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EXPLORATION OF SOME PERSONALITY AND MORAL CHARACTER DIFFERENCES BETWEEN HIGH SCHOOL ATHLETES AND NONATHLETES AND AMONG SUBGROUPS OF ATHLETES

by

Liga Zirnitis Ruperts

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
(Education)
in The University of Michigan
1973

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Page

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS ii

LIST OF TABLES vi

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS viii

LIST OF APPENDICES ix

Chapter

I INTRODUCTION 1

1.1 The Problem 1
1.2 The Rationale 1
1.3 Need for the Study 6
1.4 Purpose of the Study 9
1.5 Limitations of the Study 10
1.6 Summary 10

II REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE 12

2.1 Introduction 12
2.2 Sports--Nonresearch Literature 12
2.3 Sports Research 19
2.4 Moral Character and Values 33
2.5 Summary 42

III RESEARCH PROCEDURES 46

3.1 Introduction 46
3.2 Definition of Terms 47
3.3 Subjects 49
3.31 Socioeconomic Background 49
3.32 Intelligence 51
3.33 Athlete-nonathlete 52
3.4 Methods of Data Collection 53
3.41 Background Information 53
3.42 Authoritarianism 53
3.43 Ego Strength 55

Chapter | Page

3.44 Moral Orientation 61
3.45 Moral Values 64
3.46 Scale of Internalness 66
3.47 Moral Development 67
3.48 Interviews 67
3.5 Chronology of Data Collection Procedures . . 68
3.6 Statistical Procedures 69
3.7 Chronology of Data Analysis 71
3.71 Chronological Outline of Procedure 71
3.8 Summary 73

IV RESULTS--I 75

4.1 Introduction 75
4.2 Description of the Total Group 75
4.21 Background Information 76
4.22 Authoritarianism 81
4.23 Ego Strength 85
4.24 Moral Orientation 89
4.25 Moral Values 95
4.26 Scale of Internalness 97
4.27 Summary 98
4.3 Comparison of the Athlete and Nonathlete Groups 100
4.31 Background Information 100
4.32 Authoritarianism 109
4.33 Ego Strength 113
4.34 Moral Orientation 114
4.35 Moral Values 119
4.36 Scale of Internalness 123
4.37 Comparison of Relationships Among the Personality Variables . 123
4.38 Stepwise Regression 131
4.39 Summary 133
4.40 Factor Analysis 136

V RESULTS--II 142

5.1 Introduction 142
5.2 Cluster Analyses 144
5.21 Clusters Based on 33 Personality Variables 147
5.22 Clusters Based on 23 Personality Variables 150
5.23 Clusters Based on Nine Personality Variables 152

Chapter Page

5.24 Clusters Based on Six Ego Strength Scores 154
5.25 Clusters Based on the Moral Orientation Scores 154
5.26 Summary 158
5.3 Analysis and Description of Four Distinctive Subgroups 159
5.31 Cluster I--The Conformists 168
5.32 Cluster II--The Hedonists 174
5.33 Cluster III--The Conventionalists. 179
5.34 Cluster IV--The Humanists 183
5.35 Summary 188
5.4 Case Studies 190
5.41 Ralph 190
5.42 Tony 193
5.43 Bob and Joe 197
5.44 Peter 200

VI CONCLUSIONS--IMPLICATIONS FOR USE AND FUTURE RESEARCH

6.1 Summary 205
6.2 Athletics and the Individual 209
6.21 Ralph 211
6.22 Tony 214
6.23 Bob and Joe 216
6.24 Peter 217
6.25 Summary 218
6.3 Implications for Coaching 219
6.4 Implications for Research 224

APPENDICES 229

BIBLIOGRAPHY 267

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1	Fathers' Occupations--Total Group	50
2	Fathers' Occupational, Educational, and Composite Socioeconomic Status	51
3	Frequency Distribution of IQ Scores	52
4	Frequency Distribution of the Number of Organizational Memberships and of Offices Held	79
5	Correlations of F Scale Scores With Selected Personality Variables	84
6	Means and Standard Deviations for the Ego Strength Scores	87
7	Intercorrelations of the Ego Strength Stores	88
8	Means and Standard Deviations for the Moral Orientation Scores	90
9	Means and Standard Deviations for the List of Values Scores	96
10	Composite Socioeconomic Status of the Fathers--Athletes and Nonathletes	101
11	Plans to Attend College--Athletes and Nonathletes . . .	102
12	Number of Organizational Memberships--Athletes and Nonathletes	103
13	Type of Discipline Predominantly Used by the Parents--Athletes and Nonathletes	103
14	Most Characteristic Type of Friendships--Athletes and Nonathletes	104
15	Perceptions of Self as Being More a Leader or a Follower--Athletes and Nonathletes	105

Table		Page
16	Future Reported To Be an Area of Life Thought and Worried About--Athletes and Nonathletes	106
17	Occupational Preferences--Athletes and Nonathletes . . .	107
18	Closest Friends--Athletes and Nonathletes	107
19	Athletics Reported to be a Cause of Concern--Athletes and Nonathletes	108
20	Means, Standard Deviations and T-Statistics for the Ego Strength Scores	114
21	Means, Standard Deviations, and T-Statistics for Moral Orientation Scores	115
22	Means, Standard Deviations, and T-Statistics for Value Scores	120
23	Ranked Means of Value Scores	121
24	Comparison of Ranks of the Value Categories	122
25	Comparison of Correlations Between F Scale Scores and Selected Personality Variables	125
26	Summary Table--Stepwise Regression of All Variables . .	132
27	Rotated Factor Matrix--Total Group	137
28	Rotated Factor Matrix--Athletes	140
29	Variables Used in Five Runs of the Cluster Analysis Program	146
30	Means and F-ratios for Selected Personality Variables .	162
31	Number and Chi Square Statistic for Selected Biographical Variables	163
32	Type of Discipline Most Commonly Used by the Parents . .	165
33	Most Characteristic Type of Friendships	166
34	Athletic Activities	167

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure		Page
1	Frequency Distribution of the Fathers' Occupational, Educational, and Composite Socioeconomic Status--Total Group	77
2	Distribution of IQ Scores--Total Group	78
3	Distribution of GPA--Total Group	78
4	Frequency Distribution of the F Scale Scores--Total Group	82
5	Frequency Distribution of the Ego Strength Scores, Situation I--Total Group	86
6	Frequency Distribution of the Ego Strength Scores, Situation II--Total Group	86
7	Frequency Distribution of the Moral Orientation Scores--Total Group	91
8	Frequency Distributions of the F Scale Scores--Athletes and Nonathletes	111
9	A Comparison of the Means of Clusters Based on 33 Variables	148
10	A Comparison of the Means of Clusters Based on 23 Variables	151
11	A Comparison of the Means of Clusters Based on 9 Variables	153
12	A Comparison of the Means of Clusters Based on the Ego Strength Scores	155
13	A Comparison of the Means of Clusters Based on the Moral Orientation Scores	156
14	A Comparison of the Means of Four Distinctive Clusters Based on 33 Variables	161

LIST OF APPENDICES

Appendix		Page
A	Background Information Questionnaire	229
B	California F Scale	235
C	Situational Essays	238
D	Moral Orientation Scale	242
E	List of Values	247
F	Scale of Internalness	249
G	Moral Development Questionnaire	251
H	Intercorrelation Matrices	254

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 THE PROBLEM

The basic aim of this study was to increase an understanding of and familiarity with a popular social phenomenon--interscholastic sports on the high school level. More specifically, an attempt was made to achieve new insights that could lead to better ways of conceptualizing the high school athlete and help to understand the contributions that participation in competitive interscholastic athletics could make to the personal development of the individual.

1.2 THE RATIONALE

Despite the fact that interscholastic athletics are a major focus of energy and attention in most American schools and communities, the reasons for and consequences of this phenomenon have not been systematically investigated and remain the topics of popular interest, conjectures, and controversies. School authorities, coaches, and physical educators express profound belief in the alleged benefits that a strong athletic program is thought to provide. The traditional pronouncements by the "sports establishment" maintain that the aim of varsity sports competition is to help a person develop his talents to the fullest to become a better person physically, mentally, emotionally, socially, and spiritually (Gaylord, 1967). Participation in athletics is thought to build character; teach the values of the democratic process, fair play,

cooperation and competition; and contribute to health and happiness, physical skill and emotional maturity, social competence and moral values (Educational Policies Commission, 1954).

The expectation of these outcomes is contradicted by some very serious conflicts that are inherent in athletics (Tutko, 1970). On one hand, there is the common belief that athletic participation has as its major aim the development of the individual athlete and that athletics represent a testing and developing ground in life whereby one can grow personally. It is said that "it matters not whether you've won or lost but how you played the game." The implication is that doing his best is all that is expected of the athlete, and it will help him to develop character and strength and grow to face the more serious aspects of life. The conflict becomes apparent when this philosophy is juxtaposed with such statements as Jim Tatum's and Vince Lombardi's "Winning isn't everything, it's the only thing," Woody Hayes's "Show me a good loser and I'll show you a loser," Bill Musselman's (University of Minnesota's head basketball coach) "Defeat is worse than death, because you have to live with defeat," and Leo Durocher's "Nice guys finish last," which represent the dominant philosophy in practice. Success is not measured in terms of whether each athlete has done his best but in terms of whether he has won, and if one does not win, the assumption is that he has not done his best or that he is inferior--a lesser human being. Little is known--and little mention is made--about the boy who invests a great amount of physical and emotional energy in sports and then fails to win, play, or make the team.

The conflict may also have to be faced by the coach who knows that his job does not depend upon the number of individuals he helps to develop personally, but upon the number of games his team wins. Public interest in competitive games has created an exaggerated concern about winning and invited a commercialism and showmanship that are not only antithetical to the goals of individual development but also to the very idea that sport is something done for the pleasure of the participant. Interscholastic competition is spectator rather than participant oriented.

Another conflict exists between the commonly accepted cultural teachings and the principles applied in athletics. On one hand there is the assertion that athletics teach democratic values and leadership and the implication is that, though everyone has been taught that he is a free person living in a democratic society, these values somehow receive special emphasis and are best demonstrated in the context of athletics. On the other hand, the method of coaching of such veritable national heroes as the late Vince Lombardi and Paul "Bear" Bryant has been described as totalitarian, the complete antithesis of a democracy. The athletic world is autocratic, because it deeply believes that efficiency and success can be attained and maintained only through an almost dictatorial approach.

Max Rafferty (1971), a former California State Superintendent of Public Instruction, who began his career in education as a high school football coach and still regularly speaks out on athletics, expresses the dominant philosophy in American athletics and articulates the feelings and attitudes of most coaches: "There are two great national institutions which simply cannot tolerate either internal dissension or external

interference: our armed forces and our interscholastic sports program. Both are of necessity benevolent dictatorships because by their very nature they cannot be otherwise." The approach to athletics espoused by Rafferty is one which most high school and college athletes encounter daily in varying degrees. It is quasi-militaristic and authoritarian, guided by values of manliness, aggressiveness, and super-competitiveness rather than by the democratic values commonly stressed in our society.

These are only a few of the contradictions between what is said and what is done that exist in the realm of athletics and have been criticized by outsiders as well as by a number of athletes who are no longer willing to accept the authoritarian structure of sports and the supreme emphasis on winning. The Institute for the Study of Sport and Society was founded in the spring of 1970, by Jack Scott for the purpose of promoting the humanization of sports. In his book, The Athletic Revolution (1971), Scott discusses the problems created by rigidly traditional approaches to competitive athletics in high schools and colleges, emphasizing the manipulatory nature of organized, spectator-oriented sports and the need to return athletics to their proper perspective. In a similar vein, the belief that competitive sport somehow makes for nobility of character has been challenged by psychologists, educators, writers, and athletes themselves.

Basically, the complex attitudes towards sports in America are closely related to the other dominant values in the culture. On one hand, athletics serves as a symbol of traditional values and a traditional way of life. There is the professed belief that this one sphere is the last stronghold for such cherished principles as respect

for law, order, and authority; discipline; rugged individualism; and being on top internationally, interscholastically, and interpersonally. Traditionally, the good athlete is also believed to be a red-blooded, clean-living, truth-telling, God-fearing, patriotic American, on his way to becoming a General MacArthur or a Justice Byron White--the antithesis of a generation seen as valueless, complex, and threatening. On the other hand, many take a dim view of the contention that competitive sport is a means of teaching young people how to make their way in the adult world. To win, no matter against what odds or for what reason, is not always a victory in the moral sense. In their view, the most important problems of our society are interpersonal relationships and the equitable distribution of available resources; therefore, toughness, aggressiveness, and externally imposed discipline are not the best learnings for the members of a society which is already suffering the consequences of extreme competitiveness.

Despite the amount of attention it commands, very little is known about the concomitants and consequences of participation in organized, competitive athletics. The positive or negative stereotype of the athlete appears to influence the thinking of both the supporters and the challengers of the traditional approach in athletics. It was hoped that the exploration of the structure of a rather typical, average group of high school athletes might lead to new insights, and stimulate further thinking and a search for new and fruitful approaches to the study of the relationships between athletic participation and personal development.

1.3 NEED FOR THE STUDY

Although there has been increasing interest in the study of the personality dynamics of athletes over the last decade, relatively little of the information is applicable to the issues that are the subject of popular interest and controversy. The lack of a theory as to why a functional relationship between personality and physical performance categories should exist, the absence of a commonly accepted conceptual framework and of agreed upon operational definitions have, perhaps, created a tendency to avoid vital and meaningful problems in favor of problems that are methodologically more amenable to current techniques.

With the exception of a few studies which have reported on the relatively low scores on social values and sportsmanship of athletes, the research has been focused on the discovery of a set of personality traits that would adequately describe a specified group of athletes. Among the most frequently used instruments have been the objective personality questionnaires often used for selection of personnel in business and industry: The Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, The California Personality Inventory, The Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, and the Cattell 16 PF IPAT. Traditionally, the keystone of these studies has been the test of significance, as attempts were made to demonstrate differences between previously designated groups of athletes and nonathletes or between groups of athletes of different sports or levels of achievement. The results have been contradictory: a number of investigators have found athletes to be characterized by certain personality traits, such as the need for achievement, dominance, aggressiveness, etc., while others feel that no relationship exists

between personality and physical performance categories. The inconsistent results may be due to the fact that the studies dealt with a variety of physical performance categories in a variety of environments and used a wide array of methods and procedures. The research appears to offer no support to the notion that participation in athletics changes the personality; selection rather than a molding process seems to be demonstrated by the studies which report differences between groups of athletes and nonathletes. It also appears that the personality dimensions sometimes attributed to athletes could be equally characteristic of people who endeavor to succeed in any other competitive field.

Basically, most of the research appears to be in service of sport rather than the individual. The findings, theoretically, could be applied to improve selection, predict potential, control behavior, and otherwise manipulate the athletes in order to increase sports productivity, rather than to understand the individual in order to increase his efficacy as a human being. Described in terms of averages for the group as a whole, the findings may confirm preconceived guesses about group means, but they mask the differences and similarities among human beings which are important when the research is not limited to discovery and proof but aims to interpret the data and provide guidance in the service of the individual.

Although to some extent the research strategy, instruments, and statistical techniques inevitably pre-determine the outcomes of any study, no specific results were anticipated in the present research, and the investigator was guided by the experience of exploring the

different ways of being an athlete. The need for the study was suggested by Norman Sprinthall (1971), who suggests that the critical element now missing in schools is a focus on the overall impact of the educational institution upon the personal efficacy of the students and that guidance consultation can provide a mechanism for this type of direct and deliberate impact. He also emphasizes the fact that in order to understand the extent to which the actions of the adults in schools actually develop the stated sets and ideals within students, we need to examine their perceptions and attitudes, for those are the factors that will determine how the students will ultimately respond to the demands of citizenship, career, and life in general. Competitive sports are, perhaps, the most important part of the school experience for many teenagers. Guidance needs to understand the structure or patterns within the group that, potentially, could be heavily influenced by athletic participation; it can not accept the averages and assume that a descriptive label implies that all students are alike and should be treated the same way. In short, to gain more understanding of the part that competitive athletics, indisputably an important component of the total educational impact for many students, plays in the personal development of individual participants, we need information about the extent to which the personal meanings derived from competition by different individuals coincide with the values and goals stated by adults.

The following statements were formulated as basis for the study:

1. Varsity athletes are not and should not be treated as a specific, univocal, homogeneous group, because as many

differences may exist among the subgroups within a total group of athletes as there are between a group of athletes and nonathletes.

2. Organized competition may appeal to and elicit or strengthen authoritarian tendencies in the personality.
3. Participation in organized competition is not related to character development or ego strength.
4. The same experiences in organized competition may be perceived and handled in diverse ways; learnings derived from athletics will differ from individual to individual.

1.4 PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

1. To investigate some personality characteristics and background factors of a group of athletes and a group of nonathletes.
2. To compare and contrast the athlete and nonathlete groups in an attempt to uncover significant trends, correlations, and differences among the data.
3. To explore the structure of the athlete group by clustering the group on the basis of this data and focusing on alternative sets of subgroups.
4. To describe some distinctive clusters in detail and explore the similarities and differences among them.
5. To explore the connection between athletic participation and different personality types by focusing on a few individual athletes and describing in some depth the different ways of being an athlete.

1.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Exploratory studies merely lead to insights of hypotheses; they do not test or demonstrate them. The findings of this study, therefore, can not provide conclusions, but it is hoped that they will provide some information about the dimensions of the problem with which the study is attempting to deal.

Although an attempt is made to study a relatively small sample in some depth, the assumption is not made that all of the important factors will be tapped. It is hoped that the investigated background factors and personality characteristics will yield information that can be helpful in clarifying concepts and identifying important variables as well as increasing our understanding of the scope of the problem area.

It does not seem that generalization of the findings to other groups of high school athletes would be justified. More carefully controlled studies are needed to test the general applicability of the hypotheses which the findings of this study may help to formulate.

1.6 SUMMARY

Although interscholastic sports are a major focus of energy and attention in most American schools and communities, very little is known about the consequences of participation in organized athletics.

Traditionally, school authorities, coaches, and physical educators have expressed profound belief in the alleged benefits that a strong athletic program is thought to provide, maintaining that the aim of varsity sports competition is the development of the individual athlete. The very role and nature of athletics in our society, however,

negates the primacy of individual goals, and the dominant philosophy in practice is that winning is the only proof of success.

Contradictions between what is said and what is done in the realm of athletics have been criticized, and the belief that competitive sport somehow makes for nobility of character has been challenged by psychologists, educators, writers, and athletes themselves.

Very little is known about the relationship between athletic participation and personal development, and the positive or negative stereotype of the athlete appears to influence the thinking of both the supporters and the challengers of the traditional approach in athletics. Too often the assumption is made that a descriptive label implies that all of the labelled students are alike and should be treated the same way. There is a need for insights that could lead to better ways of conceptualizing the high school athlete and help to understand the contributions that participation in competitive, interscholastic athletics could make to the development of the individual.

The present study attempts to explore the structure of a rather typical, average group of high school athletes and to gain some understanding of the personal meanings derived from the athletic experience by different types of individuals.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

Despite the important role sports play in the American culture and the amount of attention the subject has received from widely different observers from various fields of knowledge and diverse walks of life, systematic psychological and sociological investigations of the phenomenon have merely begun in the last decade, and our thinking about athletics and athletes is shaped by opinions rather than facts. The amount of interest and diversity of opinion that sports create in our society are reflected in an abundance of perceptive and insightful comments as well as of resounding rhetoric. An attempt will be made in the present review to select those aspects of the literature that were most influential in stimulating interest in the problem and most relevant to developing the foundation of this study.

2.2 SPORTS--NONRESEARCH LITERATURE

Although every program in the field of education may be equally partisan in extolling the worthiness of its objectives without having substantial evidence of the outcomes, none other has succeeded in gaining the central role in our schools and the correspondingly allocated resources in money, staff time, and facilities given to interscholastic athletics.

For the most part, literature by and for theorists and practitioners in the field of physical education and athletics contends that athletics makes unequalled contributions to the development of the individual (Berry, 1927; Gaylord, 1967; Grieve, 1963; George and Lehman, 1966). The faith in the educational benefits of a strong athletic program is typically reflected in statements like the 1954 pronouncement by the Educational Policies Commission:

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

Decisions about the scope and importance of athletic programs are made on the basis of the professed goals, the alleged educational benefits and contributions to the personal growth of the individual students, and the expected outcomes of participation in interscholastic athletics. The validity of the belief that athletics builds character and otherwise contributes to individual development remains untested.

The lack of empirical evidence concerning the achievement of the stated goals and the inconsistencies that derive from the tendency to equate interscholastic competition with physical education and sports in general, have received very little attention. Although the literature shows evidence of awareness that participation in interscholastic competition may result in negative learnings (Values in Sports, Report of a National Conference, 1963; Baley, 1960; Coon, 1964; Oberteuffer and Ulrich, 1962, pp. 317-329), there is a tendency to relegate the responsibility for the undesirable consequences to the unethical conduct of a minority of coaches and athletic systems and to believe that "evil" in sports is largely a matter of administration and thus can be easily controlled.

By avoiding the most serious problem inherent in the very nature of athletics, namely, the conflict between the professed goals of individual development and the realities demanded by the predominant philosophy in the competitive realm (Tutko, 1970), the literature appears to deny that serious contradictions between what is said and what is done are ubiquitous. For many coaches, the main threat to the goals and values of athletics is posed by what might be called a Joe Namath syndrome. The following excerpts from Secondary School Athletic Administration: A New Look (National Conference on Secondary School Athletic Administration, 1969) typify that attitude: (Joe Namath) "... a man who deliberately has flouted the conventions of dress, hairstyle, and, according to his high school athletic director, the standards of behavior expected of high school students. Yet, this is a man our students are seeing on television." (P. 104). And:

> Smoking and drinking among athletes have always been a concern among coaches and athletic directors, but now many are also concerning themselves with the problems of current hairstyles. . . . Each and every one of us should understand exactly where we are going in the field of athletics relative to the problems of haircuts, smoking and drinking. If we let students circumvent the rules, if we don't stand up for what we feel is right and what we know is right, then it will no longer be a privilege to represent that school on the playing field. It will become a right rather than a privilege, and once it's a "right," it's a danger, and there will be no athletics. (Pp. 102-103).

It is clear that the alleged benefits to the individual development of athletes could be expected in athletic programs conducted on a much smaller scale, indeed, that nothing inherently links the values attributed to participation in athletics with interscholastic competition. Although denied by the professional literature of coaches and physical educators, it has been suggested by sociologists that the benefits which pertain to the athletes themselves are not an adequate reason why athletics warrant such a central role in our schools, and that institutional rather than individual goals provide the main rationale for these highly competitive, spectator oriented programs. More than thirty years ago, the Lynds (1929, 1936) noted in their study of Middletown that interscholastic athletics provided a major source of cohesion in the community. Coleman (1965) suggested that athletics was an effective means for channeling the interest and loyalty of the student body and the community into the school. Sports are also thought to serve a social control function and ease the problems of administration (Waller, 1932). Athletes, who are under more pressure to demonstrate conformity to the expectations of adult authority, may be used to influence the behavior of other students (Matza, 1964). Sports are often thought to serve a social control function by providing a legitimate

and controlled outlet for aggression (Beisser, 1967; Moore, 1966), however, as Matza (1964) notes, the control is not always complete, as when players engage in rough and dirty play and when spectators join the battle on the field or the conflict is extended to the streets after the contest, and thus competitive sports become a "routinization of violence."

It is beyond the scope of this review to comment on the body of literature that deals with the role of sports in the American society and with the causes and consequences of involvement in athletics either in the form of participation or spectatorship. Suffice it to say that sports are thought to serve a number of institutional purposes and to provide a unique group of functions which, psychiatrist Arnold Beisser (1967) feels, are necessary in a culture with contradictions and ambiguities, such as ours. Beisser and Boyle (1963) both suggest that the traditional characteristics and specific values of play and work no longer hold, so that sports sometimes have assumed all the qualities of hard work. Akin to this, Boyle observes, is a compulsion to win, no matter what the game or its level of play. The intense identification with the team, Schafer (1968) notes, affords the fan a chance to affirm his own worth and quality, therefore, victory becomes all-important. In short, a multitude of factors is responsible for the complex and important role which sports play in our society (McIntosh, 1963).

The institutional role of sports has shaped the dominant philosophy that winning is all-important. This philosophy has a pervasive influence on practices not only in professional sports but all the way down to children in Little League Baseball and Pop Warner Football

(Tutko, 1970). Since there is the tendency in the professional literature of coaches and physical educators to maintain that interscholastic competition is an integral part of physical education and no distinction is made between the stated goals of interscholastic athletics, physical education, and play in general, the illusion has been created that athletics has as its major aim the development of the individual athlete.

The contradictions that are implicit when the physical education literature, which insists that athletics exists to serve the individual player, is juxtaposed with literature which suggests that the very role and nature of athletics in our society negates the primacy of individual goals, are spelled out in a number of books and articles which question not only the structure but also the philosophy of sports. For the most part, these are written by athletes who no longer accept the authoritarian structure of competitive athletics and the supreme emphasis on winning. Organized competition in America is spectator rather than participant oriented, therefore, many athletes feel exploited, manipulated, and used as pawns for the good of the "big game." Typically, no reference to these articulate dissenters or to their criticisms is made in the literature of the sports "establishment," which appears to ignore the fact that since 1967, the athletic departments at numerous schools have experienced some sort of disturbances, most of which have involved athletes protesting what they consider racism and unfair disciplinary rules.

Jack Scott, the former Director of the Institute for the Study of Sport and Society and author of several books, including the Athletic Revolution (1971), is the foremost spokesman for the "anti-establishment"

movement, which advocates constructive change in sports and a humanization of athletic programs. Though Scott's book deals primarily with reforms in college athletics, the aspects of sport he explores--racism, "shamateurism," drug abuse, dictatorial coaches, overemphasis on winning, and the role of athletics in education, as well as his main thesis that athletics should belong to the athlete, because the process of sport is more important than the final product--are important at all levels. The problems emphasized by Scott are also noted by Ogilvie and Tutko, the country's leading sports psychologists. Tutko (1970) sees conflicts between traditional coaches and dissenting young athletes as symptoms of the glaring contradictions between what is said and what is done in the realm of athletics. Conflicts over values--winning vs. individual development, democratic vs. autocratic thinking, etc.--which are inherent in American athletics, the two psychologists predict, will force the least flexible coaches, perhaps, as many as a third, out of business (Ogilvie and Tutko, 1971).

A number of athletes and sportswriters who have written about their personal experiences and observations in athletics (Meggyesy, 1970; Bouton, 1970; Schollander, 1972; Flood, 1971; Schecter, 1969; Olsen, 1968) provide an inside view of organized athletics. Although they can not be accepted as impartial interpreters, undeniably, they present facts which point up the existence of contradictions between what is said and what is done in every area and at every level of organized, competitive athletics. Despite the fact that the descriptive and interpretative literature written by people who are knowledgable about and involved in sports has a certain amount of validity, the

writings still remain in the realm of opinion rather than empirical evidence, and the pronouncements can not be generalized beyond the situation, context, and experience on basis of which they were written.

On the whole, the literature appears to suggest that the role of sports in our society is responsible for the winning ethic, which is basically incompatible with the goals of individual development. Attempts to attribute the same goals and benefits to all types of physical endeavor from informal play through physical education to organized, competitive, predominantly spectator oriented athletics, have created a number of contradictions between what is said and what is done. Although there has always been some criticism of the "evils" in sports (Tunis, 1928), changing values and attitudes have created new and more serious bases for criticism. The dissent among athletes, many of whom no longer accept the traditional structure and philosophy of athletics, has helped to focus public attention on the "athletic myth." There is increasing awareness of the fact that we do not know what the effects of participation in organized, competitive athletics are but that in many cases they may be quite different from the commonly expected beneficial results. The illusion that athletics can be all things to all people should be dispelled, and the different value orientations inherent in different types of athletic programs should be openly recognized.

2.3 SPORTS RESEARCH

The relationship between psychological characteristics and physical activity has been investigated fairly frequently, but a number of factors complicates the interpretation of the findings and the

synthesis of the results.

One of the most serious problems in the field appears to be the absence of a commonly accepted conceptual framework and a lack of agreed upon operational definitions. There is no clear differentiation in the thinking about physical fitness, motor ability, physical activity, participation in organized, competitive athletics, and top level competition, and the findings from different levels and types of physical activity are freely generalized to other areas. The psychological correlates are not clearly defined, e.g., the basis for conclusions and generalizations about such vaguely defined labels as social adjustment, emotional stability, leadership, and, especially, character is not made clear.

Another problem is the lack of agreement about the meaning of the contradictory findings reported by different investigators. On one hand, inconsistent results may be interpreted as the lack of a relationship between psychological characteristics and physical activity, on the other--it may be inherent in the variety of methods, procedures, measures, and samples used in the investigations.

When differences between athlete and nonathlete groups or different groups of athletes have been demonstrated, it is frequently implied that athletic participation causes personality changes and enhances desirable personality traits. The evidence not only fails to support this, but it also fails to demonstrate that certain personality traits are associated exclusively with athletes rather than with ambitious, success oriented, aggressive people in general, even if they have directed their energies toward other pursuits.

These are some of the problems which complicate the review of the research literature and make clear and unambiguous communication of the findings very difficult. The areas that are of social importance and social interest have received little or no research attention. That is, there are no data on what the psychological and emotional effects of participation in organized competition are, and there is no research evidence that supports the contention that the heavy investments of all types of resources in a prominent athletic program are justifiable. There is a strong trend toward research that could serve to enhance physical performance; the main concern appears to be with findings that could aid in the development of physical excellence. The primary application of most results would seem to be in the prediction of behavior for better selection and control of athletes. The enhancement of the program or of sport rather than the enhancement of the individual as a person and a human being seems to be the aim of most researchers in this field.

Perhaps the most extensive studies of the personality traits of athletes have been conducted by Ogilvie and Tutko, who claim to have compiled data on over 10,000 athletes at every level, aged six to thirty-eight years. On the basis of studies in which they used the 16 PF, Jackson's Personality Research, Form B, the EPPS, and Osgood's Semantic Differential, they strongly advocate the existence of the general athletic personality, individual vs. team sports personality, and even a football, sports car racing, and coaching personality (Ogilvie, 1972). Although there are significant trait differences among these, they appear to share a psychological profile in being highly success

oriented, ambitious, aggressive, tough-minded, and dominant. They also tend to be low in anxiety and neuroticism, to have a high capacity to handle emotions under high stress conditions, to be self-assured, self-controlled, disciplined, conscientious, and to have a high need for order and organization in their lives. Athletes are freer to express aggressive tendencies but have a lower than average tendency to act impulsively and will seek to lead a more structured life and to live in a socially highly desirable manner (Ogilvie, 1967). Despite a tendency toward extroversion, athletes also appear to be self-centered and unwilling to become involved in the lives of others, which is demonstrated by such traits as a very low need to express interest in the problems of others, to study the motivations of others, and to take care of others. They also indicate low need to receive the support, concern, and interest of others. A study of the personality traits of coaches showed that the profiles of the two groups were similar. Generally, for those traits which determine getting ahead and succeeding in ways that do not necessitate personal involvement coaches score high, but in those traits of personality which contribute most to being sensitive and which also support close interpersonal relationships they score low. The study demonstrated considerable discrepancy between the coaches' self-perception and actual measured personality. They had a strong tendency to deny their need for others and to lack insight into their very high need for aggression (Ogilvie and Tutko, 1970).

The researchers do not imply that competitive sports make a positive contribution to personality development, indeed, they suggest that they may limit growth in some areas. They feel that the

personality of the athlete is not the result of any molding process but comes out of the ruthless selection process that occurs at all levels of sport. That is, they suggest that individuals with certain types of personality structures are more highly motivated and better able to endure the stress and strain necessary for high level achievement in athletics (Ogilvie, 1968). Ogilvie and Tutko also believe that the common traits of successful athletes are those which would contribute to successful endeavor in any other competitive field. The notion is supported by the remarkable similarity between the psychological profile of the athlete, as described by Ogilvie and Tutko, and that of the seven Mercury astronauts studied by Korchin and Ruff (1964).

Although Ogilvie and Tutko claim to have investigated athletes at every level (1971), their interest appears to have been focused largely on top level competitors, therefore, it is not clear to what extent the findings can be generalized to lesser athletes, nor what criteria could be used to determine the levels of athletic success at which the findings could be expected to apply. Nevertheless, there appears to be rather conclusive evidence that certain personality traits are characteristic of at least top level athletic competitors, although these are not necessarily unique to athletes and may be associated with success in other fields.

Warburton and Kane, who have extensively studied British athletes, also advocate the existence of a relationship between certain psychological characteristics and outstanding athletic ability. They suggest that extroversion and stability are characteristic of most team sports competitors, while many individual athletes are not extroverted. In

general, despite many individual differences, they say that a "footballer type" can be identified (1966). Some of the other characteristics found to be associated with high athletic ability were tough-mindedness, general abstract ability, radicalism, and ruthlessness.

A review of the relevant literature, reporting the general findings relating to the personality structure of high level competitors, was compiled by Ogilvie (1968). Included in the review are investigations published since 1960, in which The Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI), The California Personality Inventory (CPI), The Edwards Personal Preference Schedule (EPPS), The Maudsley Psychological Inventory (MPI), or The Cattell 16 PF IPAT (16 PF) were used (other reviews have been published by Scott, 1960; Cofer and Johnson, 1960; and Warburton and Kane, 1966). Dr. Ogilvie concludes that the reviewed studies provide sufficient evidence to support the notion that those who retain their motivation for competition will have most of the following personality traits:

> Ambition, organization, deference, dominance, endurance and aggression. There will be fewer introverted types by adult level competition. Emotional maturity will range from average to high average and be complimented by self-control, self-confidence, tough-mindedness, trustfulness, intelligence, high conscience development and low levels of tension. Such traits as autonomy, exhibitionism and affiliation prove to be less general traits. The traits of succorance, nurturance and need for change proved to be under-developed within the various athletic and coaching samples. The implication of specific trends within the personality of coaches and certain personality trends such as introversion for the teacher and coach were emphasized.

A sharply different picture of the champion athlete was presented by Johnson, Hutton, and Johnson (1954), whose findings with the Rorschak and the House-Tree-Person Test showed that the following

characteristics were most salient for the group which consisted of six All-Americans (four football and two lacrosse players) and six national champions (two wrestlers, two boxers, one track man, one rifle marksman): extreme aggression, uncontrolled affect, high and generalized anxiety, high level of intellectual aspiration, and exceptional feelings of self-assurance. The authors suggest that in these subjects the expression of their strong need for competitive achievement by being a champion was a matter of psychological necessity.

Rushall (1970) asserts that a critical analysis of the published research on the topic makes the view that a relationship exists between personality and physical performance categories unfounded, because the lack of a theoretical contemplation and unsophisticated research procedures have negated the research efforts. He suggests that differentiating personality variables for physical performance categories are dependent upon the method of group formation and the environments from which they are selected. Rushall's study of athletes in four sports at various performance categories (e.g., first, second, third string football players), with the 16 PF produced no systematic trends in support of a relationship between personality and physical performance. He proposes that on the basis of his own findings and his conclusions based on a critical survey of the existing research, it should be declared that no relationship exists and that personality is not a significant factor in sport performance.

No consistent trends such as those cited by Ogilvie and Tutko can be inferred from the results of the studies with high school and college athletes in general. It does not appear that results which

describe psychological dimensions derived with a particular instrument found to be associated with participants in a specified type of physical activity at a specified maturity level can be generalized to imply a coherent picture of the athlete as Cooper (1969) has done. It is one thing to possess motor ability or to be physically active, and it is quite another to participate in organized competition.

An attempt will be made to restrict the present review to investigations of interscholastic athletes rather than to include findings related to general motor ability, physical fitness, physical activity, or physical education, and emphasis will be placed on findings concerning team sports participants at the high school and college level.

The investigators in several studies found no relationship between personality traits and athletic participation. Berger and Littlefield (1969) reported that the CPI scores of college varsity football players, former high school varsity players who did not participate in college, and of nonathletes were similar when the three groups were equated on Scholastic Aptitude Test scores. Keogh (1959) similarly found no relationship between either motor ability or athletic participation and the eighteen scales of the CPI.

Using the CPI with high school boys, Merriman (1960) found no significant differences when the athletes and nonathletes were matched according to motor ability, and when the two groups were compared by grades nine through twelve separately. When all grades were combined, the athletes scored higher on dominance, sociability, social presence, and self-acceptance, while the nonathletes scored higher on self-control

and femininity.

A comparison of college athletes and nonathletes at the varsity-upper class as well as freshman level with the MMPI by Booth (1958) revealed that the nonathletes scored higher on the feminine interest variable, varsity athletes were the least anxious, and upper class nonathletes the most socially responsible group. Upper class-varsity groups were more dominant than freshmen athletes and nonathletes. He found individual sports participants to score higher on depression and psychasthenia than team sports participants.

Also using the MMPI, Slusher (1964) compared high school athletes and nonathletes and studied the profiles of participants in different sports. He found the athletes to be less intelligent, more masculine, and more hypochondriac than the nonathletes. The basketball group was the most deviant, demonstrating an over-concern with physical symptoms and a relative lack of repression. The football and wrestling groups were found to be very similarly characterized by strong neurotic profiles, with tendencies toward the use of physical symptoms under stress as a means of solving difficult conflicts (hysteria) being prominent for the football group and a tendency toward abnormal fears, worry, and difficulty in concentrating (obsessive-compulsive syndrome) for the wrestlers, who were the only athlete group to exceed the nonathletes on psychasthenia. The swimmers were the least neurotic group and the only one which did not score higher than the nonathletes on hypochondriasis.

Hunt (1969) used the Gordon Personality Profile to compare white and Negro athletes and nonathletes. The results showed that white athletes scored higher than white nonathletes on ascendancy and

emotional stability, while both white and Negro athletes exceeded the respective nonathlete groups on responsibility. White and Negro athletes were similar as were white and Negro nonathletes.

The only longitudinal studies of high school and college athletes are reported by Schendel (1965, 1970). He found that athletes had higher means on nine of the eighteen CPI scales than the nonathletes at ninth-grade level but on only four at the twelfth-grade level: dominance, self-acceptance, sociability, and communality. While the developmental pattern of most subjects was consistent, with the non-participants showing the greatest margin of change, especially on measures of poise, ascendancy, and self-assurance, practically no change was demonstrated by the group of substitute athletes. Schendel suggests that the social-psychological maturation rate of the high school athletes has been accelerated at an earlier age but that the non-participants begin to narrow the gap during the high school years. The substitute athletes may have as great a need for achievement as the athletes but their goals and ambitions are frustrated by their lack of success, therefore, they, in contrast to the regular athlete and nonparticipant groups, reflect practically no change during the high school years in such characteristics as leadership ability, sense of personal worth, dominance, persistence, and self-acceptance. Schendel also states that the gap between nonparticipants and athletes in general is not only eliminated during the college years but may, in some cases, be reversed, with the nonparticipants showing greater conscientiousness, and sense of responsibility, greater tolerance and more concern for the needs of others, greater capability for

independent achievement, greater intellectual efficiency, and greater adaptability in social behavior.

Conceivably, the results may be interpreted as suggesting the possibility that beyond some point in development athletic participation increasingly interferes with effective development, especially if the individual's aspirations are not realized as in the case of the substitutes, or--that growth in certain areas is associated with leaving athletics (Meggyesy, 1970).

Another longitudinal study by Werner and Gottheil (1966) attempted to investigate the effect of participation in the intensive athletic program at the U.S. Military Academy, which included regular and extensive courses in physical education, physical training, and playing on a varsity or intramural team. The investigators found that the secondary school athletic letter award winners who entered the Academy had a different 16 PF profile than their classmates who had not participated in interscholastic athletics. The athletes were more sociable, dominant, enthusiastic, tough, group dependent, conservative, and adventurous or "thick-skinned." It was hypothesized that exposed to intensive athletic participation, the former nonparticipants would become more like the athletes in personality structure. However, the data showed that despite regular participation in physical activities over a four year period at the Academy, the nonparticipants had not changed in personality structure as measured by the 16 PF to a greater extent than the athletes. Their pattern of personality structure change did not differ from the athletes, nor did they become more like the athletes. Unfortunately, the authors' conclusion that college athletics

do not significantly influence personality structure can not be generalized to interscholastic competition exclusive of the other types of physical activity which were part of the experimental treatment in this case.

A different type of study from which some effects of participation in college football can be inferred was reported by Cowell and Ismail (1961). Scores on the Cowell Personal Distance Scale administered at the beginning and end of the football season indicated that the reserve team was significantly more socially integrated at the end of the season. The investigators suggest that rivalry for the specific positions on the field within the first, second, and third teams prevented the improvement in personal distance, while the intense competition for places on the team was not experienced by the "rejectees" on the reserve team, who, moreover, shared a common lack of success. It appears possible that relative lack of success may prevent the development of such traits as self-assurance but contribute to the development of social traits.

Schafer (1968) found that high school athletes were less often delinquent than nonathletes, however, the relationship was marked only among blue collar, low GPA boys, and was almost eliminated when fathers' occupations and previous grade point averages were controlled. He recommends the investigation of the processes by which athletics may exert a deterring influence but also suggests that the negative relationship between athletic participation and delinquency may be the result of the selection of conformers into the athletic program whereby the deviant boys would be screened out of sports by coaches during junior

high school or before.

Two studies, one by Segal, Weiss, and Sokol (1965) and another by Pierce (1969) demonstrated that with the initial presence or absence of maladjustment, as measured by the MMPI, controlled, college students affiliated with athletic teams made less use of campus psychiatric facilities. The authors suggest that certain personality differences may prevent athletes from seeking the needed help and, also, that athletic membership may confer a sort of "white badge of health" which tends to allay the student's doubts about his personal and interpersonal adequacy. At college entrance the athletes-to-be were found to differ from the patients-to-be on measures of personality which are independent of the degree of pathology. Using the Omnibus Personality Inventory and the Jackson Personality Research Form, Pierce found that the athletes were less independent and less interested in intellectual, introspective, and aesthetic matters than the patients. On the dimensions of flexibility and authoritarianism, the athletes were lower and higher, respectively, than all nonathletes, patients as well as those who did not seek help. The investigators stress that differences were less of pathology than of personality styles which correlate with help seeking. The athletes also were less thoughtful, less tolerant of ambiguity, less impulsive, and less interested in change, while the patients were less concerned with attaining social recognition. Pierce suggests that ways of helping the less verbal, less intellectually oriented students be developed and used.

To summarize, the available research evidence does not support the statement that athletic participation enhances desirable personal

and social traits. Although there is some evidence that certain personality traits are more common among athletes than among nonathletes, the desirability of possessing a personality structure in which these traits appear to be dominant, at the expense of other traits, ultimately represents a value judgment on the part of the observer.

Perhaps the most salient trait of athletes at all ages is the need for achievement, which, combined with early physiological maturation, contributes to early success in sports and concomitant social status and prestige among peers. This greater social status probably supports such characteristics as leadership, dominance, and self-confidence as well as facilitates entry into social groups and, thus, to some extent, reflects the favorable attitudes of others and the importance of athletic achievement in the adolescent status system. The findings, however, by no means consistently support the contention that junior high school and high school athletes possess superior personal and social traits. Besides having a high need for success, athletes of all ages appear to have more stereotyped masculine interests. Although the findings regarding college athletes are even less consistent, there appears to be more evidence that nonparticipation, at least at certain types of schools, may be associated with a higher degree of responsibility, flexibility, independence, and with more concern for the needs of others. It appears possible that college offers more access to different areas of participation and different routes to achievement as well as makes different demands upon the individual athlete and, therefore, continued participation in athletics may reflect a somewhat different personality type.

The personality structure of the superior athlete, as described by Ogilvie and Tutko, may represent one type of relatively healthy personality but, undoubtedly, there are many types, and to say that the qualities possessed by the athlete are the important ones or even that they are entirely positive is to make a value judgment. The main value expressed in the athletes' case is the ability to achieve under specified stress conditions. To say that they possess emotional strength, ego strength, etc. appears to be a speculation unless it is known how the athletes might handle other life stresses, for example, bereavement, deprivation, or degradation. Nothing is said about such things as sensitivity, love, altruism, intimacy, spontaneity, flexibility, creativity, and spiritual experience, but there are indications that athletes may be defficient in these areas. Additional information is needed to decide for whom, when, and where the common traits possessed by athletes are desirable and under what circumstances they tend to hinder and inhibit effective, competent human functioning.

2.4 MORAL CHARACTER AND VALUES

Although "character" is, perhaps, the most frequently touted consequence of athletic participation, its meaning in the sports literature remains nebulous. For the most part, it appears to be conceptualized as a set of "good" habits or traits which can be taught in the context of athletics by training, example, punishment, and reward and, once learned, presumably, transfer to other areas of life. There is no evidence to support such notions. Moreover, research in psychology (Harthshorne and May, 1928-1930; Harris and Valasek, 1954; Burton, Macoby and Allinsmith, 1961) shows that the concept of character as

a set of habits produced by training is not viable.

A few references have been made to character concepts in the sports literature, that are consistent, at least to a degree, with general psychology. Speaking at a National Conference on Values in Sports, Arsenian (1963) recommended that the contributions of athletics to the development of human values be formulated in more inclusive and generalized principles of orientation, of attitude, and of disposition, rather than in the restricted concepts of specific habits of character traits, such as honesty and cooperativeness. He recommended the Peck and Havighurst (1960) definition of character: "a persisting pattern of attitudes and motives which produce a rather predictable kind and quality of moral behavior," and cited the significance of their study both in regard to its theoretical assumptions and its method of investigation.

Oberteuffer (1962), who is a prominent physical educator and author of several well-known textbooks, also basically appears to conceptualize character in terms of behaviors and attitudes which represent generalized moral principles or standards. Some of the values or principles to be supported and perpetuated through athletics are: the supreme value of the human personality, responsibility for the consequences of one's conduct, the superiority of the individual to institutional organization, the importance of mutual consent, truth and equality, etc.

The investigations of values or qualities that could bear a relationship to character that have been reported in the sports literature, are for the most part restricted to attempts to determine the

athletes' attitudes with regard to unethical behavior in sports situations. All of the available evidence indicates that the sportsmanship standards possessed by athletes are considerably different from those advocated by the profession, though not necessarily followed by them.

Brace (1958) reported gathering more than 2,000 examples of unethical behavior illustrated by professional personnel connected with intercollegiate athletics, while Kistler (1957) concluded that adult and college males who had varsity sports experience, had a poorer attitude about sportsmanship than did those who had not participated at the varsity level.

Richardson (1962) reported similar findings and also indicated that subsidized athletes in the "income" sports, especially football, scored lower on the sportsmanship test than did non-scholarship athletes participating in the less publicized sports. Richardson also found that students at private and religious schools scored higher than did students at state institutions, but regardless of the particular situation, the sportsmanship standards of college athletes were inconsistent with the common beliefs and expectations.

McAfee (1955) reported similar findings with younger boys and also indicated that the sportsmanship attitudes of boys in the sixth, seventh, and eighth grades became progressively lower.

No differences in the expressed attitudes toward unethical behavior in sports among college athletes categorized by sports or the type of institution attended (state college, private university, and state university) were found by Lakie (1964).

Slusher (1966) compared a group of college football players rated as highly sportsmanlike by their coaches with a group whom the coaches had rated as highly unsportsmanlike. He found that in their responses to situations designed to elicit a normative decision, both groups were so far from the ideals of society that it could be concluded that neither group displayed a great degree of sportsmanlike value structure. While the sportsmanlike group gave an ideal answer in more cases than the unsportsmanlike group, both groups were inclined to allow the situation to be decided without their aid in the hope of "getting away" with their action. The unsportsmanlike group, he suggests, was just a little more positive in their dishonesty.

Harry Webb (1969) demonstrated that though attitudes toward play are influenced by background factors, such as age, sex, religious and socioeconomic background, the dominant influence by high school age is a value system which reflects our business ideology with its emphasis on skill and success or victory and its deemphasis of equity or fairness. Considering the different degrees of importance ascribed to skill, fairness and victory by students in grades three, six, eight, ten, and twelve, the gradually increasing professionalization of attitudes toward play, posited by Webb, receives substantial support. The investigator suggests that "moronic" insistence on play's contribution to such "sweetheart" characteristics as steadfastness, honor, generosity, courage, tolerance, and "the rest of the Horatio Alger contigent" continues because the structural and value similarities between play and the economic structure, dominating our institutional network, are ignored.

The Allport-Vernon-Lindzey Study of Values Test was used with college athletes in two studies. Shirley (1960) found that nonathletes scored higher on the theoretical variable, but no differences were demonstrated on any of the other variables. Kroll and Peterson (1965) selected for comparison six football teams so as to provide data on winning and losing teams as well as on several collegiate classifications. It was found that successful teams scored low on the social variable, which, incidentally, was the most important contributor to discrimination on either of the two bases. The social variable is associated with personality motives consistent with love of people, kindness, sympathy, and unselfishness. Comparisons based on the type of school showed that university teams are low on social and theoretical variables but high on economic, with state colleges in the middle, and private schools opposite the universities. The investigators conclude that the value orientations toward life, held by college football players, are not consistent with the high ideals typically associated with sportsmanship and athletics.

In what became known as "The Lord of the Flies Experiment," Sherif (1961) demonstrated that competition in football, baseball, and other games, with an emphasis on winning, produced so much hostility between two groups of eleven-year old boys that former friendships were annihilated completely. The members of the two groups not only shoved and cursed during the games but took social occasions such as meals and movies as further opportunities to attack each other. Finally joint endeavors had to be contrived to overcome the hostility produced by the team rivalry.

For the purposes of the present investigation, character was conceptualized in terms of generalized moral principles consistent with current psychological formulations, therefore, a brief reference will be made to the theoretical statements and research investigations of the psychologists whose work is of most theoretical and methodological importance for this study.

Various theoretical positions diverge in their assumptions about the kind of antecedent experiences that lead to a capability for principled judgments and behavior, a major focus of the current interest in character development, but two basic ones can be identified. One is Piaget's cognitive-developmental approach which stresses age and associated cognitive changes as an influence on moral development. This position has been adopted and Piaget's schema refined and elaborated by Kohlberg (1958). The other is a social learning approach which stresses the importance of the social environment, mainly adult socialization techniques. This approach is supported by the work of Hoffman (1970 a). Although Kohlberg's and Hoffman's approaches to the developmental process are different, the major focus of Hoffman's studies being on parental antecedents of moral variables, while Kohlberg has attempted to demonstrate the viability of his age-developmental scheme both longitudinally and with cross-sectional age groups, both researchers basically agree on the definition of moral character as the capacity to make judgments about the good and right of action on the basis of internalized moral principles. Unlike reasoning which simply reflects correct knowledge of rules or socially approved ideals and a conventional belief in them, moral judgments tend to have such properties as

objectivity, generality, inclusiveness, universalizability, and impersonalness.

Kohlberg's typology of moral reasoning was based on interviews with boys aged ten to sixteen, in which the subjects were asked to decide on alternative courses of action in hypothetical moral dilemmas and to discuss the reasons underlying their choices. His system consists of six developmental stages ordered in three levels of moral development:

I. Premoral level. Moral value resides in external, quasi-physical happenings, in bad acts, or in quasi-physical needs rather than in persons or standards.

Stage 1. Obedience and punishment orientation. Egocentric deference to superior power or prestige or a trouble-avoiding set. Objective responsibility.

Stage 2. Instrumental relativists. Naively egoistic orientation. Right action is that instrumentally satisfying the self's needs and occasionally others'. Awareness of relativism of value to each actor's needs and perspective. Naive egalitarianism and orientation to exchange and reciprocity.

II. Conventional level. Moral value resides in performing good or right roles, in maintaining the conventional order and the expectancies of others.

Stage 3. Personal concordance. Good-boy orientation. Orientation to approval and to pleasing and helping others. Conformity to stereotypical images of majority or natural role behavior, and judgment by intentions.

Stage 4. Law and order. Authority and social order maintaining orientation. Orientation to "doing duty" and showing respect for authority and maintaining the given social order for its own sake. Regard for earned expectations of others.

III. Principled level. Moral value resides in conformity by the self to shared or shareable standards, rights or duties.

Stage 5. Social contract. Contractual legalistic orientation. Recognition of an arbitrary element or starting point in rules or expectations for the sake of agreement. Duty defined in terms of contract, general avoidance of violations of the will or rights of others, and majority will and welfare.

Stage 6. Conscience or principle orientation. Orientation not only to actually ordained social rules but to principles of choice involving appeal to logical universality and consistency. Orientation to conscience as a directing agent and to mutual respect and trust.

In Kohlberg's (1964) developmental perspective the role of socializing agents and institutions is primarily that of providing role-taking opportunities since the young individual is viewed as developing morality largely in his own terms. Hence the children involved in more extensive social participation or responsibilities have more experience in taking alternate roles which, in turn, facilitates their movement to advanced stages of moral development.

Hoffman, on the other hand, tends to view the young child as a relatively more passive recipient of interventions by authorities and, in agreement with psychoanalytic theories, stresses the role of parental practices in shaping and determining moral character, however, he

diverges from the usual psychoanalytic view by suggesting the notion of a positive morality based upon the integration of ego and superego and developed by building upon the child's potential for pro-social affect--mainly the capacity for empathy. He also suggests (Hoffman, 1970 b) that cognitive development and a child's experiences as a social participant with peers as well as with adults play an important role in moral development, but sees the mode of socialization as the important factor in determining the quality of the child's interactions with others as well as the development of his moral orientation.

In an earlier review of the body of findings relating moral development to parental practices Hoffman (1963) cited support for the following propositions: (a) a moral orientation based on the fear of external detection and punishment is associated with the relatively frequent use of discipline techniques involving physical punishment and material deprivation, called power assertive discipline; (b) an internal moral orientation characterized by independence of external sanctions and high guilt is associated with relatively frequent use of nonpower assertive discipline.

In subsequent studies, on the basis of preadolescent responses to moral judgment situations and other moral indexes, Hoffman (1967, 1970 a,b) identified two variants of an internalized conscience, each of which was associated with a different socialization mode.

A conventional moral orientation based on rigid adherence to institutional norms regardless of circumstances and consequences was associated with important adults giving or withdrawing love contingent upon the child's behavior. This mode of socialization stressed the

taming of antisocial impulses, the expression of which became associated with painful anxiety states, thus assuring pressures toward conformity even in the absence of authority.

A humanistic moral orientation based on concern for human consequences of behavior and a consideration of extenuating circumstances was associated with induction and socialization techniques that facilitated the integration of empathy with appropriate cognitive functioning. Hoffman also suggests that mutuality and reciprocal role playing with peers contribute to the simultaneous experience of empathy and awareness of the effects of one's action on others and facilitate the development of a conscience which resolves moral conflicts in favor of human ends.

The typology and methods used to identify the different types of moral orientation developed by Hoffman, were used in the present study.

2.5 SUMMARY

Despite the important role that sports play in our society and the amount of attention devoted to athletics, very little is really known about the consequences and concomitants of athletic participation. The theorists and practitioners in the field of physical education and athletics express the belief that athletics makes unequalled contributions to the development of the individual and that participation in sports brings wide-spread beneficial results. The common beliefs among those who support the traditional approach to athletics are that athletics builds character and instills democratic values.

An increasing number of athletes, however, no longer accept the traditional autocratic structure and win-at-all-costs philosophy of

athletics, and conflicts in the sports world have focused attention on the contradictions between what is said and what is done. Basically the traditional, idealized view of the goals and values of athletics is incompatible with the role sports play in our society and with the institutional purposes athletic programs are designed to serve. Traditionalists, however, attempt to maintain the illusion that sports can be all things to all people and view all types of physical endeavor as if they belonged to the same integral whole, overlooking the different value orientations inherent in different types of athletic programs.

Research findings do not support the view that athletic participation enhances desirable personality traits, although causality is frequently implied when athletes have been found to possess certain personality characteristics to a greater degree than nonathletes. No studies of the effects of athletic participation have been conducted with the initial athlete and nonathlete groups matched in regard to the important personality characteristics. The results of the sole longitudinal study suggest that athletic participation may be associated with advanced maturity in junior high school, but the gap is narrowed during the high school years and eliminated, sometimes even reversed, in college. There is some evidence that individuals with certain types of personality structures tend to remain in athletics as top level competitors or as coaches, however, the same type of personality traits may be associated with success in any other competitive field. Generally achievement in athletics appears to be associated with a high tendency toward those personality traits which determine getting ahead, and succeeding in ways that do not necessitate personal involvement, e.g.,

ambitiousness, aggressiveness, toughness, and dominance and with a deficiency in those traits of personality which contribute most to being sensitive and support close interpersonal relationships.

Despite the fact that large scale athletic programs and organized, spectator oriented competition in general are most frequently justified and promoted on the basis of the assumptions about their character-building value, character concepts in sports literature remain undefined and the assumptions untested. The attempts to investigate whether athletic participation is associated with the types of attitudes and values which athletics claim to develop, have been restricted, for the most part, to studies of athletes' attitudes toward unethical conduct in sports situations. The findings indicate that the situation that exists is the reverse of what might be expected on the basis of the professed goals and ideals of athletics. In a different approach, it has been demonstrated that success in college football is associated with a low degree of preference for social values which, in general, subsume such qualities as love for people, kindness, sympathy, and unselfishness.

An alternative approach to the conceptualization and assessment of character is the investigation of the individual's capacity to interpret rules in moral conflict situations and to make judgments in accord with internalized standards or principles. The reasons given in support of the judgments reflect the individual's moral orientation and value system. The study of the development of moral character and its antecedents has received considerable attention in psychology but the infrequent references in physical education literature to the

significance of the theoretical formulations and methods of investigation have not succeeded in creating research interest.

The present investigation adopted the typology and research methods developed by Hoffman (1970 a,b) in an attempt to gain some familiarity with the moral structures or character of a group of high school athletes and a group of nonathletes. In accord with Hoffman's schema, three main types of moral orientation were identified: (a) an external moral orientation based on fear of detection and punishment; (b) a conventional moral orientation based on rigid adherence to institutional norms regardless of circumstances; and (c) a humanistic moral orientation which is based on a consideration of extenuating circumstances and concern for the human consequences of behavior.

In addition, the present study aims to investigate authoritarianism and some dimensions of ego strength or positive personal functioning the relationship of which to athletic participation has not been studied.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH PROCEDURES

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The primary objective of this study was to search for new insights that could increase our understanding of and familiarity with a group of high school athletes. The research was of an exploratory nature both in terms of the investigated variables and the approaches used. The aim was to attempt to clarify concepts, discover significant variables, and to gather and integrate information which could serve as a new starting point for further study by suggesting non-traditional approaches and different priorities and facilitate the emergence of meaningful hypotheses. Though exploratory in regard to theory development in the problem area, the study is descriptive in regard to the portrayal of the studied groups, subgroups, and individuals.

The following propositions were formulated as basis for the study:

1. Varsity athletes on the high school level are not and should not be treated as a specific, univocal, homogeneous group, because as many differences may exist among the subgroups within a total group of athletes as there are between a group of athletes and nonathletes.
2. Organized competition may appeal to and elicit or strengthen authoritarian tendencies in the personality.

3. Participation in organized competition is not related to character development or ego strength.
4. The same experiences in organized competition may be perceived and handled in diverse ways; learnings derived from athletics will differ from individual to individual.

The procedure was determined by the basic purposes of the study:

1. To investigate some personality characteristics and background factors of a group of athletes and nonathletes.
2. To compare and contrast the athlete and nonathlete groups in an attempt to uncover significant trends, correlations, and differences among the data.
3. To explore the structure of the athlete group by clustering the group on the basis of this data and focusing on alternative sets of subgroups.
4. To describe some distinctive clusters in some detail and explore the similarities and differences among them.
5. To explore the connection between athletic participation and different personality types by focusing on a few individuals and describing in some depth the different ways of being an athlete.

3.2 DEFINITION OF TERMS

(1) Athlete in this study referred to boys who had represented their high school in interscholastic competition in football, basketball, or baseball for two or more years.

(2) Authoritarianism was defined in terms of the F scale score. A high score was thought to be associated with conformity, exaggerated respect for authority, inflexibility, anti-intraception, preoccupation with the strength and power dimension and intolerance of ambiguity, representing an essentially weak ego which puts up a facade of strength that requires bolstering through identification with the strong, the conventional, and the in-group.

(3) Character was defined in terms of the individual's capacity to make judgments about the good and right of action on the basis of internalized moral principles or standards.

(4) Ego strength was globally defined as resiliency in handling stress (Barron, 1963, 1968), flexibility, adaptability, or positive mental health.

(5) Self-esteem was defined as the attitude implying or expressing confidence that, in balance, the self is "good," capable and strong (Jahoda, 1958).

(6) Autonomy was defined as the regulation of behavior from within, reflected in decisions made on the basis of what suits own needs best rather than on the basis of external support for any of the alternative decisions (Jahoda, 1958).

(7) Perception of reality was defined as perception that is relatively free from need distortion and demonstrates the capacity for empathy (Jahoda, 1958).

3.3 SUBJECTS

The sample consisted of eighty-six boys, the total male population in the eleventh and twelfth grades at the high school selected for this study. The school was used because of its cheerful willingness to cooperate in a study which, initially, was undefined in terms of expected outcomes as well as the demands it might make in terms of data collection.

The school is a Catholic High School serving two adjacent towns and the surrounding rural areas. It is located in the smaller of the two communities (population 13,000), which is a formerly popular resort area and a residential town with relatively few industries. Considerably more industries are located in the larger of the two communities (population 18,000). The school has an enrollment of approximately 450, in grades 9-12. Although relatively homogeneous in some respects, in others the student body represents a crossection of middle America, because its members come from most of the income groups in the several different types of communities served by the school. Except for being a parochial school, it appeared to typify the average small town school. Almost all of the students are white, and there are no representatives from either the higher or lower extremes of the social spectrum. Diverse ethnic backgrounds are represented, Polish, Italian, Irish, German, and Lithuanian being the most common.

3.31 Socioeconomic background. The judgment of a boy's socioeconomic status was based on his father's occupation and education as reported in the school folder and by the subject himself. Parental occupations were classified as white collar or blue collar, basically a "head or

hands" type of work dichotomy. The distribution of the fathers' occupations is presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1

FATHERS' OCCUPATIONS--TOTAL GROUP

Occupation	Number of Fathers
Blue collar	42
Unskilled farm or factory laborer or driver	7
Farmer	7
Mailman	2
Semi-skilled factory, including foreman	10
Primarily non-factory skilled crafts	11
Small business (grocery, small restaurant, gas station)	3
Other	2
White collar	43
Manager, executive	7
Engineer	3
Teacher	2
Newspaper editor	4
Business	3
Supervisor, accountant, economist	5
Manager, salesman, clerk	12
Other	7

A fourfold classification was used for the fathers' educational status: (1) some high school; (2) high school graduate; (3) some college; (4) college graduate. A composite socioeconomic status score was based on the father's type of work and educational level. The distribution of the fathers' occupational, educational, and composite socioeconomic status is presented in Table 2.

TABLE 2

FATHERS' OCCUPATIONAL, EDUCATIONAL, AND COMPOSITE SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS

A. Occupational Status

Occupation	Number of Fathers
Blue collar	42
White collar	43
Omit	1

B. Educational Status

Educational Level	Number of Fathers
Some high school	13
High school graduate	36
Some college	14
College graduate	21
Omit	2

C. Composite Socioeconomic Status

Socioeconomic Status	Number of Fathers
Blue collar, some high school	13
Blue collar, high school graduate	28
Blue collar, some college	1
White collar, high school graduate	8
White collar, some college	13
White collar, college graduate	21
Omit	2

3.32 Intelligence. The IQ scores, based on various group tests routinely administered in schools (e.g., the Otis and the Thurstone P.M.A.), were obtained from the school's records. The mean IQ of the sample was 114, and the range was 91-143. The distribution of IQ scores in the sample is presented in Table 3.

TABLE 3

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF IQ SCORES

IQ Score	Frequency
141-143	2
136-140	0
131-135	9
126-130	8
121-125	7
116-120	10
111-115	13
106-110	10
101-105	11
96-100	7
91- 95	3
Omit	6

3.33 Athlete-nonathlete. The classification of each subject as an athlete or a nonathlete was based upon the number of years he had competed interscholastically in one of the major sports. Boys who had represented their high school in football, basketball, or baseball for two or more years were classified as athletes. For the purposes of this study, boys who had participated in other sports were classified as nonathletes, because their experiences in athletics were not deemed comparable to those of participants in the major sports. Forty-four of the subjects were classified as athletes and forty-two as nonathletes. Among the nonathletes were boys whose interscholastic athletic experience did not include two or more years participation in one of the major sports as well as boys who had never competed interscholastically.

3.4 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

One of the characteristics of an exploratory study is that there is little or no prior knowledge of variables, thus, significant variables must be sought for, and the procedures necessarily differ from those followed in experimental studies. Because of the exploratory nature of the present study, a variety of tools and techniques were utilized, however, with the exception of the individual interviews conducted after a series of traditional procedures, all of the data were collected via paper and pencil instruments administered to groups in the regular classroom setting.

An attempt will be made to discuss each instrument from the standpoint of the procedure followed in using it and the rationale behind the procedure.

3.41 Background Information (see Appendix A). A questionnaire was designed to obtain some information in a variety of life areas in order to increase familiarity with the respondents and in order to look for possible trends and relationships that might suggest areas for further investigation. Basic biographical data were included, as well as information in the following areas: school experiences, extracurricular activities, athletic experiences, future plans, socialization techniques used by parents, peer relationships, and personal worries.

3.42 Authoritarianism (see Appendix B). The measure of authoritarianism used in this study was a 28-item version of the California F scale (Adorno, et al., 1950). The F scale is said to discriminate between individuals who display behavior which is authoritarian in interpersonal

relationships rather than politically. In terms of behaviors, it is widely held that the authoritarian personality is rigid or inflexible; that it is conforming; that it manifests an exaggerated respect for authority and identifies with the strong and the in-group, rejecting members of the out-groups. The authoritarian personality is preoccupied with the strength-power dimension, places extreme emphasis on masculinity and feminity, does not willingly or accurately examine its own thoughts and its own adjustment, and is intolerant of ambiguity and concrete in its thinking.

Traditionally it has been taken for granted that the goals of organized competition can not be reached in a democratic structure. The authors of The Authoritarian Personality (Adorno, et al., 1950) as well as subsequent researchers generally have suggested that individuals with pronounced authoritarian personality trends would tend to persist in a social structure that was congenial and best fit their authoritarian dispositions. Assuming that organized, competitive athletics represent an authoritarian social system, it was proposed that persistence in such an environment might be related to authoritarian tendencies, since nonauthoritarian individuals would be more likely to seek other types of activities, if the relationship between the authoritarian personality syndrome and overt social behavior, postulated by the researchers, existed.

The particular version of the F scale used in research has varied: in some cases the final version designated by the authors of The Authoritarian Personality has been used, in other cases abbreviated versions have been adopted (Christie and Jahoda, 1954), and in yet

others--more sophisticated measures of authoritarianism have been developed (Smith, 1965). In the present study twenty-eight items of the third and final form or the F scale (Forms 40 and 45) were used. Subjects responded to each item on a six point continuum ranging from strongly disagree to strongly agree, a score of three representing the theoretical neutral point.

Preliminary significance tests indicated that there were no significant differences between the athletes and the nonathletes on any of the items, and factor analysis of the item scores failed to yield really distinctive and meaningful clusters, therefore, only the total score of each subject on this twenty-eight item F scale was used in the study.

3.43 Ego Strength (see Appendix C). In an attempt to tap some dimensions of personality that might be associated with an individual's capacity for positive functioning in stressful situations, two semi-projective items were devised for this study. It was assumed that persons who possess different degrees of a flexible ego strength would employ different processes or strategies for coping with emotional stress and that an individual's characteristic functioning would, to some extent, be reflected in strategically evoked verbal behavior.

The procedure was suggested by Dr. Ezekiel, whose research with Peace Corps volunteers had demonstrated that projective essays describing the subjects' own views of their personal future had a clearer psychological significance than traditional indices of mental health in terms of predicting competent performance in the Peace Corps (Ezekiel, 1968).

The intent was to elicit a response demonstrating some degree of presence or absence of a flexible ego strength, resilience, adaptability, or ability to cope with an emotionally stressful situation involving interpersonal relationships. It was hypothesized that essays describing one's feelings and reactions to such situations would reflect the type of coping an individual might tend to employ in an actual situation and afford some insight into the personal efficacy of high school athletes.

In a pilot study some fifty high school students were asked to write essays describing their feelings, reactions, and ways of coping with or adjusting to three situations: the most tragic event that the respondent had experienced or could imagine happening to him, a real or hypothetical happy event, and an incident involving rejection by one's best friends. The essays describing the tragic and the happy event, as defined by the respondents themselves, were too diverse in content and approach to be rated on the same common dimensions, therefore, the protocols were not included in the analyses. However, they were helpful in conceptualizing the three dimensions or criteria of ego strength, positive mental health or personal functioning, which were most clearly discernible in the responses to the third item.

In this item the respondent was asked to imagine that he had unexpectedly found a note, passed between his two best friends, which states that he (the finder) is not really the popular, well-liked person he assumes himself to be but is in reality a presumptuous individual who may well be hated by most people. The essays were rated independently by the investigator and another judge on the following dimensions:

1. Self-esteem, defined as an attitude implying or expressing confidence that basically the self is "good," capable, and strong.
2. Autonomy, defined as the regulation of behavior from within, with decisions made on the basis of self-reliance and what suits own needs best, rather than on the basis of external support for any of the alternative decisions.
3. Perception of reality, one aspect of which was defined as perception that is relatively free from need distortion, the other--as empathy or social sensitivity.

The ratings were made on a five point scale, and the estimates of scoring reliability, which resulted from correlating the scores assigned by each of the two judges, were .55, .58, and .68 for the three dimensions.

Another item dealing with the dimensions of self-esteem, autonomy, and perception of reality but in a different context seemed desirable, therefore, sample responses to a number of situations were obtained in an attempt to find a situation with which the subjects could identify. The item which appeared to elicit the most meaningful responses dealt with parental pressure to alter future plans. The respondent was asked to describe his feelings and reactions after his parents have refused to give him any financial assistance if he goes to college in a different state, as he had planned, because they question his ability to cope independently with the responsibilities such a course of action would create, but would pay for his education fully if he stays home and goes to a near-by college. He was also asked to

decide on the future plan he would follow and give reasons for his choice. Finally, if the respondent had stuck by his original decision to attend the distant college, even though this meant that his parents would withhold all financial help, he was to write a brief sketch on how he envisioned himself coping with college life.

Generally, the responses to these two situations produced by the subjects of the present study, though shorter and less explicit, were similar to the responses obtained on the pretests. Each essay was rated independently by the investigator and another judge on three five point scales:

1. Self-esteem, the extent to which the essay showed confidence that basically the self is good, capable, and strong (e.g., Situation I--ability to accept the self, as well as the fact that someone dislikes oneself, rather than being shattered by it and feeling that the self is bad if it has been thus labelled; confidence that other friendships can be established and maintained. Situation II--confidence in one's ability to make own decisions, need to be recognized as a fully capable person rather than an extension of the parents).
2. Autonomy, the extent to which the essays valued decisions made on the basis of self-reliance and on what suits own needs best, rather than on the basis of external support (e.g., Situation I--making the decision whether or not attempts to maintain the friendship through conformity to the friends would be desirable and compatible with one's

own principles rather than acting in line with the friends' expectations or requests just to maintain the status quo. Situation II--decisions made on basis of what suits own needs, including a need for self-determination; however, the respondent had to show recognition of and intent to cope with the responsibility that the autonomous decision would create).

3. Perception of reality, the extent to which the essays showed a realistic assessment of the situation and of oneself and a recognition of the need for an accurate interpretation of the attitudes and intentions of others (e.g., Situation I--seeking insight into the situation, into the friends' motives, and into one's own behavior as it may appear to others; recognition that a number of causes and solutions are possible. Situation II--realistic plans for life at college, assessment of one's strong points as well as shortcomings, assumption of responsibility for the consequences of one's choice; also, recognition that parents' insecurities may have created the situation, and even recognition that complete self-support is not feasible, therefore, parental wishes have to be respected).

To avoid contamination, the procedure followed by both judges was to rate the first item for all subjects before proceeding to the second one. A score of one was assigned to indicate that the dimension under consideration appeared to be expressed in the essay to a minimal extent (e.g., Self-esteem I--"I'd ask forgiveness for whatever I could

have done to make my friends dislike me," and Self-esteem II--"My parents always know best what's good for me."). Correlations between the scores assigned by the two judges ranged from .45 to .83. The final scores recorded for each subject represented composites of both judges' scores. No score was recorded unless both judges felt that the subject's protocol provided sufficient basis for estimating the degree to which a particular dimension was demonstrated, that is, a score of zero on Self-esteem I was not used to indicate that the respondent demonstrated no Self-esteem in the first essay but rather to show that one or both of the judges deemed the response to be an insufficient basis for assigning a rating on that particular dimension.

In retrospect, both of the situations to which the subjects were asked to respond had serious limitations which, unfortunately, were not obvious from the responses obtained in the pilot studies. Although there was no evidence that the boys in the pilot study were unable to identify with the first situation or at least to interpret the intent of the investigator and respond to the hypothetical emotional distress caused by the situation rather than to its content, it was suggested by some of the subjects from the group under investigation that the described behavior was inappropriate for boys. Therefore, it is not clear to what extent the responses reflected tendencies toward certain types of feelings and behaviors in stressful situations and to what extent they could have been altered by the judgment of the behavior of others. Responses to the second situation seemed to be limited by the subjects' apparent lack of information and planning, although initially the choice of the situation appeared to be realistic and

appropriate for high school juniors and seniors, most of whom planned to attend college.

At best, the situational essays provided a very crude measure of the conceptualized variables. It appeared that the procedure was of more value in suggesting a first step toward non-traditional research approaches in the study of athletes, an approach which, developed and refined in further research, could prove more fruitful than the traditionally used instruments.

3.44 Moral Orientation (see Appendix D). Because of the frequency with which character is linked to participation in competitive athletics, it appeared that, in the absence of any agreement about the meaning of the term when it is used in connection with athletics, the investigation of the moral character of athletes might offer a promising approach to the problem. At the very least, it can suggest an alternative approach to the observation and assessment of character, one which utilizes character concepts in the study of the personality characteristics of athletes that are consistent with those used in the wider field of psychology. Therefore, character, conceptualized as the capacity to make judgments about the good and right of action on the basis of internalized moral principles or standards, was investigated in the present study.

The content of the instrument used in the study and the basic rationale for its use were derived from Hoffman (1967, 1970a,b), who has defined three main types of moral orientation on the basis of moral judgment responses:

1. External type--the decision about whether an act is right or wrong is made on the basis of the likelihood of external

consequences--detection and punishment--to the actor as a result of the act.

2. Conventional type--judgments are made to uphold the rules and institutional norms regardless of circumstances and consequences.
   a. Conventional categorical responses show a categorical attitude toward maintaining unexamined support for authority. The principle involved is that authority is right and, therefore, must always be upheld as an end in itself and not simply as a means to another end.
   b. Conventional noncategorical responses support the conventional status quo and authority but lack the unthinking quality or at least the categorical tone of the previous group.
3. Humanistic type--judgments are made on the basis of human consequences of behavior and consideration of extenuating circumstances. The general principle is that human welfare is more important than anything else and that human needs are the underlying basis for complying with social norms.

Both the humanistic and conventional moral orientation types represent an internalized moral structure characterized by independence of external sanctions and high guilt, in contrast to the external orientation which is based on fear of external detection and punishment.

To investigate the moral orientation types, the subjects were presented with six hypothetical transgressions or moral dilemmas, two of which were originated by Kohlberg (1958), and asked to judge these as well as to give the reasons for their judgments. The moral orientation scores were based on the moral standards or principles given in support of the judgments.

The responses were coded according to a detailed manual worked out by Hoffman. The coding was done independently by the investigator and another judge, and each item was coded for all subjects before the judges moved to the next in the series. Discrepancies were resolved in conference, and the final scores were assigned only after the judges had reached a consensus. Especially difficult responses were coded with the help of Dr. Hoffman.

In each case the subject's response was coded as external (e.g., "you can get put in jail for that"), conventional categorical (e.g., "it's against the law"), humanistic (e.g., "it would hurt the man who trusted him"), or internal (e.g., "it would be on his conscience for the rest of his life"). The last category was used for responses which were clearly internally motivated, but it was unclear whether the value orientation was conventional or humanistic. It has to be distinguished from the internal moral orientation type when the term "internal orientation" is used in a broader sense to include all internally motivated moral judgments, be they humanistic, conventional, or unclear as to the value orientation but clearly not based on external considerations.

The responses of most individuals, across the six moral judgment situations, showed elements of several moral codes, that is, most subjects did not apply a single moral standard exclusively and uniformly to every situation. To obtain an individual's External, Humanistic, Conventional, or Internal (undetermined value orientation) score, the scores in each category were added across the six items. A score of six on a response indicated that a single standard was applied, but when a response necessitated the use of two categories, each received a major, minor, or equal weight (e.g., "it's against the law, and it hurts the other guy," was coded as conventional categorical and humanistic, each category being assigned a weight of three). Conversely, zero scores in the other categories indicated that the subject had not used the principles in support of the particular moral judgment.

Two scores were obtained by combining the totals of categories: one was the sum of the humanistic and internal scores and the other--the sum of the humanistic, conventional, and internal scores, representing the subject's total internal moral orientation score. Four scores, derived by summing certain subcategories, represented the subjects' tendency to focus on the character of the actor, use the concept of deserving what one earns, use other justice arguments, and use a combination of the last two subcategories. Finally, one subcategory score from the external category was used, because it reflected a purely external moral orientation toward detection and punishment by authority.

3.45 Moral Values (see Appendix E). A measure of values, developed by Hoffman, was included among the procedures to investigate the subjects'

expressed preference for certain personal attributes or values, some of which were moral, for example, consideration for others and obedience to rules, while others were nonmoral, for example, achievement, popularity, and a sense of humor. The objective instrument consisted of eighteen items, representing humanistic, conventional, hedonistic, and achievement values. The subjects were asked to select the values which they considered to be the first, second, and third most important. The single item scores, weighted according to the assigned importance, were grouped into eleven categories:

1. Humanistic (be considerate of others' feelings, help others)
2. Id (do things that are fun, be popular, have a good sense of humor)
3. Conventional (be neat, clean, show good manners, go to church)
4. Obedience (obey parents, obey rules)
5. Conventional morality (sum of conventional and obedience scores
6. Impulse control$_1$ (put work before play, think before acting)
7. Impulse control$_2$ (above plus know how to spend money wisely)
8. Over-controlled authority submission (sum of conventional, obedience, and impulse control scores)
9. Productive orientation (impulse control$_2$ plus do well in school)
10. Achievement$_1$ (do well in school, try best in everything)
11. Achievement$_2$ (above plus do well in sports)

Valid scores ranged from one to eight, with a score of eight indicating that the subject had made all three choices from items in

the same category.

3.46 Scale of Internalness (see Appendix F). A semi-projective story-completion item, adapted from Hoffman, was used as an independent index of internalized moral character. The subjects were asked to complete a story in which the hero, who is very unhappy over not winning any contests in an outdoor meet, wins the main event by cheating in a manner that seemingly cannot be detected. He is being cheered and congratulated by his friends at the point where the subject is asked to complete the story.

The story endings were coded by the investigator and another judge for the degree to which (1) the hero, without any reliance on external forces or events, accepts responsibility for his action, confesses and seeks to correct the situation, or experiences guilt feelings in the absence of external pressures; or (2) the events following the transgression are dominated by external concerns, mainly in the form of punishment or accidents and other unpleasant happenings befalling the hero.

A six point scale was used to indicate the extent to which the subjects' moral orientation was internalized. A score of one indicated a purely external moral orientation with no evidence of internalization (e.g., "he's real proud and happy until he's caught cheating in next year's race"). Amoral or pre-moral responses (e.g., "ends justify means") were included in the external category. At the opposite end of the scale, with a score of six, were responses coded as internal with no evidence of concern with external detection and punishment or amoral reasoning to justify the transgression (e.g., "he feels very badly that

night, and the next morning he returns the prize, apologizes for lousing up the contest and makes sure everyone knows who really won the race"). The remaining scores were applied to stories which showed varying degrees and combinations of the elements of both external and internal moral orientations.

3.47 Moral Development (see Appendix G). This instrument, adapted from Kohlberg (1958), consisted of items designed to elicit attitudes toward laws and rules in general, toward controversial laws and rules, and toward the Golden Rule. The material was not quantitatively analyzed, but it was drawn on for conceptual purposes.

3.48 Interviews. The investigator conducted approximately hour-long individual interviews with five athletes, who were selected after the data collected on the paper and pencil instruments administered to all subjects had been statistically analyzed. Cluster analysis was used to identify different subgroups within the athlete group, and representative cases from the clusters were chosen for the interviews. The aim of the interview was to make a connection between athletic participation and the subject's responses on the various instruments. An attempt was made to get a "whole" picture of the subject and to integrate the previously obtained data with the interview in order to gain assurance that the personality types conceptualized on the basis of the written data obtained from the four clusters also represented living human beings.

The structure of the interview was quite flexible, but, in general, the investigator's questions to each subject were aimed at two

general areas. First, the written data were discussed, especially the responses that were unclear or appeared to be incongruous. Second, starting with themes which were found to be the most significant in distinguishing the different clusters, a discussion relating the revealed personality characteristics to athletics was initiated. The aim was to investigate how the same type of athletic experience was perceived and handled by different types of boys, what meanings they derived from this experience, and what potential influence it appeared to be capable of exerting on the development of different kinds of individuals.

3.5 CHRONOLOGY OF DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

The data were collected in five sessions over a six month period. The paper and pencil instruments were administered in the following order:

1. California F Scale and Moral Development Questionnaire
2. Background Information Questionnaire
3. Situational Essays
4. Moral Orientation Items and List of Values

No time limit was set for the completion of any of the tests, and the tests were administered to groups in the regular classroom setting.

The interviews were conducted after the data collected on the paper and pencil instruments were statistically analyzed to provide a basis for the selection of individuals to be interviewed. The interviews were conducted with each athlete individually and lasted approximately one hour each.

Although none of the eighty-six subjects objected to participation in the study, a few of the respondents failed to complete all of

the instruments. All of the subjects, however, were included in the data analyses, because omission of respondents with incomplete sets of data, and the reduction of an already rather small sample appeared to be more undesirable than the use of statistical computation procedures in which the results were based on adjusted numbers or on the actual number of respondents for whom the required data were available.

3.6 STATISTICAL PROCEDURES

Statistical computations were based in each case upon the respondents for whom the piece of data under consideration was available, in order not to reduce the size of the sample by eliminating subjects with incomplete sets of data.

t tests were used to determine the significance of the differences between the athlete and nonathlete groups on the personality variables, IQ, and grade point average.

The chi-square test was used to compare the athlete and nonathlete groups on selected background variables.

Correlation coefficients for the total group, the athlete group, and the nonathlete group were calculated to explore the nature of relationships among the personality variables.

Factor analysis was used to analyze the personality variable scores in order to determine whether there are some identifiable common dimensions which could be used to describe groups of traits measured in this study.

Stepwise regression was used to determine the personality variables that best predicted differential membership in the athlete and nonathlete groups.

A cluster analysis computer program, recently developed by Johnson (1971), was used to identify clusters of individuals within the athlete group. A cluster is defined as a smaller subgroup within which individuals tend to be more alike on a set of variables than individuals selected at random from the total group. Cluster analysis is basically an exploratory technique, and its most powerful potential is the isolation of subgroups within populations that have traditionally been treated as homogeneous. Therefore, it was considered to be a research tool particularly appropriate for the purposes of this study. Since the composition of clusters depends upon the variables used, the analysis was repeated a number of times in order to study the effects of different sets of variables.

All of the measured personality variables, the IQ scores, and the grade point averages were used in the analysis to identify the clusters which were studied in some detail. Although an increase in the number of variables in excess of the ten to fifteen considered optimal makes it more difficult to identify subgroups that are similar over all variables and increases the difficulty of interpretation, this analysis provided an opportunity to study the effects of the entire combined set of variables investigated in this study. Four distinctive clusters, accounting for sixty-four percent of the cases, were selected.

Single classification analysis of variance was used to test the significance of the differences among the clusters on the personality variables, and the chi-square test was used to compare the clusters on the background variables.

3.7 CHRONOLOGY OF DATA ANALYSIS

In general, the procedures were organized in roughly four stages, progressing from traditional to exploratory approaches and from an emphasis on previously designated groups and measurement categories to an emphasis on groups and individuals selected and described on the basis of categories which evolved during the research process.

The main objectives in Stage I were the discovery of significant trends and trend relationships among the data, the identification of important variables describing the athlete and nonathlete groups, and the comparison and contrast of the two groups.

The main objectives in Stage II were the exploration of differences within the athlete group, the identification of significant variables on the basis of which the emerging subgroups could best be delineated, and the description and analysis of the subgroups in terms of these variables.

In Stage III the main objective was to explore in some depth the differential meanings and potential effects athletic participation could have for different types of individuals.

The main objective in Stage IV was to advance the findings as a new starting point for approaches to the conceptualization and study of high school athletes.

3.71 Chronological Outline of Procedure.

1. Description of the total group in terms of the following variables: background information, IQ, GPA, authoritarianism, the conceptualized dimensions of ego strength, moral

character and moral orientation, and expressed preference for moral and nonmoral values.

2. Comparison of the athlete and nonathlete groups in terms of the investigated background factors and personality characteristics.
3. Exploration and comparison of the relationships among the investigated personality variables for the athlete and nonathlete groups.
4. Factor analytic exploration of relationships among the investigated personality variables to identify some common traits or dimensions underlying the original set of variables.
5. Cluster analyses--exploration of the structure and patterns within the athlete group.
6. Description of four clusters in terms of the investigated background factors and personality characteristics.
7. Comparison of the four clusters in terms of the investigated variables.
8. Case studies--exploration of the meanings and perceptions different types of individuals derive from participation in athletics.
9. Hypothetical models of how participation in athletics may affect the development of different types of individuals and how an awareness of the possibility of differential effects could suggest what kinds of interventions might contribute to a sounder developmental pattern for each

individual.

10. Consideration of the implications the present findings could have for approaches to coaching and to future research.

3.8 SUMMARY

In general the design of the study, including the ways in which the data were collected and the ways in which the data were analyzed, was determined by the basic research purpose which was to gain familiarity with a group of high school athletes and to achieve new insights that could lead to non-traditional approaches in the conceptualization and study of athletes.

The sample consisted of eighty-six boys, the total male population in the eleventh and twelfth grades at the high school selected for the study. The total group was subdivided into forty-four athletes and forty-two nonathletes, the athlete classification being based on a membership of two or more years in the football, basketball or baseball varsity or junior varsity teams.

Because of the exploratory nature of the study, a variety of tests and statistical techniques was used. The procedures differed from those employed in experimental studies, because the investigator was guided predominantly by the research experience rather than by preconceived notions about the outcomes of the study.

The investigated variables included certain background factors, authoritarianism, some dimensions of ego strength or positive mental health, moral character, and expressed preference for certain values.

The first stage of the study was of a descriptive nature as the athlete and nonathlete groups were compared and contrasted in terms of the investigated variables. Since it was suspected that research focusing exclusively on findings described in terms of averages for previously designated groups might obscure the complexity of a problem, an attempt was made to uncover different constellations of personality characteristics within the athlete group that could be masked when the athlete group was treated as a homogeneous whole.

In the subsequent stages of the study the differences within the athlete group were explored without preconceived notions about the variables that could emerge as important in the identification of the various athlete subgroups and without specifying in advance what subgroups were to be studied.

After a series of other procedures, interviews with representative individuals from important subgroups were conducted to investigate the meanings and perceptions that different types of individuals derive from the athletic experience.

The trends uncovered during the research process served as basis for some suggestions for different approaches to the conceptualization and treatment of athletes.

CHAPTER IV

RESULTS--I

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The basic purposes of this chapter are:

1. To focus on some personality characteristics and background factors of the total sample.
2. To compare and contrast the athlete and nonathlete groups in an attempt to uncover significant trends, correlations and differences among the data.

In the study the major emphasis was on the discovery of ideas and insights. Although the statistical treatment of the data included statistical tests of significance, the findings were not treated as results to be used in the testing of an existing hypothesis. The purpose of the analysis was to develop a sensitivity to important variables and to evoke rather than to test hypotheses.

4.2 DESCRIPTION OF THE TOTAL GROUP

The sample consisted of 86 boys, the total male population in the junior and senior classes of a Catholic High School. Although none of the subjects objected to participation in the study, a few of the respondents failed to complete all of the instruments. All of the subjects, however, were included in the data analysis, because omission of respondents with incomplete sets of data and the reduction of an already rather small sample appeared to be more undesirable than the

use of statistical computation procedures in which the results are based on the actual number of respondents for whom the required data are available.

4.21 Background Information. The background information or biographical variables were obtained from the school's records and from the Background Information Questionnaire.

Figure 1 shows that white collar and blue collar occupations are almost equally represented in the background of the sample, but the number of fathers who had a high school education or less exceeded the group who had some college education or a college degree, by about twenty percent.

The IQ scores of the group ranged from 91 to 143, with a mean of 114.87, and the GPA range was 1.15 to 4.00, with a mean of 2.31. Figure 2 represents the distribution of the IQ scores and Figure 3 the Grade Point Averages for the total group.

Although a number of questions about school experiences, extra-curricular activities, and future plans was included in the Background Information Questionnaire, only a few aspects of these data were considered in the statistical analysis.

To obtain some indication of the extent to which the sample participated in organized activities other than competitive inter-scholastic athletics, the subjects were asked to list the organizations of which they were members and to indicate what offices they held in those organizations. The frequency distribution of the number of subjects' organizational memberships and the number of offices held is presented in Table 4.

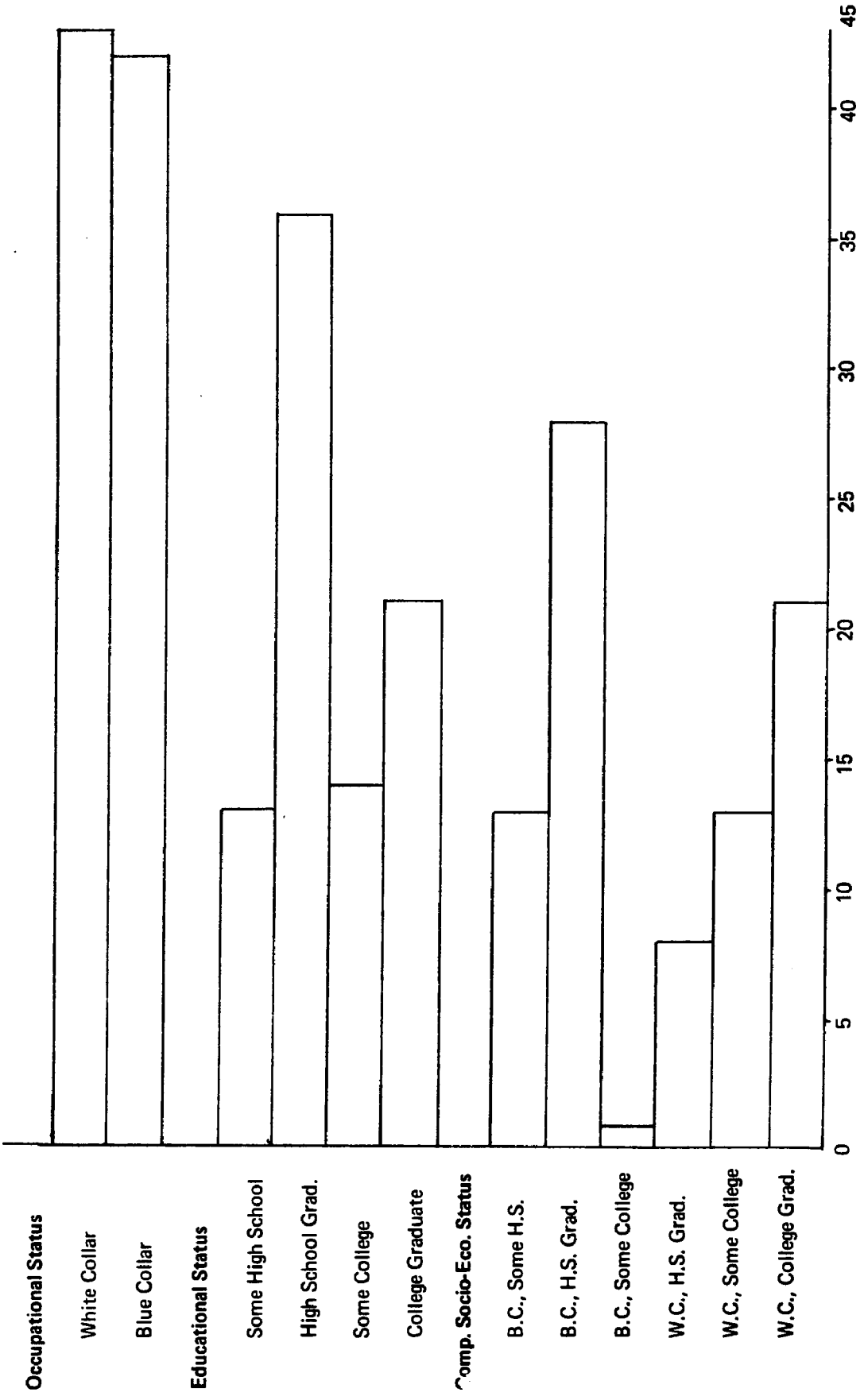


Fig. 1. Frequency Distribution of the Fathers' Occupational, Educational, and Composite Socioeconomic Status--Total Group.

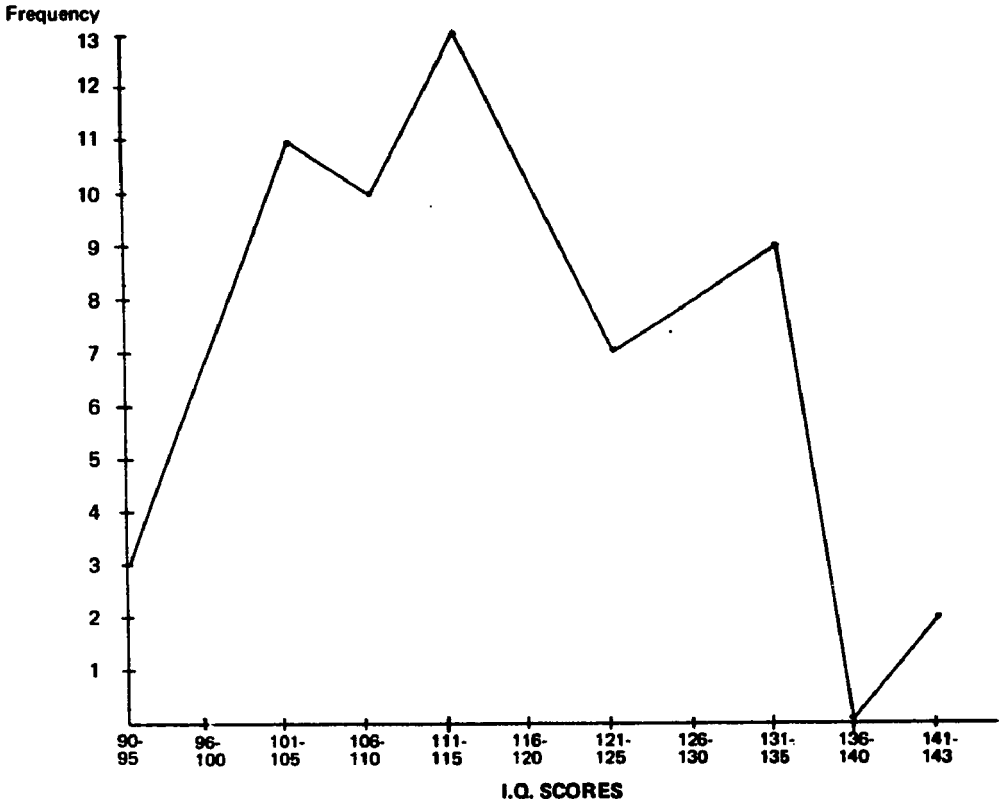


Fig. 2. Distribution of IQ Scores--Total Group.

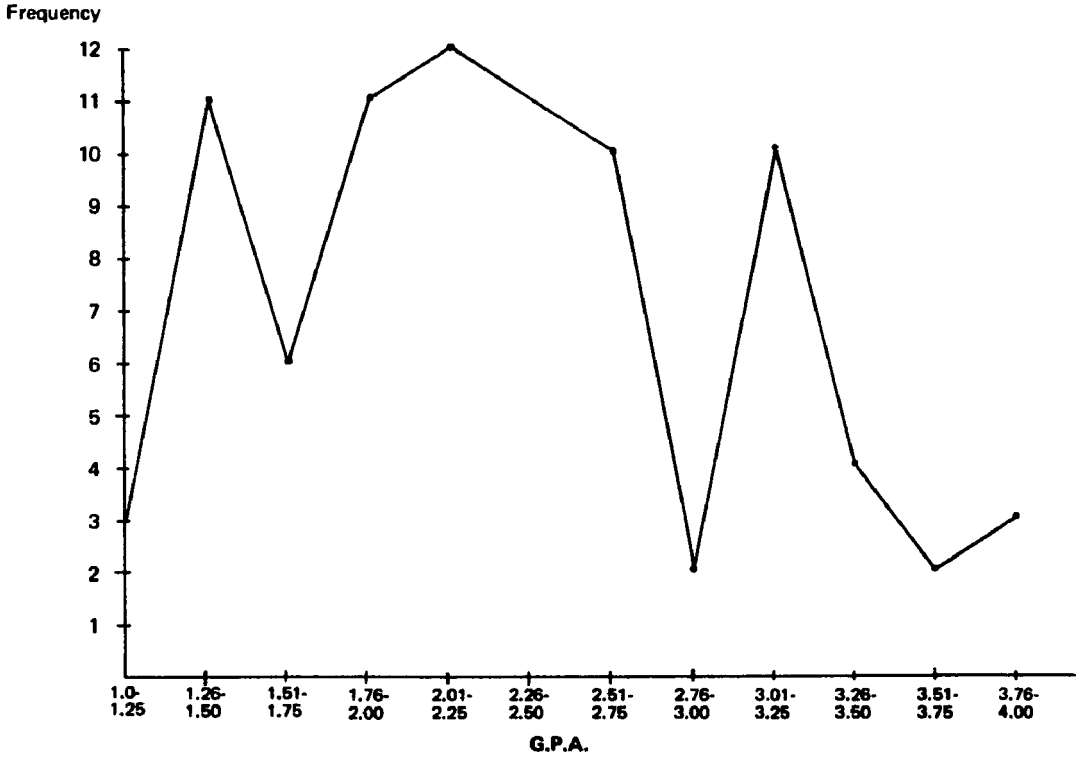


Fig. 3. Distribution of GPA--Total Group.

TABLE 4

FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS AND OF OFFICES HELD

Number of Organizations to which Subject Belongs	Number of Subjects
None	40
One	27
Two	10
Three	8
Seven	1
Number of Offices the Subject Holds	
None	68
One	13
Two	4
Four	1

It is apparent from Table 4 that about 53 percent of the boys belong to at least one organization but only 21 percent hold any office.

Seventy-eight percent of the total sample reported that they expected to attend college, in contrast to the fathers of the group, only 41 percent of whom had attended college.

With regard to family relationships, the data indicated that fathers tended to discipline the boys somewhat more frequently than mothers or both parents equally. Taking away privileges was the most frequently reported type of disciplinary action. Forty-four percent of the sample felt that their parents were about as strict as most kids', while 33 percent regarded their parents as more strict and 23 percent as less strict than most kids' parents.

Looking at peer relationships, more boys reported having a lot of friends and a few close ones than either a lot of friends to whom they felt equally close or a few close friends only.

Almost the same percentage of the respondents, about 74 percent, felt that they "sometimes" were the initiators of activities in their group and that their friends sometimes followed their ideas and suggestions. However, only one respondent said that his friends never followed his suggestions, and 24 percent of the group felt that their ideas were usually followed, in contrast to 11 percent who said they never initiated activities in their group and 15 percent who felt that they usually did so.

The percentage of subjects who regarded themselves to be more leaders than followers was somewhat smaller than the percentage of boys who felt they were more followers than leaders, but the percentage of subjects who reported usually sticking to their own point of view despite the opinions of others was slightly larger than the percentage that reported doing so only sometimes.

About 30 percent of the subjects reported that they worried about family relationships, 50 percent--about relationships with people their own age, 33 percent about schoolwork, 15 percent about athletics, 12 percent about health, and 60 percent about their future.

In summary, a number of generalizations can be made about the total group of subjects on the basis of the obtained background information. The sample appeared to be somewhat above average in intelligence. More than half of the subjects belonged to one or more clubs or organizations, but less than one-fourth held an office. Although less than

half of the fathers had attended college, more than three-fourths of the sons reported that they expected to do so. About half of the boys' fathers were engaged in white collar occupations and half in blue collar ones. In the subjects' families the most frequent disciplinarian was the father, and the preferred method of discipline was taking away certain privileges. Nearly half of the subjects felt that their parents were neither more nor less strict than those of most kids. The most prevalent friendship pattern reported was having "a lot of friends and a few close ones." About three-fourths of the group felt that their friends "sometimes" followed their ideas and that they, themselves, were sometimes the initiators of their group's activities. There were somewhat more boys who considered themselves to be followers than there were those who felt they were leaders. About half felt that they usually stuck to their own point of view despite what others thought. The respondent's future was the most frequently reported cause of worry, followed by relationships with one's peers, schoolwork, family relationships, athletics, and health.

4.22 Authoritarianism. The measure of authoritarianism used in the study was a 28-item version of the California F scale. Each item was scored on a six point scale, three representing the theoretical neutral point. The possible range of scores was 0 to 168, the theoretical neutral point being 84.

For the 86 subjects of this study, the scores ranged from 41 to 142. The mean score was 80.9 (S.D. 20.41), somewhat on the non-authoritarian side of the theoretical neutral point. Figure 4 represents the distribution of the F scale scores for the total group.

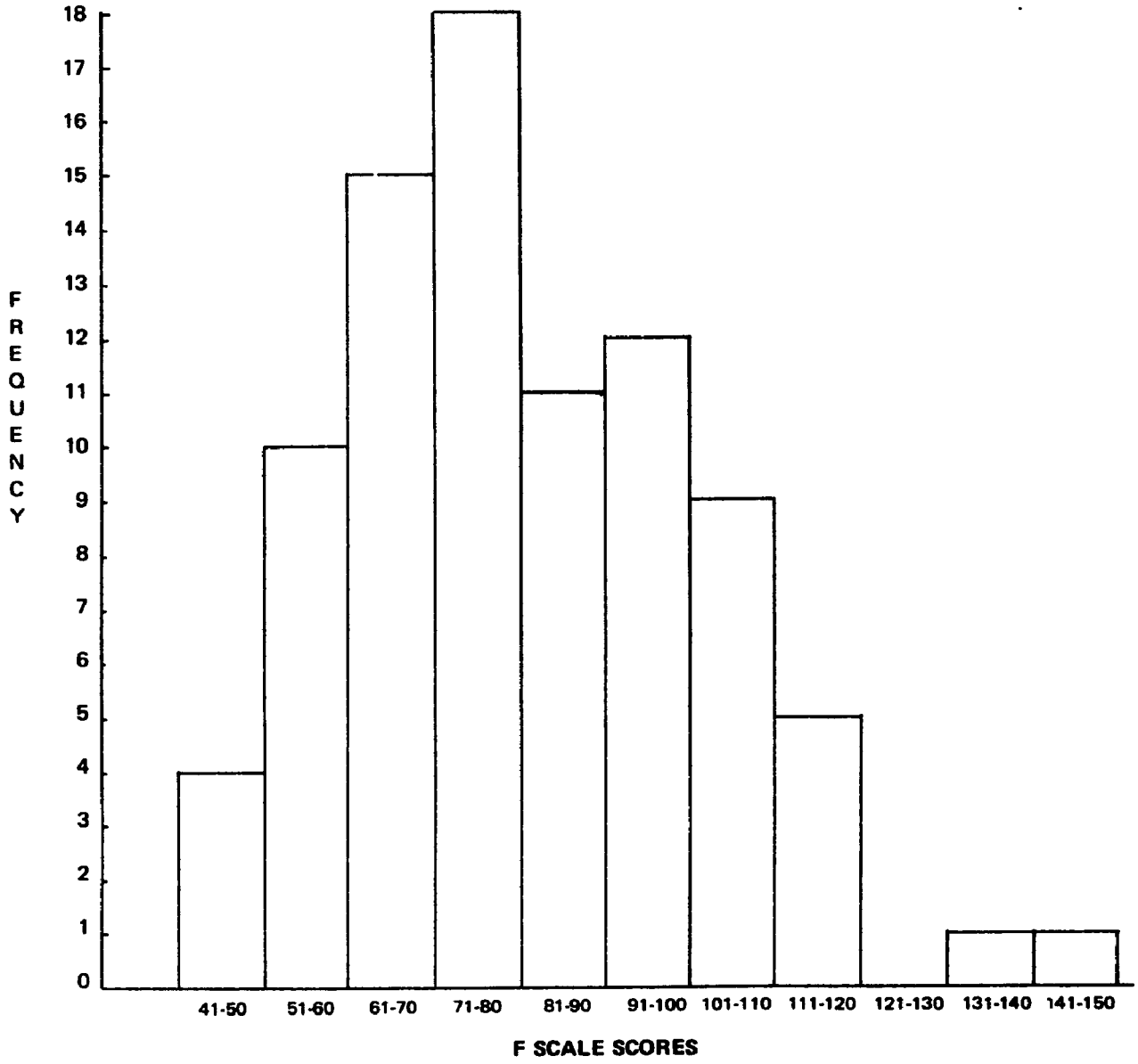


Fig. 4. Frequency Distribution of the F Scale Scores--Total Group.

The correlations between the F scale scores and a number of selected personality variables, for the total group of subjects in this study, were generally in agreement with previous theorizing and research, which holds that the authoritarian ideology represents the subordination of the ego to the superego, and, resulting from conflict and defense, and hence irrational, imposes restrictions upon receptivity to experience and effective cognitive functioning. Because the authoritarian is insecure about the effectiveness of his own internal moral control, he is believed to exaggerate the value and power of external authority and to develop a strong need to conform to the values and attitudes of his ingroup. The correlations between the F scale scores and a number of personality variables are presented in Table 5.

It is apparent from Table 5 that the correlations between the F scale scores and some of the other personality variables investigated in this study are generally in the direction that could be expected on the basis of previous studies. High scores on the F scale were correlated with a conventional moral orientation in moral judgment situations and, even more strongly, with the tendency to express strong preference for conventional values. Although the correlations with humanistic values and a humanistic moral orientation were in the right direction, the relationship was negligible. With the exception of the Perception of Reality scores on the first essay and Self-esteem on the second one, the relationships with the ego strength scores, though in the right direction, were also negligible. A significant negative correlation ($p < .01$) was obtained between the F scale scores and the IQ and the GPA.

TABLE 5

CORRELATIONS OF F SCALE SCORES WITH SELECTED PERSONALITY VARIABLES

Variable	Correlation with the F Scale
Values	
Humanistic	-.154
Obedience	.393**
Conventional morality	.438**
Over-controlled authority submission	.367**
Moral Orientation	
Humanistic	-.145
Conventional	.242*
Ego Strength	
Self-esteem I	-.163
Autonomy I	-.063
Perception of Reality I	-.257*
Self-esteem II	-.219
Autonomy II	-.319*
Perception of Reality II	-.176
IQ	-.371**
GPA	-.357**

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

In summary, the mean authoritarianism score for the 86 subjects of the study was very slightly on the nonauthoritarian side of a theoretical neutral point. Assuming that the conception of F developed in The Authoritarian Personality is valid, the boys in the sample, as a group, would fall very close to the midpoint on a continuum between authoritarianism and equalitarianism. Authoritarianism was positively correlated with a conventional moral orientation and the tendency to assign

primary importance to conventional values and negatively correlated with IQ and grade point average. The relationships with a preference for humanistic values, a humanistic moral orientation in moral judgment situations, and the ego strength variables were generally low, although all of them were in the negative direction that could be anticipated on the basis of existing theories.

4.23 Ego Strength. Two semi-projective items were devised in an attempt to tap some dimensions of the personality that are related to a person's ability to effectively cope with and adapt to emotionally stressful situations. The subjects were asked to describe their feelings, reactions, and coping strategies in two situations one of which dealt with an unexpected rejection by a best friend, the other--with parental opposition to independence. Although the global syndrome under investigation was ego strength, conceptualized as resiliency in handling stress, three particular aspects of that syndrome appeared more clearly discernible in the essays, therefore, every item was rated on a five point scale for each of the following dimensions: self-esteem, autonomy, and perception of reality (including freedom from need-distortion and empathy or social sensitivity).

Figures 5 and 6 represent the frequency distributions of the ego strength scores for the total group. Each score was the composite of scores assigned by two independent judges (interjudge correlations ranged from .45 to .83). No score was assigned if either judge deemed an essay to be insufficient basis for a rating on a particular dimension, therefore, the number of subjects with valid scores, ranging from two

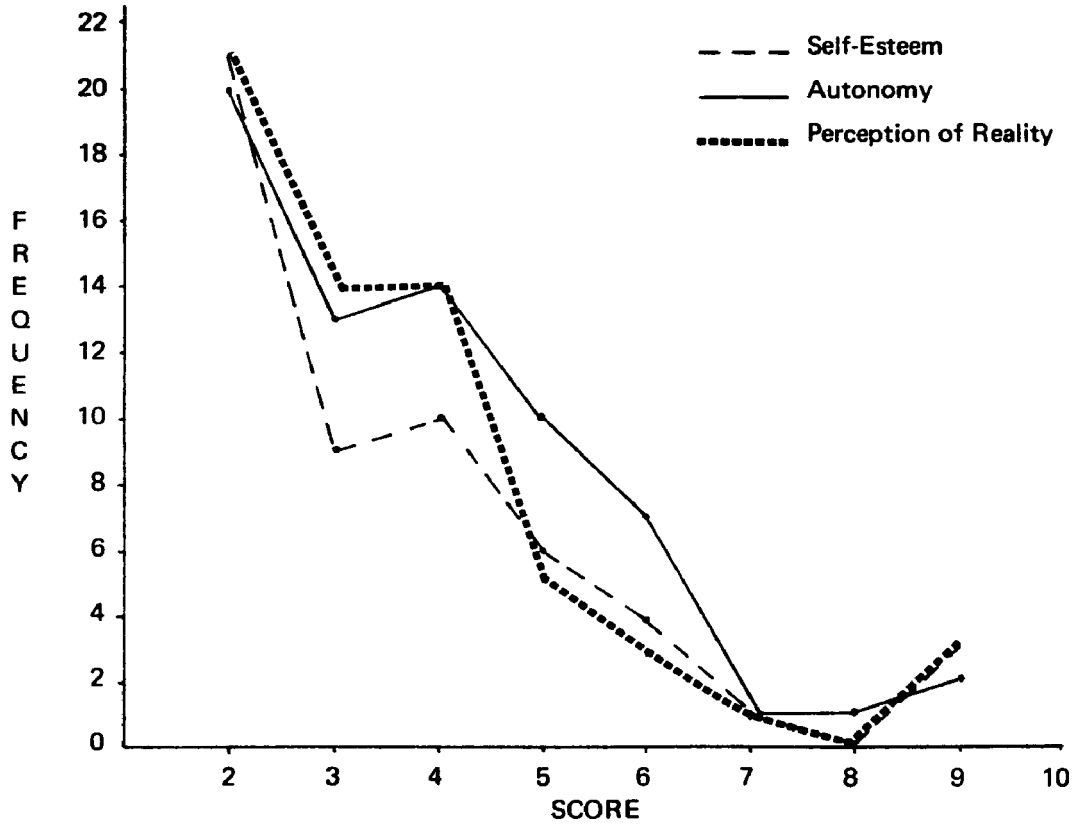


Fig. 5. Frequency Distribution of the Ego Strength Scores, Situation I--Total Group.

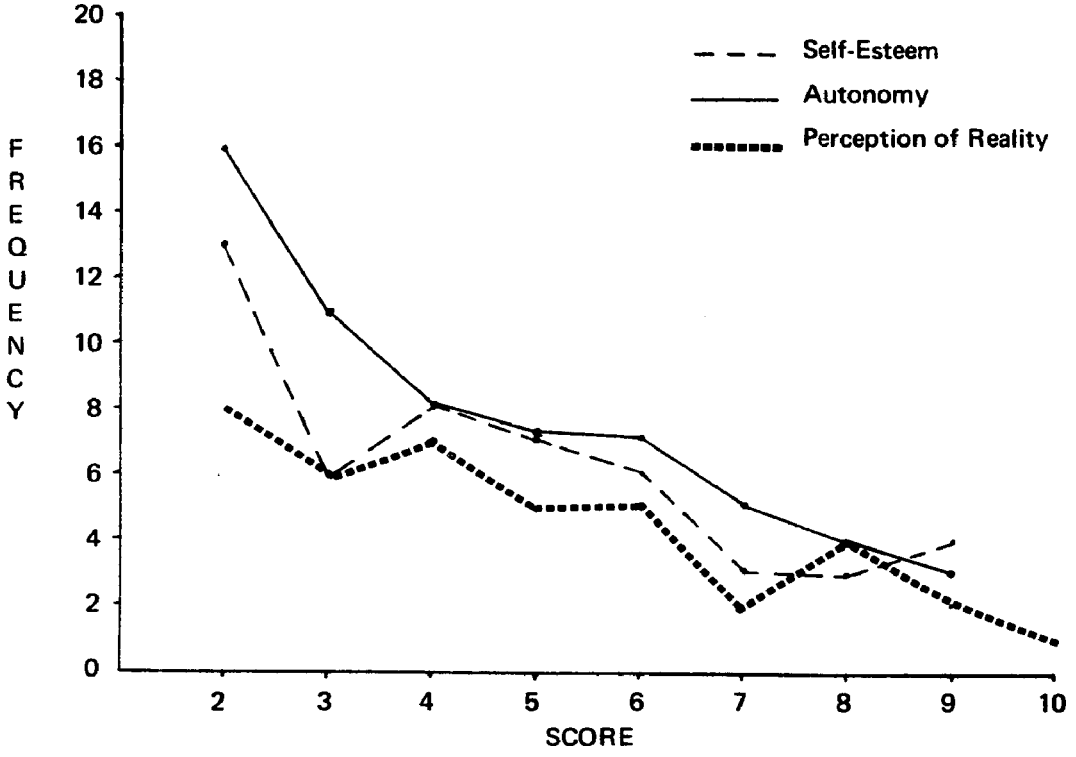


Fig. 6. Frequency Distribution of the Ego Strength Stores, Situation II--Total Group.

to ten, varied for the several dimensions. The means and standard deviations for the ego strength scores are presented in Table 6.

TABLE 6

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR THE EGO STRENGTH SCORES

Variable	Mean	S.D.	N
Self-esteem I	3.64	1.92	54
Autonomy I	3.82	1.75	68
Perception of Reality I	3.58	1.77	61
Self-esteem II	4.56	2.20	50
Autonomy II	4.39	2.18	61
Perception of Reality II	4.79	2.32	40

Although generally low, almost all of the correlations between the ego strength variables and certain other aspects of the personality were in the direction that could be expected on the basis of previous studies and the theories underlying them. The only score that failed to conform to these expectations was Perception of Reality II. Since this score was to a great extent based on the respondent's ability to suggest realistic plans for coping independently with the responsibilities of college life, it appeared likely that it represented the subject's knowledgeability and sophistication in this area as much as a true capacity to cope with the problems and responsibilities of life and an ability to work for constructive goals in a realistic manner. The intercorrelations of the six ego strength scores also seemed to point to the possibility that the PR II score was representative of something different than the other item scores. Table 7 indicates that while the correlations among all three dimensions on each item separately were

significant at the .01 level, the scores also intercorrelated across the items, except for the PR II score, which did not correlate significantly with any of the scores on the first item.

TABLE 7

INTERCORRELATIONS OF THE EGO STRENGTH SCORES

Variable	SE I	Aut. I	PR I	SE II	Aut.II	PR II
Self-esteem I						
Autonomy I	.856**					
Perception of Reality I	.811**	.713**				
Self-esteem II	.594**	.581**	.489**			
Autonomy II	.516**	.545**	.429**	.886**		
Perception of Reality II	.197	.131	.098	.530**	.472**	

**Significant at .01 level

As could be expected on the basis of existing theories, which suggest that authoritarianism is associated with impaired ego functioning, the relationships between authoritarianism and ego strength scores were negative. A significant (at the .05 level) negative correlation was found between the F scale scores and two of the ego strength scores, Perception of Reality I and Autonomy II. Although all of the other correlations between the F scale scores and ego strength variables were also negative, none of them reached statistical significance.

Positive correlations were obtained between the ego strength scores and IQ as well as GPA, but the only correlation that approached statistical significance at the .05 level was found between the IQ and Perception of Reality I.

That the obtained results did not provide an accurate estimate of the ego strength of the total group was suggested by the fact that the scores were generally very low. Possibly the essays did not reflect the conceptualized variables in a manner that could be adequately quantified. On the other hand, some weight was lent to the notion that the essays provided a crude estimate of the respondents' adaptability or ego strength by the correlations between the ego strength variables and certain other aspects of the personality.

4.24 Moral Orientation. Six moral judgment items, consisting of hypothetical transgressions which the subjects were asked to judge, were used as one index of the group's moral orientations. The responses were coded as external (oriented toward detection and punishment), conventional (showing rigid adherence to institutional norms regardless of consequences and circumstances), humanistic (showing concern for human consequences of behavior and consideration of extenuating circumstances), or internal (showing internal motivation but without any clear indication whether the value orientation was conventional or humanistic). The last coding category has to be distinguished from the use of the term "internal orientation" in its broader sense to include all internally motivated moral judgments, be they humanistic, conventional, or unclear as to the value orientation but clearly not based on external considerations.

The responses of most individuals, across the six moral judgment situations, showed elements of several moral codes, e.g., most subjects did not apply a single moral standard or principle exclusively and uniformly to every situation. To obtain an individual's External,

Humanistic, Conventional or Internal (undetermined value orientation) score, the scores in each category were added across the six items. The possible range of scores in each category was 0 to 36, a zero score indicating that the individual had not used the particular standard, while a score of 36 would indicate that the individual had used a single moral standard to support his judgment in every situation. In other words, a zero score indicated the absence of a particular moral orientation, and a score of 36 would represent a purely external, humanistic, or conventional orientation.

Figure 7 represents the frequency distribution of the major moral orientation scores. It is apparent that somewhat more than one-third of the subjects gave one or more responses in which acts were judged wrong because they might lead to detection and punishment of the actor. The rest of the boys used only variants of an internalized moral orientation to support their judgments.

The means and standard deviations for the moral orientation scores are presented in Table 8.

TABLE 8

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR THE MORAL ORIENTATION SCORES

Variable	Mean	S.D.	N[a]
External	8.75	5.73	33
Humanistic	16.60	7.06	81
Conventional	12.30	6.74	73
Internal	7.32	3.33	59
H + C + I	31.98	6.02	84

[a]Number of subjects who gave one or more responses coded in the particular category.

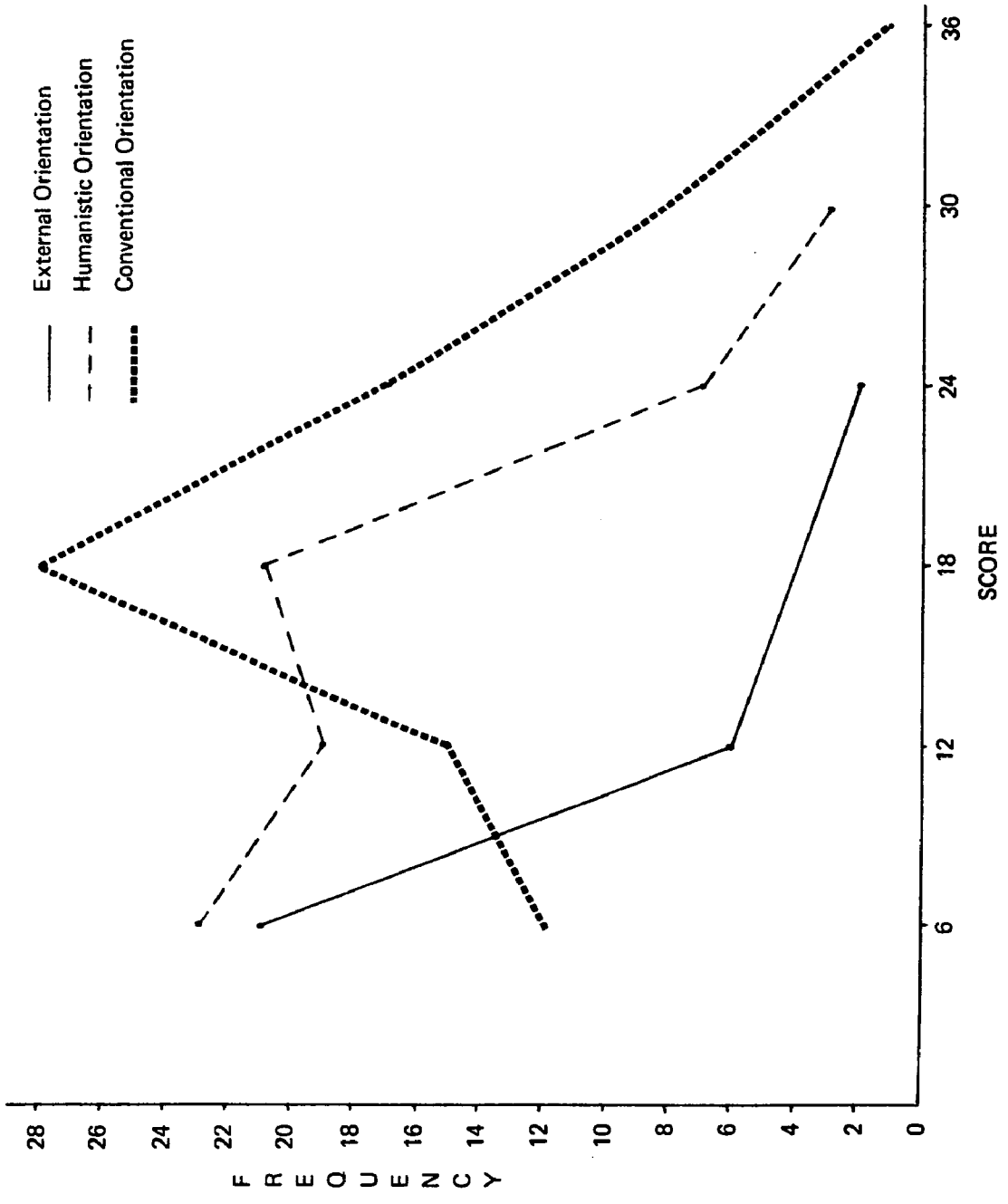


Fig. 7. Frequency Distribution of the Moral Orientation Scores--Total Group.

As Table 8 indicates, some type of internalized moral structure was dominant among the subjects. Although 33 individuals used externally motivated reasons to support their moral judgments, most of them did so relatively infrequently as the mean external moral orientation score of 8.75 indicates. When the different types of internalized moral structure are considered separately, the data indicate that humanistic responses were more prevalent than conventional ones the mean for the humanistic moral orientation scores being 16.60 and the mean for the conventional ones--12.30. A third group of internal responses, in which the value orientation was unclear, also contributed to the total internal group, the mean for these scores being 7.32.

The correlations between the moral orientation scores and other personality variables were generally in the direction that could be expected on the basis of previous theorizing and research. A significant positive relationship was found between the F scale scores and a conventional moral orientation, but the negative correlation between authoritarianism and a humanistic moral orientation did not reach the level of statistical significance. A low positive relationship was obtained between IQ and internal moral judgments and a somewhat higher negative relationship between IQ and external moral judgments, but neither of the correlations were statistically significant.

None of the correlations obtained between moral orientation scores and the ego strength variables was statistically significant. The general nature of the relationships between ego strength and a humanistic moral orientation appeared to be consistent with the theories of moral development researchers, who tend to view a humanistic moral

orientation as based upon the integration of ego and superego, and, therefore, associated with greater ego strength and flexibility. A rather high, though statistically insignificant, positive correlation was found between external moral orientation scores and Autonomy II, probably, because a self-reliant, internally based decision to use agression toward the friends was judged as showing a certain degree of autonomy. The relationships between a conventional moral orientation and the ego strength scores were negligible, with the exception of Perception of Reality II ($r = .17$). Low positive correlations were obtained between the tendency to make categorically conventional moral judgments and ego strength scores on the first situation, as well as Perception of Reality on the second situation. The general nature of the relationships among ego strength variables and conventional moral orientation was not consistent with the theory that conformity or conventionality is associated with relatively weak ego development and strict superego formation.

Relatively few significant relationships were found between moral orientation scores and expressed preference for certain value categories. A humanistic moral orientation had a significant negative relationship with preference for values in the conventional morality category and a conventional moral orientation was similarly associated with preference for humanistic values. On the other hand, the tendency to emphasize humanistic values was not significantly related to frequent use of humanistic standards or principles in support of one's moral judgments, and the use of conventional judgments, which stress an adherence to institutional norms regardless of consequences and

circumstances, was significantly related only to obedience values but not to the other conventional value categories. Preference for achievement values, including athletic achievement, had a significant positive correlation with a conventional moral orientation and a significant negative one with an external moral orientation. On the whole, the intercorrelations of the scores from the two moral indexes seemed to indicate that the different aspects of the respondents' moral structures, tapped by the two measures, were not completely consistent. That is, the moral values expressed by the subjects sometimes differed from the principles used in support of moral judgments.

To summarize, on the basis of moral judgment responses, the total group of subjects could be said to predominantly have a moral orientation characterized by independence of external sanctions rather than a moral orientation based on fear of detection and punishment. Since an external moral orientation, which is similar to Piaget's heteronomous stage and Kohlberg's premoral level of development, is much more common among very young children and tends to decrease with age, as previous research has indicated, the direction of the findings of this study would seem to generally agree with results that could be expected from the age group under investigation.

On the whole, the group produced more moral judgment responses which showed concern for human consequences of behavior (humanistic) than responses which showed a rigid adherence to institutional norms regardless of consequences and circumstances (conventional), but the difference between the mean humanistic and conventional moral orientation scores was not great.

A conventional moral orientation was positively correlated with authoritarianism and the tendency to assign primary importance to achievement and obedience values; it was negatively correlated with preference for humanistic values. A humanistic moral orientation was negatively correlated with conventional morality values and authoritarianism and positively correlated with preference for humanistic values, but only the first relationship was statistically significant. An external moral orientation had a negative relationship with the IQ, grade point average, and preference for achievement values; the last two relationships were statistically significant. Although many of the correlation coefficients failed to reach statistical significance, the intercorrelations among the moral orientation scores and other personality variables generally were in the direction that could be anticipated on the basis of existing theories. An exception was the positive relationship between conventional categorical moral judgments and the ego strength variables, which appeared to be inconsistent with the theoretical formulations.

4.25 Moral Values. A list of values was used to tap a different aspect of the subjects' moral structure. The measure was objective, consisting of a number of personal attributes some of which were moral, for example, consideration for others and obedience to rules, while others were non-moral, for example, leadership, popularity, achievement, and sense of humor. The subjects were asked to indicate the first, second, and third most important values, and each person's score was the accordingly weighted sum for the items in a particular category. Theoretically, valid scores ranged from one to eight, with a score of eight indicating that the respondent had made all three choices from items in the same

category.

The major categories were: humanistic values, such as going out of one's way to help others; "id" or pleasure-oriented values, such as being popular and doing things that are fun; conventional values, such as being neat and mannerly and going to church; obedience values, such as obeying parents and rules in general; impulse control values, such as thinking before acting; and achievement values, such as doing one's best.

As Table 9 indicates, over-controlled authority submission values, a combined category which includes conventional, obedience, and impulse control values, were assigned more importance by the total group than any other value category. Achievement values were stressed somewhat more than humanistic values, while the Id or pleasure-oriented values, for the group as a whole, appeared to be the least important category.

TABLE 9

MEANS AND STANDARD DEVIATIONS FOR THE LIST OF VALUES SCORES

Variable	Mean	S.D.	N[a]
Humanistic	2.23	1.79	41
Id	1.80	1.51	30
Over-controlled authority submission	2.52	2.00	46
Achievement	2.39	1.89	42

[a]Number of subjects who rated one or more items in a particular category as the first, second, or third most important value.

A significant negative correlation was obtained between both the IQ and grade point average and the tendency to stress the values subsumed in the over-controlled authority submission category. Preference for humanistic values was positively related to IQ and GPA, but the relationship was not statistically significant. It was interesting to note that the IQ and grade point average had an almost identical, very low positive correlation with the tendency to stress id values as well as the preference for achievement values.

In summary, it appeared that judging on the basis of preferences for personal attributes indicative of the respondent's value orientation, the group assigned greater importance to conventional values and to achievement than to humanistic values or to pleasure-oriented values, although the differences were rather slight. In addition to the intercorrelations among the value scores and other personality variables discussed previously, IQ and GPA were found to have a significant negative relationship with the over-controlled submission values, and a slight but positive relationship with the other value categories.

4.26 Scale of Internalness. One semiprojective story-completion item was used as an independent index of an internalized moral structure. The subjects were asked to complete a story in which the hero cheats in a swimming race and wins. A six point scale was used to indicate the extent to which the respondent's moral orientation was internalized, a score of one indicating a purely external or amoral orientation, while a score of six was used to indicate an internalized conscience with no evidence of concern with external detection and punishment or amoral reasoning to justify the transgression.

The results confirmed the findings based on the moral judgment responses. A majority of the story endings, about 59 percent, were concerned with the violation of moral principles, 22 percent of the subjects indicated predominantly a concern with external detection and punishment or used some type of amoral reasoning, while the remainder of the stories showed elements of both external and internal moral codes.

High scores on this measure had a highly significant positive correlation with the combined internal moral judgment category, which included humanistic, conventional, and internal (undetermined value orientation) responses. The relationship between internalness on this measure and on external moral orientation as demonstrated on the moral judgment responses, was negative but failed to reach statistical significance.

4.27 Summary. It appeared that with regard to the investigated background factors and personality characteristics the group tended to be somewhat more average or typical than unusual or distinctive.

The socioeconomic background of the group was generally upper-lower through middle-middle class, with white and blue collar occupations equally represented among the fathers of the sample. Possibly because of the proximity of a community college, educationally the group was upward mobile. Only 41 percent of the fathers had attended college, while 78 percent of the subjects expected to do so. Although well above the general population average, the group's mean IQ score of 114 appeared to be comparable to juniors and seniors in similarly situated schools.

The mean F scale score indicated that, as a group, the boys in the sample would fall very close to the midpoint on a continuum between authoritarianism and equalitarianism.

The morality or character indexes showed that most of the subjects had predominantly internalized moral structures. That is, they made more judgments about hypothetical transgressions on the basis of internalized moral standards or principles than on the basis of concerns over external sanctions. When the variants of an internalized conscience were examined separately, the group, as a whole, was oriented toward humanistic norms somewhat more frequently than towards conventional norms. That is, they produced more moral judgment responses emphasizing human concerns and sensitivity to extenuating circumstances than responses stressing adherence to institutional norms of society regardless of circumstances.

When the subjects' expressed preference for different moral and nonmoral values was considered, it appeared that the group, as a whole, assigned somewhat more importance to conventional, obedience, impulse control, and achievement values than to humanistic or pleasure-oriented values.

An examination of the intercorrelations among the personality variables showed that the general nature of the relationships was consistent with the expectations based on theoretical formulations and previous research findings.

4.3 COMPARISON OF THE ATHLETE AND NONATHLETE GROUPS

One of the assumptions on which this study was based was that athletes are not and should not be treated as a specific, univocal group, because important likenesses as well as differences may exist between athletes and nonathletes.

In this study the classification of each subject as an athlete or a nonathlete was based upon the number of years he had competed interscholastically in one of the major sports. Boys who had represented their high school in football, basketball, or baseball for two or more years were classified as athletes, while boys who had not competed interscholastically in one of the major sports for at least two years were classified as nonathletes. On this basis, the total group was subdivided into 44 athletes and 42 nonathletes.

The athlete and nonathlete groups were compared in terms of a number of background factors and personality characteristics. The biographical data were analyzed by means of the chi square statistic, while the scores obtained on the various personality measures were analyzed using the t test for the significance of the differences between group means. Stepwise regression was used to determine the personality variables that best predicted differential membership in the two groups. This was a multivariate analysis which provided a composite index for the discrimination between the groups.

In general the data seemed to point up more similarities than differences between the athlete and nonathlete groups.

4.31 Background Information. In terms of background information and biographical variables, the data obtained from the school's records and

the Background Information Questionnaire, the athlete and nonathlete groups appeared to have few significant differences.

A comparison of the two groups in terms of socioeconomic status showed that the fathers of the athletes were somewhat more frequently engaged in white-collar occupations and more of them also had some college education or a college degree, but, as Table 10 indicates, the difference between the two groups was not statistically significant.

TABLE 10

COMPOSITE SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS OF THE FATHERS ATHLETES AND NONATHLETES

Socioeconomic Status of the Father	Athletes		Nonathletes	
	N	%	N	%
Blue collar, some H.S.	5	11	8	20
Blue collar, H.S. graduate	14	32	14	35
Blue collar, some college	0	0	1	2
White collar, H.S. graduate	4	9	4	10
White collar, some college	8	18	5	13
White collar, college graduate	13	30	8	20
Total	44	100	40	100

Chi square 5.53 N.S.

From Table 11 it can be seen that more athletes than nonathletes reported that they expected to go to college, but the difference was not statistically significant.

TABLE 11

PLANS TO ATTEND COLLEGE
ATHLETES AND NONATHLETES

Plans to Attend College	Athletes		Nonathletes	
	N	%	N	%
Yes	37	86	29	71
No	6	14	12	29
Total	43	100	41	100

Chi square 2.92 N.S.

The mean IQ scores for the two groups were almost identical: the athlete mean was 114.93 (S.D. 10.19), and the nonathlete mean was 114.88 (S.D. 14.25). The athletes' mean grade point average was somewhat higher--2.41 (S.D. .65)--than the nonathletes' mean of 2.20 (S.D. .76).

From Table 12 it can be seen that the athlete group exceeded the nonathlete group in the number of organizational memberships. The difference, which did not reach statistical significance, appeared to be caused largely by the fact that most varsity athletes automatically become members of the Varsity Club. In retrospect it seemed that, possibly, Varsity Club membership should not have been included, since it did not reflect anything else than participation in interscholastic competition. The two groups did not differ in the number of offices held.

TABLE 12

NUMBER OF ORGANIZATIONAL MEMBERSHIPS
ATHLETES AND NONATHLETES

Number of Organizational Memberships	Athletes		Nonathletes	
	N	%	N	%
0	17	39	23	55
1	16	36	11	26
2	4	9	6	14
3	7	16	1	2
7	0	0	1	2
Total	44	100	42	100

Chi square 7.68 N.S.

The athletes and nonathletes were similar with regard to reported strictness of parents, type of discipline most commonly used (Table 13), and the parent who usually took the role of the disciplinarian.

TABLE 13

TYPE OF DISCIPLINE PREDOMINANTLY USED BY
THE PARENTS--ATHLETES AND NONATHLETES

Type of Discipline	Athletes		Nonathletes	
	N	%	N	%
Spank	4	10	5	13
Take away privileges	15	36	11	29
Act cold	3	7	2	5
Explain	10	23	11	29
Combinations of first three	5	12	4	11
Combinations of all types	5	12	5	13
Total	42	100	38	100

Chi square 1.71 N.S.

In general, both groups reported similar friendship patterns (Table 14), and there were no significant differences in regard to the frequency with which the respondents felt they initiated activities in a group or with which friends followed their ideas.

TABLE 14

MOST CHARACTERISTIC TYPE OF FRIENDSHIPS
ATHLETES AND NONATHLETES

	Athletes		Nonathletes	
Type of Friendships	N	%	N	%
A lot of equally close friends	14	33	12	32
A few close friends	11	26	6	16
A lot of friends and a few close ones	17	41	20	52
Total	42	100	38	100

Chi square 2.49 N.S.

Similarly, neither group had significantly more members who regarded themselves as leaders or as followers (Table 15). Both groups were also similar in terms of reporting that they usually stuck to their own point of view regardless of what others thought.

TABLE 15

PERCEPTIONS OF SELF AS BEING MORE A LEADER OR A FOLLOWER--ATHLETES AND NONATHLETES

	Athletes		Nonathletes	
Perceive Self as	N	%	N	%
More of a leader	18	44	15	39
More of a follower	19	46	18	46
In-between, both, don't know	4	10	6	15
Total	41	100	39	100

Chi square 0.65 N.S.

When the athlete and nonathlete groups were compared with regard to reported concern or worrying over several broad areas of life, the data indicated that the two groups tended to be similar in the extent to which they reported being concerned about family relationships, peer relationships, schoolwork, and health. Slightly more nonathletes than athletes reported that their future was a cause of concern, but the difference was not statistically significant as Table 16 indicates.

TABLE 16

FUTURE REPORTED TO BE AN AREA OF LIFE THOUGHT AND WORRIED ABOUT ATHLETES AND NONATHLETES

Think and Worry About Future	Athletes		Nonathletes	
	N	%	N	%
Yes	21	51	28	70
No	20	49	12	30
Total	41	100	40	100

Chi square 3.16 N.S.

The only biographical variables on which the two groups were found to differ significantly were those directly related to athletics. Members of the athlete group more frequently indicated that they would like to have a career connected with athletics. Their occupational preferences, besides playing with professional teams, included coaching, managing professional teams, and teaching physical education. As Table 17 indicates, the difference between the two groups was significant at the .05 level.

TABLE 17

OCCUPATIONAL PREFERENCES
ATHLETES AND NONATHLETES

Would Like to Have a Career Connected with Athletics	Athletes		Nonathletes	
	N	%	N	%
Yes	11	29	3	9
No	27	71	33	91
Total	38	100	36	100

Chi square 5.13 Significance level .05

From Table 18 it can be seen that a significantly larger number of the athlete group reported that their closest friends were athletes.

TABLE 18

CLOSEST FRIENDS--ATHLETES AND NONATHLETES

Closest Friends	Athletes		Nonathletes	
	N	%	N	%
Athletes	26	61	11	28
Nonathletes	13	31	24	62
Both	3	8	4	10
Total	42	100	39	100

Chi square 9.65 Significance level .01

More athletes than nonathletes felt that athletics was an area of life that caused them worry and concern. Table 19 shows the difference between the two groups to be significant at the .01 level.

TABLE 19

ATHLETICS REPORTED TO BE A CAUSE OF CONCERN
ATHLETES AND NONATHLETES

Think and Worry About Athletics	Athletes		Nonathletes	
	N	%	N	%
Yes	11	27	1	2
No	30	73	39	98
Total	41	100	40	100

Chi square 9.67 Significance level .01

In summary, athletes and nonathletes were found to be similar with regard to IQ, grade point average, socioeconomic background, the extent of participation in organized activities other than interscholastic athletics, socialization experiences in the family, friendship patterns, self-perceived role in the peer group, the tendency to maintain one's point of view, the extent to which they expressed concern about family and peer relationships, schoolwork and health. Although the differences were not statistically significant ($p < .10$), more athletes indicated that they expected to attend college, and more nonathletes reported that their future was an area of life which caused them worry and concern. In general, participation in interscholastic athletics appeared to have little or no relationship to most of the investigated biographical variables, with the exception of the ones directly related to athletics.

The two groups differed significantly on three variables. Considerably more athletes than nonathletes indicated that their

occupational preferences included a career connected with athletics. Both groups reported having significantly more friends from their own group, e.g. more athletes than nonathletes said that their closest friends were other athletes while more nonathletes reported their closest friends to be nonathletes. Finally, athletics was considered to be a cause of worry and concern by more athletes than nonathletes.

4.32 Authoritarianism. One of the assumptions on which this study was based was that organized competition may appeal to and elicit or strengthen authoritarian tendencies in the personality. Traditionally it has been taken for granted that the goals of organized competition can not be reached in a democratic structure. The assumption that competitive athletics, by virtue of tradition and organization, represent an authoritarian social system was based on anecdotal rather than empirical evidence. However, the sheer volume and pervasiveness of such evidence seemed to lend certain validity to do this assumption, as did the fact that not only the critics but also the supporters of the traditional approach to organized athletics recognize its authoritarian nature. The only difference between the two groups, in this respect, is that one views it as a detrimental, the other--a benign influence on the individual.

The relationship between the authoritarian personality syndrome and overt social behavior postulated by the authors of The Authoritarian Personality, as well as subsequent research findings which generally proposed that individuals with pronounced authoritarian personality trends would tend to persist in a social structure that was congenial and best fit their authoritarian dispositions, compellingly suggested

that organized athletics might provide the ideal environment for persons high on authoritarianism, while nonauthoritarian individuals might be more likely to seek other types of activities.

Contrary to these expectations, the data obtained in the present study showed that authoritarianism was not related to persistence in competitive athletics. If organized competition does tend to attract and retain individuals with strong authoritarian tendencies, as the anecdotal evidence suggests, in this case no natural selection or maintenance process had operated to cause differential participation among individuals who were high or low on authoritarianism. The obtained data indicated that the mean F scale scores obtained by the athlete and nonathlete groups were almost identical. The mean score for the athlete group was 81.77 with a standard deviation of 16.36, and the mean score for the nonathlete group was 79.98 with a standard deviation of 24.11. From Figure 8 it can be seen that the athlete group was somewhat more homogeneous.

Obviously, the expectation of a simple, direct relationship between authoritarianism and success in competitive athletics was naive and unwarranted in spite of its superficial logic and common sense appeal.

That the complexity of relationships between authoritarianism and overt social behavior is greater than suggested by some of the early research (F.H. Sanford, 1950; Goldberg and Stern, 1952; N. Sanford, 1956; Christie, 1952) was demonstrated by several later studies (I. Katz and Benjamin, 1960; Smith, 1965). When, in a study of 58 Peace Corps

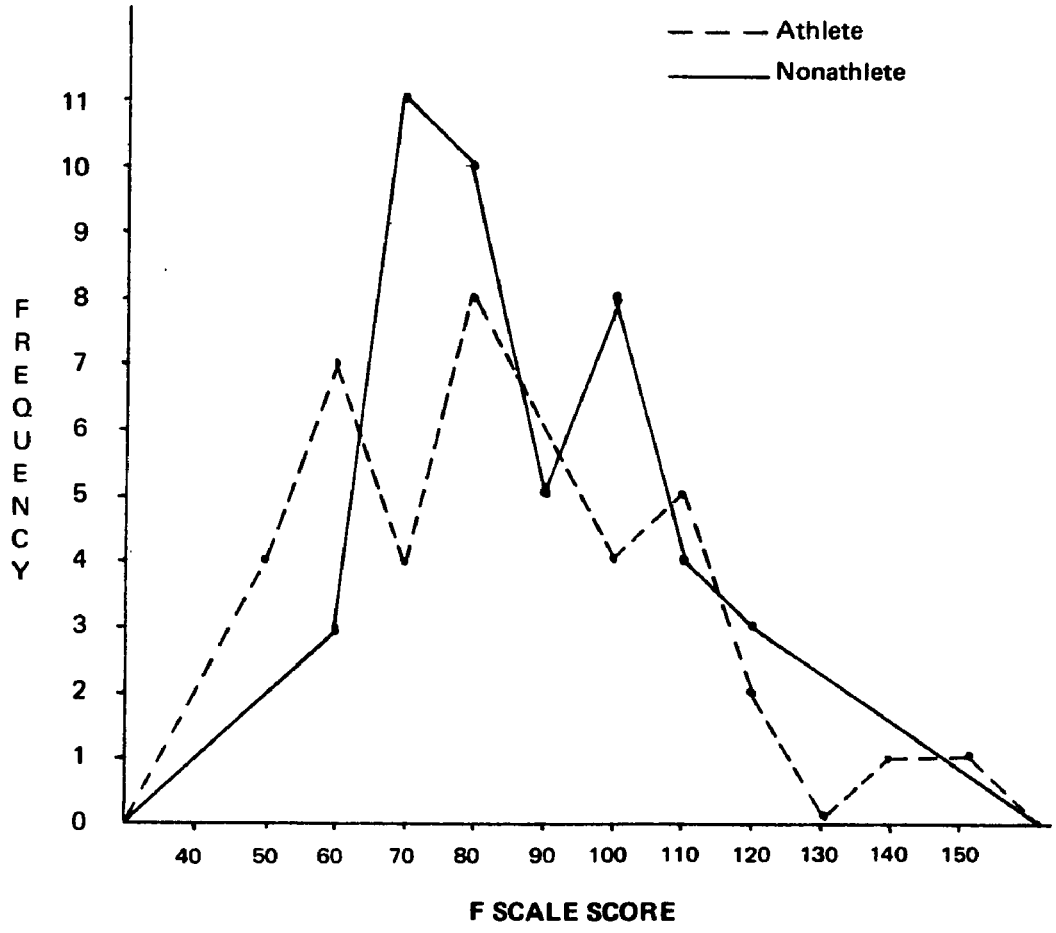


Fig. 8. Frequency Distributions of the F Scale Scores--Athletes and Nonathletes.

volunteers, Smith, Ezekiel, and Sherman found that, contrary to their expectations, authoritarianism was unrelated to performance in the Peace Corps, Smith pointed to the likelihood that a person's manifest behavior may deviate from that which would best fit his authoritarian dispositions, as a result of inner reasons to censor and guide his behavior or of environmental pressures to which he may be exposed. That is, deeper motives, characteristic defenses, and the press of perceived environmental needs may affect how a person sees and interprets social systems and role requirements within those systems, and his behavior is guided by a complex, unique combination of internal and external factors rather than by a simple and direct relationship between personality and overt social behavior. This line of reasoning is advanced with the contention that the same social role, e.g. the role of an athlete, may be perceived differently by different individuals, and that this perception affects both how the person behaves in the role and how the role requirements, in turn, affect him. In other words, there may be different ways of being an athlete as well as different reasons for becoming one. Persons with strong authoritarian tendencies may enter and persist in competitive, organized athletics because the trends inherent in athletics--conventionalism, displaced agression, highly structured and unambiguous situational contexts, an emphasis on power, toughness and traditional masculinity, etc.--closely parallel the trends in their personalities and make the atmosphere highly congenial. The same trends may be much less salient for the nonauthoritarian individual who would perceive and interpret the environment and the role requirements in light of his own internal and external reasons for becoming an athlete.

That certain situations elicit and strengthen authoritarian trends was shown by Christie (1952), who found that F scale scores of certain Army trainees increased as they became adjusted to military life. It seems possible that protracted membership in organized athletics may have similar effects on some individuals, but longitudinal research studies are needed in this area.

To summarize, no significant difference was found between the athlete and nonathlete groups with regard to mean authoritarianism scores. The variability of the two groups differed considerably, however, the athlete group being more homogeneous. It seems that instead of searching for simple direct relationships between personality and overt social behavior, the need is for research that combines analysis of the social structure and the role requirements therein with intensive studies of the individuals who take the roles, e.g. taking in account the leadership, group structure and social climate in competitive athletics, we have to investigate the potentialities, dispositions, and readinesses of the individuals involved in an attempt to determine what are the important factors that may appeal to or strengthen authoritarian tendencies and what factors may serve to counteract such tendencies in the personality.

4.33 Ego Strength. No significant differences were found between the athlete and nonathlete groups with regard to the ego strength variables. The means and standard deviations of the ego strength scores are presented in Table 20.

TABLE 20

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND T-STATISTICS FOR THE EGO STRENGTH SCORES

Variable	Athletes		Nonathletes		t	Sign
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.	ratio	Level
Self-esteem I	3.69	2.05	3.61	1.79	.16	N.S.
Autonomy I	3.83	1.84	3.81	1.65	.05	N.S.
Perception of Reality I	3.79	1.89	3.36	1.65	.93	N.S.
Self-esteem II	4.12	1.83	5.00	2.57	-1.40	N.S.
Autonomy II	4.23	1.99	4.55	2.36	-.56	N.S.
Perception of Reality II	4.52	2.34	5.05	2.30	-.72	N.S.

Assuming that the Situational Essays had some validity as a measure of ego strength, the similarity of the two groups would seem to suggest that there is no relationship between participation in organized competition and the ability to cope with emotionally stressful situations in a flexible and adaptive manner.

4.34 Moral Orientation. One of the assumptions on which this study was based was that participation in organized athletics is not related to character development. Character was conceptualized as the moral constitution or moral strength found in an individual, one aspect of which is the capacity to make moral judgments in accord with moral standards or principles.

An analysis of the moral judgment responses revealed important differences as well as similarities between the athlete and nonathlete groups. The moral orientation data are summarized in Table 21.

Although twice as many athletes produced one or more responses in which acts were judged wrong because they might lead to detection and

TABLE 21

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND T-STATISTICS
FOR MORAL ORIENTATION SCORES

Variable	Athletes			Nonathletes			t ratio	Sign Level
	Mean	S.D.	N	Mean	S.D.	N		
External	8.77	5.48	22	8.73	6.50	11	.02	N.S.
Humanistic	13.93	6.24	41	19.35	6.87	40	-3.72	<.001
Conventional categorical	10.11	5.39	37	9.19	4.79	27	.71	N.S.
Conventional (all)	13.71	6.97	38	10.77	6.23	35	1.89	<.10
Internal	7.25	3.69	28	7.39	3.04	31	-.16	N.S.
Humanistic + internal	18.43	7.34	42	23.88	7.22	42	-3.43	<.001
Humanistic + conventional + internal	31.05	6.36	42	32.93	5.60	42	-1.44	N.S.
Focus on character	7.0	3.10	22	6.83	3.37	23	.18	N.S.
Deserve-earn	5.57	1.79	14	6.00	1.66	14	-.66	N.S.
Justice balance	6.50	2.46	22	8.21	3.43	24	-1.93	<.10
Deserve-earn justice balance	9.37	10.52	30	8.97	4.57	31	.19	N.S.

punishment of the actor, the difference between the mean external moral orientation scores of the two groups was negligible.

The number of athletes who gave responses indicative of a categorical, unthinking attitude toward maintaining unexamined support for authority also exceeded the nonathletes, but again the difference between the means of the two groups was not statistically significant. Analysis of all responses in the conventional category indicated that almost the same number of athletes as nonathletes produced responses which stressed adherence to conventional norms of society, but the mean conventional moral orientation score of the athlete group was higher than that of the nonathlete group. The difference between the two groups did not reach statistical significance ($p < .10$).

The mean internal moral orientation scores, which reflected internal responses without a clear indication of a humanistic or conventional value orientation, were almost identical for the two groups.

When all three categories which represent an internalized conscience were combined, the mean score of the nonathlete group was somewhat higher but not significantly so.

The last four items in Table 21 were derived by combining subcategory scores across the main internalized conscience categories to obtain an indication of the extent to which the responses tended to focus on the character of the actor in the moral judgment situations, use the concept that one deserves what he earns, use other justice arguments, and use a combination of the justice concepts (deserving what one earns, the need for fairness, balancing the scales, etc.). As Table 21 indicates, the differences between the athlete and

nonathlete groups were negligible, with the exception of the nonathletes' more extensive use of justice concepts (other than the concept of deserving what one earns). The difference did not reach statistical significance ($p < .10$).

A highly significant difference ($p < .001$) was found between the mean humanistic moral orientation scores of the athlete and nonathlete groups. Although virtually every member of both groups had used humanistic principles in support of their moral judgments, the nonathletes had done so much more frequently. That is, they produced significantly more responses which emphasized the consequences of behavior for others, stressed certain interpersonal values such as mutual trust, and showed a sensitivity to extenuating circumstances and general human concerns.

The two groups also differed significantly with regard to mean scores in the combined humanistic-internal (undetermined values) category, but, as previously indicated, they were similar in terms of mean scores in the humanistic-conventional-internal category, which combined all variants of an internalized conscience.

In general the obtained data supported the assumption that participation in organized, competitive athletics is not related to character development, when character is conceived as moral strength or the capacity to make moral judgments on the basis of internalized moral standards rather than on the basis of concerns over external sanctions. The athlete and nonathlete groups did not differ significantly in their use of either externally or internally motivated moral judgment responses. In both groups some type of internalized moral structure was dominant.

Thus, if the growth of moral character is defined as progress toward a moral orientation based on an internalized conscience and away from a moral orientation based on fear of detection and punishment, participation in organized sports seems unrelated to character development.

The findings were very different, however, when the two types of internalized moral structure were considered separately. Although the members of the athlete group were somewhat more likely to give a legal or religious basis for their moral judgments and also tended to be more conventionally punitive, in general the two groups appeared to share conventional standards. The nonathlete group, however, produced significantly more responses with a humanistic moral orientation. That is, in their moral judgments the nonathletes more frequently considered extenuating circumstances and invoked principles in support of their judgments which were based on human need, rather than on convention and authority. Since both conventional and humanistic norms are stressed in our society, elements of both are found in the moral codes of most individuals. The finding that, as a group, the nonathletes were predominantly oriented toward humanistic norms seemed to suggest the possibility that a natural selection process might be operating, whereby most individuals whose orientations were incompatible with the goals of competition either did not enter or left the field.

Although a humanistic conscience, which gives priority to human concerns and believes that human needs are the underlying basis for complying with social norms could be considered as indicative of an advanced morality, the researchers on whose concepts and theoretical formulations the present investigation was based generally tend to treat

the two variants of an internalized conscience as different value orientations rather than developmental stages or levels. To maintain consistency with that approach, it is not proposed that athletic participation was related to character development per se, but rather that it seemed to be related to the type of internal moral standards which were given priority in support of judgments about the good and right of action in certain conflict situations.

To summarize, the moral structures of both groups were equally internalized, but the members of the athlete group were significantly less likely to give humanistic standards or principles in support of their moral judgments and somewhat more likely to phrase their responses in terms of violation of an institutional norm.

4.35 Moral Values. In general, the athlete and nonathlete groups appeared to be more similar with regard to professed choice of important values than with regard to the moral standards or principles used in support of moral judgments. However, the data also pointed up some important differences between the two groups.

As Table 22 indicates, the only statistically significant difference between the two groups was found in their support of values in the Achievement$_2$ category. Besides general achievement values, this category included success in athletics. Although the athlete group stressed general achievement values more than the nonathlete group, the difference was statistically significant only for the inclusive category.

The nonathlete group tended to emphasize humanistic values more than the athlete group, but the difference merely approached statistical significance ($p < .06$).

TABLE 22

MEANS, STANDARD DEVIATIONS, AND T-STATISTICS FOR VALUE SCORES

Variable	Athletes		Nonathletes		t ratio	Sign Level
	Mean	S.D.	Mean	S.D.		
Humanistic	1.98	1.66	2.72	1.81	-1.95	.06
Id	2.02	1.80	1.75	1.10	.83	N.S.
Conventional	1.29	.81	1.42	1.08	-.66	N.S.
Obedience	1.62	1.17	1.55	1.08	.28	N.S.
Conventional morality	1.88	1.61	2.05	1.92	-.43	N.S.
Impulse control$_1$	1.24	.58	1.50	1.18	-1.29	N.S.
Impulse control$_2$	1.48	.94	1.80	1.42	-1.22	N.S.
Over-controlled authority submission	2.40	1.82	2.90	2.11	-1.14	N.S.
Productive orientation	2.71	1.88	2.70	1.73	.04	N.S.
Achievement$_1$	2.12	1.35	1.87	1.45	.79	N.S.
Achievement$_2$	3.00	1.87	2.00	1.72	2.51	.01

Both groups were found to assign nearly equal importance to conventional and obedience values as well as to values indicative of a productive and frugal orientation.

A comparison of the mean scores indicates that the nonathletes placed somewhat greater stress on impulse control, anti-id values, while the athletes supported the id or pleasure-oriented values more strongly, but the differences were negligible.

Although the two groups differed significantly on only one of the value categories, a comparison of the ranks of the categories pointed up further differences. Table 23 presents the ranked group means for the eleven value categories and indicates the number of subjects in each group who gave priority to a particular category.

TABLE 23

RANKED MEANS OF VALUE SCORES

Variable	Mean	N	Variable	Mean	N
Athletes			Nonathletes		
$Achievement_2$	3.00	29	Over-controlled authority submission	2.90	25
Productive orientation	2.71	25	Humanistic	2.72	26
Over-controlled authority submission	2.40	21	Production orientation	2.70	26
$Achievement_1$	2.12	19	Conventional morality	2.05	13
Id	2.02	15	$Achievement_2$	2.00	13
Humanistic	1.98	15	$Achievement_1$	1.87	13
Conventional morality	1.88	12	$Impulse\ control_2$	1.80	14
Obedience	1.62	10	Id	1.75	15
$Impulse\ control_2$	1.48	11	Obedience	1.55	10
Conventional	1.29	5	$Impulse\ control_1$	1.50	9
$Impulse\ control_1$			Conventional	1.42	7

The differences between the relative importance assigned to each value category by the athlete and nonathlete groups are presented in Table 24.

The athlete and nonathlete groups differed considerably in their relative support of the eleven value categories. The greatest differences between the two groups were found in the importance assigned to $Achievement_2$ and Humanistic values. $Achievement_2$ ranked first for the athlete group, while for the nonathletes it was the fifth ranked value category. Humanistic values ranked second for the nonathlete group and sixth for the athlete group. The Over-controlled authority submission category, which subsumes values in the conventional, obedience, and impulse control categories, ranked first for the nonathletes and third for the athletes. General achievement values ($Achievement_1$) was ranked fourth by the athletes and sixth by the nonathletes, while id or pleasure-oriented

TABLE 24

COMPARISON OF RANKS OF THE VALUE CATEGORIES

Variable	Athlete Rank	Nonathlete Rank	Difference
Achievement$_2$	1	5	4
Humanistic	6	2	4
Id	5	8	3
Conventional morality	7	4	3
Over-controlled authority submission	3	1	2
Achievement$_1$	4	6	2
Impulse control$_2$	9	7	2
Productive orientation	2	3	1
Conventional	10	11	1
Obedience	8	9	1
Impulse control$_1$	11	10	1

values were fifth for the athletes and eighth for the nonathletes. From Table 24 it can be seen the two groups differed in their relative support of every value category.

To summarize, the two groups differed significantly in their expressed preference for only one of the value categories. The athletes chose achievement values, including athletic achievement, more frequently than the nonathletes. The higher importance assigned to the humanistic values by the nonathlete group caused a difference between the two groups that approached but did not reach statistical significance. A comparison of the ranks of the categories for each of the groups revealed that the athletes and nonathletes differed most in their relative support of values in the Achievement$_2$ and Humanistic categories, although every one of the eleven value categories ranked differently for the two groups. In general, the athlete group stressed achievement values, while the

nonathlete group placed greater importance on the conventional, anti-id values subsumed in the Over-controlled authority submission category and on humanistic values.

4.36 Scale of Internalness. The data obtained on the semiprojective story-completion item corroborated the findings based on the moral judgment responses. Both groups similarly produced story endings in which the events following the hero's transgression (cheating in the swimming race) were predominantly determined by the actor's own internal standards, rather than by concerns over external sanctions. Although the nonathlete mean internal moral orientation score was slightly higher than the athletes' mean, the difference was negligible. Thus, it could be said that the results obtained on this independent measure of internalization were consistent with those obtained on the moral judgment responses, both indicating that, in general, the moral structures of the athlete and nonathlete groups were equally internalized.

4.37 Comparison of Relationships Among the Personality Variables. An exploration of the relationships among the investigated personality characteristics for each of the groups revealed further similarities as well as differences between the athletes and nonathletes.

When the intercorrelations among the personality variables for the total group were investigated, it was found that the direction of the relationships was generally in accord with the expectations based on previous theorizing and research, although the correlation coefficients often failed to reach statistical significance.

Examined for each group separately, many of the intercorrelations among the personality variables were similar for the two groups. These relationships generally followed the trends set by the total group.

Although the two groups tended to differ more often on the relative size of the correlation coefficient, in some instances the direction of the relationship was reversed for one or the other of the groups. Since many of the correlation coefficients were statistically insignificant, an attempt was made to select for discussion those differential relationships which appeared to contribute to a general trend or seemed to be particularly interesting and unusual, rather than to present the correlations strictly on the basis of statistical significance. Intercorrelation matrices of the personality variables for the athlete and nonathlete, as well as the total group are presented in Appendix H.

The relationships between authoritarianism and the other personality variables pointed to some interesting differences between the two groups. A significant negative correlation (correlations referred to as "significant" are those which reach at least the five per cent level of confidence; those referred to as "highly significant" reach the one per cent level or better) between the F scale scores and a humanistic moral orientation, as well as expressed preference for humanistic values, was found for the nonathletes, while for the athlete group the same variables had a positive, though statistically insignificant relationship. Thus, the findings for one group confirmed the negative relationship between authoritarianism and a humanistic moral orientation, hypothesized by moral development researchers, while the

findings for the other group failed to conform to these expectations. When all of the intercorrelations between the F scale scores and the other personality variables were compared for the two groups, a general trend appeared to be discernible. On the whole, the relationships for the nonathlete group were more consistent with previous research findings than the relationships for the athlete group. Table 25 summarizes those correlation coefficients for the two groups which best seem to illustrate the trend by pointing up the differences between the athletes and the nonathletes.

TABLE 25

COMPARISON OF CORRELATIONS BETWEEN F SCALE SCORES AND SELECTED PERSONALITY VARIABLES

Variable	Correlation with the F Scale	
	Athletes	Nonathletes
Values		
Humanistic	.13	-.34*
Conventional	.10	.32*
Obedience	.30	.48**
Over-controlled authority submission	.22	.47**
Moral Orientation		
Humanistic	.18	-.32*
Conventional	.09	.42*
H - I	.25	-.49**
Ego Strength		
Self-esteem I	.15	-.39*
Perception of Reality I	-.06	-.41*
Autonomy II	.10	-.57**

*Significant at the .05 level
**Significant at the .01 level

Another difference between the two groups was found in the varying strength of the negative relationships between over-controlled authority submission values, a category which subsumes conventional, obedience, and impulse control values, and both the IQ and grade point average. Expressed preference for over-controlled authority submission values was associated with a low IQ and grade point average for each of the groups, but the negative correlation was statistically significant only between IQ and the values for the athletes and GPA and the values for the nonathletes. The relationship between the values and grade point average was almost nonexistent for the athlete group ($r = -.09$), while for the nonathlete group it approached statistical significance at the .01 level.

Although none of the correlations approached statistical significance, it was interesting to note that for the athlete group GPA was positively related to the tendency to support impulse control values and negatively related to the tendency to support achievement values, while for the nonathlete group the direction of the relationships was reversed; GPA had a negative correlation with impulse control values and a positive correlation with achievement values.

When the intercorrelations among the moral orientation scores and the IQ and GPA were explored, there seemed to be a general tendency for the IQ and GPA to be positively correlated with a conventional moral orientation and negatively correlated with a humanistic moral orientation for the athlete group. For the nonathletes, the direction of the relationships was, again, reversed--IQ and GPA were positively

related with a humanistic moral orientation and negatively with a conventional one.

The positive relationship between IQ and internal moral judgments, consistently obtained in previous research, was not unequivocally demonstrated in the present study. For the athlete group, the correlation between internalness and IQ was negligible for the moral judgment responses and negative for the story-completion item. The association between GPA and both internalness scores was negligible. For the nonathlete group the findings were more consistent with previous research--both measures of internalness were positively related with the IQ and GPA, although none of the relationships was statistically significant, and both internalness scores had a stronger relationship with the GPA than with the IQ. The external moral orientation scores were negatively related with IQ and GPA, the correlation coefficients for the nonathlete group being markedly higher than for the athlete group. Statistical significance, however, was reached only by the correlation between external moral orientation and grade point average.

When the relationships between the ego strength scores and other personality variables were examined, a few rather inexplicable differences between the two groups were noted. Self-esteem II had a significant negative correlation with preference for conventional and obedience values for the nonathlete group, while for the athletes the association between the two variables was in the positive direction, though statistically insignificant.

For the athlete group, Autonomy II had a significant positive correlation with expressed preference for obedience values, for the

nonathletes, the relationship was negative.

For the nonathlete group, a high score on the Scale of Internalness was associated with high scores on the second Situational Essay. The correlations were highly significant for Self-esteem and Perception of Reality and significant for Autonomy. For the athlete group the relationships were negative and very low for Self-esteem and Perception of Reality.

For the athletes, Perception of Reality II had a significant negative relationship with a humanistic moral orientation and a significant positive correlation with a conventional moral orientation. The direction of the relationships was reversed for the nonathlete group, but the correlations did not reach statistical significance.

An examination of the intercorrelations of the ego strength scores revealed that, for the nonathletes, the three scores on the second essay intercorrelated at the .01 level, but for the athlete group Perception of Reality II appeared to have a trivial relationship with Self-esteem II and a higher but insignificant one with Autonomy II.

In general it appeared that the differences between the two groups pointed to a very slight tendency for the nonathlete ego strength scores to be related to other personality variables in a somewhat more logically consistent manner.

A comparison of the relationships between expressed values and moral orientation scores for the two groups pointed to some differences between the athletes and nonathletes.

While the relationship between an external moral orientation and preference for values in the over-controlled authority submission

category was negligible for the athlete group, a significant positive correlation was found for the nonathletes.

A slight trend seemed to be discernible with regard to the differential relationships between a humanistic moral orientation and humanistic as well as conventional morality values. In general, the athletes who used humanistic standards in moral judgment situations stressed both humanistic and conventional morality values more than the nonathletes. For the nonathletes, a highly significant negative relationship was found between a humanistic moral orientation and preference for conventional morality values and a negligible relationship between a humanistic moral orientation and preference for humanistic values. For the athletes, the correlation between a humanistic moral orientation and preference for humanistic values was higher, while the negative relationship between a humanistic moral orientation and conventional values did not reach statistical significance.

The tendency to make moral judgments in categorically conventional terms had a significant relationship with achievement values for the nonathletes and a negligible relationship for the athletes. A conventional moral orientation, on the other hand, had a significant positive correlation with impulse control values for the athletes, while for the nonathletes it had a highly significant relationship with obedience values and a significant one with conventional morality values.

The scores in the category which combined all variants of an internalized moral orientation (humanistic, conventional, and undetermined value orientation) were negatively associated with id, conventional and impulse control values for both groups. For the athlete group the

negative correlations between an internalized conscience and the tendency to support pleasure oriented and conventional values were statistically significant, while for the nonathlete group statistical significance was reached by the negative correlation between an internalized conscience and support of impulse control values.

A comparison of the correlations between internal scores in moral judgment situations and on the story-completion item showed that for the athlete group a highly significant positive relationship existed between the two measures, but for the nonathletes the relationship failed to reach statistical significance.

In summary, when the intercorrelations among the investigated personality variables for each group were examined separately, it was found that similarities as well as differences between the groups existed. Although the majority of the correlation coefficients were statistically insignificant, all of the data were taken into consideration and explored in an attempt to discover some trends that might lead to new insights and generally increase familiarity with the characteristics of the two groups.

It appeared that many of the relationships that were discovered when the intercorrelations among the personality variables for the total group were studied, applied to both groups. In general, these relationships were also consistent with previous research findings.

The two groups were found to differ on a number of intercorrelations in terms of the strength of a relationship, although the direction of the relationship was sometimes reversed for one or other of the groups. Since the differences between the groups were not statistically

significant, the findings were presented to suggest possible tendencies for differential relationships among various personality characteristics in the athlete and nonathlete groups, rather than to prove that such differences exist.

4.38 Stepwise Regression. The personality variables were analyzed using a stepwise regression computer program (PSCC) in order to determine those variables which emphasized the differences between the athlete and nonathlete groups and best predicted group membership. The stepwise regression summary table is presented in Table 26.

As Table 26 indicates, the variable which best predicted membership in the athlete or nonathlete group was the combined humanistic and internal (undetermined value orientation) moral orientation score.

Although on the t test the difference between the two groups was trivial, the regression analysis data indicate that IQ was the second best predictor of differential group membership when all the variables were considered simultaneously.

The tendency to stress achievement values, including achievement in athletics, was the variable which made the third most important contribution in predicting membership in the athlete or nonathlete group.

On the t tests the difference between the two groups was significant at the .001 level on the humanistic-internal moral orientation scores and at the .01 level on the achievement value scores. The results of the stepwise regression analysis indicated that in addition to the variables on which significant differences were found between the mean scores of the two groups, IQ was important in discrimination between the two groups when all of the investigated personality variables were

TABLE 26

SUMMARY TABLE--STEPWISE REGRESSION
OF ALL VARIABLES

Variable	Multiple R	Multiple RSQ	Increase in RSQ	F Value to Enter or Remove
Humanistic + internal	.3816	.1456	.1456	14.3146
IQ	.4987	.2487	.1031	11.3951
Achievement$_2$	.5566	.3098	.0610	7.2496
Focus on character	.5864	.3439	.0341	4.2134
Achievement$_1$	.6096	.3716	.0277	3.5226
GPA	.6285	.3950	.0234	3.0547
Obedience	.6411	.4109	.0160	2.1170
Conventional morality	.6601	.4358	.0248	3.3853
Justice balance	.6763	.4574	.0216	3.0276
Deserve-earn + justice balance	.6906	.4769	.0195	2.7968
Over-controlled authority submission	.6995	.4893	.0124	1.7928
Humanistic values	.7109	.5054	.0162	2.3881
F scale	.7173	.5145	.0091	1.3449
Internal	.7241	.5243	.0098	1.4671
E	.7315	.5350	.0107	1.6113
Perception of reality II	.7368	.5428	.0078	1.1737
C	.7387	.5457	.0029	.4381
CC	.7458	.5562	.0105	1.5778
Self-esteem II	.7489	.5609	.0047	.7107
Deserve-earn	.7534	.5677	.0068	1.0163
Productive orientation values	.7553	.5704	.0028	.4107
Autonomy I	.7572	.5733	.0029	.4271
Perception of reality I	.7599	.5774	.0041	.5947
Impulse control$_1$	.7605	.5784	.0010	.1479
Conventional values	.7611	.5792	.0008	.1163
Humanistic + conventional + internal	.7612	.5795	.0002	.0343
Self-esteem I	.7614	.5797	.0002	.0309
Id	.7615	.5799	.0002	.0275
Impulse control$_2$	.7617	.5802	.0003	.0393
Autonomy II	.7617	.5802	.0000	.0019
Authority	.7617	.5802	.0000	.0011
Scale of internalness	.7617	.5802	.0000	.0011

considered simultaneously, in spite of the fact that the mean IQ scores for the athlete and nonathlete groups were almost identical.

4.39 Summary. In general, a comparison of the athlete and nonathlete groups in terms of the investigated background factors and personality characteristics pointed up more similarities than differences between the two groups.

With regard to background information the two groups differed significantly only on the items which were related to athletics. The athletes more frequently reported that their occupational preferences included careers connected with athletics. They also more frequently reported that athletics was an area of life which caused them frequent worry and concern. There was a slight tendency for the nonathletes to have a somewhat lower socioeconomic background, to report fewer college plans, and to indicate that their future was a cause of worry and concern, but the differences between the two groups were not statistically significant. The friendship patterns, extent of participation in various organizations, self-perceived role in the peer group, and socialization experiences in the family appeared to be similar for the two groups.

No significant differences were found between the mean IQ scores or grade point averages, and the two groups were also similar in terms of the mean F scale scores. However, the nonathlete group tended to be more variable, especially with regard to the F scale scores; their range was 101 points, and the athletes' range was 64 points. The two groups also appeared to be similar with regard to the ego strength variables.

When the moral orientation scores were examined, several differences between the two groups emerged. The major difference between the athletes and nonathletes was found with regard to the principles or standards used in support of moral judgments, e.g. the nonathletes produced significantly more moral judgments which showed concern for human consequences of behavior and consideration of extenuating circumstances. The difference between the mean humanistic moral orientation scores of the two groups was significant at the .001 level. The mean conventional moral orientation scores indicated that the athletes produced somewhat more moral judgments which stressed adherence to institutional norms regardless of circumstances and consequences, but the difference did not reach statistical significance. Twice as many athletes as nonathletes used judgments based on fear of detection and punishment, but the mean external moral orientation scores of the two groups were similar. When the variants of an internalized moral orientation were combined, the mean scores of the two groups indicated that the athletes and nonathletes possessed an equally internalized conscience. Moreover, both groups were predominantly internally oriented and used externally motivated reasons to support their moral judgements relatively infrequently.

Another significant difference between the two groups was found with regard to expressed preference for moral and nonmoral values. The athletes assigned highest importance to achievement values, while the nonathletes primarily supported conventional and humanistic values.

When the intercorrelations among the personality variables were explored, several trends seemed to be discernible. For the athletes, a conventional moral orientation was associated with the IQ, GPA,

preference for achievement values and preference for impulse control values. Achievement values ("to do well in school work," "to do well in sports," and "to try your best in everything you do") were given the highest priority by the athlete group, while impulse control values ("to think before you act," "to know how to spend money wisely," "to put work before play") ranked ninth, and preference for achievement values had a negative relationship with grade point average, but preference for impulse control values and GPA were positively correlated. For the nonathletes IQ and GPA were negatively correlated with a conventional moral orientation and positively correlated with a humanistic moral orientation. Grade point average had a positive relationship with achievement values and a negative one with impulse control values. The broad trends for the athlete group appeared to be relationships among a conventional moral orientation, IQ, GPA, and preference for impulse control values, while for the nonathlete group the relationships among a humanistic moral orientation, IQ, GPA, and preference for humanistic values appeared to be more important.

One of the major assumptions on which this study was based was that athletes are not and should not be treated as a distinct, univocal, homogeneous group, because as many differences may exist among the subgroups within a total group of athletes as there are between a group of athletes and nonathletes. In general, the findings supported the related assumption that similarities as well as differences exist between athletes and nonathletes. The differences within the athlete group will be investigated in the following chapter.

4.40 Factor Analysis. A General Factor Analysis Computer Program (PSCK) was used to explore relationships among the investigated personality variables in an attempt to discover whether some common dimensions could be identified which could be used to describe groups or clusters of the variables under investigation.

On the basis of the data from the total group, the analysis produced five factors, which are presented in Table 27. Factor I appeared to be related to the capacity to make moral judgments on the basis of internalized standards or principles rather than on the basis of concern over external factors. The individual who would be assessed high on Factor I would possess an internalized conscience, probably tend to be oriented predominantly toward humanistic rather than conventional norms, and have the tendency to use justice concepts in support of his moral judgments. He would also express preference for humanistic values. Such an individual could be said to have a relatively strong and flexible moral structure.

Factor II was negatively associated with authoritarianism and the tendency to stress the values subsumed in the over-controlled authority submission category, especially the conventional and obedience values. The individual who would be assessed high on Factor II would probably be something of a non-conformist, relatively low on authoritarianism, and tend to de-emphasize conventional, obedience, and impulse control values.

Factor III appeared to relate to conventionalism of a different type from the expressed preference for conventional values negatively associated with Factor II, and to achievement orientation. The

TABLE 27

ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX--TOTAL GROUP

Loading	Name of Measure
Factor I	
.40	Humanistic values
-.63	Authority moral orientation
-.77	External moral orientation
.54	Internal moral orientation
.49	Humanistic + internal
.86	Humanistic + conventional + internal
.47	Justice balance moral orientation
Factor II	
-.49	F Scale total score
-.63	Conventional values
-.79	Obedience values
-.93	Conventional morality values
-.85	Over-controlled authority submission values
Factor III	
.63	$Achievement_1$ values
.67	$Achievement_2$ values
-.66	Humanistic moral orientation
.76	Conventional categorical moral orientation
.83	Conventional moral orientation
Factor IV	
.79	$Impulse\ control_1$ values
.92	$Impulse\ control_2$ values
.78	Productive orientation values
Factor V	
.60	Self-esteem I
.54	Autonomy I
.66	Perception of reality I
.78	Self-esteem II
.82	Autonomy II
.64	Perception of reality II

individual who would be high on Factor III would possess an internalized conscience, but he would tend to make moral judgments on the basis of religious or legal norms without regard for extenuating circumstances and human consequences of behavior. He would also express strong preference for achievement values. Such an individual could be said to possess a moral structure that is rigidly focused on adherence to institutional norms, or a conventional moral orientation, and to have a strong need for success.

Factor IV was associated with a preference for impulse control and general achievement values. The individual who scored high on Factor IV would tend to stress the importance of the values contained in the Protestant Ethic--thrift, work, and success.

Factor V involved the ego strength variable. The individual who would be assessed high on Factor V would probably have the capacity to cope with emotionally stressful situations in a flexible and adaptible manner. He would basically tend to consider himself to be a good, capable, and strong person, his decisions would probably be made on the basis of inner need rather than external support, and he would have a capacity for empathy as well as for relatively undistorted appraisal of reality.

In general it appeared that the factor analytic results were helpful in suggesting some common traits or dimensions underlying the original set of variables. Factor I was associated with an internalized, predominantly humanistically oriented conscience, and it had a relatively high negative loading for an external moral orientation, thus, perhaps it could best be defined in terms of moral character, connoting the

entire continuum between the bipolar characteristics. Factor II was related to authoritarianism, obedience, and the support of specific conventional values. Since the loadings were negative, the factor, perhaps, could be defined in terms of non-conformity. Factor III was associated with rigid adherence to institutional norms even in the face of human need, as in the moral dilemmas posed by the moral judgment situations, and with support of success values. It also had a negative loading for a humanistic moral orientation and appeared to be characterized by a different type of conventionality from that represented by Factor II. Inasmuch as a humanistic and a conventional moral orientation are two variants of an internalized conscience or moral character, this factor could probably be defined in terms of moral standards or moral orientation, although it also involved a strong need for achievement which was associated with a conventional rather than a humanistic moral orientation. Factor IV was related to preference or support of values which generally resembled the value content of the Protestant Ethic. Factor V, which was associated with self-esteem, autonomy, and perception of reality, could be labeled "Ego Strength."

When the analysis was repeated using only the athletes' data and limiting the number of factors to be rotated to four, the results were generally similar as Table 28 indicates.

Factor I, which was associated with self-esteem, autonomy, and perception of reality could appropriately be called "Ego Strength," although a negative loading for another characteristic was also involved. This variable represented the tendency to make judgments about the right or wrong of an act on basis of the likelihood of getting caught and

TABLE 28

ROTATED FACTOR MATRIX--ATHLETES

Loading	Name of Measure
Factor I	
.56	Self-esteem I
.67	Autonomy I
.74	Perception of Reality I
.75	Self-esteem II
.71	Autonomy II
.65	Perception of Reality II
-.45	Authority (External moral orientation)
Factor II	
.68	Impulse control$_1$
.59	Impulse control$_2$
.90	Productive orientation
.74	Achievement$_1$
.65	Achievement$_2$
.55	Conventional Categorical Moral Orientation
.70	Conventional Moral Orientation
Factor III	
.52	Conventional values
.82	Obedience values
.93	Conventional morality values
.91	Over-controlled authority submission values
Factor IV	
.52	Humanistic values
.43	Scale of Internalness
-.50	External moral orientation
.78	Humanistic moral orientation
.52	Internal moral orientation
.61	Humanistic + internal
.68	Humanistic + internal + conventional
.66	Focus on character
.51	Justice balance

punished, or, an external moral orientation.

Factor II involved three subgroups of characteristics with relatively large, positive coefficients. The individual who would be assessed high on this factor would probably have a high need for success and a tendency not to act impulsively. He would also tend to uphold authority and established institutional norms rather rigidly and make moral judgments about the right or wrong of an act on legal or religious basis regardless of extenuating circumstances and human consequences. In general, Factor II represented support of the Protestant Ethic values and a conventional moral orientation.

Factor III could be interpreted as a conformity factor. Individuals assessed high on this factor would tend to assign a great deal of importance to such values as obeying rules and parents, going to church, being neat and clean, and having good manners. They would also have a lower than average tendency to act impulsively.

Factor IV could be defined as the humanistic factor. Individuals assessed high on this factor would tend to give priority to human needs and consider extenuating circumstances in their judgments about the right or wrong of a transgression. The factor also had a relatively high positive loading on the total internal moral orientation variable and a negative loading for external moral orientation.

In summary, the common dimensions that emerged from the athletes' data were ego strength, conventional moral orientation combined with a strong need for achievement and impulse control, conformity to conventional values, and a humanistic moral orientation.

CHAPTER V

RESULTS--II

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The major purpose of this chapter was to focus on a group of high school athletes in an attempt to discover new insights and ideas and to increase the understanding of and familiarity with a frequently somewhat stereotyped group.

Most research in athletics has been customarily directed at previously designated groups such as athletes at a certain age level or participants in specified sports. The major goal, generally, has been to identify differences between groups of individuals. Although the generalizability of such findings is a major advantage, research focusing exclusively upon group differences emphasizes averages and group characteristics to such an extent that important within-group differences are overlooked and stereotyping rather than understanding of the group can be the result. The assumption that sharing a descriptive label implies uniformity in other respects leads to uniform approaches and seemingly eliminates the need to search for and explore the complexities of a problem.

Although comparisons between the athlete and nonathlete groups were made in the present study, it was felt to be important to go beyond these initial findings and explore for subgroups and individual differences which could be masked when the athletes were treated as a

homogeneous group. Tentatively, the following postulations were formulated:

1. Varsity athletes are not and should not be treated as a specific, univocal, homogeneous group, because as many differences may exist among the subgroups within a total group of athletes as there are between a group of athletes and a group of nonathletes.
2. The same experiences in organized competition may be perceived and handled in diverse ways; learnings derived from athletics will differ from individual to individual.

The purposes of this chapter are:

1. To explore the structure of the athlete group by focusing on alternative sets of subgroups.
2. To describe four distinctive subgroups in some detail and explore the similarities and differences among them.
3. To explore the connection between athletic participation and different personality types by focusing on five individuals and describing in some depth the different ways of being an athlete.

It will be recalled that when the athlete group as a whole was compared with the nonathlete group, it was found that the two groups were similar with regard to most of the investigated background factors and personality variables. Some significant differences, however, were also found to exist: as a group the athletes were significantly less humanistic in their moral judgments, and they assigned more importance to achievement values.

The situation, however, appeared to be much more complex when the athletes were not approached as a single entity. Computer search for structure or patterns within the athlete group resulted in the identification of various sets of subgroups, which were found to differ significantly from one another on a number of variables. Subsequent interviews with representative individuals from four distinctive subgroups further emphasized the complexity of the problem by suggesting that the dynamics of being a high school athlete differed for different kinds of individuals.

In general, the data appeared to support the preconceptions; however, more important than the differences between the athlete and nonathlete groups were the differences among the subgroups of individuals who shared the athlete label but differed significantly in respect to the characteristic constellations of personality variables and the ways in which they perceived and handled the athletic experience.

5.2 CLUSTER ANALYSES

Cluster analysis, a relatively new exploratory technique, appeared to represent a promising approach to research in athletics, because its most powerful potential is the isolation of subgroups within populations that have traditionally been treated as homogeneous. The computer program identifies clusters of individuals within a specified group, a cluster being a smaller subgroup within which the individuals tend to be more alike on a set of variables than individuals selected at random from the total group. The aim was to develop new understandings about the athlete group, without preconceived notions about the emerging

subgroups or about the important variables on the basis of which the subgroups could best be delineated.

The analysis was repeated several times to explore the effects of different sets of variables. The group was rearranged each time on the basis of similarities or differences on the particular combination of variables used, therefore, different sets of variables could cause an individual to belong to different clusters on successive runs of the program. Furthermore, different variables could come up as important in the identification of different types of clusters.

The intent was to explore the different ways of looking at and describing a group of athletes and to spotlight some of the patterns existing within the larger group, rather than to interpret the total output or to classify individual athletes in specific groups each time the analysis was repeated.

After the initial run, on which all of the thirty-three investigated personality variables were used as basis for clustering, the analysis was repeated with twenty-three variables and, then, with nine variables. Each time those variables were selected which more significantly differentiated a particular cluster, that is, on which the cluster means, represented by the weighted T-scores, were more widely separated from the overall group mean. To further explore the group structure and to see what types of subgroups would emerge on the basis of scores obtained on a particular measure, the analysis was repeated first using the six ego strength scores and, then, the twelve moral orientation scores. The variables used to form the clusters in each of the runs of the program are presented in Table 29.

TABLE 29

VARIABLES USED IN FIVE RUNS OF THE CLUSTER ANALYSIS PROGRAM

Variable	33V.	23V.	9V.	Ego Strength	Moral Orientation
F	X				
Self-esteem I	X	X		X	
Autonomy I	X	X	X	X	
Perception of Reality I	X	X		X	
Self-esteem II	X	X		X	
Autonomy II	X	X	X	X	
Perception of Reality II	X			X	
Humanistic Values	X				
Id	X	X	X		
Conventional	X	X			
Obedience	X	X	X		
Conventional Morality	X	X	X		
Impulse Control$_1$	X	X			
Impulse Control$_2$	X	X			
Over-controlled authority submission	X	X	X		
Productive Orientation	X	X			
Achievement$_1$	X	X	X		
Achievement$_2$	X	X			
Scale of Internalness	X				
IQ	X	X			
GPA	X	X			
Authority	X				X
External	X				X
Humanistic	X	X			X
Conventional Categorical	X		X		X
Conventional	X	X			X
Internal	X	X			X
Humanistic + Internal	X	X	X		X
Humanistic + Conventional + Internal	X	X			X
Focus on Character	X				X
Des.-earn	X				X
Justice Balance	X	X			X
Des.-e. Justice Balance	X				X

5.21 Clusters Based on 33 Personality Variables. Among the factors that may be associated with the formation of clusters are the number and spread or standard deviation of the variables. Variables having a greater standard deviation tend to be more effective in separating a cluster from the total group than variables with a limited range, and homogeneous clusters are more readily formed when the number of variables is small. Therefore, the total data set was subjected to analysis by the computer program to identify the variables which were more important in separating any given cluster from the total group and to explore the combined effect of all the investigated personality variables.

In thirty-nine iterations through the data, the computer produced five clusters which accounted for all of the cases. Although the clusters produced in the initial and middle stages of the run are generally smaller and more homogeneous, satisfactory clusters were still formed even as the analysis entered the terminal stages. It can be seen from Figure 9 that notwithstanding the number of variables and the size of the clusters, the pattern of each of the subgroups is distinguishable from the others on most of the measurements.

Cluster I, containing eleven cases and produced after sixteen iterations, was the largest but, nevertheless, the most homogeneous subgroup identified. Its more distinguishing characteristics were the tendency to support id or pleasure-oriented values and to de-emphasize conventional, obedience, impulse control, productive orientation, and general achievement values. Its support of humanistic values was not as strong but exceeded that of any other subgroup. This group also

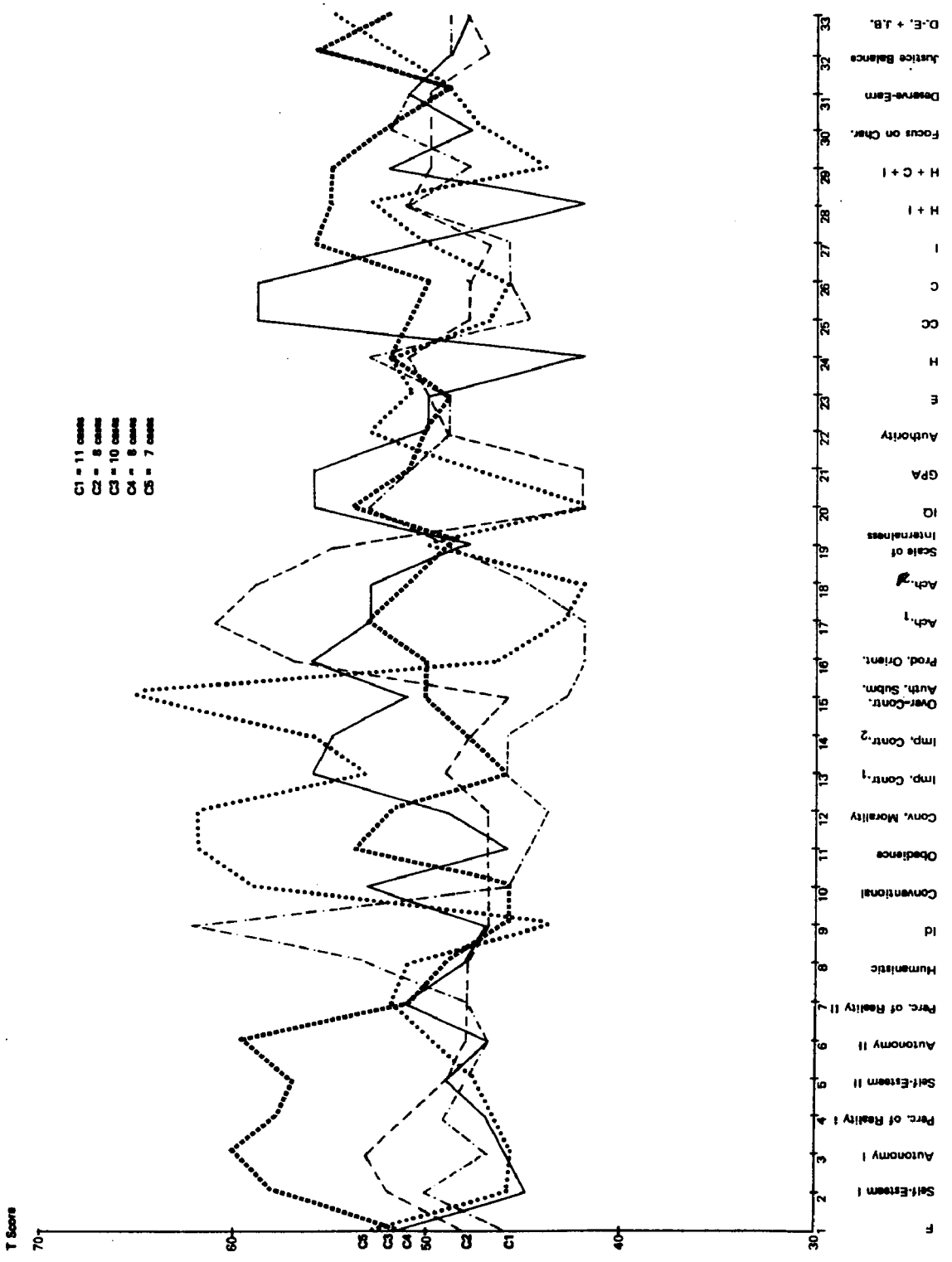


Fig. 9. A Comparison of the Means of Clusters Based on 33 Variables.

appeared to be the most humanistic and least conventional in terms of moral judgment responses. It was the least authoritarian, had a mean IQ somewhat above the overall group mean, and, though it expressed little regard for achievement values, its grade point average was also slightly above the total group mean.

Ranking next in homogeneity, Cluster II with eight cases had fewer distinguishing characteristics, the most important being its preference for achievement values and productive orientation values, a low IQ and low GPA. The group's support of any other values was below the overall group mean as was its tendency to give conventional moral judgment responses.

Cluster III, containing ten cases, produced more conventional and less humanistic moral judgment responses and was characterized by the highest IQ and grade point average. The group expressed preference for impulse control and productive orientation values and, to a lesser extent, for conventional (but not obedience) and achievement values. The ego strength scores, particularly on the first situational essay, were low, while the F scale scores were somewhat above the overall group mean.

The most distinguishing characteristic of the eight cases in Cluster IV was high scores on the ego strength variables. The group de-emphasized id, conventional, and impulse control values but tended to stress obedience and achievement values somewhat. Its IQ and GPA, like those of the hedonistic Cluster I, were somewhat above the overall group mean. Although the group was not outstandingly humanistic in its moral judgments, it had the highest scores in the combined humanistic-

internal category, because of the frequency of internal moral responses with an undetermined value orientation. There was a tendency for the group to use justice arguments in moral judgments.

Cluster V, containing 7 cases, was the strongest supporter of conventional and obedience values, and the group's weighted T-score in the combined over-controlled authority submission category was more widely separated from the overall group mean than any variable for any of the clusters. This group gave the least amount of support for pleasure-oriented and achievement values, was the most authoritarian, and shared the lowest IQ ranking with Cluster II, although its GPA was considerably higher. Unlike Cluster III, which was the most conventional in its moral judgments and also showed marked preference for the values subsumed in the over-controlled authority submission category, Cluster V, which expressed much higher preference for these values, appeared to be as unconventional as Cluster I in respect to moral judgment responses.

5.22 Clusters Based on 23 Personality Variables. As Figure 10 shows, the composition and characteristics of the five subgroups changes when the number of variables on which the clusters were based was reduced to 23.

Clusters I and II showed the fewest changes. Cluster I supported id values and de-emphasized all conventional, productive orientation, and achievement values. It was humanistic in its moral judgments and had a relatively high IQ and GPA, while Cluster II stressed achievement values and was characterized by a low IQ and GPA.

Cluster III emerged as equally supportive of pleasure-oriented values but notably different from Cluster I in terms of grade point

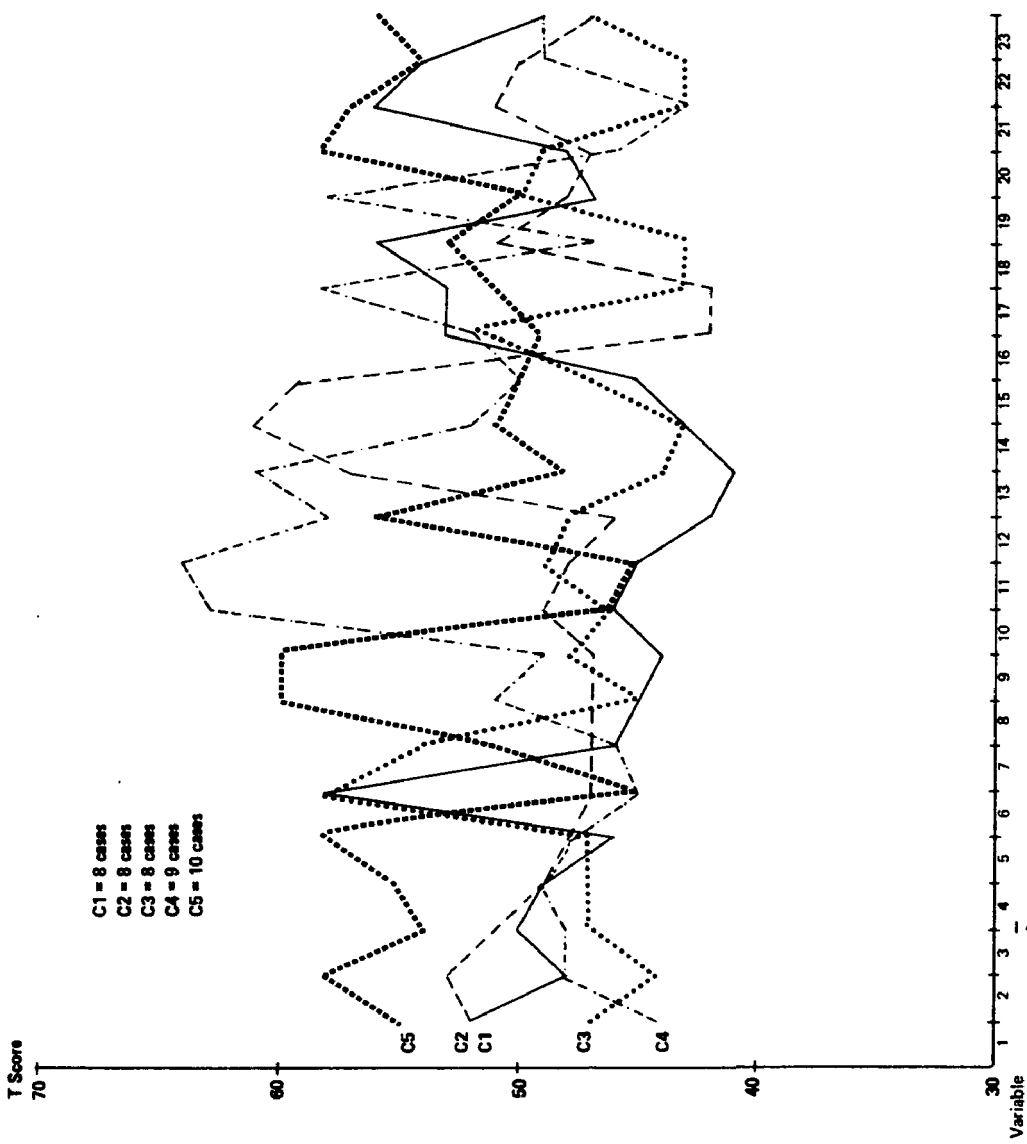


Fig. 10. A Comparison of the Means of Clusters Based on 23 Variables.

average and humanistic moral judgment responses, the T-score for the latter being the lowest of all five clusters.

Cluster IV resembled Cluster III from the previous run in that it strongly supported impulse control and productive orientation values, had a high GPA, and a conventional moral orientation. However, the group also supported over-controlled authority submission values, tended to be more humanistically oriented, and its IQ was markedly lower.

Cluster V was characterized by high ego strength scores, preference for obedience and conventional morality values, and the tendency to produce internal moral judgment responses with an indeterminate value orientation.

5.23 Clusters Based on Nine Personality Variables. Figure 11 shows the clusters formed on the basis of nine variables which were selected from the original 33, because their weighted T-scores were more widely separated from the overall group mean. The four clusters accounted for all of the cases.

Cluster I was characterized by low ego strength scores, preference for pleasure-oriented values, and de-emphasis of obedience, conventional morality, over-controlled authority submission, and achievement values. The group's moral orientation was humanistic-internal rather than conventional.

Cluster II assigned the highest importance to achievement values, had relatively high ego strength scores, and produced the highest number of moral judgment responses in the combined humanistic and internal category. The group was the least conventional in terms of moral judgment responses, and it also gave little support to conventional values.

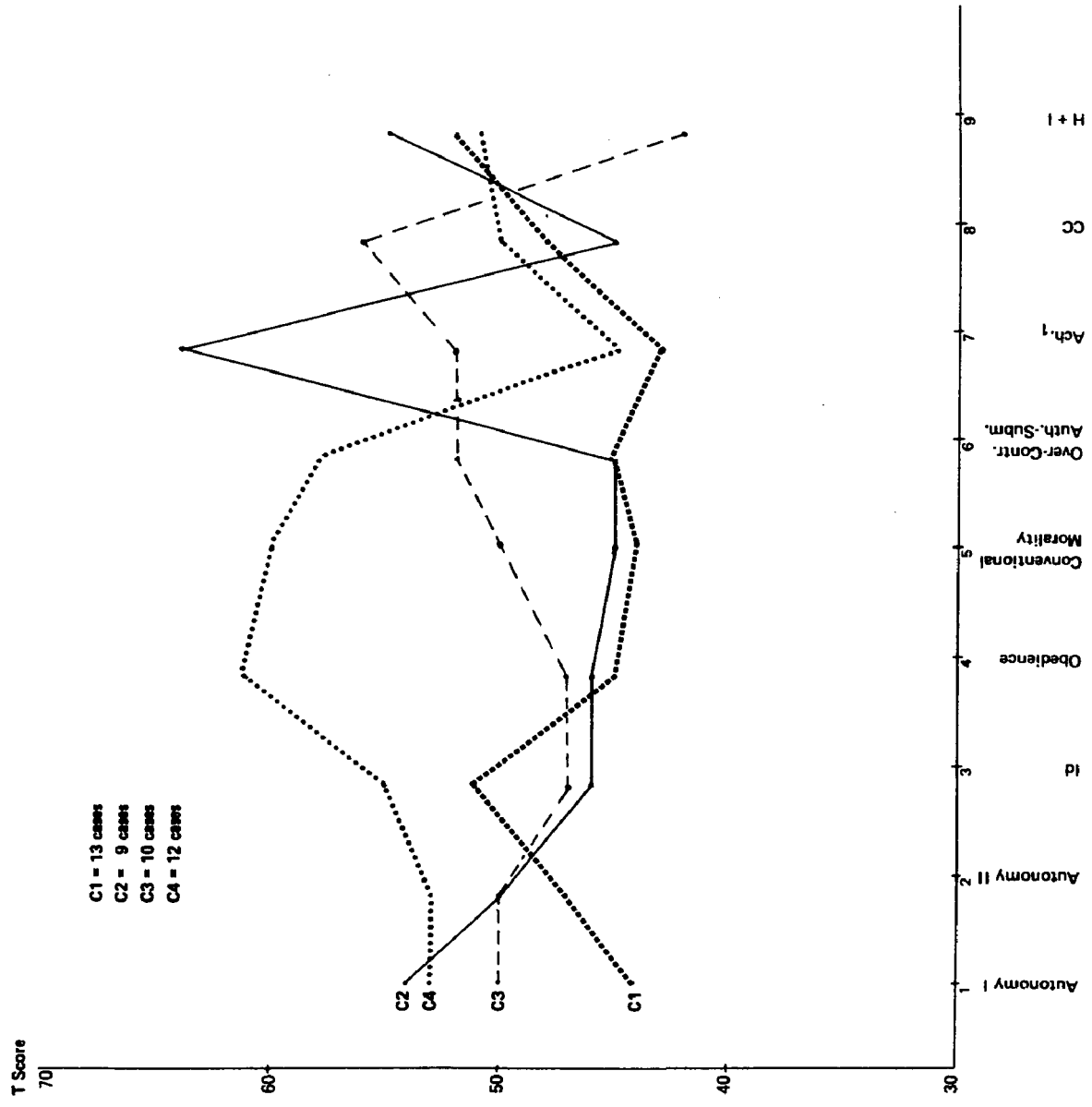


Fig. 11. A Comparison of the Means of Clusters Based on 9 Variables.

Cluster III was the most conventional and least humanistic subgroup in terms of moral judgment responses. It assigned little importance to id and obedience values, but its support of the conventional values subsumed in the over-controlled authority submission category, as well as of achievement values, was close to the overall group mean, as were the ego strength scores.

Cluster IV was characterized by its strong support for obedience, conventional morality, and over-controlled authority submission values as well as pleasure-oriented values.

5.24 Clusters Based on Six Ego Strength Scores. When the group was clustered on the ego strength variables, four distinct subgroups were identified. As Figure 12 indicates, Cluster I scored low on the first situational essay and at the group mean on the second, while the pattern was reversed for Cluster IV, which was close to the mean on the first essay and below it on the second. The scores of Cluster II were uniformly higher on all dimensions for both essays than those of the other subgroups, with the exception of Perception of Reality II. This pattern was almost reversed for Cluster III with uniformly lower scores, except for Perception of Reality II and also Self-esteem I.

5.25 Clusters Based on the Moral Orientation Scores. Perhaps the most satisfactory results, statistically, were obtained when the twelve moral orientation scores were used as basis of clustering. As Figure 13 shows, several distinctive subgroups emerged, each representing a different constellation of moral attributes. The four clusters contained a total of 34 cases or 77 percent of the total athlete group. The T-scores of

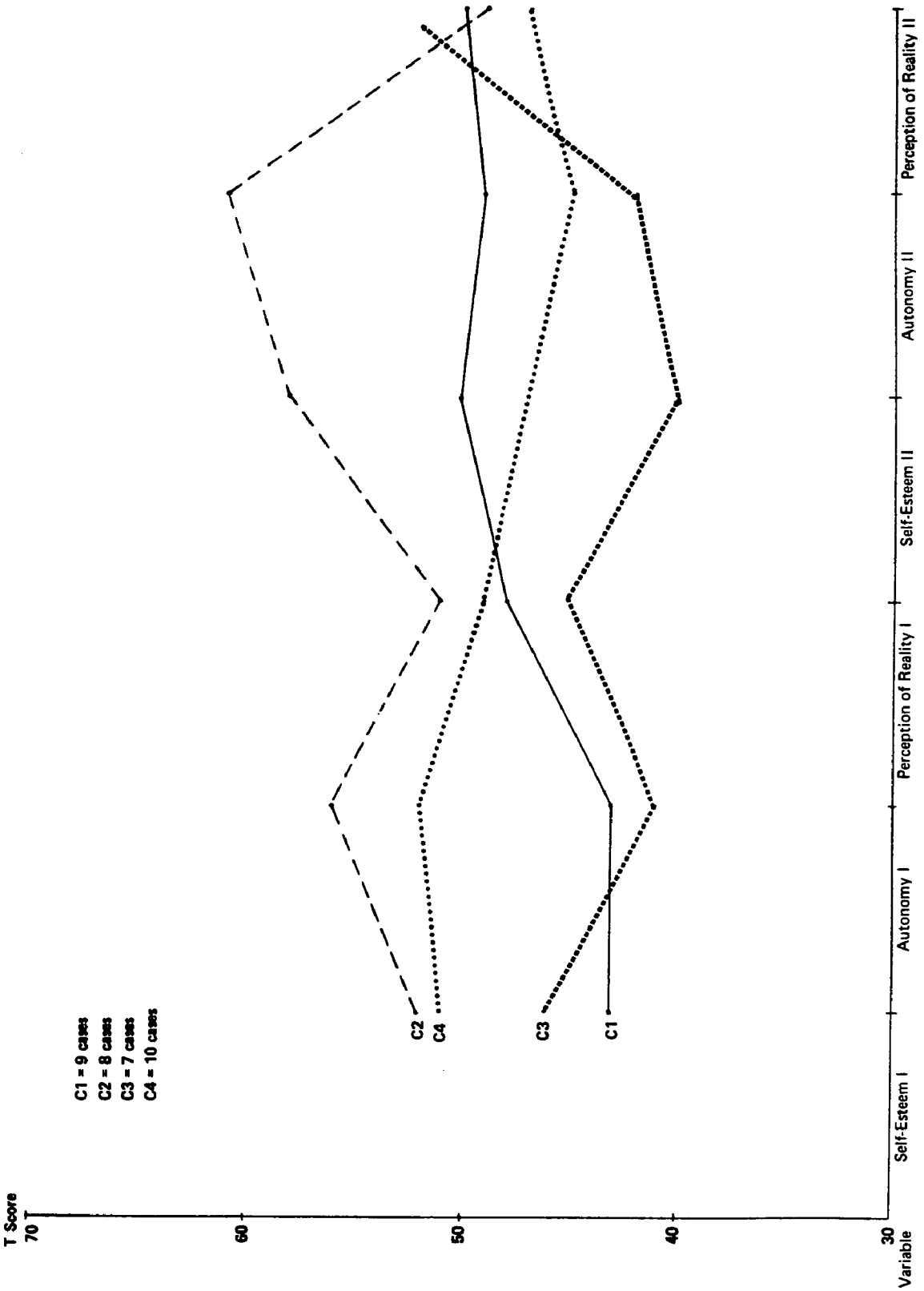


Fig. 12. A Comparison of the Means of Clusters Based on the Ego Strength Scores.

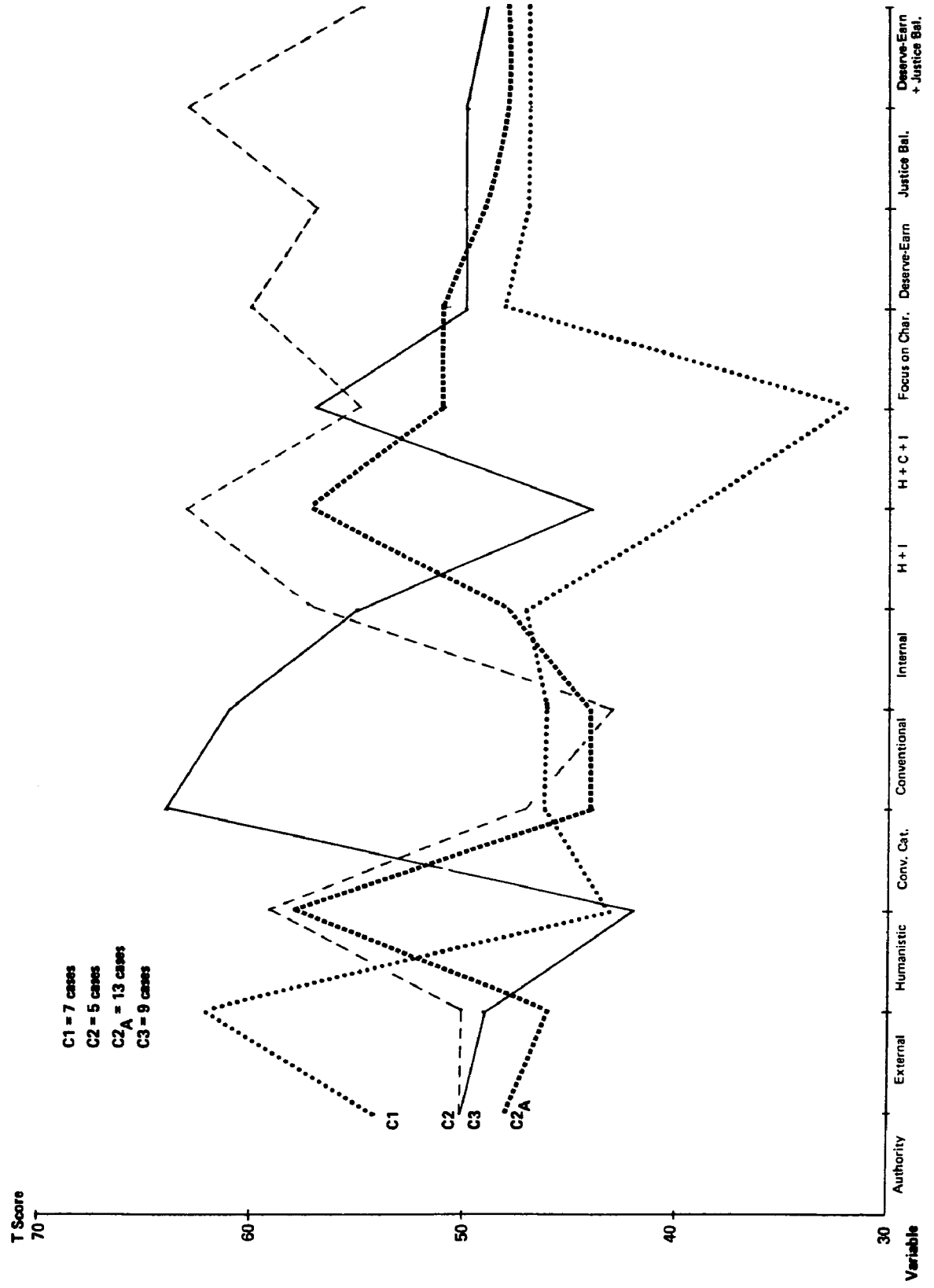


Fig. 13. A Comparison of the Means of Clusters Based on the Moral Orientation Scores.

a cluster composed of the remaining cases were generally close to the overall group mean for all variables.

It can be seen from Figure 13 that with regard to the basis on which the subjects made judgments about hypothetical transgressions, three major patterns emerged within the athlete group--external, conventional, and humanistic.

Cluster I consisted of seven individuals who predominantly used externally motivated reasons to support their moral judgments, e.g. they tended to produce more responses in which acts were judged wrong because they might lead to detection and punishment of the actor. The group used so few conventional and humanistic responses that its total internal moral orientation score was almost two standard deviations below the overall group mean.

Clusters II (five cases) and II_A (13 cases) consisted of individuals whose moral judgments showed concern for human consequences of behavior--a humanistic moral orientation. Cluster II_A was thus designated because, in general, it represented the same type of humanistic conscience as Cluster II, but the T-scores of some of the variables were less widely separated from the overall group mean. The individuals in Cluster II to a much greater extent tended to focus on the character of the actor in the moral judgment situations, use the concept that one deserves what he earns, and, even more frequently, use other justice arguments, e.g. the need for fairness or balancing the scales. Cluster II also produced more internal responses in which the value orientation was unclear.

The most distinctive characteristic of the nine individuals in Cluster III was the tendency to stress rigid adherence to institutional norms regardless of circumstances or consequences. The group was the least humanistic.

A fourth cluster bore considerable similarity to Cluster III, but its T-scores were less widely separated from the group mean. The group's moral orientation was predominantly conventional, but in comparison to Cluster III, the conventionality was much less categorical and humanistic responses were more frequently given.

These cluster analytic findings demonstrated that roughly 18 percent of the athlete group were oriented toward fear of detection and punishment in their moral judgment responses, while the remaining 82 percent based their judgments on internalized moral standards. When the two variants of an internalized conscience were considered separately, 41 percent of the athletes appeared to be predominantly oriented toward humanistic norms, while the remaining 41 percent were equally divided into two groups one of which was markedly conventional and the other, though predominantly conventional, not quite as rigidly so.

5.26 Summary. In general, the cluster analytic findings appeared to indicate that more differences exist among subgroups of athletes than between athletes and nonathletes. Although the composition of the clusters and, concomitantly, some of the cluster characteristics changed as the result of variable manipulation it could be seen quite readily that within group differences emerged regardless of the type or number of variables used as the basis for clustering. Since the clusters are

formed on the basis of similarities over all of the given variables, the addition, subtraction or substitution of variables could cause an individual to belong to different clusters as different patterns of interrelations emerged. Similarly, a change in the given variables could change the patterns that characterized the different clusters, e.g. variables which were salient in the identification of a cluster could be partially suppressed and different variables could emerge as important in separating a cluster from the total group.

Choice of the clustering variables exclusively on the basis of their potential to separate a given cluster from the total group sometimes appeared to produce less meaningful, though more distinctive clusters. That is, the clusters produced on the basis of a limited number of variables, which were selected because of their greater spread or standard deviation did not necessarily lend themselves to meaningful interpretation or make coherent sense.

To the same extent that different instruments and different statistical methods pre-determine the research outcomes in any given study, the composition of the clusters was a function of the combined effects and interrelations of the variables used in the cluster analyses. However, the cluster analyses pointed up the fact that different constellations of issues were masked when the group was examined as a whole and served to spotlight a variety of patterns within the athlete group.

5.3 DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF FOUR DISTINCTIVE SUBGROUPS

The four clusters selected for a more detailed investigation were formed on the basis of 33 personality variables. Although from a

strictly statistical standpoint a more satisfactory set of clusters is produced when the computer program is used with a limited number of variables, the total data set was subjected to the analysis so that the subgroups could be described in terms of the combined effects of all the investigated personality variables. As Figure 14 shows, the clusters are differentiated less on some measurements than on others but, in general, it is clear that each of the subgroups represents a distinctly different constellation of personality characteristics.

The data were statistically analyzed to further explore the differences among the four subgroups, with the chi square or F-ratio being the test of significance. Stepwise regression was used to determine the variables which best predict group membership. A single classification analysis of variance computer program was used to compare the subgroups with respect to mean values on the personality variables. Cluster means and F-ratios for the variables on which the subgroups were found to differ significantly are presented in Table 30.

When the data were analyzed using the chi square as the test of significance, highly significant differences were found on almost all of the personality variables.

The background data were explored subjectively and analyzed by means of the chi square statistic. The four clusters were similar with regard to socioeconomic background. The differences on a number of other variables failed to reach statistical significance at the .01 level which was adopted because the small frequency sizes may have led to some discontinuity. Some of the differences among the four subgroups are summarized in Table 31.

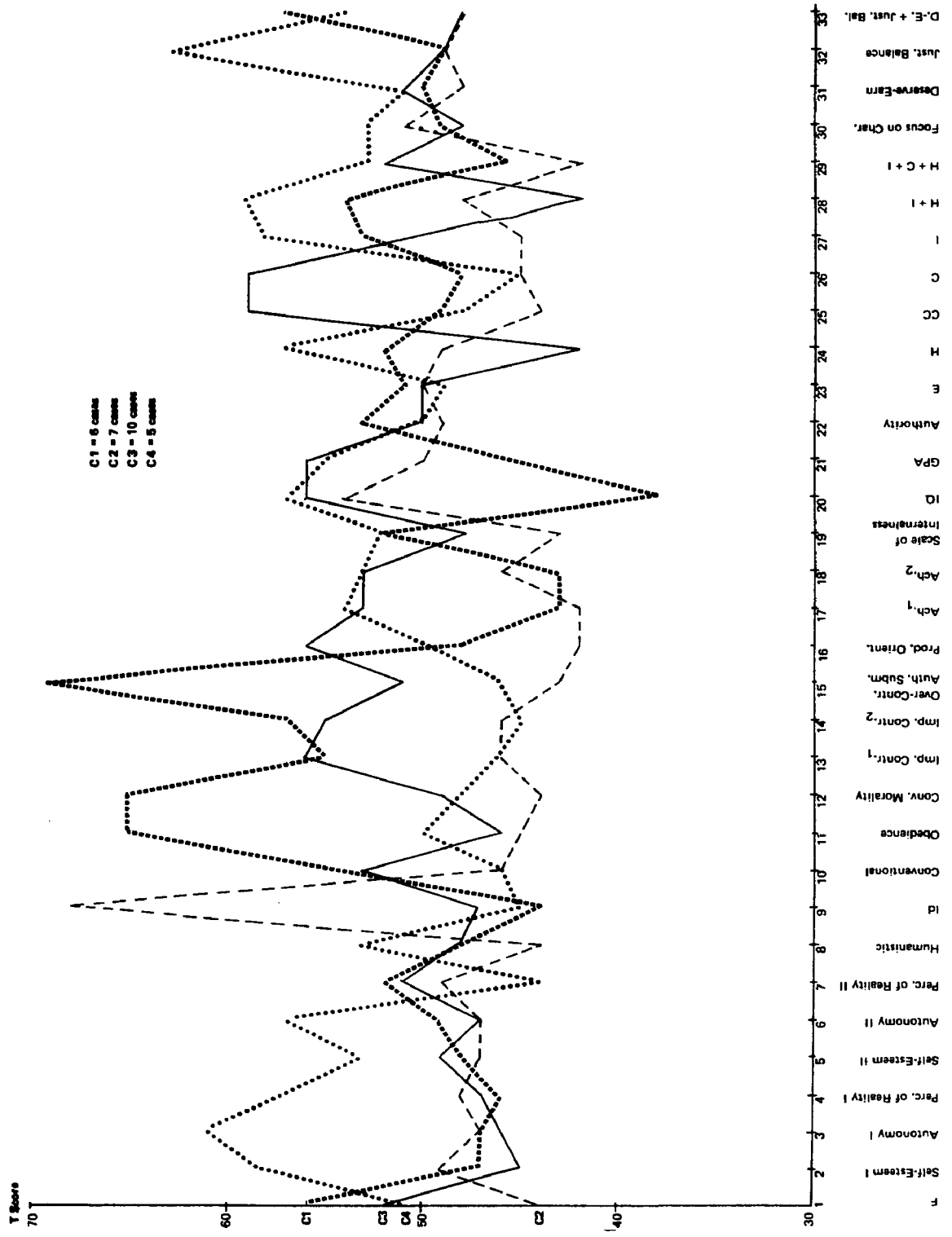


Fig. 14. A Comparison of the Means of Four Distinctive Clusters Based on 33 Variables.

TABLE 30

MEANS AND F-RATIOS FOR SELECTED PERSONALITY VARIABLES

Variable	Mean				F-ratio
	Cluster I	Cluster II	Cluster III	Cluster IV	
Self-esteem I	2.33	3.00	2.14	6.33	9.77**
Autonomy I	3.20	3.00	3.00	5.80	4.74*
Humanistic moral orientation	15.33	13.57	8.67	18.00	3.13*
Conventional categorical	9.00	6.67	14.70	8.00	5.43**
Conventional	11.25	9.67	20.10	9.75	5.77**
Humanistic + internal	21.17	17.00	12.30	25.20	4.35*
Justice balance	6.00	6.00	6.00	10.50	7.92**
IQ	102.83	119.29	120.70	121.80	7.19**
Over-controlled authority submission	5.83	1.14	2.60	1.60	24.03**
Id	1.00	5.29	1.50	1.20	22.13**
Obedience	3.33	1.00	1.20	1.60	9.69**
Conventional morality	4.33	1.00	1.70	1.60	7.07**
Achievement$_1$	1.17	1.00	2.50	2.60	4.45*

*Significant at the .05 level
**Significant at the .01 level

TABLE 31

NUMBER AND CHI SQUARE STATISTIC FOR SELECTED BIOGRAPHICAL VARIABLES

Variable	Response Category	Cluster I (N = 6)	Cluster II (N = 7)	Cluster III (N = 10)	Cluster IV (N = 5)	Chi Square*
Number of organizational memberships	None	3	1	5	2	6.17
Plans to attend college	Yes	4	7	10	5	7.90
Occupational preferences include athletics	Yes	1	2	2	3	5.42
Closest friends athletes	Yes	4	6	5	2	9.31
Friends follow ideas	Usually	2	1	1	1	5.72
Thinks of self as a leader	Yes	1	4	5	3	11.50
Sticks to own point of view	Usually	2	6	6	2	10.99
Worries about						
Family relationships		2	3	4	0	6.99
Peer relationships		2	4	4	2	4.44
Schoolwork		2	4	2	1	6.99
Athletics		1	4	2	1	7.32
Health		1	3	1	0	8.34
Future		2	5	5	2	5.47

*Not significant

The four clusters were similar with regard to the parent who usually assumed the role of the disciplinarian and also in their perception of how strict their parents were in comparison to other kids' parents, but they differed with regard to the type of discipline reported as most commonly used by the parents as Table 32 indicates.

Table 33 shows that the four clusters also differed with regard to the friendship patterns that members of each group considered as most typical of themselves.

Table 34 shows the different athletic activities in which members of the four clusters have participated.

To determine the personality variables which best predicted subgroup membership the data were analyzed using a stepwise regression computer program. The results indicated that the five variables which made the most important contributions in predicting membership in the four clusters were Perception of Reality I, IQ, use of justice arguments in moral judgment responses (Justice balance), the tendency to stress obedience values, and the tendency to stress general achievement values ($Achievement_1$). Although a comparison of the subgroups with respect to mean values did not reveal significant differences on the first variable as it did on the other four, the regression analysis data indicated that the Perception of Reality scores on the first situational essay were the best predictors of differential group membership when all the variables were considered simultaneously.

The statistical techniques were employed as an aid in the exploration of the cluster analytic data. In general, they supported the expectation that more differences would be found within the athlete

TABLE 32

TYPE OF DISCIPLINE MOST COMMONLY USED BY THE PARENTS

Type of Discipline	Cluster I		Cluster II		Cluster III		Cluster IV	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Spank	0	0	1	14	1	10	0	0
Take away privileges	3	50	1	14	4	40	2	40
Act cold	0	0	1	14	0	0	1	20
Explain	1	17	0	0	3	30	2	40
Combination of 1, 2, 3	1	17	0	0	2	20	0	0
Combination of all types	1	17	3	43	0	0	0	0
Omitted	0	0	1	14	0	0	0	0
Total	6	100	7	100	10	100	5	100

Chi square 19.69 Not significant

TABLE 33

MOST CHARACTERISTIC TYPE OF FRIENDSHIPS

Type of Friendships	Cluster I		Cluster II		Cluster III		Cluster IV	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
A lot of equally close friends	1	17	3	43	3	30	0	0
A few close friends	0	0	0	0	5	50	2	40
A lot of friends, few close ones	4	67	4	57	2	20	3	60
Omitted	1	17	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	6	100	7	100	10	100	5	100

Chi square 14.68 Not significant

TABLE 34

ATHLETIC ACTIVITIES

Teams Played On	Cluster I	Cluster II	Cluster III	Cluster IV
Football	2	1	1	0
Basketball	1	1	3	0
Baseball	1	1	0	0
All of the above	1	2	2	2
Football & basketball	1	2	4	2
Football & baseball	0	0	0	1

group than between a group of athletes and nonathletes. More importantly, however, the analyses were helpful in developing a better understanding of the meaning of the clusters, exploring the relationships among various characteristics, and providing some detailed, objective data which facilitated the subjective description of four different types of subgroups found within the larger athlete group. However, the descriptions of the clusters were based largely on a subjective exploration and qualitative analysis of the raw data. Some additional material not included in the statistical analyses was obtained from a questionnaire, which was adapted from Kohlberg and designed to elicit attitudes toward laws and rules. An attempt was made to present an integrated description of the subgroup characteristics and to emphasize general trends rather than individual differences. No attempt was made to link the cluster characteristics to participation in particular sports since the clusters were quite similar in this respect as Table 34 indicates.

5.31 Cluster I--The Conformists. The most salient characteristics of Cluster I were a relatively low IQ (14 points below the overall athlete group mean) and the tendency to emphasize the importance of obedience. On the measure of values, five of the six members of Cluster I indicated that obeying parents was the most important personal attribute. Most of the boys felt that laws and rules were necessary and that even "bad" laws had to be followed. Following the standards of their social group was also important to the boys in this cluster, as were virtues like thrift and thinking before acting. This group far exceeded the others in their preference for the conventional, obedience, and impulse control values subsumed in the over-controlled authority submission category.

Cluster I was also the most authoritarian of the four clusters, with a mean F scale score that was ten points above the total athlete group mean.

The boys' responses on the first situational essay generally suggested rather low self-esteem as well as difficulty in appraising the incident realistically. Most of the boys said that they would be very hurt but instead of acknowledging negative feelings about and towards the friends, they turned these inward blaming themselves and feeling devalued. If they attempted to resolve the situation, it was by asking "what was wrong with me and what could I do to change." Perhaps because inadequate personal resources prevented these boys from dealing with the problem in a more flexible and constructive manner, they conformed to the friends' expectations or at least their point of view to cope with the emotional stress and anxiety created by the conflict situation. The responses to the second situation revealed little besides a tendency to oppose the parents. Only one member of Cluster I completed the protocol, describing how he would cope with the responsibilities created by independence. The other boys generally said that they would be against the parents' decision and should be able to go where they chose, but there was no indication that they based their decisions on a realistic appraisal of the situation and a feeling that they were able to cope with the problems and responsibilities of life and work. Therefore, the answers appeared to be somewhat more the result of conformity to peer group norms which decree independence and an automatic, superficial opposition to the parental "law" in this particular situation rather than of real self-esteem or autonomy. The

members of Cluster I assigned little importance to achievement values and none to popularity, sense of humor, and doing things that are fun, but they did place some emphasis on humanistic values, such as helping others.

Although not overtly achievement oriented, the boys appeared to be relatively successful scholastically. The group's mean IQ score was 1.2 standard deviations but their GPA only .5 standard deviations below the overall group mean. The swimming race story endings of Cluster I reflected an internal moral orientation and typically focused on the hero's shame and guilt following the cheating. Although the group's moral judgment responses were predominantly internally motivated, the boys produced more moral judgments based on external sanctions than any other group. On the other hand, they also produced more humanistic judgments than two other clusters and tended to respond more often in humanistic than conventional terms.

Thus, in making moral judgments about other people's transgressions the members of Cluster I did not appear to show a rigid adherence to conventional standards and relinquished these standards fairly often in spite of the pronounced preference expressed for obedience and other conventional values on the objective instrument. It appeared possible that in choosing the three values they considered to be most important, these boys somewhat automatically conformed to what they felt was expected of them and what they perceived as the right thing to say. When the choice was less abstract and generalized, however, as in the moral judgment responses, their decisions about what was right were more situation specific and based on personalized reasoning rather than blanket

conformity to the "right" values. Thus, external sanctions were more often mentioned in support of judgments about transgressions in which the personal involvement of the actor was not spelled out--hitting a parked car, cheating on an exam, and stealing from a store, while judgments about lying to protect a friend from embarrassment were invariably phrased in humanistic terms. Responses to the remaining items were humanistic, conventional, or internal with an undetermined value orientation.

No definite trends appeared to be readily discernible with regard to the biographical variables, although some responses were more characteristic of this cluster than any of the others. In spite of the relatively low IQ scores, four of the six members of Cluster I planned to attend college, however, everyone in the other clusters planned to do so. Half of the fathers were engaged in white collar occupations and of the three who had attended college, two had graduated. Cluster I did not differ from the other clusters in respect to the number of organizational memberships or offices held. An inspection of the listed leisure time activities or hobbies revealed that four of the six boys in this cluster named hunting as a favored activity, while only one member each from two other clusters did so. Most of the boys felt that their parents had been about as strict as those of most kids and indicated that taking away privileges was the type of disciplinary action preferred by the parents.

The boys in this cluster were more apt to think that friends followed their ideas than that they initiated activities in the peer group. They tended to think of themselves as followers more often than

as leaders and said that they "usually" stuck to their own point of view despite what others thought less often than members of the other clusters.

In general, the members of Cluster I appeared to possess certain tendencies associated with the authoritarian personality syndrome and could probably function quite well in an authoritarian environment. They strongly endorsed obedience, impulse control, and conventional values and tended to conform or withdraw in situational conflicts rather than to confront the other person and attempt to resolve the situation or come to an agreement based on an understanding of the behavior and motives of the other person and an insight in the situation and in oneself. Submissiveness and anti-intraception appeared to be rather prominent traits in the personalities of these boys, as did impulse control and the need to conform to the expectations of others. However, they also appeared to have marked aggressive tendencies which sometimes were repressed or turned inward. Aggressiveness appeared to be present in the answers to such questions as "What would you do if someone hit you?" and "What would the Golden Rule say to do?" Cluster I tended to answer rather categorically and unthinkingly: "Hit them back." It also seemed that the frequency with which these boys reported hunting as one of their favorite hobbies suggested the possibility of displaced aggression.

Although the members of Cluster I overwhelmingly expressed preference for authority submission and conventional standards, they did not unequivocally apply the same standards in moral judgment situations. It appeared possible that while their knowledge of and

conventional belief in rules was strong and unambiguous, the moral judgment responses were more genuinely reflective of their basic cognitive structuring of values and, possibly, more predictive of actual conduct. Confronted with genuine and difficult moral dilemmas these boys seemingly tended to respond to the specific situation rather than adhere to or reject any type of moral standards or principles. Although it was clear that they did not base their moral judgments on strong, internally formulated moral principles which consistently influenced them in the same direction on all occasions, their decisions did not reflect the rigid, unthinking conventionality demonstrated on the objective measure. These boys were not devoid of compassion or concern for human needs, and, as a group, produced more humanistic responses than conventional ones, although it seemed likely that the proportion might be reversed if the conflict situations had been different. On the other hand, the members of Cluster I were also capable of expedient judgments which were not based on internalized moral principles but oriented toward detection and punishment. Thus, the general set of values professed by these boys was relinquished relatively quickly in response to certain moral conflict situations.

In general, it appeared possible that the moral judgment and, perhaps, conduct of these boys could be influenced by the affinity they felt for the persons involved in the situation. That is, they might be more likely to consider extenuating circumstances and human consequences if close affinity was felt, conform more rigidly to institutional norms with decreasing affinity, and base their reactions on expediency and external considerations when the situation became somewhat depersonalized

and the unethical conduct was likely to be undetected or some ambiguity existed in terms of the social approval or disapproval with which a certain act was viewed by important others. Basically these boys did not see themselves as judges of right and wrong, because they defined right in terms of what was approved by others. Thus, they felt the most important rule to teach people in a country that had no rules would be "to do what seems right for your society and social background" or "to obey your elders." Not feeling responsible for judgments of right and wrong, they might see conforming acts that earn approval from important others in certain situations as right and virtuous even if they violate a standard upheld generally. Basically these boys saw themselves as good, because they conformed to the expectations of good and wise authorities and to a social order they did not criticize. It seemed possible, though, that they could distort the situation or justify actions that would otherwise be against their principles to meet perceived situational demands, if this were necessary to gain the approval of others, or to meet other needs.

5.32 Cluster II--The Hedonists. The characteristic that set Cluster II apart from the others more than anything else was the preference for id values--the boys in this cluster rejected all of the traditional values and chose as the most important personal attributes "to have fun," "to be popular with the other kids," and "to have a good sense of humor." The sole other attribute that was stressed was "to do well in sports."

The members of Cluster II were the least authoritarian, with a mean F scale score that was nine points below the athlete group mean. Their mean IQ was 119, somewhat above the mean for the total group, but

their GPA was almost at the group mean. As Figure 14 indicates, the IQ T-score of Cluster II was 1.6 standard deviations above Cluster I, while its GPA was only .5 standard deviations above.

The group's responses on the situational essays were generally brief and rather difficult to judge on the different dimensions. On the whole, they appeared to demonstrate more self-esteem in response to the first situation than the members of Cluster I. Most of the boys said that they would seek new friends, which was interpreted as a degree of faith in one's ability to form new friendships and, more broadly, as some faith in oneself as a person. Even when it was not explicitly stated, the tone of the protocols implied that these boys did not accept the labelling, which contrasted to the devaluation felt by many members of Cluster I. There was acknowledgment of being hurt, angry, or upset, but negative feelings were directed toward the friends rather than oneself. It appeared that the members of Cluster II had the tendency to shrug the incident off as an unpleasant experience but hardly one that would warrant any soul searching, that is, their protocols showed no evidence of a need to understand the friends' motives, gain insight in themselves, or find out why the conflict occurred.

Responding to the second situation, most of the members of Cluster II said that they would go to the college they had chosen and indicated that the parents' decision was arbitrary and unacceptable. However, their opposition did not appear to be so much opposition for its own sake as it seemed to be for Cluster I, mainly because these boys demonstrated some awareness of the responsibilities created by the decision to be independent. Some feeling of personal adequacy was also

suggested by the fact that, on another instrument, they reported that in case of disagreement they tried to convince their parents that they might be right, while the members of Cluster I said that they either went their own way or conformed.

Cluster II had the lowest internal moral orientation score on the semi-projective story completion item. Their story endings, however, were not oriented toward detection and punishment as much as they were based on some type of amoral reasoning, such as "ends justify means," which does not exactly fit the definition of the external category but is thought to be the product of the same kind of thinking which places the desires of the actor before all else. Typically, the stories ended with the central figure remaining in the undeserved hero's role quite contentedly, with only occasional misgivings.

Although the group's moral judgment responses were predominantly internally motivated, the boys produced a considerable number of external moral judgments. When these boys used internalized moral standards in support of their judgments, their responses were considerably more likely to give priority to matters of human concern than to stress adherence to institutional norms.

The socioeconomic background of Cluster II was similar to that of the total group. All of the boys planned to attend college. As a group, they appeared to be more active than members of the other clusters and, in addition to the more permanent organizational memberships which were considered in the statistical analyses, some of them reported having organized and participated in the publication of an underground school newspaper, the writing and production of plays, and the undetermined

activities of a sports spectator group. All but one of them worked. They had a slightly higher tendency to report that their parents had been more strict than those of other kids and had used explanation in addition to spanking, acting cold, and taking away privileges. Their friends were mostly other athletes, and they reported either having a lot of equally close friends or a lot of friends and a few close ones. Four of the seven members of this cluster felt they were leaders rather than followers, and all but one said they usually stuck to their own point of view despite what others thought. They appeared to worry more than members of the other clusters.

In general, the members of Cluster II were rebellious, hedonistic, and rather bright. Scholastically they were underachieving but appeared to work quite hard at things that were not mandatory. They rejected the traditional values and social restraints but appeared to be rather ambivalent about the necessity of laws and rules in general. That is, they tended to see laws and rules as applicable to those who were not smart enough to get around them. These boys were impulsive and egoistic, overwhelmingly rejecting values such as helping other people in favor of such values as having fun. They had a basically egalitarian attitude toward others which, however, was not the result of a shared standard but rather had to do with the recognition that exchange and reciprocity were instrumental in satisfying one's own needs.

Since the self-esteem of these boys was not based on conforming to others or to standards, they could easily terminate involvements which were no longer gratifying. They did not seek to understand or resolve situational conflicts, perhaps, because they viewed interpersonal

relationships as an exchange of services rather than a deeper obligation or commitment. On the whole, they appeared to have little conception of duty or responsibility, except in service of one's own needs. Freedom appeared to mean that ultimately people can do what they please if they are willing to risk having to take the consequences.

The members of Cluster II saw themselves as creative but rejected conventional and socially accepted means of self-expression. To a certain extent, their creative attempts appeared to be another way to express rebelliousness more than a means of true self-expression, because they were quite readily abandoned when the preferred channels were blocked. Although at times they resented the interference of authority figures, these boys also appeared to be capable of bargaining with them and could regard this as a challenge.

The boys in Cluster II did not have a strong internalized conscience, and their reasons for making a particular moral judgment were relativistic, instrumental, and contingent on need. Despite their hedonistic approach to life, these boys worried more than members of any of the other clusters. They were relatively independent but not really autonomous, since their independence derived from a rejection of deeper commitments and interpersonal obligations. These boys appeared to have an egoistic and personally referenced definition of the good, and, perhaps, could quite readily adjust means to ends to achieve whatever wishes the self had. It seemed that they could function quite well in authoritarian environments, because they did not object in principle to the existence of rules and authority, and might even be challenged by the prospect of outsmarting these, especially when own needs were

interfered with. On the whole, these boys had a moral structure that was not as well internalized as that of the other clusters, but their arguments were more often amoral than oriented toward detection and punishment.

5.33 Cluster III--The Conventionalists. The members of Cluster III were the most conventional and least humanistic of the four groups--in their moral judgment responses they supported the status quo rather rigidly and tended to adhere to institutional norms regardless of circumstances and human consequences. They were bright and, in contrast to the overachievers of Cluster I and the underachievers of Cluster II, seemed to be working at an optimal level. These boys were highly achievement oriented and, compared to the overall group mean, stressed the values that in general harmonize with the Protestant Ethic, far more than any of the other groups. They endorsed thrift, putting work before play and thinking before acting. They also placed considerable importance on neatness, cleanliness, and good manners but did not support the obedience values. Thus, in contrast to Cluster I, which considered obedience to be the most important personal attribute but relinquished the standard quite often in their moral judgments, Cluster III ascribed little importance to obedience as an abstract, generalized value but in situations of moral conflict followed rules rigidly. On the other hand, they expressed some preference for humanistic values, which were rejected by Cluster II, but used humanistic standards in support of their moral judgments far less often. Although the moral structure of these boys was far more stably internalized than that of the members of Clusters I and II, the group produced some externally

oriented responses, predominantly justifying or rationalizing cheating on exams. There appeared to be no readily discernible trend toward the use of humanistic principles in support of judgments used in particular moral dilemmas. While the members of Clusters I and II invariably justified lying to protect a friend from embarrassment, most of the Cluster III boys remained consistently conventional, either considering lying unjustifyable under any circumstances or focusing on the unfavorable consequences the act could have for the actor or the victim, e.g. "it might make him a compulsive liar."

The semi-projective story endings of Cluster III boys also reflected a prodominantly internalized conscience. They typically focused on the fact that cheating made the hero feel "cheap" and, although he rarely was depicted as having the courage to confess and return the prize, his guilt feelings prevented him from enjoying the victory.

The boys' mean authoritarianism score was very close to the average for the total group.

The members of Cluster III appeared to be somewhat more flexible and adaptable in handling the situational conflicts than the members of the first two clusters. They acknowledged that rejection by their best friends would be hurtful but did not appear to accept the labelling or to feel devalued to the same extent as the boys in Cluster I. It seemed that though the approval of others was important to these boys, on the whole, their self-esteem was not based strictly on conformity. They tended to say that the friendship would be terminated but often also indicated that they would confront the friends to find out what it was

that they didn't like. These boys seemed to be more aware of the possibility that the friends might not be worthy of the friendship, but also recognized interpersonal obligations, therefore, the termination of the friendship did not appear to be as automatic and unthinking as in the protocols of Cluster II. Their ability to understand and take the role of the other person was also demonstrated in the second essay. Half of the boys in Cluster III said that their parents should have a say in the matter if they were paying, but most, nevertheless, felt that they would go to the college they had originally chosen, because "it was their life." These boys appeared to understand the responsibilities connected with independence and to have more realistic plans for coping with the problems. They also demonstrated some insight in their own strengths and weaknesses. Their desire and determination to succeed, however, appeared to be more salient than the conceptualized dimensions of ego strength. For them, to a great extent, the focal point was money rather than a feeling of personal worth and autonomy. And even though they perceived the situation realistically in one sense, most of these boys did not appear to resolve the situation in favor of independent choice primarily because their self-esteem made the acceptance of their parents' lack of faith difficult, but because they accepted the arbitrary decision made by the parents as strictly a financial one and felt reasonably confident that they could survive financially on their own.

With regard to the socioeconomic background, the composition of this cluster was similar to that of the entire group. Although half of the boys in Cluster III did not report any organizational memberships,

three belonged to as many as three organizations. While most members of Cluster I and only two of Cluster II said that their parents were about as strict as those of other kids, half of Cluster III said so. Power-assertive discipline had been used by most parents, the most frequent technique being the withdrawal of privileges. These boys reported that their best friends were nonathletes much more frequently than did the boys in Clusters I and II. Half of these boys also said that they had "a few close friends"--a friendship pattern never reported by the members of Clusters I and II. The boys in Cluster III almost invariably said that they initiated activities in their group and that friends followed their ideas "sometimes." Half of the boys felt they were leaders rather than followers and 60 percent said they "usually" stuck to their own point. They appeared to have fewer worries than the members of Cluster II, their future being the most frequent cause of concern.

In general, a strong internalized conscience appeared to be characteristic of the members of Cluster III. In situations of moral conflict, they consistently applied conventional standards with little consideration for extenuating circumstances and for the consequences to individual human beings. They stressed conformity to the value content of the Protestant Ethic, especially valuing efficient control of one's impulses and achievement. They were intelligent and hard working. Although they handled emotionally stressful interpersonal conflicts more satisfactorily than the members of Clusters I and II, their responses seemed to indicate that conformity or withdrawal rather than an attempt to resolve the situation might be the preferred type of

behavior. Generally this group tended to conform to the expectations of others even more consistently than Cluster I, but their conformity was not based on the need for immediate and constant approval, and they did not conform to the group code but to internalized, shareable standards of right and wrong. Abstractly they supported consideration for others, e.g. they tended to say that to love your neighbor or to respect others might be the most important rules to follow, and they also endorsed humanistic values, but in situations of moral conflict they rigidly adhered to institutional norms and subordinated feelings that could lead to a consideration of extenuating circumstances or competing human values. These boys were more consistently morally responsible, but they appeared to be somewhat detached and impersonal concerning the welfare of others. In short, altruism was not an important concept for these boys, and they relinquished conventional standards in the service of human needs far less often than any of the other clusters. They had more clearly formulated goals than the members of Clusters I and II, and it appeared that their high need for success and tendency to defer gratification would make the achievement of these goals likely.

5.34 Cluster IV--The Humanists. The most salient characteristics of Cluster IV were high ego strength scores and the tendency to use humanistic standards and justice arguments in support of their moral judgments. Like Cluster III, these boys were bright, had a relatively high grade point average, and were highly achievement oriented. However, they rejected the conventional and impulse control values highly stressed by Cluster III and placed more emphasis on humanistic values, such as going

out of one's way to help others, than any other cluster. Their mean authoritarianism score was close to the overall group mean.

Like the members of Cluster III these boys had a firmly internalized conscience. However, their moral judgment responses most frequently showed concern for human consequences of behavior and consideration of extenuating circumstances, while the Cluster III boys used humanistic standards in support of their moral judgments less often than any other group. The mean humanistic moral orientation score for Cluster IV, although well above the athlete group mean, was still slightly below the mean for the nonathlete group. The members of Cluster IV also had a tendency to base their judgments on justice concepts, such as need for fairness or balancing the scales.

The semi-projective story endings of this group also reflected internalized moral structures, but focused on the hero's guilt feelings, which eventually cause him to confess and give up the prize, more often than on his cheating others and depriving the real winner. There was some evidence that in the story endings of Cluster IV the hero more often initially enjoyed his victory but was more likely to return the prize eventually, while in the story endings of Cluster III he tended to feel guilty immediately and never experience joy over winning the race, but, nevertheless, did not have the courage to confess what he had done.

While the essays of the other boys predominantly indicated that they would be hurt by the friends' rejection, the members of Cluster IV more often expressed shock and tended to take the rejection less as a personal indictment. They seemed to be better able to maintain their

self-esteem in spite of being devalued by the friends and appeared to have little doubt about the desirability of seeking friends whose loyalty was less questionable. However, they often expressed the intention to confront the friends and ask not only why they were disliked but also why this had not been communicated openly. They did not appear to have a great need to win back the approval of the friends but indicated that conformity was a possible alternative if, through a discussion with the friends, they discovered something about themselves that they would like to change. These boys did not seem to be depressed or anxious about their value as persons and anticipated no difficulty in making new friends. Responding to the second situation, the members of Cluster IV expressed disappointment about their parents' decision but tended to accept the fact that the parents had a right to their point of view even if they couldn't agree with it. Again, they did not seem to take it as a personal indictment and, thus, did not appear to feel as hurt or angered by it. Their reasons for maintaining the original choice seemed to indicate that they recognized the need for breaking away not as a counteractive measure to the arbitrary decision made by the parents but as an intrinsically necessary decision if they were to become mature adults. It appeared possible that while both Clusters III and IV had the ability to extend themselves and take the role of the parents, Cluster III was more likely to emphathize with the parents' right to make the decision if they were "footing the bill," while Cluster IV simply accorded the parents a right to their opinion just as they had a right to theirs, and the reciprocity seemed to be based on an understanding of basic human needs rather than financial obligations. In

contrast to Cluster III, these boys perceived coping with independence more in terms of personal adjustment to college life and an analysis of their strengths and weaknesses but did not emphasize concrete strategies for coping with their financial responsibilities.

Cluster IV was similar to the other clusters with regard to socioeconomic background and college aspirations. Like the members of Cluster III, some of these boys belonged to as many as three organizations while others reported none. Their parents were perceived as more strict or about the same as the parents of other kids, and the disciplinary techniques included taking away privileges, acting cold, and explanation. More than half of the boys said that their closest friends were nonathletes. The most common friendship patterns were a lot of friends with a few close ones and just a few close friends. All but one of the boys felt that they initiated activities and that friends followed their ideas "sometimes." Three considered themselves to be leaders and two said that they "usually" stuck to their own point of view. These boys reported fewer worries than any of the other clusters.

On the whole, the members of Cluster IV appeared to demonstrate a more mature mode of adjustment than the members of the other clusters. Their responses on the various instruments more consistently reflected a basically integrated personality type, that is, they seemed to fit into a larger whole and represent the stable presence of certain characteristics regardless of the questionnaire content. The material produced by these boys also appeared to emphasize the interrelatedness of the attributes that the various instruments attempted to measure. Thus, autonomy, empathy, the ability to assess each new situation and its

effects realistically, and a basically positive view of the self, based on self-understanding and acceptance rather than on excessive control and impulse suppression, in short, a strong but flexible and adaptable ego was associated with the ability to consider extenuating circumstances and resolve moral conflicts in favor of human ends--a relationship that has been suggested by previous research and theorizing. Although the situational essays at best were but a crude and unsophisticated measure of ego strength, the relatively high scores of Cluster IV and their consistently humanistic moral judgments confirmed the relationship between these variables. Like the members of Cluster III, these boys advocated love or respect for others as the most important rule to follow, but they also applied the same basic principle in moral judgment situations, while the judgments of Cluster III showed little consideration for others.

The members of Cluster IV rejected conventional and impulse control values as categorically as the members of Cluster II, however, it appeared likely that the Cluster II boys were motivated by a need to rebel and express opposition to these norms simply because they have been traditionally upheld by authority figures, while Cluster IV may have rejected the values as not being intrinsically important. It seemed that their moral structure was basically congenial to institutional norms, but they did not see their support as an end in itself.

Although these boys assigned as much importance to achievement as Cluster III, their orientation to success appeared to be more ego-syntonic. They appeared to have good insight into various aspects of

their lives and were candid about themselves, their families, and their friendships.

5.35 Summary. When all of the personality characteristics and background factors of the four athlete subgroups were considered, a number of trends emerged. The members of Cluster I were authoritarian, had a relatively low IQ, and their actions seemed to be determined predominantly by a desire to conform to the expectations and to win the approval of important others. They did not have a really stable internalized moral structure and though they stressed obedience and conventional values as the most important personal attributes, in moral conflict situations their judgments were relatively often based on expediency and external considerations. It appeared likely that their interpretation of right and wrong was flexible and contingent upon the approval of others or upon their own personalized view of the situation.

Cluster II was nonauthoritarian, rebellious, and hedonistic. In spite of the fact that their main goal appeared to be self-gratification, they reported more worries than the other boys. Their involvements seemed to be lacking in commitment and a sense of interpersonal obligation, and they appeared to have an egoistic and personalized view of right and wrong. Thus, their judgments reflected an unstable and relatively unprincipled morality. They seemed to reject traditional values and conventional social norms as inapplicable to themselves rather than generally, or because they were unacceptable because of some deeply held principle. These boys sometimes felt challenged by rules and by opportunities to outsmart authority figures, therefore, they engaged in rebellious behavior even when the acts were

not intrinsically satisfying. They were bright and creative but appeared to waste their energies in the rather childish pursuit of "fun" and opportunities to oppose and circumvent the existing order. Basically they seemed to be quite frustrated, because their mode of life was becoming increasingly less workable as they grew older. They also appeared to be confused about who or what they wanted to be.

Cluster III had stable, internalized moral structures, but their moral principles were rather rigidly conventional and did not permit a consideration of human concerns in situations of conflict. They were bright, hard working, and highly motivated to defer gratification and to achieve success. For these boys, conformity to the group was not as important as conformity to internalized principles and values. They did not appear to be oriented toward other people, and, although these boys were not likely to intentionally hurt or use another human being for their own ends, they also showed little warmth, sensitivity, or concern. Instead of perceiving the richness and variety of experience, their lives appeared to be constricted and predetermined by their values and principles.

Cluster IV also had a stable, internalized conscience, but the moral principles of its members were predominantly altruistic and responsive to extenuating circumstances. The boys did not support conventional values or deferment of gratification as ends in themselves, but also did not seem to oppose them categorically. Cluster IV had the highest mean IQ but their grade point average was somewhat below that of Cluster III, perhaps because they had a broader range of interests and commitments. In general, they were highly motivated to excel and

to achieve the goals they had set for themselves. These boys seemed to have an insight in their own motives and behavior and to be sensitive to the feelings and needs of others. They did not deny unacceptable impulses and appeared to be able to cope with them. In some respects quite similar to the members of Cluster III, generally, these boys appeared to lead richer, fuller lives, because their principles and values did not rigidly predetermine their perceptions and behaviors but could be applied flexibly as each new situation demanded.

5.4 CASE STUDIES

The case studies, which were based on interviews with representative individuals from each cluster, served to verify the data utilized in the description of the four subgroups. The interviews also helped to conceptualize the different ways of being an athlete. Generally, they supported the notion that the same experiences in organized, competitive athletics are perceived and handled in a variety of ways and that the learnings derived from participation are largely a function of the participants' personality.

5.41 Ralph (Cluster I). Ralph, a junior, was the fourth child in a family of ten. His father, who had not completed high school, was a factory foreman, while his mother had graduated from high school and worked as a store auditor. Ralph originally had not intended to go to college but at the time of the interview appeared to consider some type of training in electronics. Scholastically he was overachieving--with an IQ of 98, his grade point average was 2.4.

First and foremost Ralph emphasized the fact that his parents had brought him up to always respect and obey older people no matter who they were, and this was a principle he would follow in every situation. He had also been taught to show good manners, get good grades, and, generally, to be a good boy, which was the image he appeared to have of himself. Some probing readily indicated that he had little insight in his own behavior and the meaning of the parental standards. Even though Ralph conceded that he could not always respect and obey everyone older than himself and that, perhaps, an evaluation of the person and the situation might be in order, he always seemed to return to unconditional verbal support of respect and obedience. He did not appear to clearly separate the two concepts and was unwilling to discuss the meanings beyond saying that respect meant "not smarting off." Obedience and respect for Ralph were the best rules to follow, because they were very important to his parents, and, Ralph felt, to all other authorities. Conceding that he did not obey every time, he nevertheless did not question the arbitrariness of his principle because in his experience it had been the best means of winning the approval of important people.

In his moral judgment responses, however, Ralph relinquished conventional standards in favor of humanistic ones quite often, especially if he could identify with the hero and feel he would act the same way in a certain situation. Thus, on one hand Ralph maintained that he would obey the law and the authorities, but, on the other, said that in "special situations where you can help somebody or something," he would choose the humanistic alternative. He lacked insight in the reasons for

his behavior, and his responses were unpredictable and determined by his perception of the situation.

Athletics for Ralph appeared to be a good way to win the approval of others. He said that he wanted to play football because he enjoyed it and because "he had been brought up to it" since his older brother started playing. He stressed that his father had encouraged it but, unlike many fathers he knew, had not forced him to go out for football. However, he was one of the very few boys from either the athlete or non-athlete group who had not participated in any organized sports before high school, therefore, it appeared likely that his motivation was extrinsic.

Being on the team had helped Ralph to overcome the sense of isolation he had felt upon entering high school. At least superficially he was one of the group, but it did not seem that there was a great deal of interpersonal commitment between Ralph and his teammates. What would be regarded as friendship existed only between Ralph and two boys much like him, also members of Cluster I, whom Ralph named as his closest friends. Nevertheless, his self-esteem was bolstered by the fact that he could identify with a group, do what others do and what they say one should do, and he uncritically accepted the goals and conformed to the standards that he perceived as shared by the entire group. He unconditionally felt that coaches should exercise absolute authority, because they were older and knew everything better. For Ralph achieving a sense of personal accomplishment or excellence appeared to be less salient than surpassing an adversary and proving that "you are one of the best," therefore, as he perceived it, in football the object was "to knock them

down" and there was no room for being a "nice guy." Ralph felt that there were two battles to be fought--since only the best players got to face the opponents, he had to compete fiercely with his teammates to prove that he was worthy to have a position on the team--"when you're out in the field trying for a position and there's three or four guys, you don't care what you do to the guy just so you can get ahead of him, but then once you're off the field, you're good friends again." He did not want "to hurt them indefinitely," just to show he was better, and he perceived everyone as feeling the same way. Ralph unquestioningly supported the system as he saw it: the coach liked one better and was going to let him play more if he showed "hustle," and that was the best and only way to do it.

Although Ralph was not generally indifferent to others, in the context of athletics he appeared to be unable to take the other person's position and understand that ultimately the other has needs and wishes that are roughly consistent with his own. He did not seem to acknowledge that objectively the opposing team deserved a share of victories and that his team should accept a share of defeats. From his frame of reference, losing was tragic only if one's own side lost, but one did not worry about the feelings of others. He did not "really know" why he felt that winning was so all-important, but he liked "the feeling inside that you're best," and, even more, he liked the approval expressed by "everybody" in the school and the community.

5.42 Tony (Cluster II). Tony, a senior, was the second child in a family of four. His father taught in the community college and was working on his Ph.D. His mother, who had a B.A. degree, was not working.

Tony's GPA was 2.66 and his IQ was 118. He said that his grades had been higher, but he never studied any more. He had a stockboy's job in a local department store and worked 30 hours a week. Tony's parents wanted him to go to college, but his own plans were indefinite. That is, he more or less expected that he'd end up going to the community college, but he talked at considerable length about going to Spain with another boy. He had no definite thoughts about a career--perhaps he would like to do something in ecology, but right away, because he hated school and four years were a long time. Tony's parents did not appear to play an important part in his life, and he shared very little with them, because he felt they would disapprove of his plans.

For Tony, having fun was "all that counts." The activities designated as fun generally had a rebellious aspect. Tony and some of his friends, calling themselves the Putrid Stench Productions, had enjoyed writing and producing plays. They had also published an underground newspaper, which was closed down, because it had criticized the school dress code and printed derogatory items about the principal. Objectively, however, Tony was achieving more than most of his classmates. Like some other seniors, he was taking a course at the local college; he was maintaining a reasonably good grade point average and holding an almost full-time job. Tony was challenged by the prespect of getting around rules and outsmarting authorities and thought it was fun to get in trouble sometimes, for example, to be chased by cops for drinking and for various pranks. Although he was finally suspended at the time of the interview and had come unofficially, he had spent a whole month prior to that evading the principal who had threatened to suspend him

for not cutting his hair, by ducking and hiding in closets, and it had been a lot of fun and excitement for him and his friends.

Tony did not seem to have a stable system of values or a strong conscience. He was one of the two, from the total sample, who used predominantly externally motivated arguments in his moral judgment responses. Basically he did not think laws and rules were important, but as long as he could outsmart them and save his own skin, he did not worry about their fairness or excessive restrictiveness.

Athletics for Tony was a good way to have fun, be popular, "mess around" with friends, and outsmart the coaches by disobeying the training rules, sneaking candy and hot dogs to the games, and indulging in a number of childish pranks. Although he liked to win, winning was not as important as having fun. Tony was the least interested in discussing his values and opinions with regard to athletics and in committing himself to judgments of right and wrong. He offered no criticism of the system or the rules, although the regulations were every bit as restrictive and authoritarian as the school rules which Tony opposed, but neither did he defend the rules as if he believed them to be intrinsically good and necessary, as Ralph did. His defense was seemingly motivated by the feeling that the coaches were good guys who gave everyone a break, and if one could get around the rules, they didn't really count. Although the attitudes he held toward the school authorities and rules appeared to contradict those he held toward the coaches and their rules, basically both represented Tony's egoistic view of his relationship to others and to society and his personally referenced definition of the good. Perceiving the athletic experience as self-selected, enjoyable,

and gratifying and the demands made by the school as externally imposed, he was unwilling or incapable to judge both by the same standards. For Tony value was instrumental and relativistic, and if any standard existed, it was the need or end served by the act or means.

Despite Tony's devil-may-care facade, it seemed that he was confused, troubled, and disenchanted. Of all the interviewed subjects, he was the only one to indicate that all of the life areas mentioned in the background questionnaire were a cause of worry and concern. On one hand, he appeared to question his mode of adjustment and philosophy of life, especially the lack of any goals or commitments beyond having a good time, and to become aware that the "fun" became less and less gratifying as he grew older, while on the other hand he wanted to believe that one could "always find something else" that would be as much fun. The admiration Tony expressed for a classmate who was very different from himself suggested the possibility of considerable self-ideal discrepancy. In a vague way, Tony seemed to want to do something to improve the world but instead of questioning the justice of the status quo, he questioned only its interference with his own wishes. Rather than becoming committed to improving the world and working for something he could believe in, he remained committed to self-gratification, but became increasingly more concerned about his lack of involvement and aimlessness. He opposed for the sake of opposing, not for the sake of principles.

Although friends were important to Tony, it appeared possible that he valued them primarily for being instrumental in satisfying the need for congenial companionship, not as people with whom he shared certain interpersonal commitments.

On the whole, Tony appeared to be full of contradictions, and it was difficult to make any projections about his future development.

5.43 Bob and Joe. Two boys from the largest cluster were interviewed, because though similar in most respects, in some they represent the different trends found in Cluster III.

Bob was a junior, the oldest of four children. Both of his parents were college graduates; his father worked as an office sales representative, and his mother was a registered nurse. Joe, who was a senior, had two older and two younger siblings. His father was a resort operator, his mother--a housewife. Neither had a college education, although his mother had started college. Bob's IQ was 128 and his GPA was 2.65, while Joe had a GPA of 3.06 and an IQ of 117.

Both boys emphasized achievement and impulse control values, but Joe appeared to have more clearly formulated goals and a stronger drive to succeed. Bob was somewhat shy and introverted and did not belong to any organizations, while Joe listed three organizational memberships. Of the two, Joe had a better conception of who he was and what he wanted. He also demonstrated a higher degree of self-esteem as well as an ability to act autonomously and to evaluate the alternatives in emotionally stressful situations, while Bob tended to be somewhat intrapunitive and conforming. It did not seem that the age difference was more than slightly responsible for the differing degrees of maturity demonstrated by the two boys.

Although neither Bob nor Joe expressed preference for conventional and obedience values, their moral judgment responses were phrased almost

exclusively in terms of the violation of an institutional norm. During the interviews both boys also maintained that despite the importance of laws and rules, obedience had to be based on individual evaluation of the situation, however, judging the behavior of others in moral conflict situations, they consistently ignored extenuating circumstances and competing human values and reaffirmed their adherence to the norms of society. They possessed a stable set of internalized moral standards, and none of their responses were based on external considerations, but the tendency to follow rules, not feelings, appeared to indicate that in situations of real conflict Bob and Joe would subordinate impulses in accord with the requirements of institutional norms, law and order, and, concomitantly, be somewhat lacking in altruism and compassion for the less fortunate.

Athletics for both boys was a way to have fun, be with friends, achieve individual and group goals, and feel a sense of responsibility. The football team was important for Bob, because he felt that his shyness interfered with other activities. Joe, on the other hand, had stayed on the basketball team during his senior year somewhat unwillingly, because it took too much time away from his other activities. Both saw athletics in its proper perspective, as a relatively unimportant part of life, and maintained that it contributed no more to a person's development than any other activity. Bob and Joe appeared to have insight in both the good and bad aspects of athletics. Both boys were critical of the fact that winning was overly emphasized in high school sports. They felt that the pressure to win made high school coaches encourage hostility and aggressiveness and condone poor sportsmanship. Bob and Joe placed

less emphasis on winning than any of the interviewed boys; for them enjoyment of the game and playing to the best of one's ability were far more important, and they did not acknowledge that winning the game might make a difference in the degree of enjoyment.

Although Bob denied that competition for positions within the team existed, his feelings toward his teammates were not entirely positive for other reasons, e.g., he felt that for him personally two of the worst things about athletics were people getting mad when someone made a mistake on the field and excessive roughness and rowdiness in the lockerroom which could and had injured people. It was difficult for him not to conform and take part in the pranks, but he disliked it. Bob felt that it was possible for a person to be a nice guy and still play a good game--"help the opponent up after you knock him down," although he knew that some players and, even more often, fans, held grudges against opponents. Bob felt that the coaches were best qualified to make rules and decisions affecting the team, but that there were some opportunities for input by the players.

Joe's dissatisfaction with basketball in his last year stemmed from the fact that an easy-going coach had been replaced by one who made athletics too serious and time consuming. Joe resented having practices at six in the morning and after school, because for him basketball was only one, relatively unimportant facet of life. He felt that the coach, without ever really saying that the players should do anything excessively aggressive or not within the rules, nevertheless, made it clear that "hustle" was demanded by "liking," starting, and giving more opportunities to play to those players who played the game his way. By emphasizing

winning and teaching the players "all he knew" about how to win games, the coach was teaching aggressiveness and the tendency to disregard the rules of fair play and sportsmanship.

Joe also remarked that he and another senior, the only players from last year's team, felt that the game was being taken too seriously, while the other players who were new on the varsity and had no experience with the previous coach, appeared to accept the situation.

5.44 Peter (Cluster IV). Peter, a senior, was the oldest of four children. His father was a college graduate and worked as a sales engineer, and his mother had not attended college and did not work. Peter's IQ was 132, with a GPA of 3.57, he was sixth in his class. However, he regretted the fact that grades were so important and that, sometimes, one studied more for grades than for knowledge. Peter planned on becoming a doctor but had other strong interests also and was sorry that it was impossible to do everything one liked. He particularly enjoyed electronics, especially stereo equipment, and car mechanics.

Peter appeared to be mature and capable of discussing his life, values and opinions with remarkable insight, candor, and fluency. He was highly motivated to achieve the goals he had set for himself and seemed to have the ability and sense of responsibility to successfully finish any project and to reach short-time as well as long range goals. His dedication to the activities in which he was involved appeared to be ego-syntonic and not based on impulse repression or a denial of the importance of different aspects of the self. He seemed to have a reasonably clear view of himself, as well as self-respect, confidence in and reliance upon himself.

His moral judgments showed that he had a stable set of internalized standards and tended to resolve moral conflicts in favor of human ends. Although Peter did not endorse conventional, obedience, and impulse control values, it was clear that he would neither oppose them for the sake of opposition nor support them as intrinsically important, but rather that he would be guided by his evaluation of the situation in determining which standards were to be given the higher priority. He disliked generalizations and black-white dichotomies and based his judgments of right and wrong on an awareness and analysis of objective reality rather than repression and strict adherence to a rigid set of preconceptions. He also appeared to have a capacity for empathy and the ability to treat people as individuals, not as members of a group.

Peter resented stereotyping of athletes as "all brawn, no brain," because he felt that it hid a wide span of individuals.

In one sense, athletics was very important to Peter. He enjoyed playing and also readily acknowledged the pleasure he derived from being recognized and commended as a good player but placed more value on the fact that athletics provided an opportunity for him to work at his fullest capacity, because he functioned better in everything when he was involved and had more to do. Peter's main reason for playing, however, was the ideal of dedicating oneself to the team concept--"feeling proud and important because you were playing for the school to which you had gone for twelve years, feeling a sense of unity and friendship with the team of which you were an important part." These goals, Peter felt, could never be fully understood and appreciated by someone who had never been part of a team, like, for example, his best friend, who tended to argue

that high school athletics was given too much emphasis at the expense of scholastic achievement, art, and music.

In another sense, Peter saw sports as a relatively unimportant aspect of the total experience, a situation which was narrowly circumscribed by its specific goals and by its simplification of the responsibilities an individual had to take for making decisions about right and wrong. He saw athletics as a special context and disagreed with people whom he had known to say that "football is an outgrowing of life." In life, Peter felt, an individual had no choice and had to take the responsibility for evaluating very complex issues and making difficult decisions about a broad spectrum of problems. In contrast, he had freely made the choice to dedicate himself to the concept of the team and its goals and to follow a simple set of rules and regulations. However, he conceded that if athletics could not be kept in its proper perspective, dedication to a single goal and set of rules could become a shelter where life was simple and easy, and, thus, interfere with the individual's development and make his adjustment to an interruption of the athletic career very difficult. It was important not to regard athletics as a whole life but as a small aspect of it.

Peter readily acknowledged the negative aspects of athletics. He did not like the intrateam competition created by "glory hounds," whose main goal was to get their names in the paper. He also disliked having to play schools known for poor sportsmanship, which "don't recognize it's a game, not a life and death matter and play to cause injury to the opponent, not to play the game." Peter felt that there was too much emphasis on winning and that this had made some players lose sight

of the main purpose of the game, which was to play and not to win. He disapproved of pressure from the coaches and fans for whom winning was all-important, however, he did not seem to feel that their influence was always responsible for the players' behavior, because "there's a certain amount of holding and tripping on any team by players who tend to forget sportsmanship in the heat of the game." Also, college scouts usually visited teams with a good record, and winning could easily become more important than ethics to boys who hoped to get athletic scholarships. Peter did not deny that it was difficult to take a loss, but neither the external pressures nor a strong personal drive to succeed had changed his basic orientation, and he believed that playing to the best of one's ability and following the spirit as well as the letter of the rules was infinitely more important than winning at any cost.

Basically Peter felt that despite certain negative aspects, athletics could help a person to develop a pride in himself and a feeling that he is wanted and important, especially if no other avenue to achievement was available to him. However, if the person did not have the wisdom to recognize that sports were only a small facet of life for a limited period of time and the strength to seek ways to develop other abilities, his development could be suspended and even terminated by the athletic experience. Peter believed that there were so many ways in which one could be an athlete and view athletics in general, that no statement about the good or bad influences of athletics was valid without a consideration of the effects it might have on the individual participant. In short, he supported the notion that the learnings derived from athletics were contingent upon the personality and experiences of the athlete.

In the context of his personal experiences, Peter saw that athletics had the potential to make valuable contributions to personal development, although he did not appear to think that intrinsically it had more to offer than any other activity that could give one a sense of achievement and acceptance. At the same time he recognized that the interpretations and effects of the same basic experience may be as divergent as the individuals who participate in that experience.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS--IMPLICATIONS FOR USE AND FUTURE RESEARCH

6.1 SUMMARY

The basic purpose of this study was to achieve new insights that could lead to a better understanding of the contributions that participation in competitive interscholastic athletics could make to the development of the individual.

In the first stage of the study, a group of athletes and a group of nonathletes were compared on a number of personality characteristics and background factors. An attempt was made to obtain information that could shed some light on the issues involved in the controversy between those who support traditional approaches to athletics and those who criticize certain aspects of it. The findings indicated that the athlete and nonathlete groups were similar with regard to all of the background and most of the personality variables that were investigated, such as IQ, GPA, authoritarianism, some dimensions of ego strength, expressed preference for conventional values, and character, conceptualized as the capacity to make decisions and judgments based on internalized moral standards. More athletes than nonathletes were influenced by external sanctions, such as fear of detection and punishment, in their moral judgments, but the mean external moral orientation scores for the two groups were similar.

However, some significant differences between the two groups were found. Although both groups had predominantly internalized moral structures, the hierarchical arrangement of their moral standards or principles appeared to be different. The nonathletes were significantly more humanistic and flexible, that is, their judgments showed concern for human consequences of behavior and consideration of extenuating circumstances. The athletes, on the other hand, tended to be somewhat more conventional, that is, their judgments more frequently showed rigid adherence to institutional norms regardless of consequences and circumstances. The two groups also differed significantly with regard to expressed preference for certain values. The athletes were more achievement oriented and stressed nonmoral values more strongly, while the nonathletes, generally, placed more emphasis on moral values, especially humanistic ones.

The second phase of the study was concerned with an exploration of the athlete group. An attempt was made to investigate approaches that could, perhaps, lead to a non-traditional way of conceptualizing the high school athlete rather than contribute to the existing stereotype. The findings confirmed the expectation that more differences existed among subgroups of athletes than among athletes and nonathletes. The within-group differences were demonstrated in a population that traditionally had been treated as homogeneous or subdivided on the basis of previously designated categories. Instead of starting with a theoretical schema which specifies in advance the groups to be studied, the present study was concerned with apparent consistencies in individuals, on the

basis of which a number of approaches to the subgroups could be investigated.

The four subgroups selected for a more detailed description demonstrated the within-group differences based on the combined effects of the investigated personality variables, all of which were to some extent interrelated. A comparison of the subgroups revealed significant differences on a number of variables.

Cluster I was characterized by the tendency to conform to the expectations of others, authoritarianism, a relatively unstable moral structure based on perceived situational demands rather than principles that could be universalized, a relatively weak ego with some degree of superego control, and a low IQ.

Cluster II tended to place hedonistic desires before everything else. They did not possess clearly defined moral codes, and their orientation was instrumental, relativistic, and personally referenced. A weak ego appeared to be combined with a weak super-ego. Although bright and possibly more creative than any of the other groups, they demonstrated little capacity for true involvement and commitment. It appeared that their mode of adjustment was least compatible with adult status.

Cluster III was bright and oriented toward achievement and impulse control. They had a stable, firmly internalized conscience based on rigid adherence to institutional norms regardless of extenuating circumstances and human consequences. Their conventionality, unlike that of Cluster I, was based on internalized standards rather than obedience

and conformity to the demands of others. They appeared to have a moderately strong ego and a relatively harsh super-ego.

Cluster IV represented the most mature mode of adjustment, a personality type based on an integrated ego and super-ego and relatively capable of self-direction. Neither conforming nor conventional, they were guided by a relatively complex and stable internalized system of values which emphasized human needs as the underlying basis for complying with social norms and was tolerant of impulse expression. They were intelligent and achievement oriented, but their desire to succeed appeared to be more ego-syntonic than that of Cluster III.

Generally, the findings thus far appeared to provide some data that could contribute toward the definition and understanding of issues that without any empirical basis have provided rich and abundant material for conjectures and controversies. Some of the expectations or preconceptions formulated on the basis of beliefs expressed in the literature were confirmed while others were contradicted by the data. Athletes as a group did not appear to be more authoritarian than nonathletes. Athletics did not appear to be related to moral character per se, but it did appear to be significantly related to value systems. That is, the nonathletes were considerably more likely to base their moral judgments on humanistic standards and to stress the importance of humanistic values, thus demonstrating a conscience that was directed outward toward a consideration of consequences for others, while the athletes were more likely to adhere to institutional norms and to stress the importance of achievement.

Exploration of the differences within the athlete group yielded data which supported the notion that athletes should not be treated as a homogeneous, univocal group and suggested that in most contexts designating a person as an athlete conveyed no meaningful information and could lead to stereotyping.

The data obtained in interviews conducted with representative individuals from the four subgroups contributed to the second as well as the third stage of the study. The interviews generally confirmed the personality types conceptualized on basis of the written data and suggested that the description of the subgroup characteristics also applied to living people.

In the third stage of the study, the interview data helped to explore the different meanings of athletic competition and suggested that the same experience may have different implications for the development of different types of individuals. The following section deals with hypothetical models of how certain basic personality trends could influence the perceptions and learnings derived from athletic competition and how an awareness of these relationships could be used as a starting point for intervention, with emphasis on certain areas to offset the negative learnings and make the total school atmosphere more conducive to sound personal development.

6.2 ATHLETICS AND THE INDIVIDUAL

One of the purposes of this study was to investigate the extent to which learnings that individuals derive from athletics, are compatible with the educational goal of maximizing the development of each student's

potential to become a fully participating citizen in a democratic, egalitarian society. Despite the common belief that athletics is an integral part of education with the same basic goal of individual development, in reality so many conflicts exist between the goals of athletic programs and the goals of individuals that the simultaneous achievement of both sets of goals is an impossibility.

Interscholastic sports do not occupy a central place in the life of a high school because of their value to the individual, but because they provide a major source of entertainment, interest, and loyalty for the school and the community, and because they serve as a symbol of traditional values and a traditional way of life. Under these conditions the development of the individual can not be an important consideration, because the major function of sports is the attainment of other goals, and winning is the all-important item. Fans do not attend games to see an individual develop or a team do its best, they go to see their team win.

To some extent, a conflict between the goals of education and athletics is reflected in the professional literature of coaches and physical educators. The goals for individual development in the context of athletics more often than not are formulated in terms of specific habits and character traits, such as respect for authority, responsibility, obedience to rules, and cooperativeness. To be compatible with the goals of education in a democratic society, the contribution of athletics to human development should be conceptualized in more inclusive and generalized principles of orientation, attitude, and disposition.

Basically, however, the learnings that individuals derive from participation in competitive athletics are not determined by any type of stated goals and ideals but by the underlying attitudes, perceptions, and values, the hidden agenda of the adults as it appears to be when expressed in actions.

The problem is further complicated by the likelihood that the same experience may be perceived differently by different individuals and that this perception affects both how the person reacts to the experience and how the experience, in turn, affects him. This contention received some support from the interview data. On the basis of the different meanings that athletics had for each of the interviewed individuals it appeared justifyable to suggest that the athletic experience might affect the personal development of each of the boys differently.

6.21 Ralph. It did not seem that athletic participation was contributing to sound personality development in Ralph's case. He appeared to play football primarily because it earned the approval of others and filled a void in his life by providing an authority figure and a group whose rules he could follow and thus continue a pattern of obedience and conformity. It seemed that Ralph's authoritarian tendencies were also strengthened by the experience. Because his interpretation of the environment and his reactions to it were influenced by these basic personality trends, he appeared to respond to the least desirable aspects of competition--extreme emphasis on winning, aggressiveness, rivalry--and, in the context of athletics, perceive these as behaviors that are approved by important others and, therefore, desirable, e.g. "the coach

likes you better if you show hustle." Ralph's hustle seemed to be motivated by a need to be a member of the in-group, "one of the best" that receives the approval of important people, rather than by a desire to excel or do one's best as judged by an inner standard. His standard of being among the best was that "you are ahead of the other guy"--self-advancement was possible only through aggression, and, in the context of athletics, his hostility was directed as much toward his teammates as his opponents, because, as he saw it, to win a position on the team, one had to defeat others.

Ralph's self-esteem was based on conformity and group approval, but he did not appear to have the empathy and insight to realize that he was not really a member of the group--there seemed to be little interpersonal involvement, mutual trust, or respect between Ralph and his teammates.

Although Ralph appeared capable of humanistic considerations in some situations, by and large his responses to others seemed to be motivated by a need to conform to perceived expectations, which he saw as legitimate because of the superior position of others. In football, Ralph perceived the object to be "to knock the other guy down," therefore, with the qualification that "you don't want to injure him permanently," "you don't care what you do to the other guy, just so you can get ahead of him." Being a nice guy was irrelevant on the field, because the situation demanded annihilation of the opponent and, sometimes, teammate.

It seemed that any type of intervention based on an awareness of certain basic personality trends and their possible influence on the learnings derived from athletics might be helpful in guiding Ralph and

boys like him toward greater personal competence and psychological maturity, because under the present conditions, athletics appeared to reinforce some perceptions and attitudes Ralph held toward himself and others, which were antithetical to the goals of sound personal development.

Ralph appeared to need to develop a firmer sense of identity and autonomy so that he could begin to accept a responsibility for his own decisions and judgments of right and wrong and see obedience and conformity in their proper perspective as means of social control demanded by authority figures rather than values or ends in themselves. He also needed to develop some insight into his own motives and those of others to increase his capacity for independent and realistic appraisal of situational demands and for the adaptation of more flexible coping strategies.

Environments that encourage genuine social participation and a sense of personal responsibility, it seemed, would contribute more to Ralph's development than continued exposure to atmospheres which encourage deference and conformity. It appeared that having been brought up in such a way as to learn that one always gets rewarded for conforming and punished for not conforming, Ralph carried these expectations into situations where social realities no longer justified them, but not without an accompanying loss of self-respect and a considerable degree of suppressed and displaced hostility. Helping him to recognize a divergence of views and to face conflict might be a starting point toward the development of more authentic peer relationships, increased sense of personal worth and dignity, and a stabler self-identity. Finally, a change in his customary

modes of interaction with others might increase his capacity for mutuality and empathy, which could contribute to the development of a more stable and mature moral character and a value system based on internalized principles.

6.22 Tony. Participation in athletics was not as significant a part of Tony's life as it was of Ralph's, therefore, he appeared to be influenced by it to a lesser degree. Nevertheless, Tony's participation in competitive sports seemed to contribute to a pattern of attitudes and behaviors which, at best, suspended his growth toward maturity and, at worst, could become his permanent mode of adjustment. Tony played football primarily because it was a way of having fun; otherwise it appeared to have little meaning for him, and he was not committed to any of its values or goals. Winning was more fun than losing and accomplishing something outstanding in a game was more fun than making a mistake, but either way it was soon forgotten, because football was a relatively unimportant facet in a life which, in the final analysis, appeared to be made up of a number of equally unimportant facets. Tony's interpretation of the athletic environment and his reactions to it were relativistic and determined by a personally referenced definition of the good as that which provides fun and diversion.

In the context of athletics, rules and obligations to conform to the expectations of others appeared to have even less meaning for Tony than in other situations. What he seemed to have learned was that certain rules are made for some to obey and for others to outsmart. To some extent he seemed to have been encouraged by the very people who made

the rules, because he perceived the coaches as "good guys who always gave you a break."

For Tony, football was a way of prolonging an immature, rather irresponsible, amoral approach to life, which helped to delay the need for insights and involvements that could demand decisions about goals and principles. He appeared to sense that changes in his mode of adjustment were necessary and had intended not to play football during his senior year but had been talked into it by friends and coaches, who had been willing to overlook the fact that he had not participated in the demanding and strenuous pre-school training program.

Tony appeared to need guidance toward a more mature philosophy of life, and, more importantly, he needed an opportunity for commitment to worthwhile goals that were commensurate with his abilities and in the pursuit of which he could utilize all of his talents and abilities. He needed encouragement to search for meaningful and constructive ways in which to express himself, because a feeling that his unique contribution was important could help him to develop a sense of responsibility toward himself and others. The opportunity for achievement in situations that demanded hard work, genuine involvement, and a commitment to unselfish ideals or principles could, perhaps, help Tony to develop a sense of worth and dignity and reduce, if not replace, his tendency to rebel for the sake of rebellion rather than principle, and to get around rules simply because it's a challenge to see what one can get away with.

Finally, it seemed that the learning atmosphere would be improved if students, especially those, who, like Tony, were challenged to disobedience by rules, could be helped to feel a sense of understanding and

potential participation in the social order. Rules might be perceived quite differently if, instead of being arbitrary commands governing even the most trivial of matters, they were the shared basis of the social order.

6.23 Bob and Joe. It did not seem that participation in athletics had a great deal of influence on the development of the boys in Cluster III, because they had a relatively firm sense of identity and a stable system of values. They played ball because it provided an opportunity to excel and to achieve, to be part of the team, make friends, work toward a common goal, and to have fun. Unlike Clusters I and II, Cluster III could and did realistically evaluate the good and bad aspects of athletic participation. They also placed sports in perspective--participation was important in its place, as one facet of life, but it did not have too much influence on the other aspects of life. These boys not only had a more accurate perception of the underlying attitudes and values encountered in athletics, but they also had rather firm personal values and moral standards on basis of which these could be accepted or rejected.

It seemed that a positive contribution could be made to the development of the boys in Cluster III by exposure to atmospheres which emphasized the importance of humanistic considerations and a morality of cooperation rather than of authority. While these boys readily recognized and criticized attitudes and behaviors in athletics that were inconsistent with their own principles, their conscience appeared to be oriented inwardly, so as to prevent a violation of their own standards, rather than to be based on a consideration of consequences for others. These boys stressed the importance of adherence to rules,

achievement, responsibility, and impulse control, seemingly at the expense of feelings, a more fully developed capacity to emphathize with others, and a greater tolerance for impulse expression. They appeared to apply preconceived principles somewhat rigidly to situations which, in others, could evoke altruism and compassion. In short, these boys did not appear to recognize that every person, ultimately, must be "his brother's keeper." Therefore, exposure to experiences and models that foster empathy and consideration for others could help these boys to develop a broader morality, which permits the consideration of extenuating circumstances and the resolution of moral conflicts in favor of human ends and raises questions about the worth of institutional norms and strict conformity to the value content of such social ideals as the Protestant Ethic, when these appear to be given higher priority than matters of humanistic concern.

6.24 Peter. It appeared that athletics made a positive contribution to Peter's development. His maturity and personality integration facilitated an accurate assessment of the environment and an evaluation of implications beyond the immediate. His motives for participation reflected intelligence, autonomy, and competent judgment, and he appeared to have the capacity to appraise the situation and to respond to the positive aspects. He was well aware of the negative aspects of athletics but a firm sense of identity and a stable system of values helped him to sort out and reject attitudes and behaviors which contradicted his inner standards.

Peter did not feel that athletics was intrinsically more worthwhile than any other activity which could offer a young person the

opportunity to achieve, excel, work for group goals, and earn acceptance, recognition and pride in oneself, but personally he had preferred it to other activities. However, he was also cognizant of the fact that in many instances participation in competitive athletics had a negative influence on a person's development and could seriously affect one's capacity to develop other interests and abilities. Nevertheless, for him it had been a valuable part of growing up, and it appeared that for boys like Peter athletics could make a valuable contribution to sound personal development.

6.25 Summary. The most important trend that emerged from the interviews was confirmed by the boys from Clusters III and IV, who saw the athletic experience as something that could re-inforce certain personality traits, attitudes, and values rather than something that could basically change a person. For example, athletes who seemed to possess desirable personality and character traits were the ones who not only possessed such qualities before entering competition but who also had the strength and wisdom to resist the negative learnings that could be encouraged by participation in situations where the emphasis on competitiveness is extreme and winning has become all-important. On the other hand, aggressiveness, excessive conformity, authoritarianism, an irresponsible, amoral, egotistical attitude toward life and a host of other undesirable characteristics can be encouraged by athletic participation if these tendencies have been relatively strong in the participant's personality.

6.3 IMPLICATIONS FOR COACHING

Some of the trends that emerged from the data seemed to indicate that experimentation with non-traditional approaches to coaching and the organization and administration of high school sports in general might be highly desirable, because presently there often is a divergence between what we think athletics does and what it actually does. These trends confirmed the existence of a number of problems for which sports have been widely criticized but which in the professional literature of coaches and physical educators have received very little attention. The literature tends to relegate the responsibility for the charges that have been made against athletics to the unethical conduct of a small minority of coaches. Such an attitude appears to be a naive attempt to avoid the basic conflicts in athletics and to maintain the illusion that athletics can be all things to all people.

Basically, most of the negative aspects of sports derive from the fact that excessive emphasis is placed on winning, at the expense of the individual, but, given the role athletics plays in our society, it appears absurd to suggest that the emphasis could be changed. Perhaps a more realistic approach would be to admit that in the realm of competitive athletics serious contradictions between what is said and what is done exist on every level. To eliminate some of these contradictions and reduce the gap between rhetoric and reality, the competitive philosophy should be spelled out rather than guised in contradictions and platitudes. It should be recognized that the attitudes and perceptions many students derive from athletics are not in line with sound developmental goals, therefore, interventions should be designed to help

the students interpret the experience and cope with the discontinuities that may be created by exposure to two different philosophies and value systems--the democratic values and individual rights stressed in our society vs. the autocratic, almost dictatorial approach that is thought to be the most efficient means by which success can be attained in athletics. The role of the coach should not be confused with that of a teacher, because the coach's primary job is to win games. This fact is well demonstrated by the differential criteria for the selection of outstanding teachers and outstanding coaches. For the most part democracy does not exist in a highly competitive setting, and the best that can be hoped for is a benevolent, altruistic dictator whose main objective, nevertheless, is to achieve a group goal even at the expense of individual goals. Although unethical coaching practices undoubtedly aggravate the problems in athletics, there is no way how the most ethical of coaches can fail to respond to the pressures exerted upon him by the role competitive sports play in our society.

However, even in the present context certain changes in the attitudes and behaviors of coaches might be encouraged. The trends that emerged from the present data suggested that coaches need to develop an awareness of the values and meanings they communicate and an understanding of the impact these may have on the development of different types of athletes. The following perceptions were communicated by the interviewed subjects:

1. Winning is emphasized as the all-important value in interscholastic competition at the high school level.

2. Competition encourages aggression and hostility among teams as well as fans.
3. Individuals and whole teams are known to adapt a style of play the chief aim of which is to cause injury to the opponent rather than to achieve excellence in performance.
4. Intentional fouling is implicitly condoned, especially if the player isn't caught and it helps the team.
5. Pre-game anxiety, created mainly by the pressure to win, causes severe mental and, often, physical discomfort for most athletes.
6. Most athletes suffer shame and guilt over mistakes made during the game. Anger and ostracism from teammates and coaches is not unknown.
7. Intense rivalries for playing positions or for greater glory during a game exist within every team.
8. Lost games create poor morale within the team and greatly diminish fan interest and support.
9. Excessive time may be demanded for practices.
10. Roughhousing may become excessive and cause injuries.

What appears to be called for is that, first of all, coaches have some insight in their own motives and behaviors. They should not espouse one set of rules while enforcing another and implicitly condoning yet another, and they should make some basic decisions about their own values and behaviors in the situations of moral conflict that are common in athletics. That is, they should not only have a stable set of values,

but they should also express them in action. Secondly, they should develop an awareness of how successful they are in communicating what they want to communicate. That is, they should be sensitive to feedback to know whether they are communicating their openly stated and acknowledged goals, a hidden agenda, or, perhaps, a confusing mixture of messages. Finally, they should be aware of the fact that even clear and consistent messages may be interpreted differently by different people, and that the impact an experience has upon a person is determined by a complex and unique combination of external and internal factors rather than by a simple and direct cause-effect relationship. Therefore, they should not treat the athletes as a single, homogeneous entity but strive to develop an awareness of the differences within the larger group. Perhaps the crucial factor in the relationship is empathy--it appears that unless a coach has some ability to sense what a player appears to be learning from competition, he can readily become a negative influence on some players. In the present study no attempt was made to determine what attitudes and values the coaches actually held and encouraged, however, it was clear that the attitudes and behaviors, which were perceived by all of the interviewed athletes, were learned by some and rejected by others.

It seemed that some more specific suggestions might be made in terms of behaviors that could contribute toward a better learning atmosphere and healthier development of all participants. Coaches should recognize that their training and skills are concentrated in a certain area, therefore, they should not hesitate to take advantage of opportunities to develop skills in other areas such as self understanding and

interpersonal competence. They should curb the rhetoric of pep talks, eliminate negative references to the opponents, and concentrate on helping students to strive for excellence in sports performance without opponent degradation. They should strive to be "real" persons rather than authority figures and encourage openness and feedback from the players to ascertain what learnings have been conveyed, so that interventions can be designed for boys whose development might be adversely affected by the athletic experience.

Coaches should strive to utilize all opportunities to create situations in which the students have a chance for genuine social participation and a responsibility for decision making, that is, they should concentrate on the development of personal competence and self-direction, not on the development of specific traits and habits. Coaches should openly discuss moral conflict situations on the playing field, not in terms of their effect on the game but in terms of the values and ethics involved; they should have the courage to criticize a player who has won the game but violated the letter or even the spirit of rules and to be consistently supportive of ethical conduct even when such conduct appears to interfere with the chances of success. Only thus they can encourage the boys to make judgments and choices between right and wrong and only thus they can avoid conveying double meanings and, instead, convey a code of standards that can be helpful in developing a coherent and integrated system of values.

Athletics, even with the existing pressures for winning, appears to have a rich potential for contributing to human development. On the other hand, it also seems to have an equally rich potential for arresting

personal growth and reinforcing undesirable personality traits. Personally and with the help of experts in other areas such as counseling, the coach will ultimately determine what effect athletics will have on the individual participant.

6.4 IMPLICATIONS FOR RESEARCH

Over the last decade there has been increasing interest in the study of the personality dynamics of athletes. Much of the interest has been focused on comparing the psychological characteristics of athletes of a given age group or educational level with those of nonathletes of the same age group or educational level. Some studies have attempted to investigate differences between athletes of different sports or levels of achievement. Traditionally, the research has attempted to demonstrate differences between previously designated groups by the use of the statistical test of significance. Among the most frequently used instruments have been the objective personality questionnaires often used for the selection of personnel in business or industry: The Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory, The California Personality Inventory, The Edwards Personal Preference Schedule, and The Cattell 16 PF IPAT. Much of the research has resulted in contradictory findings about the relationship between athletic participation and the personality. Moreover, the information has not been of the type that could fill in the large gaps that exist between the areas that are of tremendous popular interest and concern and the areas that have received research attention.

With the exception of a few studies which have reported on the relatively low scores on social values and sportsmanship of athletes,

the research has been in the area of such personality traits as extraversion, dominance, aggression, etc. The findings, however, have sometimes been interpreted as bearing upon the controversy that athletics does or does not build character, although the qualities that could be subsumed under the term are generally avoided by sports psychologists and other researchers. The findings of the traditionally oriented research are intended to be useful in enhancing sports performance of the team rather than the all-around development of the individual; they have little application to the daily problems of real-life athletes, and, described in terms of averages for the group as a whole, they do not lead to the understanding of the individual athlete's problem as realistically encountered by a coach or counselor.

To a great extent, the results of a study are inevitably predetermined by the research strategy, statistical methods, and instruments. In addition to frequently acknowledged problem of terminology and methodology, the lack of a theoretical position as to why a relationship between athletic participation and the personality should exist, complicate the study of the phenomenon and the interpretation of the findings. Perhaps the most serious problem in the field of athletic-personality research is the absence of a commonly accepted conceptual framework and a lack of agreed upon operational definitions. This study made a contribution toward the conceptualization and investigation of character and suggested that the definition of the term in sports psychology should not differ from the definition accepted by current researchers in general psychology. The exploratory nature of the study, however, led to an array of new problems and questions which bore little relationship to previous research

but could serve as a new starting point for non-traditional ways of thinking about the study of high school athletes. The findings were not presented as results that could be generalized to other groups of high school athletes; instead, they were presented with the hope that they might suggest new concepts and different priorities for further research.

The basic contribution of this study was in terms of suggesting the desirability of investigating new research approaches. Instead of emphasizing the differences of previously designated groups on certain variables, the study utilized a variety of methods and instruments in an attempt to discover new insights into the problem. In addition to studying the athlete group as a whole, the methods included the investigation of sub-groups and individual interviews. In contrast to traditional research, which has attempted to discover a set of personality traits that would adequately describe a specified group of athletes, the present methods pointed up the existence of previously unspecified groups wiithin the larger group of major sports participants which were formed on the basis of apparent consistencies in individuals and represented different constellations of personality characteristics. Another dimension on which this study differed from traditional research was the orientation of the findings. Traditionally, the relationships between personality and sports participation have been explored primarily to predict and to enhance sports performance, to control behavior, or to manipulate the individual in one way or another in order to achieve the goals of the athletic program. The findings of this study have application for the individual; they may contribute toward a better understanding of the individual athlete by the coach or by the counselor and suggest ways in

which environmental rather than individual control and manipulation can improve the learning atmosphere in athletics for the benefit of the individual.

It appeared that a great many issues have to be clarified before the findings of any study can be accepted as indicative of the effect athletic participation has upon the individual. The findings of this study suggested that the impact of athletics can be understood only when there is an understanding of the psychological make-up of the individual, because each person perceives and interprets an experience through his own pattern of needs, values, and responses, therefore, generalizations about all people should not be made even on the basis of longitudinal studies. As far as the crossectional studies are concerned, an infinite number of factors besides the athletic experience, most importantly, perhaps, the degree to which an individual possessed a particular trait before he began his athletic career, could be responsible for the differences that have been found when athletes and nonathletes have been compared in respect to certain psychological characteristics.

Despite the lack of research evidence, it appeared that potentially participation in competitive athletics could exert a powerful influence on some individuals in terms of encouraging or discouraging the development of certain personality attributes. Therefore, research should take in account the potentialities, dispositions, and readinesses of the individuals in an attempt to determine what personality tendencies are served or countered by the athletic experience, instead of continually concentrating on the search for group averages which differentiate previously designated groups from one another.

Unfortunately, the athletic experience is by no means uniform, and the atmosphere to which an individual is exposed is determined by a number of factors such as the dominant values of the coach and the school, therefore, generalizations about athletics are no more valid than generalizations about athletes. Ideally, perhaps, a study of the social climates should be combined with a study of the individuals to determine the significant factors that influence the relationship between participation in competitive athletics and the psychological development of the individual participant.

APPENDIX A

BACKGROUND INFORMATION QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX A

BACKGROUND INFORMATION QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Name _____

2. Age _____

3. Grade _____

4. Highest grade completed by father _____; by mother _____ (Mark Freshman, Sph., Jr., Sr., or Grad. School, if either parent attended college.)

5. Number of brothers _____(older), _____(younger)

6. Number of sisters _____(older), _____(younger)

7. Do you live within walking distance from the school? ___yes; ___no

8. Do you own a car? ___yes; ___no

9. Have you participated in organized sports outside the school (Little League, etc.) ___yes; ___no

10. How many years have you been on the school team(s)? _____

11. Check the team(s) you have played on ___football; ___basketball; ___baseball

12. What kind of grades did you get last year? ___about an A average; ___between an A and B avg.; ___about a B avg.; ___between a B and C avg.; ___about a C avg.; ___between a C and D avg.; ___about a D avg.: ___lower than D avg.

13. Are your grades ___higher, ___lower, or ___the same during the off-season?

14. Extracurricular activities other than sports:

List the organizations and/or clubs of which you are a member	What office do you hold, if any?
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

15. List your favorite leisure time activities or hobies _____

_____

_____

16. Fill in the approximate number of hours spent per week on each of the following activities. Leave a blank for activities you do not participate in.

_____ athletics (games and practices)

_____ homework

_____ extracurricular activities other than athletics

_____ work, if you hold a job

_____ regular chores at home

_____ dating

_____ hobbies and other leisure time activities

_____ other; please list _____

17. List the activities in order of importance to you, starting with the activity that means the most to you personally:

_____

_____

_____

_____

18. List three best liked subjects in order of preference:

_____

_____

_____

19. List three least liked subjects, starting with the one you dislike most:

_____

_____

_____

20. What would you <u>like to do</u> after you graduate from high school?

___attend college or ___get a job

21. What do you expect or plan to do after you graduate from high school? ___attend college or ___get a job

22. If you plan on attending college, can you name any colleges that you have been considering? List in order of preference:

_____

_____

_____

23. If you plan on working, what types of work are you considering? List in order of preference:

_____

_____

_____

24. In order of preference, list what you would like to be in about ten years (name the occupation, for example, plumber, doctor, farmer, football player, etc.)

_____

_____

_____

25. When you were younger, did you play ball with your father?
___often; ___sometimes, but not often; ___rarely; ___never

26. Did you play with your brother(s)? ___often; sometimes, but not often___; ___rarely; ___never

27. Does your father participate in any kind of sports? ___yes; ___no

28. Does your father watch sports (football, baseball games) on TV?
___usually; ___sometimes; ___rarely; ___never

29. How strict are your parents? ___more strict than most kids';
about the same___; less strict than most kids'___

30. When you did something your parents didn't approve of, did they more often ___spank you; ___take away certain privileges; ___act cold towards you; ___try to explain what you did wrong?

31. Who disciplined you more often? ___father; ___mother; ___both about the same

32. What do your parents consider to be more important for you?
___getting good grades; ___being a good athlete

33. Are your closest friends athletes? ___yes; ___no

34. Which of the following statements characterizes you best?
___ I have a lot of friends to whom I feel about equally close;
___ I have a few close friends;
___ I have a lot of friends and a few close friends.

35. Do your friends follow your suggestions or ideas? ___usually;
___sometimes; ___never

36. Do you initiate the activities in a group? ___usually; ___sometimes;
___never

37. Do you think you are more of a ___leader or ___follower?

38. How often do you stick to your own point of view or do things your own way despite what others may think? ___usually; ___sometimes; ___never

39. Which of the following broad areas of your life contains people or situations that you think and worry about the most?

___family relationships; ___relationships with people your own age; ___schoolwork; ___athletics; ___health; ___your future; ___other (please list) _____

40. What are the three most important reasons why you play ball?

_____

_____

_____

41. Did any of the following people have anything to do with your decision to go out for sports or influence you in any way (check those that apply or leave all blank if you feel that you made the decision on your own and no one else had anything to do with it)

___parents; ___brothers or sisters; ___friends; ___coaches; ___teachers; ___other (please name) _____

APPENDIX B

CALIFORNIA F SCALE

APPENDIX B

The following is a study of what the general public thinks and feels about a number of important social and personal questions. The best answer to each statement below is your personal opinion. We have tried to cover many different and opposing points of view; you may find yourself agreeing strongly with some of the statements, disagreeing just as strongly with others, and perhaps uncertain about others. Whether you agree or disagree with any statement, you can be sure that many people feel the same as you do.

Mark each statement in the left margin according to how much you agree or disagree with it. Please mark every one.

Write + or - 1, 2, 3, depending on how you feel in each case.

+1:	I agree a little	-1:	I disagree a little
+2:	I agree on the whole	-2:	I disagree on the whole
+3:	I agree very much	-3:	I disagree very much

___1. Obedience and respect for authority are the most important virtues children should learn.

___2. A person who has bad manners, habits, and breeding can hardly expect to get along with decent people.

___3. If people would talk less and work more, everybody would be better off.

___4. The businessman and the manufacturer are much more important to society than the artist and the professor.

___5. Science has its place, but there are many important things that can never possibly be understood by the human mind.

___6. Young people sometimes get rebellious ideas, but as they grow up they ought to get over them and settle down.

___7. What this country needs most, more than laws and political programs, is a few courageous, tireless, devoted leaders in whom the people can put their faith.

___8. No sane, normal, decent person could ever think of hurting a close friend or relative.

___9. Nobody ever learned anything really important except through suffering.

___10. What the youth needs most is strict discipline, rugged determination, and the will to work and fight for family and country.

___11. An insult to our honor should always be punished.

___12. Sex crimes, such as rape and attacks on children, deserve more than mere imprisonment; such criminals ought to be publicly whipped or worse.

___13. There is hardly anything lower than a person who does not feel a great love, gratitude, and respect for his parents.

___14. Most of our social problems would be solved if we could somehow get rid of the immoral, crooked, and feebleminded people.

___15. Homosexuals are hardly better than criminals and ought to be severely punished.

___16. When a person has a problem or worry, it is best for him not to think about it, but to keep busy with more cheerful things.

___17. Every person should have complete faith in some supernatural power whose decisions he obeys without question.

___18. Some people are born with an urge to jump from high places.

___19. People can be divided into two distinct classes: the weak and the strong.

___20. Some day it will probably be shown that astrology can explain a lot of things.

___21. Wars and social troubles may someday be ended by an earthquake or flood that will destroy the whole world.

___22. No weakness or difficulty can hold us back if we have enough will power.

___23. Most people don't realize how much our lives are controlled by plots hatched in secret places.

___24. Human nature being what it is, there will always be war and conflict.

___25. Familiarity breeds contempt.

___26. Nowadays when so many different kinds of people move around and mix together so much, a person has to protect himself especially carefully against catching an infection or disease from them.

___27. Nowadays more and more people are prying into matters that should remain personal and private.

___28. The wild sex life of the old Greeks and Romans was tame compared to some of the goings-on in this country, even in places where people might least expect it.

APPENDIX C

SITUATIONAL ESSAYS

APPENDIX C

Name _____

We are also studying the ways in which different people cope with difficult situations. Please try to place yourself in the described situation. How would you feel and what would you do if it had actually happened to you? Describe your feelings and reactions and WHAT YOU WILL DO TO COPE WITH THE SITUATION.

Please do the same for the second situation.

Thanks!

You have just found a note that has fallen out of your best friend's notebook. It was written by your other very good friend, and it really cuts you down. It says that you're a very presumptuous person and instead of being the well-liked, popular friend you think you are you're not their friend at all. In fact, you are something of a creep and people probably really hate you, suggests the note.

WHAT ARE YOUR FEELINGS AND REACTIONS? WHAT WILL YOU DO TO COPE WITH THE SITUATION?

You have decided you want to go to a college in another state where some of your friends are going and tell your parents that you'll get a job since you know they can't afford to pay all your expenses there. Your parents object very strongly, because you've never had a serious job or been on your own away from home. Finally they tell you that they'll pay fully for your education if you go to a nearby college they have chosen but won't give you any financial help if you go to the other school.

a. WHAT ARE YOUR FEELINGS AND REACTIONS?

b. Are you going to the college you chose _____ or to the college your parents chose _____? WHY?

c. If you are going to the college you chose, how are you going to manage it? Write a brief sketch of your life at college as you envision yourself coping with it. What strong points, abilities or personal assets do you have that would help you make a go of it? What weak points that might contribute to a lack of success?

APPENDIX D

MORAL ORIENTATION SCALE

APPENDIX D

One of the things we are studying is the way young people feel they or others might act in different situations.

This is not a test. There are no right or wrong answers, so say what you feel. Your answers will be kept in strict confidence.

On the first page is the beginning of a story. Your job is to finish the story telling what happens, what the hero thinks and feels, and how it turns out.

On the next few pages are some stories and some questions about them for you to answer. Please answer all of the questions and don't look at anyone else's paper. Thanks for your help!

1. One day about 11 o'clock in the morning, Mr. Jones was backing out of a large parking lot. He banged into a parked car, denting its fender badly and scraping off a lot of paint. He took one look at the damage and drove off in a hurry. Why would it be wrong to drive off like that?

2. Why would it be wrong for a student in school to copy someone else's answers during an examination?

3. Two young men, Al and Joe, were in trouble. They were secretly leaving town in a hurry and needed money. Al broke into a store and stole $500. Joe went to a man who often helped people in town, and told him that he was sick and needed $500 for an operation. Really he wasn't sick at all, and he had no intention of paying the man back. Although the man didn't know Joe very well, he loaned him the money. So Al and Joe skipped town, each with $500.

   If you had to decide who did worse, Al who broke into the store and stole $500 or Joe who borrowed $500 with no intention of paying it back, which one would you say did worse? Al_____ Joe_____ Why do you think he did worse?

4. Why <u>shouldn't</u> someone steal from a store anyway?

Please use the back of the page for additional space on any question.

4. a. What harm do you think it does when someone steals from a store?

5. In Europe a woman was near death from a special kind of cancer. There was one drug that the doctors thought might save her. It was a form of radium that a druggist in the same town had recently discovered. The druggist was charging over twice what the drug cost to make. He paid $800 for the radium needed to make the drug and charged $1800 for a small dose of the drug.

   The sick woman's husband, Lawrence, went to everyone he knew to borrow the money. He also went to banks and loan companies. But he could only get together about $900 which is half of what the drug cost. He told the druggist that his wife was dying, and asked him to sell the drug cheaper, or to let him pay the rest later. But the druggist said, "I'm sorry, but I discovered the drug and it's only fair that I make money from it." So Lawrence got desperate and broke into the man's store to steal the drug for his wife.

   a. Do you think Lawrence was right or wrong to do that?
   Right___ Wrong___ . Why?

   b. If you were Lawrence, do you think you would have done the same thing he did? Yes___ No___

   c. Do you think a good husband would think it was his duty to steal the drug if he were in Lawrence's place? Yes___ No___

   d. Lawrence was arrested for stealing. If you were the judge, do you think you would punish him or let him go free?
   Punish___ Let him go free___ Why?

6. Jim is one of the most popular boys at school and he's the best bowler, his average score being 155. One day some of the boys are teasing his friend Ronald about how poorly he bowled the night before. They keep saying Ronald doesn't know how to bowl and never did. Ronald isn't smiling at all, and finally he says, "I didn't bowl very well last night but I once bowled 145." The other boys don't believe Ronald and just laugh and continue to tease him about being a poor bowler.

   Jim never saw Ronald bowl 145 but finally he says, "It's true what Ronald says. I was there when he bowled 145. I saw him myself."

   a. Do you think Jim was right or wrong to say that? Right___ Wrong___ Why?

   b. Do you think you would say that if you were in Jim's place? Yes___ No___

      If you would not say it, do you think you would be tempted to say it? Yes___ No___

   c. Do you think you would like a boy like Jim? Yes___ No___

APPENDIX E

LIST OF VALUES

APPENDIX E

We are also interested in the things that are important to young people. Please read each item in the list below and decide how important it is to you. If you think the item is VERY IMPORTANT, circle A; a LITTLE IMPORTANT, circle B; NOT IMPORTANT, circle C.

1. A B C to do well in sports
2. A B C to obey parents
3. A B C to be popular with other kids
4. A B C to do well in school work
5. A B C to have a good sense of humor
6. A B C to be considerate of other kids' feelings
7. A B C to know how to spend money wisely
8. A B C to put work before play
9. A B C to like people even if they have different beliefs or skin color
10. A B C to go to church regularly
11. A B C to do things that are fun
12. A B C to think before you act
13. A B C to go out of your way to help other kids
14. A B C to try your best in everything you do
15. A B C to be neat and clean and show good manners
16. A B C to be looked up to as a leader by other kids
17. A B C to obey the rules
18. A B C to have confidence in yourself

* Now if you had to pick one of them as THE MOST IMPORTANT ONE, *
* which would it be? Put a 1 next to it. *
* *
* Then put a 2 next to the one you think is SECOND MOST IMPORTANT. *
* Put a 3 next to the one you think is THIRD MOST IMPORTANT. *
* *

APPENDIX F

SCALE OF INTERNALNESS

APPENDIX F

Art and his friends are at the school's annual Field Day and Picnic. There are many contests, and Art wants to win one very badly. His friends win the jumping and running events, but Art hasn't come close to winning anything. He thinks to himself: "Maybe I can win the swimming race. That's the main event."

When the swimming race comes up, Art sees a way to win. The contest is to swim underwater to a big white float and back. Art knows no one could see him if he turned around underwater before actually reaching the bottom of the float, because the distance is too great.

So Art swims only part way, turns around, and comes back. When the contest is over, he has the best time of all the swimmers and everyone cheers him for winning and compliments him for being such a good swimmer. No one saw Art turn around. He is given the first prize, and no one realizes he is not the best swimmer.

PLEASE FINISH THE STORY. Tell what Art THINKS and FEELS and WHAT HAPPENS AFTERWARDS.

APPENDIX G

MORAL DEVELOPMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX G

Please answer the following questions according to the way you feel. Some questions require more than a "yes" or "no"--please write in your answer (use the back of this sheet if you'd like to express yourself more fully than the provided space permits).

1. Are there any laws that are bad? ___yes ___no

2. Should someone obey a law even if he thinks it is a bad law? ___yes ___no

3. Before the Civil War we had laws which allowed slavery. According to the law, if a slave escaped, he had to be returned to his owner like a runaway horse. Some people who didn't believe in slavery disobeyed the law and hid runaway slaves and helped them to escape. Were they doing ___right or ___wrong?

4. In a country like Russia, a dictator makes all the laws. We might think the laws were bad. Would it be wrong for someone to disobey a law in Russia that he thought was a bad law? ___yes ___no

5. Everyone always has to follow a lot of rules which tell everyone what they should and shouldn't do. There are the laws of the country, the religious commandments, the rules of the school and of the family and a lot of other rules. Suppose there was a country where the people didn't have any rules and didn't know any rules. If you could teach them one rule to follow, what would be the one best rule for them to learn?

   Why would that be the best or most important?

6. Are there some rules that aren't important? ___yes ___no

7. The Golden Rule says: "Do unto others as you would like them to do unto you." Would that be the one best or most important rule? ___yes ___no

   Why?

8. What should you do if someone hits you?

   What would the Golden Rule say to do?

9. If in this country that had no laws there was nobody but good people, would you need any laws in that country? ___yes ___no

10. Could someone be a good person if he hadn't been brought up with any laws to follow? ___yes ___no

11. Is there a <u>right</u> answer to these questions? ___yes ___no

12. Who would know the right answer (if you feel there is one)?

13. Do you ever have disagreements about what is right? ___yes ___no

14. When you disagree with your parents, do you go along with them, go your own way, or try to convince them you might be right?

APPENDIX H

INTERCORRELATION MATRICES

TABLE I

CORRELATIONS OF SELECTED VARIABLES WITH THE F SCALE AND SITUATIONAL ESSAY SCORES--TOTAL GROUP

Variable	Correlations With						
	F-Scale	Self-esteem I	Auton-omy I	Perc. of Reality I	Self-esteem II	Auton-omy II	Perc. of Reality II
Humanistic	-.145	.196	.094	.181	-.005	.022	-.094
Id	-.003	-.160	-.195	-.094	-.005	-.112	-.075
Conventional	.238*	-.191	-.147	-.187	-.186	-.145	-.086
Obedience	.393**	-.121	.093	-.029	-.130	.112	.170
Conv. morality	.438**	-.163	-.004	-.145	-.172	-.026	.068
Impulse control$_1$	-.017	-.042	-.046	.003	.245	.172	.283
Impulse control$_2$	-.055	-.206	-.195	-.183	.266	.084	.273
Over-contr. auth. subm.	.367**	-.270	-.075	-.227	-.043	.031	.240
Productive orientation	-.180	-.060	.016	.067	.198	.004	.085
Achievement$_1$	-.158	.145	.196	.248	.053	-.018	-.120
Achievement$_2$	-.081	.156	.079	.246	-.148	-.158	-.250
Scale of internalness	-.143	.234	.057	.199	.277	.120	.309
IQ	-.371**	.143	.187	.264*	.132	.169	-.003
GPA	-.357**	.004	.077	.185	.219	.154	.065
External	.059	.040	.354	-.072	.0	.005	-.277
Humanistic	-.145	.199	.137	.125	.221	.150	-.038
Conventional categorical	.279*	.123	.169	.144	.017	-.021	.150
Conventional	.242*	.053	.060	.058	-.046	-.095	.171
Internal	-.025	.010	-.035	.091	-.113	.122	.043
H + I	-.182	.088	.072	.053	.051	.161	-.029
H + C + I	.047	.153	.045	.165	.018	.036	.177
Focus on character	.044	.057	-.109	.058	-.318	-.208	-.126
Deserve-earn	-.090	.036	-.239	-.329	-.394	-.164	-.142
Justice balance	.052	.013	.063	.129	-.120	.129	-.237
Des.-earn + just. bal.	-.033	-.126	-.086	-.017	-.033	-.016	-.291
F-Scale	--	-.163	-.063	-.257*	-.219	-.319*	-.176

*Significant at the .05 level **Significant at the .01 level

TABLE II

CORRELATIONS OF SELECTED VARIABLES WITH THE F SCALE AND SITUATIONAL ESSAY SCORES--ATHLETES

Variable	Correlations With						
	F Scale	Self-esteem I	Auton-omy I	Perc. of Reality I	Self-esteem II	Auton-omy II	Perc. of Reality II
Humanistic	.125	.039	-.072	.070	-.078	-.162	-.284
Id	-.218	-.046	-.140	-.081	-.119	-.216	-.160
Conventional	.102	-.237	-.215	-.263	.050	.092	.166
Obedience	.301	.094	.206	.116	.253	.388*	.408
Conventional morality	.359*	-.021	.098	-.050	.245	.347	.402
Impulse control$_1$	-.188	-.319	-.058	-.071	.037	-.006	.147
Impulse control$_2$	-.220	-.397*	-.259	-.216	-.050	-.145	-.047
Over-contr. auth. subm.	.218	-.256	-.037	-.131	.183	.216	.371
Productive orientation	-.333*	-.154	.091	.112	.094	-.053	.075
Achievement$_1$	-.212	.158	.344*	.306	.207	.116	.122
Achievement$_2$	-.102	.214	.174	.296	-.221	-.202	-.050
Scale of internalness	-.122	.381	.145	.384	-.046	-.272	-.004
IQ	-.313*	-.032	.020	.042	.213	.294	-.250
GPA	-.415**	-.245	.055	.029	.323	.089	-.183
Authority	.147	.368	.279	.264	-.543	-.891	-1.000
External	.128	.292	.273	-.027	-.328	-.375	-.200
Humanistic	.177	.253	.063	.059	-.111	-.030	-.516*
Conventional categorical	.305	.121	.320	.165	.353	.231	.355
Conventional	.087	.136	.250	.267	.306	.127	.504*
Internal	.292	.021	.152	.121	.162	.265	.081
H + I	.249	.013	-.076	-.094	-.140	.057	-.432
H + C + I	.226	.225	.110	.333	.265	.151	.239
Focus on char. of actor	.056	.437	-.220	.059	-.710**	-.394	-.364
Deserve-earn	.340	-.018	-.225	-.576	-.439	-.265	-.132
Justice balance	.061	.284	.266	.371	.083	.280	-.382
Des.-earn + just. bal.	-.135	-.147	-.132	-.037	.149	.031	-.348
F Scale	--	.145	.112	-.063	.055	.102	-.003

*Significant at the .05 level **Significant at the .01 level

TABLE III

CORRELATIONS OF SELECTED VARIABLES WITH THE F SCALE AND SITUATIONAL ESSAY SCORES--NONATHLETES

	Correlations With						
	F Scale	Self-esteem I	Auton-omy I	Perc. of Reality I	Self-esteem II	Auton-omy II	Perc. of Reality II
Humanistic	-.343*	.351	.280	.324	-.011	.145	.119
Id	.249	-.290	-.275	-.099	.028	-.009	.017
Conventional	.315*	-.176	-.112	-.147	-.375	-.291	-.278
Obedience	.482**	-.327	-.048	-.205	-.393	-.161	-.322
Conventional morality	.492**	-.289	-.103	-.223	-.398*	-.301	-.386
Impulse control$_1$	.047	.166	-.040	.066	.283	.265	.363
Impulse control$_2$	.028	-.014	-.125	-.144	.327	.249	.535*
Over-contr. auth. subm.	.474**	-.293	-.119	-.287	-.219	-.139	.002
Productive orientation	-.067	.084	-.104	.003	.211	.044	.083
Achievement$_1$	-.127	.141	.014	.157	-.040	-.105	-.342
Achievement$_2$	-.083	.113	-.026	.152	-.066	-.115	-.402
Scale of internalness	-.155	..082	-.053	.016	.530**	.436*	.677**
IQ	-.413*	.285	.365	.437*	.081	.088	.233
GPA	-.343*	.229	.106	.304	.173	.234	.433
Authority	-.163	-1.000	.275	-.526	1.000	.839	-1.000
External	-.058	-.203	.492	-.113	.613	.321	-.365
Humanistic	-.324*	.257	.221	.297	.519	.248	.408
Conventional categorical	.372	.110	-.249	-.071	-.272	-.319	-.173
Conventional	.417*	-.114	-.219	-.255	-.243	-.266	-.255
Internal	-.271	-.005	-.200	.061	-.280	.001	-.008
H + I	-.485**	.181	.230	.258	.075	.216	.332
H + C + I	-.077	.067	-.056	.043	-.280	-.077	.101
Focus on char. of actor	.036	-.054	.017	.060	-.018	-.102	.315
Deserve-earn	-.476	.111	-.277	-.090	-.420	-.008	-.289
Justice balance	.137	-.119	-.052	-.041	-.282	.006	-.143
Des.-earn + just. bal.	.113	-.120	.007	-.002	-.195	-.098	-.193
F Scale	--	-.393*	-.207	-.407*	-.317	-.567**	-.307

*Significant at the .05 level **Significant at the .01 level

TABLE IV

CORRELATIONS OF SELECTED VARIABLES WITH THE IQ AND GPA ATHLETES AND NONATHLETES

	Correlations With			
	IQ		GPA	
Variable	Athletes	Nonathletes	Athletes	Nonathletes
F Scale	-.313*	-.413	-.415**	-.343*
Self-esteem I	-.032	.285	-.245	.229
Autonomy I	.020	.365	.055	.106
Perc. of reality I	.042	.437*	.029	.304
Self-esteem I	.213	.081	.323	.173
Autonomy II	.294	.088	.089	.234
Perc. of reality II	-.250	.233	-.183	.433
Humanistic	.043	.253	.150	.303
Id	.228	-.094	.166	-.208
Conventional	-.007	-.138	-.049	-.207
Obedience	-.387*	-.126	-.147	-.175
Conventional morality	-.375*	-.169	-.198	-.255
Impulse control$_1$	.062	-.027	.241	-.054
Impulse control$_2$	.006	-.149	.214	-.228
Over-contr. auth. subm.	-.358*	-.252	-.089	-.406*
Productive orientation	.078	-.007	.234	-.057
Achievement$_1$	.038	.147	.087	.156
Achievement$_2$	.003	.080	-.184	.117
Scale of internalness	-.298	.128	.019	.255
IQ			.578**	.722**
GPA	.578**	.722**		
Authority	-.202	-.678	-.346	-.625
External	-.199	-.434	-.226	-.772**
Humanistic	-.101	.179	-.028	.182
Conventional categorical	.093	-.123	.037	.054
Conventional	.245	-.282	.097	-.196
Internal	-.109	.105	-.105	.238
H + I	-.203	.233	-.054	.275
H + C + I	-.016	.201	.035	.313
Focus on char of actor	-.422	.436	-.364	.293
Deserve-earn	-.109	-.474	-.318	-.192
Justice-balance	.196	-.109	.146	.150
Des.-earn + just. bal.	-.102	-.002	.075	.128

*Significant at .05 level **Significant at .01 level

TABLE V

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MORAL ORIENTATION SCORES AND SCORES BASED ON GROUPS OF ITEMS FROM THE LIST OF VALUES--TOTAL GROUP

Variable[a]	E	H	CC	C	I	H+I	H+C+I	Char.	D-E	J-B	D-E+J-B
1	-.224	.208	-.081	-.257*	.232	.356**	..258*	.077	.185	.207	.198
2	.134	-.116	-.143	-.112	-.131	-.173	-.272*	-.035	-.202	-.006	-.171
3	.223	-.273*	-.101	-.024	.086	-.212	-.228*	.020	-.116	.206	-.070
4	.001	-.169	.090	.258*	.184	.021	.185	.213	-.262	.056	-.051
5	.113	-.274*	.043	.193	.196	-.100	.052	.216	-.216	.109	-.051
6	.078	.122	.051	.067	-.085	-.077	-.142	-.126	.066	-.071	.089
7	.150	.089	-.077	-.061	-.229	-.071	-.213	-.245	-.025	-.256	.273*
8	.247	-.178	-.004	.152	.064	-.123	-.093	.070	-.185	-.028	.113
9	-.077	.084	.161	.192	-.197	-.124	-.046	-.262	-.160	-.258	.058
10	-.252	.058	.223	.226	-.095	-.043	.121	-.130	-.149	-.108	-.108
11	-.352*	-.035	.261*	.298*	-.108	-.153	.110	.010	.050	-.071	-.095
12	-.207	.167	-.079	-.054	.036	.187	.305**	.199	.088	.010	.030

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

[a] 1 = Humanistic
2 = Id
3 = Conventional
4 = Obedience
5 = Conventional morality
6 = Impulse control$_1$
7 = Impulse control$_2$
8 = Over-Contr. Auth. subm.
9 = Productive orientation
10 = Achievement$_1$
11 = Achievement$_2$
12 = Scale of internalness

TABLE VI

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MORAL ORIENTATION SCORES AND SCORES BASED ON GROUPS OF ITEMS FROM THE LIST OF VALUES--NONATHLETES

Variable[a]	E	H	CC	C	I	H+I	H+C+I	Char.	D-E	J-B	D-E+J-B
1	-.289	.049	-.174	-.257	.287	.320*	.257	.069	.087	.073	.116
2	-.215	-.159	-.043	.049	.017	-.253	-.131	-.048	-.282	.136	-.068
3	.500	-.405*	-.041	.160	.003	-.345*	-.207	.375	.043	.276	.057
4	999.999	-.271	.129	.452**	-.036	-.115	.236	.323	-.357	.047	.0
5	.500	-.427**	.078	.390*	-.059	-.297	.057	.390	-.284	.139	.024
6	.258	.105	-.082	-.152	.097	-.082	-.397*	.023	.074	-.118	-.034
7	.444	.074	-.192	-.231	-.215	-.072	-.408**	-.295	-.086	-.326	-.181
8	.739*	-.308	-.042	.257	-.171	-.283	-.229	.205	-.235	-.031	-.056
9	.083	.231	.331	-.013	-.174	-.056	-.279	-.294	.028	-.266	-.184
10	-.540	.199	.483*	.141	-.082	.032	.068	-.071	.096	-.042	-.054
11	-.504	.146	.587**	.251	.004	-.070	.077	-.071	.085	.086	.086
12	-.034	.099	-.300	-.196	-.102	.143	.138	.068	.069	-.032	-.040

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

[a]1 = Humanistic
2 = Id
3 = Conventional
4 = Obedience
5 = Conventional morality
6 = Impulse control$_1$
7 = Impulse control$_2$
8 = Over-contr. auth. subm.
9 = Productive orientation
10 = Achievement$_1$
11 = Achievement$_2$
12 = Scale of internalness

TABLE VII

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN MORAL ORIENTATION SCORES AND SCORES BASED ON GROUPS OF ITEMS FROM THE LIST OF VALUES--ATHLETES

Variable[a]	E	H	CC	C	I	H+I	H+C+I	Char.	D-E	J-B	D-E+J-B
1	-.171	.228	-.009	-.190	.200	.293	.204	.098	.243	.268	.280
2	.233	-.042	-.188	-.222	-.213	-.099	-.324*	-.027	-.156	-.236	-.208
3	.006	-.227	-.117	-.191	.177	-.149	-.308*	-.348	-.179	-.045	-.133
4	-.009	-.079	.084	.113	.363	.165	.167	.107	-.207	.140	-.075
5	-.063	-.191	.067	.041	.449*	.066	.051	.024	-.169	.093	-.097
6	-.192	-.027	.211	.354*	-.239	-.267	.130	-.292	999.999	-.079	.201
7	-.121	-.038	.021	.125	-.252	-.214	-.085	-.169	999.999	-.243	.502**
8	-.059	-.195	.077	.119	.283	-.070	-.029	-.066	-.169	-.041	.201
9	-.163	-.039	.074	.294	-.214	-.196	.120	-.242	-.337	-.278	.154
10	-.103	.016	.054	.250	-.110	-.060	.207	-.196	-.337	-.196	-.154
11	-.295	.061	.052	.248	-.210	-.059	.242	.052	.0	-.142	-.199
12	-.310	.194	.030	.065	.034	.216	.429**	.372	-.194	.100	.063

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

[a]1 = Humanistic
2 = Id
3 = Conventional
4 = Obedience
5 = Conventional morality
6 = Impulse control$_1$
7 = Impulse control$_2$
8 = Over-contr. auth. subm.
9 = Productive orientation
10 = Achievement$_1$
11 = Achievement$_2$
12 = Scale of internalness

TABLE VIII

INTERCORRELATIONS OF SITUATIONAL ESSAY SCORES--NONATHLETES

Variable	SE I	Aut. I	PR I	SE II	Aut. II	PR II
Self-esteem I	--					
Autonomy I	.852**	--				
Perc. of reality I	.812**	.702**	--			
Self-esteem II	.595*	.525*	.437*	--		
Autonomy II	.523*	.437*	.438*	.881**	--	
Perc. of reality II	.167	.122	.015	.877**	.704**	--

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

TABLE IX

INTERCORRELATIONS OF SITUATIONAL ESSAY SCORES--ATHLETES

Variable	SE I	Aut. I	PR I	SE II	Aut. II	PR II
Self-esteem I	--					
Autonomy I	.860**	--				
Perc. of reality I	.809**	.723**	--			
Self-esteem II	.694**	.709**	.641**	--		
Autonomy II	.527*	.662**	.437*	.921**	--	
Perc. of reality II	.243	.192	.204	.083	.222	--

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

TABLE X

INTERCORRELATIONS OF MORAL ORIENTATION SCORES
NONATHLETES

Variable[a]	E	H	CC	C	I	H+I	H+C+I	Char.	D-E	J-B	D-E+ J-B
1	--										
2	-.529	--									
3	-.629	-.352	--								
4	-.485	-.745**	.755**	--							
5	-.653	-.229	.332	.294	--						
6	-.504	.829**	-.489**	-.730**	-.027	--					
7	-.930**	.218	.301	.281	.189	.427**	--				
8	-1.000**	-.076	.190	.230	-.162	-.145	.263	--			
9	9.999	.290	-.012	-.081	.335	.296	-.082	-.380	--		
10	.272	-.006	.091	-.055	.396	-.011	.170	-.235	.482	--	
11	.340	.201	.120	-.084	.331	.050	.172	-.185	-.039	.883**	--

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

[a]1 = External
2 = Humanistic
3 = Conventional categorical
4 = conventional
5 = Internal
6 = H + I
7 = H + C + I
8 = Focus on character
9 = Deserve-earn
10 = Justice Balance
11 = Deserve-earn + justice balance

TABLE XI

INTERCORRELATIONS OF MORAL ORIENTATION SCORES
ATHLETES

Variable[a]	A	E	H	CC	H	I	H+I	H+C+I	Char.	D-E	J-B	D-E+ J-B
1	--											
2	.859**	--										
3	-.178	-.344	--									
4	-.099	.058	-.498**	--								
5	-.095	-.010	-.507**	.814**	--							
6	-.485	-.614*	-.230	.130	-.172	--						
7	-.433	-.617**	.770**	-.454**	-.616	.333	--					
8	-.859**	-.923**	.172	.441**	.481**	.320	.367*	--				
9	.556	-.362	.377	-.165	-.361	.285	.577**	.221	--			
10	.999	-.128	.202	-.157	-.302	.350	.223	.246	.635	--		
11	-.945	-.313	.061	-.042	-.234	.689**	.293	.166	.281	.439	--	
12	-.773	-.242	.158	-.179	-.267	.465*	.086	-.164	.300	.728**	.796**	--

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

[a]1 = Authority
2 = External
3 = Humanistic
4 = Conventional categorical
5 = Conventional
6 = Internal
7 = H + I
8 = H + C + I
9 = Focus on character
10 = Deserve-earn
11 = Justice balance
12 = Des-earn + justice balance

TABLE XII

INTERCORRELATIONS OF SCORES BASED ON GROUPS OF ITEMS FROM THE LIST OF VALUES--NONATHLETES

Variable[a]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	--										
2	-.266	--									
3	-.252	.048	--								
4	-.195	-.096	.320*	--							
5	-.276	-.030	.803**	.811**	--						
6	-.198	-.099	-.171	-.121	-.182	--					
7	-.142	-.131	-.227	-.210	-.269	.830**	--				
8	.350*	-.132	.569**	.630**	.742**	.413**	.439**	--			
9	-.273	-.215	-.369*	-.320*	-.420	.505**	.561**	.008	--		
10	-.169	-.148	-.210	-.167	-.227	-.217	-.311	-.431**	.608**	--	
11	-.213	-.121	-.206	-.178	-.232	-.215	-.304	-.430**	.568**	.951**	--

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

[a]1 = Humanistic
2 = Id
3 = Conventional
4 = Obedience
5 = Conventional morality
6 = Impulse control$_1$
7 = Impulse control$_2$
8 = Over-controlled authority submission
9 = Productive orientation
10 = Achievement$_1$
11 = Achievement$_2$

TABLE XIII

INTERCORRELATIONS OF SCORES BASED ON GROUPS OF ITEMS FROM THE LIST OF VALUES--ATHLETES

Variable[a]	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11
1	--										
2	-.171	--									
3	.005	-.207	--								
4	-.131	-.309*	.119	--							
5	-.193	-.318*	.497**	.870**	--						
6	-.172	-.194	-.150	-.007	-.074	--					
7	-.117	-.193	-.184	-.097	-.154	.639**	--				
8	-.247	-.397**	.335*	.762**	.831**	.301	.410**	--			
9	-.331*	-.402**	-.203	-.140	-.181	.560**	.602**	.149	--		
10	-.326*	-.373*	-.122	-.079	-.094	.183	.012	-.100	.795**	--	
11	-.337*	-.304*	-.162	-.178	-.186	.068	.069	-.221	.561**	.763**	--

*Significant at .05 level
**Significant at .01 level

[a]1 = Humanistic
2 = Id
3 = Conventional 1
4 = Obedience
5 = Conventional morality
6 = Impulse control$_1$
7 = Impulse control$_2$
8 = Over-controlled authority submission
9 = Productive orientation
10 = Achievement$_1$
11 = Achievement$_2$

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