

University of Montana

## ScholarWorks at University of Montana

---

Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, &  
Professional Papers

Graduate School

---

1997

### Sports aggression| An ethical perspective

Robert Greene

*The University of Montana*

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd>

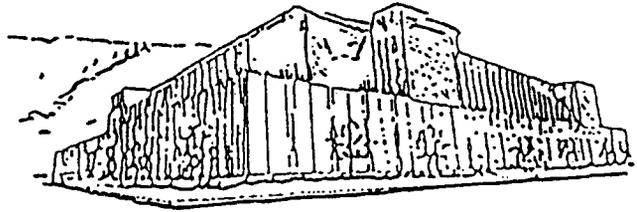
**Let us know how access to this document benefits you.**

---

#### Recommended Citation

Greene, Robert, "Sports aggression| An ethical perspective" (1997). *Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers*. 3649.  
<https://scholarworks.umt.edu/etd/3649>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate School at ScholarWorks at University of Montana. It has been accepted for inclusion in Graduate Student Theses, Dissertations, & Professional Papers by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks at University of Montana. For more information, please contact [scholarworks@mso.umt.edu](mailto:scholarworks@mso.umt.edu).



Maureen and Mike  
MANSFIELD LIBRARY

The University of **MONTANA**

---

Permission is granted by the author to reproduce this material in its entirety,  
provided that this material is used for scholarly purposes and is properly cited in  
published works and reports.

*\*\* Please check "Yes" or "No" and provide signature \*\**

Yes, I grant permission   
No, I do not grant permission

Author's Signature Robert Reene

Date 6/30/97

Any copying for commercial purposes or financial gain may be undertaken only with  
the author's explicit consent.



# SPORTS AGGRESSION: AN ETHICAL PERSPECTIVE

A Professional Paper

by

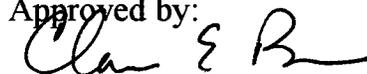
Robert Greene

Presented in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Science  
Health and Human Performance

University of Montana  
Summer 1997

Approved by:



Chairman, Board of Examiners



Dean, Graduate School

6-30-97

Date

UMI Number: EP35465

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



UMI EP35465

Published by ProQuest LLC (2012). Copyright in the Dissertation held by the Author.

Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

All rights reserved. This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code



ProQuest LLC.  
789 East Eisenhower Parkway  
P.O. Box 1346  
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 - 1346

## ABSTRACT

This paper examines the nature versus nurture debate regarding aggressive behavior as part of an attempt to determine whether or not there is a link between sports aggression and violence in nonsports settings. It is concluded that aggression has a strong nurture component and that sports aggression furthers societal aggression through the socialization process. Based upon that assessment, an ethical construct is presented to evaluate sports aggression. Application of the construct leads to the judgement that sports aggression is **not** ethical.

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	ii
INTRODUCTION.....	1
a. Statement of Problem.....	1
b. Purpose of Study.....	2
c. Significance of Study.....	2
d. Limitations and Delimitations.....	3
e. Basic Assumptions.....	4
f. Definition of Terms.....	5
METHODOLOGY.....	5
a. Research Design.....	5
b. Research Procedures.....	6
c. Theoretical Framework.....	7
REVIEW OF LITERATURE.....	7
a. The Pervasiveness of Violence.....	7
b. Nature Versus Nurture.....	9
c. Is Aggressive Behavior A Defining Characteristic of Humans?.....	12
d. The Importance of Sports.....	14
e. Learning to be Aggressive.....	15

f. Sports and Masculinity.....	17
g. Pluralism.....	20
h. Hegemony.....	21
i. Hegemony and Sports.....	22
j. Aggression and Learning Theories.....	25
k. The Role of Sports and Learning Aggressive Behavior.....	26
l. Effects of Sports Aggression on Society.....	28
ETHICAL CONSTRUCT.....	30
a. Fully Rational Person Concept.....	30
b. The Moral Attitude.....	32
CONCLUSION.....	33
REFERENCES.....	36

# SPORTS AGGRESSION: AN ETHICAL PERSPECTIVE

## INTRODUCTION

### Statement of Problem

Violent behavior is commonplace in American society. If one believes that society would benefit by a reduction in violence, a natural first step would be an exploration of the causes of violence. More specifically, one would want to determine to what degree violence is an inevitable aspect of human nature, or if violence is, at least in part, an outgrowth of social forces. If violence is an innately human characteristic, then its elimination may not be feasible. On the other hand, if violence is not purely a genetic requirement, then examining social institutions which might induce violence is crucial.

There are a number of social institutions which significantly shape the character of American society. The family, schools, our democratic form of government, and sports are some of the most powerful. In this paper sports is the social force whose impact on violence will be examined.

### Purpose of Study

The purpose of this study is to examine the nature versus nurture arguments related to human violent behavior; to forge a connection between violence in sports and violence in society at large, and to construct an ethical framework for evaluating sports violence. Towards that end, a social theory which explains the wide-spread existence of organized sports violence and explains the function of sports in the socialization process is presented followed by a discussion of several of the factors underlying the current social significance, and the subsequent impact, of sport on society. That information serves as the basis for establishing a connection between violence in sporting events and violence outside of sports.

### Significance of Study

We live in a society in which violence is commonplace. We wish it were otherwise. We would all like to feel safe and secure. We would like to be able to leave our doors unlocked. We would like to not be fearful of one another. We would like to stop spending our tax dollars on prisons and protection.

Violence often times shapes major decisions we make about our lives. We leave a large city and move to a smaller one to escape violence. We move from urban areas to the suburbs in the hope that our children will grow up safely. We move to rural areas so that we can take a walk after dark without fear. Sometimes we think we can ignore the

violence, but we turn on the television only to discover we were wrong.

For most of us, the demands of life are rigorous and we seek diversions. One of the most common diversions is sports. Sometimes we are participants. More often, we watch. We watch our children. We watch our school teams. We watch professional athletes. Much of what we see contains violence. Because the violence takes place during a sporting event we accept it. Often times, we applaud it. Typically, we make no connection between the violence in sporting events and the violence that disrupts our society. This can be seen not only in our willingness to allow our children to view sports, but in our encouragement of their participation as well.

This paper argues that there is a *connection* between sports violence and societal violence. It further argues that sports violence serves as a vehicle for institutionalizing and legitimizing violence. By so doing, it is argued that sports violence fosters violence outside of the sports arena.

### Limitations and Delimitations

The limitation of this paper is that violence inside of the sports arena and violence outside of the sports arena must be linked in a nonexperimental way. It was not feasible to undertake an experiment because there was no way to temporarily isolate any group from the effects of sports violence. Moreover, the impact of sports violence on society is typically obscure and not readily amenable to measurement. Consequently, as is so often the case with social issues, cause and effect has not been irrefutably established. Because

an experimental approach was not possible, this paper relies on a review of appropriate literature to establish the necessary foundations for linking sports violence and nonsports violence. Therefore, the conclusions of this paper are subject to disagreement.

Nonetheless, this paper serves as a basis for exploring the *connection* between violence in society and violence in contemporary sports, and provides an ethical construct for appraising the influence of sports violence on violence in general.

### Basic Assumptions

It is assumed that the reader is aware of the prevalence of violence in popular sporting activities; in particular, such team sports as football and ice hockey, and that behavioral cues taken from sports become a part of the socialization process of both participants and onlookers. It is also assumed that the behavior that one views during a sporting event, as well as the behavior one exhibits while participating in a sporting event, cannot be totally isolated from behavior which occurs in other social settings. It is further assumed that the reader is aware of the pervasiveness of violence in our society and the deleterious effect of violence on the populace in physical, emotional and monetary terms. Another assumption is that the important role that sports play in American society, the role of sports in shaping American culture, and the existence of aggression as an integral part of many popular sports are acknowledged facts by most people. The final assumption is that a violent society (one in which the members feel threatened) cannot be a healthy society.

### Definition of Terms

Sports is defined as a competitive human physical activity governed by institutionalized rules (Snyder and Spreitzer, 1983, p. 13). Violence and aggression are used interchangeably in this paper. Although the former is typically associated with physical harm not attributed to the latter, the literature strongly supports the contention that the acceptance of aggression in sports leads to violent behavior both in sporting events and in nonsporting interactions (Sage, 1981; Loy and Ingham, 1973; Snyder and Spreitzer, 1983; Calhoun, 1987; McPherson, Curtis, and Loy, 1989; and Messner, 1992). Therefore, both terms are meant to depict instances in which there is either potential or actual physical harm.

## **METHODOLOGY**

### Research Design

This research consists of establishing a framework for evaluating the impact of sports violence on aggressive behavior in society and falls into the category of nonexperimental research. As defined by Fred N. Kerlinger (1986):

Nonexperimental research is systematic empirical inquiry in which the scientist does not have direct control of independent variables because their manifestations have already occurred or because they

are inherently not manipulable. Inferences about relations among variables are made, without intervention, from concomitant variation of independent and dependent variables. (p. 348)

This, of course, raises the problem of the *post hoc, ergo propter hoc* fallacy. One cannot conclude that because one event precedes another, even with a high degree of regularity, that there is a cause and effect relationship. Therefore, cause and effect is impossible to establish. Instead, this paper examines the role of sports in the socialization process and the relationship between aggression in society and aggression in sports.

### Research Procedures

A review of the literature pertaining to the connection between human nature and aggressive behavior and sports and the socialization process was undertaken. The literature was also searched for a social theory to explain the existence of aggressive behavior in sports which is not predicated upon nature. The connection between behavior learned through sports and its relationship to behavior in a nonsports setting was also reviewed.

To satisfy the study purposes stated above, this paper includes a discussion of the following:

1. The pervasiveness of violence in America.
2. Nature versus nurture.
3. Aggressive behavior as a defining human characteristic.
4. The importance of sports.

5. Learning to be aggressive.
6. Sports and masculinity.
7. Pluralism.
8. Hegemony.
9. Hegemony and sports.
10. Aggression and learning theories.
12. The role of sports and learning aggressive behavior.
13. The effect of sports aggression on society.

### Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework consists of presenting an ethical construct for evaluating aggression, and then determining whether or not sports aggression is ethical in the context of the construct.

## **REVIEW OF LITERATURE**

### The Pervasiveness of Violence

According to the U.S. Bureau of the Census (1996) there were 13,992,000 violent crimes in 1994, a 17.8 percent increase over 1984 (p. 201). That includes 187,000

murders (p. 201) and 842, 000 forcible rapes (p. 201). Additionally, there were 10,609,000 crimes against property (p. 201). In 1995, almost 2,000,000, violent crimes were committed by offenders under the age of 18 (McCullum, 1997) . Worse, “eighteen year-old males commit more murders than any group, and 17 year-olds commit more rapes..... If these trends continue, juvenile arrests for violent crimes will more that double by 2010" (McCullum, 1997). From 1990 to 1995 there was a 51 percent increase in road violence (“Rage,” 1997) The American Automobile Association for Traffic Safety reported that 10,037 violent highway disagreements led to 218 deaths and 12,610 injuries (“Rage,” 1997). Violence has become a fact of life.

In a report to the National Commission on the causes and prevention of violence, the historian Richard Maxwell Brown presented the following commentary on American violence:

The first and most obvious conclusion is that there has been a huge amount of it. We have resorted so often to violence that we have long since become a “trigger happy” people.... It is not merely that violence has been mixed with the negative features of our history such as criminal activity, lynch mobs and family feuds. On the contrary, violence has formed a seamless web with some of the noblest and most constructive chapters of American history.... We must realize that violence has not been the action only of roughnecks and racists among us but has been the tactic of the most upright and respected of our people. Having gained this self-knowledge, the next problem becomes the ridding of violence, once and for all, from the real (but unacknowledged) American value system. (Bredemeier, 1983, p. 9)

## Nature Versus Nurture

Alfie Kohn (1990) notes, “The phrase ‘human nature,’ is regarded, as if by some linguistic convention, for what is nasty and negative in our repertoire” (p. 3). There appears to be a “widespread belief that our darker side is more pervasive, more persistent, and somehow more real than our other facets” (Kohn, 1990, p. 4). Built into these statements is a deterministic belief about human nature. In other words, the argument is that we are born with a particular orientation and that, in effect, constitutes our nature. In particular, there is a belief that we are inherently aggressive.

It is not the aim of this paper to resolve the nature versus nurture argument, but merely to express a reasoned attitude towards this issue. It seems that we have unnecessarily created a dichotomy which serves to obscure the matter and results in an inability to discuss the social implication in a satisfactory way. The eminent social scientist, Stephen Jay Gould, states the case nicely. “The issue is not whether biology is relevant but how. The debate is between biological determinism (a theory of limits) and biology viewed as a range of capacity” (Kohn, 1990, p. 6). From the research undertaken to write this paper it seems clear that genetic explanations for behavior appear to be virtually impervious to arguments which favor nature to explain behavior. In *Frames of Mind*, the Harvard Psychologist Howard Gardner observed:

Not even the demonstration that a normal college student can increase his short-term memory tenfold, or that most differences in school performance can be virtually eliminated by tutoring, or that seemingly average Japanese children can become violin virtuosos, suffice to convince the committed hereditarian that individual

differences can be fully dissolved by judicious intervention. (Kohn, 1990, p. 6)

There have been several explanations expounded to explain the appeal of determinism. One theory is that “human nature” is simply the easiest explanation of how humans behave. “If a particular attitude or way of living is common to virtually everyone we know, it seems a matter of common sense to attribute it to our nature, to life itself” (Kohn, 1990, p. 11). This form of reasoning leads to the belief that if some practice is present in our society, it must be present everywhere, and must, therefore, be a consequence of being human.

This sometimes dark portrait of our species was favored by the seventeenth-century philosopher Thomas Hobbes. Hobbes envisioned a “state of nature” in which he saw an image of “violent, competitive, self-interested creatures locked in unceasing struggle” (Kohn, 1990, p. 12). This view has been severely critiqued. According to C.B. McPherson (Kohn, 1990, p. 12), Hobbes’ “state of nature” was not really about human nature as such. Instead, Hobbes started with what he knew about how Western Civilization and individuals shaped by an ethic of egoism (the view that individuals always try to further what they believe to be their own interests) and then attempted to predict how people would behave if they were free of all state imposed controls. In effect, Hobbes set aside law, but not socially acquired behavior, or socially acquired desires. Consequently, Hobbes was merely substituting observable behavior for “natural” tendency. “In short, by attributing observable features to a postulated underlying nature, Hobbes not only presented us with a theory that wound up corroborating and legitimating our own

determinism, but he actually based that theory on the same sort of facile equation that many people resort to today” (Kohn, 1990, p. 13).

Another explanation for the tenacity of determinism is that it allows one to replace responsibility with biology. Jerome Kagan sums it up well:

In order to rationalize the blizzard of cruelty and aggression in contemporary society, it is helpful and occasionally therapeutic, to believe that it is not always possible to control open anger, rivalry and jealousy. This rationalization mutes feelings of guilt and dilutes a continuing sense of personal responsibility for hurting others. The Japanese, by contrast, believe that each person can control his or her anger, and the differential frequency of violence in Tokyo and New York implies that if people believe they can tame their aggressive impulses they often do. (Kohn, 1990, p. 13)

A final explanation for the popularity of biological determinism is a desire to preserve the status quo. People who benefit from the existing social and economic arrangement may see justifying the status quo as not only advantageous, but inevitable. The dogma, for example, that people are naturally aggressive or violent may be, as Erich Fromm pointed out, “little more than an expression of the wish to prove the value of our social arrangements by imputing to them that they follow the needs of human nature” (Kohn, 1990, p. 13).

As can be imagined, it is difficult to argue for social change in the face of arguments that the change requires a revamping of human nature. Frequently, however, what is required is a change in social perspectives and social values. This may clarify, but still not simplify the matter.

### Is Aggressive Behavior a Defining Characteristic of Humans?

In the sense that nearly everyone has the capacity to respond to a perceived threat aggressively the answer is yes. But, the evidence does not support the contention that aggression is an innate tendency of human beings or an inevitable part of the life of any given individual. In his book, *Human Aggression*, Robert A. Barron cites more than three hundred studies, including two dozen of his own, and concludes the following:

Contrary to views espoused by Freud, Lorenz, Ardrey and others, aggression is *not* essentially innate. Rather, it seems to be a learned form of social behavior, acquired in the same manner as other types of activity and influenced by many of the same social, situational, and environmental factors. (Kohn, 1990, p. 13)

Freud and his disciples maintained that aggression was dictated by a constant force, a death instinct, which had to be dissipated in some way. The self-destruction inherent in the death instinct is theoretically turned outward and manifests itself as aggression against others. As the social psychologist Leonard Berkowitz notes, however, research offers little support for this reasoning, and a wide variety of studies demonstrate that not all animal behavior is intended to reduce tension (Berkowitz, 1962, p. 24). Freud's explanation for the existence was regarded as false by Konrad Lorenz (1963) who believed that aggression "is an instinct like any other and in natural conditions it helps to ensure the survival of the individual and the species" (Lorenz, 1963, p x.). However, Scott and Fredericson, after reviewing a number of studies of the causes of fighting in mice and rats; and many of their observations seem relevant to animal aggression generally,

concluded that aggression did not stem from a constantly operative instinctive drive toward hostility (Berkowitz, 1962, p. 15). After reviewing numerous studies regarding animals and aggression, Berkowitz concluded that “animals are not predetermined to aggress against particular objects by their genetic makeup” (Berkowitz, 1962, p. 21). These conclusions serve to sever any causal link between innate human aggression and aggression in other animals. There is no basis for arguing that because human beings are ultimately animals they must necessarily behave aggressively. Moreover, the studies of animal behavior lead to the conclusion that there is no instinctive human drive to engage in warfare that can be discerned from other animals (Berkowitz, 1962, p. 25).

As Feshbach points out in reviewing post-Freudian theories of aggression, “All theoretical models of aggression assume that aggressive behavior is, to some degree, acquired. The disagreement among theorists lie in the importance ascribed to learning as a determinant of aggression and in the kinds of aggressive behavior that are assumed to be influenced by past learning” (Goldstein, 1986, p. 32).

After an extensive review of the literature, sports psychologist, Richard H. Cox, is compelled to reject the biological instinct theory as an explanation for aggressive behavior. He further concludes that, “It appears that biological instinct theory, standing alone, is a weak and pessimistic explanation for aggression in sport” (Cox, 1990, p. 278).

Based upon the discussion above, in this paper the argument that humans are compelled genetically to be aggressive and that nurture can be ignored to explain human aggression is rejected. This position is further supported by the Seville Statement signed in 1986 by a large number of the world’s leading psychologists, neurophysiologists,

ethologists, and noted natural and social scientists:

It is scientifically incorrect to say that war or any other violent behavior is genetically programmed into human nature. While genes are involved at all levels of nervous system function, they provide developmental potential that can be actualized only in conjunction with the ecological and social environment. While individuals vary in their predispositions to be affected by their experience, it is the interaction between genetic endowment and conditions of nurturance that determined their personalities. Except for rare pathologies, the genes do not produce individuals predisposed to violence. Neither do they determine the opposite. While genes are co-involved in establishing our behavioral capacities, they do not themselves specify the outcome. (Kohn, 1990, p. 270)

If there are those who choose to challenge the previous statement then it is their burden to provide evidence to disprove it. Otherwise, arguments in favor of aggression constituting an uncontrollable natural human behavior are little more than a major contributing factor to a self-fulfilling prophesy.

### The Importance of Sports

Traditional forms of community are in decline. It is natural to seek a replacement. For many people commercialized sport has served as a means of generating new social meanings and identity, “thus athletic teams that represent high schools, colleges, universities, and cities are supported by dedicated and committed fans (from the term ‘fanatic’). This identification with a sport team may be psychologically functional as a compensation for the loss of community and social supports resulting from urbanization” (Snyder and Spreitzer, 1983, p. 199).

From a slightly different perspective, games may be regarded as a vision by which we interpret and complete the meaning of our daily lives. “In games,” according to McLuhan (1964), “we devise means of nonspecialized participation in the larger drama of our time” ( p. 89). Games take on added significance because they are extensions of our social rather than private selves (McLuhan, 1964, p. 95).

### Learning to be Aggressive

According to sociologists John W. Loy and Alan G. Ingham (1973), human beings learn how to be social, and little of the social behavior of human beings can be traced to genetic or hereditary sources. Nurture, they maintain, outweighs nature in its contribution to social development. They cite the 1962 work of Becker who states that “socialization is an interactional process because the human being is self-reflexive and symbolizes and must not only learn to place himself in a social group, but must also learn the social definitions of behavior which enable him to confront a multitude of individuals without creating anxiety by an inappropriate presentation of self” (Loy and Ingham, 1973, p. 189). Loy and Ingham sum up by stating that socialization is a process that involves interaction and learning (Loy and Ingham, 1973, p. 189).

The socialization process is central to the acquisition of aggressive tendencies. Goldstein (1986) explains the connection: “Aggressive behavior - and more importantly, norms, values, beliefs and attitudes about aggression - can be learned from one’s parents and later from teachers and peers through classical and operant processes and

imitation” (p. 33).

Learning to be aggressive begins at an early age and observation plays a major role. Goldstein cites the work of Bandura to support the contention that children learn not only from rewards and punishments, but also from observation. Bandura (1977) maintains that “exposure to models performing feared activities without any harmful effects weakens defensive behavior, reduces fears, and creates favorable attitude change” (p 49). This supports Goldstein’s concerns regarding the detrimental impact of the socialization effects of television viewing. In that regard he notes that “by the age of 16 the average American child has spent more time before a television set than in a classroom. He or she has witnessed more than 18,000 homicides and countless assaults, rapes, and abductions” (Goldstein, 1986, p. 37). The connection between viewing violence in general; and sports aggression in particular, and the tendency to behave aggressively will be discussed below in *The Effect of Sports Aggression on Society*.

In his book, *Sport, Culture, and Personality*, Donald W. Calhoun discusses the concept of “internalization.” The roles we assume in our lives, to be effective, “have to be internalized so that not only are they expected of us by others, but they are expected of us by ourselves” (Calhoun, 1987, p. 263). Calhoun, relying on the work of social psychologist George Mead, stresses how internalization takes place during game playing. The fundamental difference between playing in a game and playing the role of specific others is that ....“the child must have the attitude of all the other players involved in the game. The attitudes of the other players, which the participant assumes, organize into a sort of unit, and it is that organization that controls the response of the individual”

(Calhoun, 1987, p. 264). In other words, “a child in a game situation must be prepared to take on the role of every other player in the game” (Loy and Ingram, 1973, p. 197).

Ultimately, then, the child internalizes not an individual, but a group. This leads Mead to conclude that “games are such a powerful preparation for life because they may grip the child more intensely than either his family or the community to which he belongs”

(Calhoun, 1987, p. 264). The German sociologist Georg Simmel remarked that it is “not only that the game is played in a society (as its external medium) but that with its help people actually play society” (Calhoun, 1987, p. 264).

This process of socialization through play has become particularly important because “from an era when character was largely formed for work and at work, we have shifted to an era when character is increasingly formed for leisure and during leisure”(Frederickson, 1960, p.89).

### Sports and Masculinity

Sports in American society have for years served to distinguish male characteristics from female characteristics and to affirm masculinity. Messner (1992) presents the case succinctly.

With no frontier to conquer, with physical strength becoming less relevant in work, and with urban boys being raised and taught by women, it was feared that males were becoming “soft,” that society itself was becoming “feminized.” Many men responded to these fears with a defensive insecurity which manifested itself in the creation of new organizations such as the Boy Scouts of America (founded in 1910) as a separate cultural sphere of life where “true

manliness” could be instilled in boys by men. The rapid rise and expansion of organized sport during this same era can similarly be interpreted as the creation of a homosocial institution which served to counter men’s fears of feminization in the new industrial society. (p. 14)

The fear of the feminization of society has been a prominent force in establishing sports in the schools. “If sports are replaced by greater stress on the sedentary and passive academic work, the masculine quality of our males, already weakened, may collapse. Other masculine activities may be found, but they may not be able to carry such a heavy load” (Loy and Ingham, 1973, p. 204).

Beisser (1967) views the importance of sports for defining masculinity as owing to the replacement of manual labor by machines and computers which allow for work which was once in the male only domain to be done by women. Physical strength is not a crucial component in a business transaction. Consequently, male strength “has at least in part, lost its function and its value in society” (p. 412).

Sports places males and females in their historical biological roles. In sports, strength and speed typically determine the winner and are, therefore, important. Beisser (1967) views sports as a return to premechanized combat in which women can never be more than second place to men. This second place status, he notes, is confirmed by reviewing the record books and noting the superiority of men.

“It is a small wonder,” states Beisser (1967), “that the American Male has a strong affinity for sports. He has learned that this is one area where there is no doubt about sexual differences and where his biology is not obsolete. Athletics helps assure his difference from women in a world where his functions have become to resemble

theirs” (p. 412).

A crucial link here is that “sport, especially in its more violent forms, supported male dominance not simply through the exclusion or marginalization of females, but also, according to sociologist Lois Bryson, ‘through the association of males and maleness with the valued skills and the sanctioned use of aggression, force and violence’” (Messner, 1992, p. 15). The result has been that “in promoting dominance and submission, in equating force and aggression with physical strength, modern sport naturalized the equation of maleness and power, thus legitimizing a challenge and faltering system of masculine domination” (Messner, 1992, p. 15).

It is interesting to note that in two separate studies undertaken by Mary Duquin and Brenda Bredemeir, the conclusion was reached that male and female athletes engaged in different kinds of moral reasoning concerning rule breaking and aggression (Messner, 1992). “Female athletes tended to fear that aggression - even ‘within the rules’ - threatened their connection with others, and thus the basis for their identities. By contrast, male athletes tended to feel affirmed by, and comfortable with rule-bound athletic aggression” (Messner, 1992, p. 68). Consequently, the aggression found in sports serves to foster an acceptance of rule-breaking as part of the male identity not typically found among females.

A final consideration is the potential for sports to provide a definition for “masculinity”. The danger of this possibility is expressed by Theberge:

Among males, learning to use violence as a tool within sport may not be as significant as learning to define their masculinity in terms of willingness to risk personal safety and a desire to intimidate

others. If males who participate in certain sports learn to define this orientation as natural or appropriate, then sport may intensify serious forms of nonsport violence, including violence against women and children and other forms of physical assault. (Coakley, 1990, p. 158)

### Pluralism

As noted in the *Purpose* of this paper the goal is to present an ethical argument regarding sports violence, not a sociological treatise. Still, a few words concerning sports and our socio-political organization are in order because as Sage (1990) writes:

Although sport practices embody specific and identifiable purposes, values and meanings, they are typically viewed by both participants as ahistorical and apolitical in nature. This is true largely because most of our written and broadcast information does not confront people with the questions about the larger social issues and political and economic consequences of modern sports and physical activity. Instead, we are fed a diet of traditional slogans, cliches, and ritualized trivia about sports. These may all be comforting but they do not come to grips with reality. (p. 11)

The concept of pluralism is crucial because it serves to foster a pluralistic image of sports. "A pluralistic image suggests that a broad and diverse set of social institutions, organizations, and interest groups embodies the belief, values, and world views of society's citizens"(Sage, 1990, p. 15). According to this view major cultural institutions such as business and government are unable to achieve a collective unity because of the organized mass of people who exercise some power over interest groups.

It is clear from the previous statement that the pluralistic view of American society is "an amalgam of the general population's ideals, values and world views and includes

implicit assumptions about power and its distribution” (Sage, 1990, p. 16). It suggests that civil and government goals “correspond with and are indistinguishable from those of society itself” (Sage, 1990, p. 16). From this viewpoint, the interests of the people form the policies of business and government. Moreover, the interests of the people “are seen to harmonize and accommodate conflicting interests and values, thereby preserving the consensus and social accord” (Sage, 1990, p. 16).

### Hegemony.

Hegemony describes a “sociopolitical situation in which one way of thought and life is dominant and is diffused throughout various social institutions and cultural practices” (Sage, 1990, p. 16). As noted by Gramsci, however, “though hegemony is ethico-political, it must also be economic, must necessarily be based on the decisive function exercised by the leading group in the decisive nucleus of economic activity” (Sage, 1990, p. 17). In this concept of society, “sociocultural values and beliefs are viewed as embodying the values, ideals, and interests of an elite, or dominant, class more than any sort of pluralistic, generalized interests” (Sage, 1990, p. 17).

The hegemony philosophy sees domination based upon “active consent” of subordinate groups. The consent, however, is “engineered through intellectual, political, and moral leadership and that ultimately rests on the monopolistic, repressive apparatus of the state” (Sage, 1990, p. 18). The point is explained another way by Hargreaves:

Most of the time dominant groups manage to incorporate potential

opposition by negotiation, concessions, threats and pressure before opposition can reach serious proportions, which would bring their legitimacy into question, and at times, particularly when consent breaks down and opposition results in a crisis situation, the balance between the use of force and persuasion may shift in favor of the former. But exclusive reliance upon force in the long run will render hegemony unstable. (Sage, 1990, p. 18)

The crucial consideration is that hegemony does not simply force the belief patterns of the dominant class on the subordinate classes. Instead, the beliefs of the dominant class are disseminated through “popular beliefs”. In that way they “help to organize human actions and are a way in which social consciousness itself is molded” (Sage, 1990, p. 18).

From the view of hegemony, “any notion that sports are an autonomous province of cultural practice segregated from social processes of society is naive and misguided. In fact, sports in all of its forms is seen as fully integrated into the power structure and social relations of society, relations substantially maintained by the dominant ideology” (Sage, 1990, p. 26). One of sports’ most important functions is to “promote initiatives and activities that help and structure the economic, political, and cultural hegemony of the dominant class” (Sage, 1990, p. 26). Sports is seen as having the power to structure relations to satisfy the “proclivities” of the dominant interests who own and control it.

### Hegemony and Sports.

Contrary to popular belief, sports have a purpose that extends well beyond recreation and learning specific sports related skills. However, as sociologists began to argue in the

1970s, “the perception that sport is separate from the rest of society masks the fact that values and structure of sport have always been closely intertwined with the dominant social values, power relations, and conflicts between groups and between nations” (Messner, 1992, pp. 9-10). Historian J.A. Mangan has added substance to this argument. He has demonstrated, for example, that in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the British consciously developed sport in their public schools as a means of preparing boys to one day administer the empire.

Team sports, based as they were on the twin values of dominance over others and deference to the authority of leaders, were valued as a means to inculcate “initiative and self-reliance,” along with “loyalty and obedience.” In short, the British promoted, developed, and use sport to socialize boys to a certain kind of “manliness” whose *raison d’être* was the administration over (mostly nonwhite) colonized people. (Messner, 1992, p. 10)

The British, of course, did not invent sports. Games and sporting events had existed for centuries. Instead, the upper classes “appropriated existing sports and then shaped the structure, rules, values and meanings of sport in ways that supported and furthered their own interests (Messner, 1992, p. 10). After examining a number of examples of the connection between sports and politics in both Britain and the United States, Messner (1992) concludes: “The structure and values of sport are largely shaped by, and in the interest of, those who hold the power” (p. 12).

Sports promote and support the social inequality characteristic of capitalism. This can be seen in “class, gender, and race social relations and the control, production, and distribution of economic, political, and cultural power in sport” (Sage, 1990, p. 26). Sage then explains that:

In class relations, for example, sport reproduces the class structure by socializing participants and spectators into the dominant culture, which legitimates the capitalist system of allocating rewards and reconciling the working class to a subordinate societal role. In this role, wrote Whitson, youth sport “prepares young men (and increasingly young women) to take for granted the norms of the capitalist workplace; and central among these is that every aspect of the process is necessarily geared to the ‘natural’ goal of increasing productivity” within the sport arena. Young athletes, then, may be viewed as engaged in a form of “anticipatory labour”; that is, they are already working in a workplace and are being taught how to fit into capitalist workplaces. A slogan such as “sports builds character” must be seen in light of its ideological message, which is that sport experiences encourage traits that perpetuate the status quo. (p. 26)

Additionally, sports and leisure activities are becoming progressively more commercial pursuits. Braverman maintains that “corporate organizations have transformed all types of spontaneously initiated often creative leisure activities, including sport, into productive, capitalistic enterprises. So aggressive is the capitalist system”, says Braverman, “that any informal, anonymous, unorganized sport is rapidly incorporated into the market as far as possible” (Sage, 1990, p. 27). Running and aerobic exercise are classic examples of recent leisure activities which have become “incorporated.”

If one accepts the idea that hegemony plays a prominent role in shaping the nature and context of sports in American culture, and that idea is incorporated into the conclusions of this paper, and if one acknowledges that capitalism is the life blood of the dominant class in American society, then one is inevitably compelled to conclude that the ideology underlying capitalism has become a part of sports in America. Unmistakably, competition and aggression are mainstays of the capitalist system. It follows, then, that aggression is a requisite component of American sports.

### Aggression and Learning Theories

Aggression, here, has been defined as all behavior resulting in potential or actual physical harm. The issue, then, is the extent to which displays of behavior in sports legitimize the use of aggression in society at large.

The Biological Theory of aggression is predicated upon the assumption that the “intent to harm or injure others is inherent in our biological makeup” (Leonard, 1993, p. 161). For reasons enumerated above, this genetic explanation is not compelling. A biological explanation for aggressive behavior cannot be fully supported by existing research.

The Psychological Theory of Aggression posits the source of aggressive behavior as frustration due to “the blocking or thwarting of one’s effort to achieve some goal” (Leonard, 1993, p. 162). While aggressive behavior may indeed be a reaction to frustration, that explanation ignores the underlying question of the inevitability of the aggressive act and is, therefore, of little use in explaining the source of the aggression.

The final theory for explaining aggressive behavior is Social Learning Theory which has received the greatest empirical verification in the context of sports. According to this theory, “aggressive behavior is learned, like other behaviors, through reward and punishment contingencies” (Leonard, 1993, p. 162). This learning model is supported by the socialization process discussed in this paper. Assuming this model to be correct (or at least the most accurate depiction of the source of aggression) it can be applied to both athletes and spectators.

### The Role of Sports and Learning Aggressive Behavior

The existence of aggression in sports is an assumption of this paper. Indeed, “violent adult athletic role models as well as rewards from coaches, peers, and the community for the willingness to utilize violence successfully create a context in which violence becomes normative behavior” (Messner, 1992, p. 66). Ultimately, rule violating behavior must be learned and used in order to remain involved in higher levels of sports competition. “As a result, the perceived legitimacy of rule-violating is increasingly internalized and accepted as normative behavior within the sport setting” (McPherson et al, 1989, p. 269).

Bredemeier and Shields call the result “contextual morality”: the reification of the rules of the game free participants from the responsibility for moral choices” (Messner, 1962, p. 70).

Regarding aggressive behavior as natural or appropriate may account for the fact that recent studies in the U.S. found that one third of 862 sexual assaults on college campuses involved athletes and that, when compared to other students, athletes were 5.5 times more likely to admit committing date rape (Jackson, 1993, p. 12).

Ultimately, nonetheless, the important question is - does aggressive behavior in sports result in aggressive behavior in the participants and/or spectators? Although some authors such as Lorenz (1963) have argued for the “catharsis theory” proposing that aggression defuses further aggression, there appears to be little evidence to support this theory. The vast majority of research suggests that aggression tends to breed aggression. One student

of collective behavior, Michael Smith, repudiates the idea that sports violence has a cathartic effect on aggression:

I believe that violence in sport contributes to violence in the crowd, as opposed to the notion of catharsis, that viewing violent acts results in draining away feelings of violence. I have looked at newspaper accounts of 68 episodes of collective violence or riots among spectators during or after sporting events, and in three-quarters of those the precipitating event was violence in the game. Yet for decades and decades eminent scholars wrote without a shred of evidence that acts of violence in sport are cathartic or therapeutic for spectators. (Leonard, 1993, p. 164)

In other research comparing the pre- and postgame feelings of fans, “the researchers found that football spectators were more hostile, resentful, and irritable than gymnastics spectators. The hostility level of football fans, however, actually increased regardless of whether their team won or lost, while gymnastics fans showed no such escalation” (Goldstein and Arms, 1970, pp. 83-89).

Psychological and social research, moreover, leads to a conclusion diametrically opposed to the catharsis theory. Richard Grey Sipes, who has written extensively on the subject of sports and violence states the following:

Modification of behavior-individual or social-is difficult at best. If we wish to take on this task, though, my research would indicate that aggressive behavior is best reduced by eliminating combative or conflicting type sports. Attempting to siphon off aggressive tension by promulgating the observation of or participation in aggressive sports is more than a futile effort; to the degree that it had any effect at all, it most likely would raise the level of aggression in other social and individual behavior patterns. (Eitzen & Sage, 1989, p. 84)

Finally, it must be recognized that “sport has emerged in modern society as an

institution with patterned relationships that disseminate and transmit social values” (Snyder and Spreitzer, 1983, p. 29). Sports influences societal issues as disparate as status, race relations, clothing styles, the concept of the hero, and ethical values. Snyder and Spreitzer (1983) “suggest that sport provides a means of expressing some of the dominant values of society. Indeed, a common justification for sport in schools is that participation in sport serves to transmit the values of the larger society” (p.30). As summarized by Edwards:

sport is a social institution which has primary functions in disseminating and reinforcing the values regulating behavior and goal attainment and determining acceptable solutions to problems in the secular sphere of life..... This channeling affects not only perspectives on sport, but, it is commonly assumed, affects and aids in regulating perceptions of life in general. (Snyder and Spreitzer, 1983, pp. 31-32)

### Effect of Sports Aggression on Society

Historian Peter Levine has linked violence in sport and the violence permeating American society. He maintains that “there is a positive relationship between a society’s cultural, social, and geo-political framework, the place of organized sport in that setting, and its preference, toleration or abhorrence of sports prone to high levels of violence” (Bredemeir, 1983, p. 49). In fact, Levine has “correlated America’s increasingly aggressive and often violent foreign policy of the early 1900s with the promotion of sport as a means of preserving the ‘savage instinct’ in Americans” (Bredemeir, 1983, p. 49).

It seems reasonable to assume that the aggression human beings participate in or view first-hand has at least as strong an impact as aggression experienced second-hand through

the media. With respect to the effect of being exposed to violence in media, the evidence is compelling. There has been more research conducted on the effects of violence in the mass media than on almost any other topic in the realm of human aggression (Goldstein, 1986, p. 39). “After nearly three decades of research social scientists are now almost unanimous in their agreement that portrayed violence increases aggressive behavior” (Goldstein, 1986, p. 39).

In 1982 The National Institute of Mental Health summarized existing research on television and behavior and concluded that:

The consensus among most of the research community is that violence on television does lead to aggressive behavior among teenagers who watch the programs. This conclusion is based on laboratory experiments and on field studies. Not all children become aggressive, of course, but correlations between violence and aggression are positive. In magnitude, television violence is as strongly correlated with aggressive behavior as any behavioral variable that has been measured. The research question has moved from asking whether or not there is an effect to seeking an explanation for the effect. (Goldstein, 1986, pp. 39-40)

Goldstein (1986) has firmly linked sports, mass media, and aggressive behavior.

As we have seen in the studies on mass media violence, observers tend to learn and imitate the violence they witness on the movie and television screens and it would be reasonable to expect that watching violence in sports, like watching it on TV, tends to increase the likelihood of the observer’s becoming aggressive. Further, we have seen that the effects of televised violence are not necessarily immediate, but may develop later and persist for some time. There is no sound reason for expecting the effects of violence in sports to differ from the effects of violence in other forms of entertainment. (p.53)

## ETHICAL CONSTRUCT

### Fully Rational Person Concept

Discussions of ethics typically take place in the context of good and bad or right and wrong behavior. To make an ethical determination which can be scrutinized, however, we need to find some evaluative criteria for what is “right”. According to James Rachels, “In any particular case, the right course of action is the one that is backed by the best reasons. Solving moral problems is largely a matter of weighing up the various reasons, or arguments, that can be given against the various alternatives” (Rosenthal & Shehadi, 1988, p. 13). Frequently, the argument given in support for a particular course of action is that it is legal (or not illegal) and is, therefore, moral. In addition some maintain that there is, in fact, no need for ethics because answers to questions of right and wrong behavior can be determined by laws and religious beliefs. This is a misguided notion. Ruggiero exposes the fallacy of this line of reasoning:

It is foolish to argue that we don't need ethics because we have laws and religious beliefs. It is because of ethics (moral reasoning) that we have laws in the first place, and we continue to need ethics to refine and perfect our legal system. We also need ethics in order to discuss the practical implications of our religious beliefs with others who do not share this belief. In addition, in situations where the reasonableness of a particular article of belief is at issue, we need ethics to help us reach a sound decision. (Ruggiero, 1982, p. 7)

Another way to escape from the demand of moral reasoning is to bolster one's position with the assertion that it is the majority view. The majority view is, as we know, less than

perfect. “To assume that the majority view is enlightened may be a serious mistake. If 1 percent or 49 percent of the population can be shallow or prejudiced in their view of an issue so can 51 or 99 percent. Majority ignorance is as common as majority wisdom” (Ruggiero, 1982, p. 29).

If laws and the inclinations of the majority cannot serve to answer ethical questions, where do we turn? What does it mean to be moral? To answer that being moral is doing what we ought to do does not answer the question in a meaningful way. In essence, that response says that we should be moral because it is moral to do so. This is hardly a satisfying response. Indeed, a search of the ethics literature in the Mansfield Library (562 references under the category of ethics) uncovered no direct answer to this dilemma. This has led to my having to assemble a response employing more than one source.

Richard B. Brandt (1979) contributes the first part of my answer. Brandt contends that morally right can be construed as those actions which “would be permitted by a moral code which a fully rational person would most strongly support, for a society in which he expected to live a lifetime” (p.224). A fully rational person is defined as “one who makes full use of all available information, but not as a person who is omniscient or omnipercipient” (Brandt, 1979, p. 225). A fully rational person need not be either disinterested or benevolent. Although this is less demanding than answering the more restrictive question of whether or not an action “would be permitted by the moral code which an omniscient, omnipercipient, disinterested, dispassionate, but otherwise normal person would strongly tend to support as the moral code for the society in which he expected to live” (Brandt, 1979, p.225), such individuals are in short supply. Therefore,

the less restrictive definition has been taken.

### The Moral Attitude

Now we must confront the question of which actions a “fully rational” person would permit. That question is answered by Bernard Gert, Stone Professor of Intellectual and Moral Philosophy at Dartmouth College, and Adjunct Professor of Psychiatry at Dartmouth Medical School. Professor Gert lists and defends ten rules that all impartial rational persons would adopt and which he refers to as “the moral attitude”. As he remarks:

Justifying a moral system requires providing a public system that incorporates the moral rules and that applies to all rational persons and then showing that all impartial rational persons would advocate adopting that system as the public system that all rational persons should use as a guide for their conduct and a basis for their judgement (Gert, 1988, p.97).

Professor Gert proposes the following ten moral rules (Gert, 1988, p.157):

- |                               |                       |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Don't kill.                | 6. Don't deceive.     |
| 2. Don't cause pain.          | 7. Keep your promise. |
| 3. Don't disable.             | 8. Don't cheat.       |
| 4. Don't deprive of freedom.  | 9. Obey the law.      |
| 5. Don't deprive of pleasure. | 10. Do Your Duty.     |

One might naturally wonder how Dr. Gert justifies each of these ten moral rules. His

justification of rule number one, Don't kill, will serve as an example. Don't kill is not merely an absolute regarding the moral behavior of a given individual. Rather it is an attitude which all rational persons would hold. Here is a more elaborate restatement - "I want all other people to obey the rule 'Don't kill' with regard to all for whom I am concerned, including myself, except when those people have (or would have if they knew the facts) a rational desire not to have the rule obeyed in regard to themselves" (Gert, 1988, p. 99). The exclusion is to protect the right to die. Dr. Gert does not argue that there is no other attitude that a rational person would take toward this rule. But, he maintains that every rational person would incorporate this rule into their moral code.

A similar mode of reasoning will be applied here with regards to aggression. Since aggression is the act of causing potential or actual harm (as defined earlier), aggression causes pain. Indeed, the pain is the evidence that injury has resulted from aggressive behavior. A fully rational person would accept "Don't cause pain" as part of his/her "moral attitude". Formulated as above, the rule incorporated in the "moral attitude" would result in the statement - I want all other people to obey the rule "Don't cause pain" with regard to all for whom I am concerned, including myself.

## CONCLUSION

Working from the assumption that aggressive behavior causes pain in our society, it has been reasoned as follows:

- 1) Violence is pervasive in American society.
- 2) Violence (aggressive behavior) is learned behavior.
- 3) Sports promotes physical aggression, and consequently violence, through the process of socialization which receives wide societal acceptance because it is consistent with the aggressive behavior desired by the dominant class in our society. In this way the values of the “ruling class” are instilled in the “masses” using sports as means of inculcating the ideals of the capitalist philosophy
- 4) Ethical behavior can be evaluated by the “fully-rational person” construct.
- 5) A fully rational person would accept “Don’t cause pain” as a moral rule (I want all persons to obey the rule with regard to all persons for whom I am concerned, including, of course, myself).
- 6) Acts of violence cause pain.
- 7) Therefore, since the physical aggression and violent behavior learned from sports causes pain, sports aggression is **not** ethical when viewed with respect to the “fully-rational person” construct.

Finally, the limits of the application of rational behavior to ethics must be acknowledged. To quote James Rachels, author of *The Elements of Moral Philosophy*:

The fact that rationality has limits does not subvert the objective of ethics, but it does suggest a certain modesty in what can be claimed for it. Ethics provides answers about what we ought to do, given that we are the kind of creatures we are, caring about the things we will care about when we are as reasonable as we can be, living in the sort of circumstances in which we live. This is not as much as we might want, but it is a lot. It is as much as we can hope for in a

subject that must incorporate not only our beliefs but our ideals as well. (Rosenthal & Shehadi, 1988, p. 24)

## REFERENCES

- Bandura, A. (1977). Social Learning Theory. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.
- Beisser, A. R. (1967). The American Seasonal Masculinity Rites. In M. Hart (Ed.), Sport in the Sociocultural Process (pp.403-412). Dubuque, IA: Wm. C. Brown Company
- Berkowitz, L. (1962). Aggression: A Social Psychological Analysis. New York: McGraw Hill.
- Brandt, R. B. (1979). The theory of the good and the right. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bredemeier, B.J. (1983). Athletic Aggression: A Moral Concern. In J. H. Goldstein (Ed.), Sports Violence (pp.47-81). New York: Springer-Verlag.
- Calhoun, D. W. (1987). Sports, Culture, and Personality. Springfield, IL: Human Kinetics Publishers, Inc.
- Coakley, J. J. (1990). Sport in society: Issues and Controversies (4th ed.). St. Louis: Times Mirror/ Mosby College Publishing.

Cox, R. H. (1990). Sports Psychology: Concepts and Applications (2nd ed.). Dubuque, IA. Wm. C. Brown.

Eitzen, D. S., & Sage, G. H. (1989). Sociology of north american sport. (4th ed.). Dubuque, Iowa: WM. C. Brown Publishers.

Frederickson, F.S. (1960). Sports and the Cultures of Man. In J. W. Loy, Jr. & G. S. Kenyon (Eds.), Sport, Culture, and Society (pp. 87-100). London: Macmillan.

Gert, B. (1988). Morality: A new justification of the moral rules. New York: Oxford University Press.

Goldstein, J. H., & Arms. R. L. (1970). Effects of Observing Athletic Contests on Hostility. Sociometry, 31 (1), 83-89.

Goldstein, J. H. (1986). Aggression and Crimes of Violence. (2nd. ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.

Jackson, S. I. ( Dec. 1993). Beauty and the beast: A critical look at sports violence. Journal of Physical Education New Zealand, 26 (4), 9-13.

Kerlinger, F.N. (1986). *Foundations of Behavioral Research*. (3rd ed.). New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Kohn, A. (1990). The brighter side of human nature: Altruism and empathy in everyday life. Harper Collins Publishers. (need city)

Leonard, W. M. II. (1993). A Sociological Perspective of Sport. (4th ed.). New York: Macmillan Publishing Company

Lorenz, K. (1963). On Aggression. New York: Harcourt, Brace, World, Inc.

Loy, J. W, & Ingham, A.G. (1973). play, games, and sport in the psychosocial development of children and youth. In J W. Loy, Jr., G. S. Kenyon, & B. D. McPherson (Eds.), Sport, Culture and Society: a reader on the sociology of sport (pp,189-216). Philadelphia, PA: Lea and Febiger

McMullen, B. (1997, May 27). Juvenile. Missoulian, p. A9.

McLuhan, M. (1964). Games: The Extension OF Man. In M. Hart (Ed.), Sport in the Sociocultural Process (pp. 86-95). Dubuque, IA: Wm. C. Brown Company.

McPherson, B. D., Curtis, J. E., & Loy, J. W. (1989). The Social Significance of Sports. Champaign, Il: Human Kinetics Books.

Messner, M. A. (1992). Power At Play. Boston: Beacon Press.

Road Rage. (1997, May 4). Missoulian, p. G1.

Rosenthal, D. M., & Shehadi, F. (Eds.). (1988). Applied ethics and ethical theory. Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press.

Ruggiero, V. R. (1982). Thinking critically about ethical issues. (3rd ed.). Mountain View, Ca: Mayfield Publishing Co.

Sage, G. H. (1981). Sport And Religion. In R. F Luschen, & G. H. Sage (Eds.), Handbook Of Social Science And Sports (pp.147-159). Champaign, Il: Sipes Publishing Company.

Sage, G. H. (1990). Power and ideology in american sport: A critical perspective. Champaign, Il: Human Kinetics Books.

Snyder, E. E, & Spreitzer, E. A. (1983). Social Aspects of Sports. (2nd ed.). Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

U.S. Bureau of the Census. (1996). Statistical Abstract of the United States. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.