). Alternative Press Center, P.O. Box 7229, Baltimore, Maryland, 21218.

This is an index to periodicals which chronicle social changes in the United States and throughout the world. Articles are indexed by subject in a format similar to the Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature. Materials indexed cover the years 1969-1971 and 1974-1977. The Alternative Press Center is a collectively run, educational organization which collects and indexes the alternative periodicals of the United States and Canada. It also maintains a community library and resource center at 2958 Greenmount Avenue in Baltimore, Maryland.

Guide to Alternative Periodicals. D. Carnham (Ed.), Sunspark Press, Box 6341, St. Petersburg Beach, Florida 33736.

This is a listing of approximately 700 magazines, newspapers, journals, and newsletters that offer a different emphasis than is generally found at the typical news stand or magazine rack.

APPENDIX B

LIST OF ALTERNATIVE PERIODICALS USED

- Applesauce - education, youth
 - National Alternative Schools Program, School of Education, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Massachusetts 01002
- *Ann Arbor Sun - community news (Ann Arbor, Michigan)
- The Berkeley Journal of Sociology - sociology
 410 Barrows Hall
 University of California,
 Berkeley, California
 94720
- *Berkeley Tribe - community news (Berkeley, California)
- Big Rock Candy Mountain - education, alternative culture and institutions
- The Black Panther - black liberation, leftist news, community news (Oakland, California)
 - Black Panther Party, 8501 East 14th Street, Oakland, California 94621
- The Black Scholar - black liberation
 - Box 908, Sausalito, California 94965
- *City Star - community news (New York)
- CoEvolution Quarterly - alternative culture and institutions
 - Box 428, Sausalito, California 94965
- College Press Service - student press
 1769 Gilpin Street, Denver, Colorado
 80218
- Communities - cooperatives, alternative lifestyle
 Box 426, Louisa, Virginia 23093
- The D.C. Gazette - community news (Washington, D.C.)
 1739 Connecticut Avenue, N.W.
 Washington, D.C. 20009

- DeSchool Tours, Zephros Education Exchange - education
1201 Stanyan
Street,
San Francisco
California 94117
- Edcentric - education, youth
- P.O. Box 10085, Eugene, Oregon 97401
- FPS: Magazine of Young People's Liberation - youth, education,
student press
- 2007 Washtenaw
Avenue,
Ann Arbor,
Michigan 48104
- Focus Midwest - political analysis
- 928-A North McKnight Avenue, St.Louis
Missouri 63132
- Georgia Straight - community news (Vancouver, British
Columbia)
- *The Great Speckled Bird - community news (Atlanta, Georgia)
- Green Mountain Quarterly - alternative feature magazine
- 460 N. Main Street, Oshkosh,
Wisconsin 54901
- Green Revolution - education, alternative culture and in-
stitutions
- School of Living, Box 3233, York, PA 17402
- The Guardian - national news, leftist news, political
analysis
- 33 West 17th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011
- Herself - women's liberation
- In These Times - national news, leftist news
- 1509 N. Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois
60622
- Insurgent Sociologist - sociology
- Department of Sociology,
- University of Oregon, Eugene,
Oregon 97403
- *Liberation - alternative feature magazine, political analysis,
socialist theory and practice

- Majority Report - women's liberation
- 74 Grove Street, New York, N.Y. 10014
- *Media Ecology Review - ecology
- Michigan Free Press - community news (Ann Arbor, Michigan)
- 124 E. Washington St., Ann Arbor
Michigan 48104
- The Militant - national news, leftist news, political analysis, working class movement
- 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014
- Monthly Review - economic analysis, political analysis, socialist theory and practice
- 62 West 14th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011
- Mother Earth News - ecology, alternative technology
- P.O. Box 70, Hendersonville, N.C. 28739
- Mother Jones - alternative feature magazine
- 1255 Portland Place, Boulder, Colorado 80302
- New Age - alternative feature magazine
- 32 Station St., Brookline Village, Mass. 02146
- New American Movement - becomes Moving On after 1977
- leftist news
- NAM, 3244 North Clark St., Chicago, Illinois 60657
- New Games Foundation Newsletter - recreation
- P.O. Box 7901, San Francisco, California 94120
- New Harbinger - cooperatives
- NASCO, Coop Publications, Box 1301, Ann Arbor, Michigan 48106
- *New Schools Exchange Newsletter - education, youth
- Pettigrew, Arkansas 72752
- New Times - community news (Phoenix, Arizona)
- News from Esalen - personal growth and development, psychology
- Esalen Institute, Big Sur, California 93920
- North Country Anvil - alternative culture and institutions
- Box 37, Millville, Minnesota 55957

- Off Our Backs - women's liberation
 - 1724 20th Street N.W., Washington, D.C.
 20009
- Peace News - war resistance, non-violence
 - 8 Elm Avenue, Nottingham, England
- People's World - working class movement, leftist news,
 United States Communist Party
 - 1819 Tenth Street, Berkeley, California
 94710
- The Portland Scribe - community news (Portland, Oregon)
- The Progressive - political analysis
 - 408 West Gorham St., Madison, Wisconsin
 53703
- Radical America - history, socialist theory and practice
 working class movement
 - P.O. B, North Cambridge, Mass. 02140
- Rain: Journal of Appropriate Technology - ecology, alterna-
 tive technology
 - 2270 N.W. Irving,
 Portland, Oregon
 97210
- *Ramparts - alternative feature magazine, political analysis
- *Rising Up Angry - community news (Chicago)
- Seven Days - national news, alternative feature magazine
 - 206 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010
- Sister - women's liberation
 P.O. Box 467, North Hollywood, California 91603
- Takeover - community news (Madison, Wisconsin)
 - Box 706, Madison, Wisconsin 53701
- Win - alternative feature magazine
 - 503 Atlantic Avenue, Brooklyn, N.Y. 11216
- Women: A Journal of Liberation - women's liberation
 - 3028 Greenmount Avenue,
 Baltimore, Maryland 21218
- Worker's Power - working class movement, national news,
 leftist news
 - International Socialists, 14131 Woodward
 Ave., Highland Park, Michigan 48203

Working Papers for a New Society - social change
- 123 Mt. Auburn Street
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

* periodical is no longer being published.