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Prevailing Protestant ideology concerning sport a theoretical analysis.

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PREVAILING PROTESTANT IDEOLOGY CONCERNING SPORT:
A THEORETICAL ANALYSIS

by

(C) Dennis Wayne Hiebert

A Thesis
submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies
through the Faculty of
Human Kinetics in Partial Fulfillment
of the requirements for the Degree
of Master of Human Kinetics at
The University of Windsor

Windsor, Ontario, Canada
1981
ABSTRACT

PREVAILING PROTESTANT IDEOLOGY CONCERNING SPORT:
A THEORETICAL ANALYSIS

by

Dennis Wayne Hiebert

Protestantism is imbued with perceptions of sport which forge the framework of its flourishing relationship with sport. Many ambiguous impressions and confusing evidences have contributed to our fragmentary understanding of these Protestant perspectives. The purpose of this study is to synthesize, analyze and clarify prevailing Protestant ideology concerning sport.

North American sport/faith literature from the 1970's was collated and subjected to a qualitative content analysis, using a non-empirical, largely deductive theorizing procedure. This produced a broad, interdisciplinary articulation of Protestant ideology concerning sport.

In developing a theoretical framework for the study, it was noted that the sociology of religion and sport has dealt with little more than functional commonalities and athletic metaphors. The historical relationship of Protestantism and sport was traced through selected major periods from Old Testament days to the present alliance. Theologically, Protestantism was depicted as groping for a unified approach to cultural components, and as in fundamental conflict with
the humanism which currently dominates sport.

The primary components of Protestant ideology concerning sport were seen as deriving from the primary characteristics or factors of sport itself. Thus the core of Protestant ideology focuses on the question of sport for its own sake.

The first component, based on the physical nature of sport, is the Protestant view of the body, health and physical activity. After ridding the Christian tradition of its borrowed philosophical notion of dualism and the concomitant ascetic lifestyle, Protestant theology has differentiated between the morally corrupt flesh nature and the physical body, which is the temple of God. Based on Biblical injunctions and a holistic view of man, Protestantism has embarked on an unprecedented promotion of physical fitness that endorses sport.

The second component, based on the game context of sport, is the Protestant view of leisure, recreation and play. With the dissolution of the work ethic in the notion of Christian vocation, Protestantism has embraced the celebration and worship potential of a leisure ethic and even advanced a theology of play. At the same time, church recreation programs have found great utility in sport.

The third component, based on the orientation of sport participants, is the Protestant view of the values, ethics and morals of sport. Various value orientations notwithstanding, Protestantism has struggled most with its
plurality of perspectives on winning and losing and all that competition entails. Yet the notion of sport as a microcosm, or a practical laboratory for personal ethics and morals, remains a cardinal tenet of its ideology.

The practical interface of Protestantism and sport, while more peripheral in terms of ideology, is a most visible and immediate manifestation that caps Protestant ideology. Protestant involvement in sport is evident in church and college athletic programs and in special sport/faith organizations that also use sport as an evangelistic tool. Such use is often contentious, as is Protestantism's lack of social action toward sport. Protestantism's influence on sport is channeled through the regenerate individual, and is therefore indirect.
DEDICATION

to

Judy, my love and companion,

and

"to the praise of His glory"
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The infamous process of thesis writing has proven to be all my committee warned it would be, and I should thank them for saving me from myself. Dr. Duthie's stimulation and guidance, Dr. Culliton's literary criticisms, Dr. Metcalfe's insistence on definition and focus, and Dr. Galasso's support for the basic idea have together provided for an unforgettable experience. Special thanks go to Drs. Duthie and Culliton for their encouragement and willingness to wade through the rough drafts when the many miles between us would have made it easy to be unfaithful.

Others who were instrumental in this project include the Winnipeg Bible College and Théological Seminary by its granting me the time to study while in its employ, the University of Manitoba by its generous inter-library loan services, and my parents by their taking care of personal affairs while I was away. Allan Bartel's enthusiastic and diligent commitment of his considerable skills in the preparation of the manuscript was of great assistance.

Above all, I now understand why writers thank their spouses. Aside from Judy's secretarial aid, I shall always treasure her patience, prayers and belief in me when I no longer could.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. The Problem

1. Introduction to the Problem.

At initial glance, religion and sport would appear to have little in common. Praying and preaching seem quite alien to pitching and punting. What do baptistries and Bibles have to do with basketballs and batons? Surely choirs and cardinals function in realms other than coaches and cornerbacks. However, upon more careful scrutiny, it is apparent that religion and sport have encountered each other in a most intriguing fashion.

Many sensitive participants who have pursued excellence in sport will attest to the notion that on certain occasions the sport experience can attain transcendent, metaphysical dimensions and become a profoundly religious experience. On the other hand, any observer of sport must acknowledge the infiltration of organized religion into the world of sport. The interface of religion and sport is also evidenced by the fact that the modern mindset indeed can consociate preaching and pitching, praying and punting, Bibles and batons, cardinals and coaches. This infusion of sport metaphors
into religion and vice versa, demonstrates, at the very least, their cognizance of each other. What is the basis for such an alliance? What affinity draws two such apparently divergent human experiences together? Questions arising from the juxtaposition of organized religion and sport form the root of this study.

Organized religion and sport, in fact, have long been intertwined in a unique relationship. The Christian religion has dominated the western world since the time of Christ, and if Christianity and sport have been perceived as adversaries with negligible interaction for most of the intervening centuries, it has nevertheless been a conscious relationship. The twentieth century witnessed an increasingly overt involvement on the part of Christianity, and particularly Protestantism, in sport. The sponsorship of sport by various Protestant institutions has already characterized much of the twentieth century. But this interface of Protestantism and sport has been dramatized recently by the emergence of several sport/faith organizations, by individuals within the realm of sport becoming increasingly vocal about their faith, and by the first few serious attempts at integrating the Protestant faith and sport now beginning to appear in literature.

On what basis do organized religion, specifically Protestantism, and sport relate? Both are pervasive social systems, neither of which operate in a vacuum, nor is their existence interdependent. It is only natural then, that
they should meet and communicate with each other at a certain point. This point of contact is their respective ideologies or systems of belief. The ideology of Protestantism or sport will determine its perception or assessment of, and consequently its actions toward, the other.

It is questionable whether sport ideology has communicated any sort of consistent, systematic perception of Protestantism, or whether it has consciously attempted to capitalize on Protestantism in any practical way. Sport has been suspected of nurturing religious overtones, but one would be hard pressed to argue that sport has initiated the pursuit of an alliance with Protestantism.

The converse is more likely. It is Protestantism that has come to recognize the inherent compatibility between some of its values and ideals and those of sport, and the potential benefits accruing from an association with sport. Therefore, in order to understand the resultant association, we must focus our attention on Protestant ideology concerning sport.

2. Statement of the Problem

Protestantism is imbued with perceptions and assessments of sport which forge the framework or rationale for its relationship with sport. The purpose of this study is to analyse and clarify prevailing Protestant ideology concerning sport, as expressed in North American sport/faith literature. Sub-problems appertaining to the study are:
a) to identify the elements and/or components of sport that are of issue to Protestant ideology.

b) to gather and review examinations of the Protestant perspective of these elements of sport, and

c) to synthesize and articulate consensus Protestant thinking and/or attitudes regarding these elements of sport.

3. Need for the Study

The most fascinating and least reported aspect of American sports is the silent and enduring search for a rationale. Stacked against the atomic bomb or even against a patrol in Algeria, the most exciting rally in history may not seem very important, and for the serious and semi-serious people who make their living through sports, triviality is a nagging, damnable thing. Their drive for self-justification has contributed much to the development of sports. (Kahn, 1957:10)

The sentiment expressed by Kahn a quarter century ago is still felt today, but perhaps nowhere more keenly than within Protestantism. Though Protestantism has dabbled in sport for some time, it has only recently followed the lead of social science and begun to examine sport more closely. For as Hoffman (1980:71) notes, "neither widespread sanction nor wholesale invasion of contemporary sport by Christians constitutes integration." Thus the associate editor of the leading Protestant journal, Christianity Today, declares that "it's time to think seriously about sports ... the role of athletics deserves sober, intelligent appraisal ... We must stop muddling along in mindless assent or dissent" (Kucharsky, 1975:18). Little serious thinking has, as yet,
been forthcoming from within Protestantism.

While general awareness of certain aspects of Protestant ideology concerning sport is relatively common, our understanding of it remains fragmentary at best. One may conceive of stringent, strictly empirical approaches to the problem, such as a quantitative investigation into the sponsorship of sport by Protestant educational institutions. But until a rather broad theoretical delineation of the underlying ideology is produced, such studies will only contribute to the disjointedness of our understanding, adding bits and pieces that may not coalesce. Earlier, more philosophic questions are the heart of the issue, because only when an adequate grasp of the thinking behind the interface of Protestantism and sport is in hand can we confidently turn to narrower concerns with purpose and meaning. What is lacking is a comprehensive, qualitative, theoretical analysis that will set in order what is at present a plethora of ambiguous impressions and confusing evidences.

This study speaks to historicocultural concerns as well as theology, but its primary theoretical significance lies in the fact that it is an exercise in and contribution to sociology. Sociology has, from its very inception, been interested in religion. Modern, institutionalized sport on the other hand, admittedly a newcomer to the social environment, only recently and rather belatedly gained the attention of sociologists. One could legitimately attribute
the embryonic state of the sociology of religion and sport to the long neglect of sport by sociology, the dramatic emergence to prominence of sport in our society, or even the relative youth of the science of sociology itself. This study is a small step toward the development of the sociology of religion and sport.

On the practical level of significance, an analysis of Protestant ideology concerning sport will enlighten sportsmen curious about the advances of Protestantism, Protestants unsure of how to approach sport, and Protestant sportsmen trying to reconcile two major elements of their personal world.

B. Definition of Terms

1. Protestant

Protestantism is one of the three major branches of the Christian religion, the others being Roman Catholicism and Eastern Orthodoxy. The term sprang from the "protests" of Reformation thinkers who wished to regenerate Roman Catholicism on the pattern of the primitive church, or "according to the Gospel and Pauline theology" (Jackson, 1950:290).

[The term Protestant] has since been applied to virtually all non-Roman Catholic Western Christianity.... Though [non-Roman Catholic] may impart almost no clue as to the doctrinal substance of this branch of Christianity, it is perhaps the only terminology that is both inclusive and accurate. (The New Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. 15, 1979:99)

There exist, however, chief tenets of Protestant
doctrine that are common to all streams of the Reformation heritage. These are:

a) **Scripture and Tradition.** The single source of revelation and authority is Holy Scripture, the Bible. Tradition, or the wisdom of the past, is highly respected, but is not considered a secondary source of revelation.

b) **Justification by Faith.** Righteousness is not a human property; it is not something which a man possesses. Upon confession of faith, God pronounces man righteous because of Christ's substitutionary righteousness and atonement. All ideas of human merit are excluded.

c) **Certitude of Salvation.** Protestants do not seek for certitude of salvation by examination of conscience or by attempts to measure their own growth in grace. Certitude is based on the Word of God, which stands outside the self.

d) **Sacraments.** There is only one means of grace: the Word. The accepted sacraments, baptism and the Lord's Supper, merely offer another mode of participation in that Word.

e) **Priesthood of All Believers.** All Christian brethren may hear confession, may be bearers to each other of God's Word of judgment and grace.

f) **Order and Ministry.** Pastors have merely been ordained to do publicly what all Christians have been
commissioned to do privately. Since there is no question of higher and lower, but solely of order and function, Protestant churches lack the juridical structure and hierarchy of the Roman Catholic Church. (Douglas, 1974:308-9)

At the time of the Reformation, four distinct strands within Protestantism could be identified. These included Lutheranism, Calvinism or the Reformed Church, Anglicanism or the Church of England, and the radical Reformed or Anabaptists. By the second half of the twentieth century, much denominational splintering had occurred, and denominations indigenous to North America had sprouted. In Canada, the major denominations in descending order of size were the United Church of Canada, Anglicans, Presbyterians, Lutherans, Baptists, and Pentecostals; in America the Baptists, Methodists, Disciples of Christ, Churches of Christ, and Assemblies of God (Pentecostal) (Jacquet, 1979).

Some extensive movements that claim to be Christian have evolved from Protestantism in North America, but they do not view themselves as Protestant and in turn are viewed as heretical cults by Protestantism. The most prominent at mid-twentieth century were the Christian Scientists, Jehovah's Witnesses, Mormons, and Seventh-Day Adventists (Hoekema, 1963).

One particular subdivision of Protestantism whose relationship with sport is greatly debated is that of Puritanism. It began, as the term "Puritan" implies, as the
desire to purify the Church of England, but soon became known as an earnest way of life or interpretation of the Christian pilgrimage, that pervaded many differing groups. Other than their Calvinist tradition, their affinity for strict morality, discipline and work, and their emphasis on grace and salvation, the Puritans had little else in common (Emerson, 1968:44). Included under the heading of Puritan was a wide variety or religious non-conformists, consisting of Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Separatists, and those Anglicans who sought greater reform of the church than the Crown would permit (Haller, 1957:16-7).

2. Ideology

The concept of ideology is germane to socio-political discussions, but since the term first appeared at the end of the eighteenth century, it has acquired many nuances in its application to a variety of intellectual systems. Thus it carries a rather pejorative meaning (Gould and Kolb, 1964:315). Theodorson's definition is most comprehensive.

A system of interdependent ideas (beliefs, traditions, principles and myths) held by a group or society, which reflects, rationalizes, and defends its particular social, moral, religious, political and economic institutional interests and commitments. Ideologies serve as logical and philosophical justifications for a group's pattern of behaviour, as well as its attitudes, goals, and general life situation. (Theodorson, 1969:195)

Other characteristics of ideology are that it goes beyond what positive science can validate, carrying with it an emotive tone relevant to social action (Mitchell, 1968), and that it comprises part of the normative component of
culture (Popenoe, 1977). The most readily recognizable ideologies of our time remain socio-political frameworks such as democracy, communism, capitalism, and socialism, so it may be valid to question whether religious belief systems should be termed ideologies. Certainly, for the student of a particular religion who is articulating that religion's belief structure, it is an exercise in theology. However, for the social scientist observing religious belief, both Theodorson's definition and Popenoe's (1977) practice indicate that "ideology" is the appropriate designation. Also, Mannheim's (1936) definition of ideology, the relatively systematic doctrines that articulate group perspectives, seems almost to focus on religious belief systems. On the other hand, the sociology of religion has debated whether or not various "isms," such as scientism, humanism and communism, should be defined as religions (Johnstone, 1975). Regardless, for the purpose of this study, religious teaching, or theology, shall be considered synonymous with ideology.

3. Sport

"The meaning of sport, like time, is self-evident until one is asked to define it" (Snyder and Spreitzer, 1975:11). It then becomes a most nebulous and illusive target. Many theorists have expended much effort in attempting to rid the term "sport" of its ambiguity, yet little consensus as to its meaning and character has been forthcoming. Perhaps the
most confusing aspect of sport is its relationship to similar concepts—principally play, games and athletics, and by implication, work, leisure, and recreation.

Coakley (1978) has identified three major factors to consider in developing a definition of sport.

a) The types of activities involved. He suggests that the activity must involve relatively complex physical skills or vigorous physical exertion.

b) The structure of the context in which the activities take place. Of importance here is that the activity be some sort of contest or game, and that it be institutionalized, that is, existing in a patterned and regularized form.

c) The orientation of the participants. Much disagreement exists here, especially regarding the spirit of play, but the participants in sport are collectively motivated by a combination of both intrinsic satisfaction and external rewards.

Loy's (1978) approach to sport as a social phenomenon addresses these three factors, and it is his definition of sport that is accepted for the purpose of this study. In a sense, Loy's explanatory and supportive constructs of play and games roughly parallel Coakley's factors.

Play. Any activity that is free, separate, uncertain, spontaneous, unproductive, and governed by rules and make-believe. (This definition is based on the classical works of Caillois (1961) and
Huizinga (1955), and parallels Coakley's third factor of orientation.

**Games.** Any form of playful competition in which the outcome is determined by physical skill, strategy, or chance. (This definition is based on the work of Roberts and Sutton-Smith (1962) and parallels Coakley's second factor of context.)

**Sport.** Any institutionalized game demanding the demonstration of physical prowess. (This definition parallels Coakley's first factor of type.)

The scheme of sport as a subset of games and games as a subset of play would be complete were it not for the complicating factor of athletics. Few would argue that the type and context of athletic activity is any different than that of sport. The issue, first raised by Keating (1964), is one of orientation. Obviously, some forms of sport such as professionalism, have acquired instrumental, utilitarian, and therefore work orientations that are foreign to expressive, non-utilitarian and therefore play orientations. These forms are known as athletics. Loy depicts the relationships as follows:
The fundamental differences between sport and athletics have complicated and confounded the academic discussions of sport from many viewpoints, and the perspective of religious ideology is no exception. The present study subsumes the athletic orientation under the rubric of sport.

4. Prevailing

This present tense adjective has several important meanings for the Protestant ideology under examination.

Firstly, "prevailing" is intended to imply a certain time dimension; that the subject is being studied in its very generally current or present form. For Protestant ideology concerning sport, current or present can be considered the three-quarter mark of the twentieth century, or the decade of the 1970's. This also implies that the
current form of Protestant ideology is not the same as it has been in the past, for instance, at its inception during the Reformation, or even the first half of the present century. A shift has taken place, yet we cannot assume further change in the future.

A second connotation of "prevailing" is that the ideology as presented is the most commonly accepted or predominant of the Protestant faith. As such, it is representative of the whole, but not necessarily consistent with every faction or denomination within Protestantism. Predominance, of course, is determined by frequency and/or authority of expression, and where no predominance is evident, the contending views are presented.

Finally, "prevailing" may also suggest effectiveness, or the ability to produce intended results. To some degree, it is the very efficacy of Protestant ideology concerning sport that has made it an issue.

5. **Sport/Faith Literature**

Sport/faith literature simply refers to any writings, either popular or academic, that either discuss sport or some aspect of it from a religious perspective, or discuss the interface of sport and religion.

6. **Theoretical Analysis**

Analysis, or the separation of an entity into its constituent elements or components for the purpose of examination (Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, 1973), may
appear in forms ranging from the use of sophisticated statistics to the use of "common sense." It may be a controlled empirical investigation or metaphysical discourse. But either extreme is likely to involve theory (Kerlinger, 1974).

A theory may be defined as a set of abstract, logical and interrelated constructs or propositions, which attempts to explain relationships between specific phenomena and their respective variables, in a systematic and conceptual manner. It is the explanatory function which distinguishes a theory from a related but nonexplanatory concept such as a description, typology, model, prediction or conceptual framework. While all these are part of the structure of theory, they do not explain the phenomenon to which they refer (Kinloch, 1977).

Theorizing (or theoretical analysis) may be viewed as the process by which individuals account for (or explain and interpret) their physical and social environments. Such a process occurs within the context of a specific social setting (ideological, intellectual, and historical) and defines the physical and social reality of this setting. In this manner, theory represents an interpretation of reality (Kinloch, 1977:5).

The present study is a theoretical analysis in that it is a set of abstract constructs intended to explain the relationship between components of Protestant ideology and sport in a systematic and conceptual manner.

C. Methodology

1. Limitations

a) As the principal method of observation is the
collection and analysis of available materials, the inquiry is limited by the literature available in the English language. This is significant to the extent that a considerable portion of relevant materials have been generated from continental Europe and are not available in English. Some sources, notably Dutch and German, have been translated into English, published in North America, and have become part of the North American milieu. A comprehensive review of all sources available via the avenues searched is attempted, as no further sampling will be exercised. Although all studies are limited by their data, the present one is especially affected by language.

2. Delimitations

a) The focus on Protestantism excludes all non-Christian religions along with such related phenomena as existential humanism (Aitken, 1976), metaphysical sentiment (Murphy and White, 1978), and superstitious behaviour (Becker, 1975). Any literature must be clearly more than personal musings of a pious nature to be included. It must explicitly or implicitly align itself with, or discuss, the Protestant perspective of sport.

Within Christianity, the contradistinction between Protestant and Roman Catholic ideology concerning sport is not as unequivocal. Grupe (1972) has considered it sufficient to necessitate further delimitation if
parsimonious analysis is to be achieved. However, no assertion is here made that Protestantism and Catholicism do in essence differ substantially in their view of sport. That question is beyond the scope of the present inquiry, as this is not a comparative study. The focus on one branch of Christianity is simply a means of delimiting the literature to be scanned, which otherwise would become prohibitive.

In 1975, sixty-one percent of Americans expressed a religious preference for Protestantism, compared with twenty-seven percent for Catholicism and two percent for Judaism (Gallup Opinion Index, 1976). It follows that Protestant ideology would be ascendent. Lueschen (1967) has documented the overrepresentation of Protestants in sport and Deford, in his landmark Sports Illustrated series on religion in sport, observed that "fundamentalists [Protestants] have taken the ball from the Roman Catholics" (Deford, 1976:97). The only specific religion mentioned in Fraser's "Sport and Religion" (1975) is Protestantism, and the chapter on "Religion and Sport" in Eitzen and Sage (1978) extends only token acknowledgment of others. According to Hoffman, "the theological stance of the 'athletae dei' fits squarely within the boundaries of orthodox, Protestant, evangelical Christianity" (Hoffman, 1976:43). Furthermore, in describing the religiosity component of his influential Dominant American Sports
Creed, Edwards notes that "the religious theme in the sports creed is clearly Protestant in emphasis" (Edwards, 1973:125). This preeminence of Protestant ideology in North American sport determines its selection as the focal point of this study.

There are, as already indicated, further divisions within Protestantism, all of which would not necessarily concur on ideology concerning sport. Yet further delimitation would strain the literature, which almost exclusively devotes itself to the more predominant or commonly accepted perspectives. If the Amish and Episcopalians disagree on a certain aspect, that too is beyond the scope of this study, as the data is not equipped to deal with it.

b) The temporal delimitation adopted is that of the current or present day Protestant ideology concerning sport; the intention is to describe the existing perspective and not necessarily to trace its development to this point in time. Specifically, literature appearing during the decade of the 1970's will be examined, although this in turn will understandably reference the contribution of the past few decades. Ideologies can seldom be held to historical dates or events, and in this case there is no readily identifiable occurrence within the last quarter century capable of defining the onset of prevailing Protestant ideology. Regardless of our
definition of the present or our commitment to it, diligent elucidation demands at least some attention to historico-cultural roots.

c) A further delimitation is that of geography. Both Protestantism and sport are influenced by and reflect their socio-cultural settings, and the North American milieu cannot be easily equated with other continents. One evidence is that the juxtaposition of Protestantism and sport has generated much theological discussion in Europe but negligible interest in North America, although North Americans have begun to assimilate continental thinking in this regard. Thus it is the expression of Protestant ideology concerning sport in North America only that holds our attention.

d) This study is confined to non-empirical, or theoretical analysis. It does not employ a specific instrument to measure a particular set of operationalized variables in a controlled manner, but rather uses a particular methodology of logical reasoning and analysis in explaining the relationship of the variables involved. It may be conceived of as middle range theorizing in that it is intermediate to minor working hypotheses and master conceptual schemes (Merton, 1957). Furthermore, using Kinloch's (1977) classification of the types of theory, what is pursued here is informal rather than formal, explanatory rather than descriptive, objective rather than intuitive,
deductive rather than inductive, and functional rather than structural theorizing. By utilizing the largely deductive strategy most clearly delineated in the work of Zetterberg (1976) we have taken a stance in the historical debate within sociology over the process of developing a scientific body of knowledge; we have pursued what Reynolds (1971) calls a theory-then-research approach rather than the more empirical research-then-theory approach. Our strategy "reflects the assumption that scientific activity is the process of inventing theories (explanations) and then testing the usefulness of the invention" (Reynolds, 1971:147). The debate has been characterized by observing that for theorists the identifying motto would at times seem to be: "We do not know whether what we say is true, but it is at least significant." And for the radical empiricist the motto may read: "This is demonstrably so, but we cannot indicate its significance." (Merton, 1957:139)

Given our current poorly organized understanding of Protestant ideology concerning sport, a theoretical analysis that risks accuracy is more instructive than the verification of some obscure and/or minute indicant that risks significance. Indeed subsequent empirical research is implied.

The foundation of any theoretical analysis is its paradigm or model of reality. The master conceptual scheme of this exercise is the macro-sociological
paradigm of structural functionalism, which belongs to what has been termed the social factist school of thought (Ritzer, 1975).

3. Methods of Observation and Data Collection
   a) The research for this study was undertaken primarily in a library setting, pursuing a review of literature. Qualitative content analysis of available materials was the method best able to give rise to a theoretical analysis of the dimension and depth intended. This procedure is simply the technique of collecting, studying and analysing communications in a systematic and objective manner to measure variables or identify specified characteristics. Such materials include newspapers, periodicals, books, theses, public documents, organizational and institutional records, and promotional literature, etc.

   The initial step in procuring these materials was to search systematically the following data bases:

   Computer Retrieval
   - Sport and Recreation Index
   - Philosophers Index
   - Dissertation Abstracts International
   - Education Research Information Centre (ERIC)

   Manual Search
   - Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature
   - Religious Periodical Index
   - Christian Periodical Index
- Protestant publishers
- sport/faith organizations

All indices were scanned from 1970 until the most recent issue available. The perusal of the material gleaned from these sources led to works of the preceding decades that had been referenced in the materials of the 1970's and were viewed as analytical of Protestant ideology in its current form. These were traced also.

Primary sources were considered those which, either implicitly or explicitly, expressed or demonstrated Protestant ideology concerning sport, for example, issues of The Christian Athlete periodical. Included among these sources were the off-hand comments of Christian coaches, as well as the passing references to a particular element of sport make by major theologians who never addressed sport directly. Nevertheless, the major input came from a limited number of what may be termed middle level thinkers, neither lay sportsmen nor major theologians, who grappled with some aspect of the interface directly at the ideological level.4

Secondary sources were considered those sources which examined the expression or demonstration of Protestant ideology concerning sport without promoting it, that is, from a detached perspective. Included here were scholarly journal articles and academic
texts.

b) Although the frame of reference to be established for this study is that of Protestantism and sport as social institutions, another sociological perspective would see them as subcultures (Steward and Glynn, 1975). In one sense, this is a macro-sociological versus micro-sociological difference, in another sense a social factist versus social definitionist distinction. To the extent that a subcultural perspective can enhance the understanding of Protestant ideology concerning sport, and in keeping with its traditional method of observation (Ritzer, 1975), the personal observations of the researcher are viewed as those of a participant observer, due to his position as a physical educator and athletic director in a Protestant educational institution.

c) A third source of input into the study, although also secondary in importance, was informal interviews with selected personnel that are in some way involved in the interface, such as Protestant, clergy, members of sport/faith organizations, etc.

D. Organization of the Remainder of the Thesis

Chapter I has introduced the problem of determining the relationship between Protestantism and sport via examination of the components of Protestant ideology concerning sport. The methodological orientation was described as theoretical analysis, with certain constraints adopted to make the task
manageable. As groundwork for the remainder of the thesis, this is still incomplete, for adequate grounding in the pertinent disciplines is still lacking.

The nature of the problem is such that several academic disciplines, namely sociology, history and theology all converge upon it, and therefore a separate chapter will be devoted to outlining the theoretical framework of the study. Chapter II deals firstly with the sociological context of Protestant ideology concerning sport, then briefly traces the historical relationship between Protestantism and sport, and finally, describes Protestantism's theological perspective or basis of concern regarding sport.

Chapters III, IV, V and VI comprise the body of the thesis and pursue the three major tasks of sociological inquiry: discovery, description and explanation (Reynolds, 1971). Each chapter examines a particular component of Protestant ideology concerning sport.

But what are the components of Protestant ideology concerning sport? It has already been observed that Coakley defines sport on the basis of three major factors or parameters: type of activity, structure of the context, and orientation of the participants. Protestantism, like any other entity, must build its perception of sport, or base its attitude toward sport, on the assessment of these factors.

For Protestantism, the issue regarding the type of activity in sport is that it is physical, the issue
regarding the context of sport is that it is essentially playful, and the issue regarding the orientation of the participants in sport is that it involves the demonstration, exercise and development of values. Of course, not one of these themes in Protestant ideology has been created by its encounter with the sport phenomenon, nor are they confined to it. Indeed, some rather heady, classic theology is come upon, but such points of contact are necessitated by the characteristics of sport. Therefore, it is the thesis of the present study that the core of Protestant ideology concerning sport is its view of the body, health and physical activity, its view of leisure, recreation and play, and its view of values, ethics and morals involved in sport. Chapters III, IV and V deal with these respective issues.

The components outlined above concern every Protestant in every sport situation, no matter what his involvement: their primacy and universality are ensured by definition. Sport for its own sake, or the role of sport in the personal experience of the individual participant, lies at the heart of Protestant ideology concerning sport. Yet these concerns are not the most immediate and visible aspects of Protestant perspectives. Chapter VI scans the practical or active aspects of the interface of Protestantism and sport that, while more peripheral, nevertheless provide points of contact for non-Protestants and cap Protestant ideology.

Chapter VII articulates the conclusions of this inquiry into prevailing Protestant ideology concerning sport, and
offers some implications.
NOTES


REFERENCES


CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A. Introduction

Any study of Protestant ideology concerning sport summons the contributions of several academic disciplines that vary in important ways. The three already cited are sociology, history and theology. While all three are concerned with the understanding of human life and behavior as opposed to the nonhuman natural world, they represent an entire spectrum in their methodology. Sociology utilizes a scientific methodology and is therefore a social science. Theology, on the other hand, unfolds from revelation and focuses on questions outside the scope of science, such as metaphysical and ethical questions. It is generally included in the humanities. Whether history is categorized as a social science or a humanity is best determined by the methods employed by the individual historian, as it straddles both.

Thus the admixture of academic disciplines pertinent to Protestant ideology concerning sport requires careful distillation. Each discipline has its unique perception and approach to the interface of Protestantism and sport, and
only by viewing the interface from the perspectives of the respective disciplines can we observe what constructs each has already supplied, what constructs are related but not central to protestant ideology concerning sport, and what constructs are foundational to the present study. Only then can we gain the embracive and thoroughgoing understanding we seek. This chapter establishes the sociological, historical and theological frameworks prerequisite for a theoretical analysis of the problem, while recognizing that such distinctions are somewhat arbitrary, artificial and ultimately blurred.

B. Sociological Context

Few sociology texts venture a definition of sociology, preferring instead to speak of the sociological perspective.¹

One might say that sociology is not so much a unique subject matter as it is a way of looking at and analyzing topics that are often familiar. To study sociology is to look for the underlying social meanings that give significance to ordinary human actions. (Popenoe, 1977:3)

Broadly conceived, the focus of sociological inquiry is the scientific study of human behavior, or human behavior as influenced by social organization. Yet this in itself does not effectively separate sociology from sister social sciences such as psychology and anthropology.

The key concept in sociology is that of the social system, which is a set of interacting persons or groups conceived of as a social unit distinct from the members who
compose it (Theodorson, 1969:395). The concept of the social system encourages a contextual view of individual and group behavior. These social systems are in turn composed of subsystems (Loy, 1978:29). Both Protestantism and sport are social systems in that they have a) normative subsystems of values, norms and sanctions, b) structural subsystems of patterned interaction, social positions, and roles, and c) behavioral subsystems of persons with physical and psychological characteristics in social interaction. Thus both Protestantism and sport fall squarely within the "subject matter" of sociology.

Although they share a common perspective, sociologists hold varying views of, or theoretical orientations toward, society.\(^2\) The school of thought that the present study is couched in has been termed the social facts paradigm (Ritzér, 1975), other paradigms being social definitionism and social behaviorism. Protestant ideology concerning sport is viewed as a social fact.

What is a social fact? The classic discussion of social facts is that of Durkheim, who uses the term to cover ways of acting, thinking, and feeling, external to the individual, and endowed with a power of coercion by reason of which they control him. (Durkheim, 1938:3)

Social facts are seen as irreducible in that they can only be explained by referring to other social facts, not by referring to the biological or psychological level. Any ideology is a nonmaterial yet real entity that exists external to the individual and is coercive on him.
There are a large number of phenomena that could be labelled social facts: groups, societies, roles, norms, values, the family, etc. Blau (1960:178) has differentiated between two basic types of social facts: social structures and social institutions. The "networks of social relations in which processes of social interaction become organized and through which social positions of individuals and subgroups become differentiated" he termed structures, while the "common values and norms embodied in a culture or subculture" are labelled institutions. Both Protestantism and sport could be analysed in terms of their structure, but it is their existence as institutions that is most pertinent to the issue of ideology.

Returning to Ritzer's notion of the social facts paradigm within sociology, we note first that it is macro-sociological in orientation, meaning that it involves the study of large scale social systems and the relations between these systems (Popenoe 1977:44), such as Protestantism and sport. The two sociological frames of reference most closely identified with this paradigm are structural functionalism and conflict theory. These reflect contrasting models of society, such as consensus versus conflict and structure versus process (Broom and Selznick, 1973:8), yet both base their approach on social facts. By accepting the functional model as the orientation of this study, we confirm our commitment to the analysis of the relationships between social institutions and its resultant
effect on human behavior that was pioneered by Parsons (1951, 1971) and Merton (1968). This functional approach, with the social institution as the basic unit of analysis, has dominated sociology for the past several decades. Schneider has defined a social institution as

an aspect of social life in which distinctive value-orientations and interests, centering upon large and important social concerns.... generate or are accompanied by distinctive modes of social interaction. (Schneider, 1964:338)

There are clearly numerous social institutions, but the most important and/or traditional are the family, the polity, the economy, education, and religion. Each one fulfills "large and important social concerns" crucial to the maintenance of society (Young and Mack, 1959). Indeed, many sociological texts base their analysis on these institutions. Thus the institutional status of religion, or for our purposes Protestantism, is unquestioned. Edwards (1973), as led the argument for viewing sport as a social institution, and most scholars in the sociology of sport have readily concurred, although its strategic social significance beyond being a reflection of society (Boyle, 1963) is less convincing.

Another foundational concept to the study of Protestant ideology concerning sport is that of culture. Social institutions may be classified according to three major spheres: socializing institutions including family and education, regulative institutions including economic, legal, political and military networks, and cultural institutions including art, mass media, sport, and religious
networks (Loy, 1978:37). As cultural institutions, both sport and religion are expressive, higher institutions (Feibleman, 1968) which provide values and ideas that give meaning to human social structure (Schneider and Bonjean, 1973), and serve as both "models for" and "models of" reality (Goertz, 1973). Ideology, and especially religious ideology is intricately connected with both the cognitive and normative components of culture (Popenoe, 1973). The cognitive component of culture is present in ideology in the form of beliefs, the ideas or theories about the material or supernatural world that are not capable of empirical demonstration. The normative component of culture is present in ideology in the form of norms, values and sanctions. Therefore, Protestant ideology concerning sport is part of culture in that it is a system of beliefs that is strongly rooted in a set of values and interests, defining both what is and what ought to be.

The study of religion is one of the oldest of sociological concerns and has taken as its focus the "system of beliefs and practices by which a group of people interprets and responds to what they feel is supernatural and sacred" (Johnstone, 1975:20).

Whatever else it is (or isn't), religion is indisputably a social phenomenon and as such is in a continual reciprocal, interactive relationship with other social phenomena. [This] statement has a nonevaluative intent. Thus we are not going to be able nor even want to speak about the truth or falsity of religion. ...Sociology ...demands that its practitioners approach their subjects... with all the neutrality and objectivity they can muster.... Of course, no sociologist can always
(if ever) be perfectly neutral and objective.... Recent studies in the sociology of knowledge... have punctured the myth of a "value-free" sociology. ... The sociology of religion is also empirical: it can only study phenomena that are observable ... whatever elements of religion are spiritual or supernatural are by definition beyond the purview of sociology. Our characterization of the sociology of religion... can be summed up by stating that [it] is conducted according to the scientific method.

It is at this point that the sociologist of religion encounters probably the most strenuous objection from the religiously committed, which usually runs something like this: Since religion relates primarily to the supernatural — that is, to forces that are usually unseen — and involves matters of the heart as well, anything the sociologist can say about religion, limited as he is to describing the observable, will be at best superficial and unimportant, at worst false and misleading. (Johnstone, 1975:3-5)

Yinger (1970:2) speaks to this issue with the imagery of the stained-glass window, noting that the beauty and message of the window are only visible from the inside, yet many important and empirical questions can be posed that have nothing to do with viewing it from the inside. Granted, empirical data do not constitute the only information of any importance about religion. Nor do we expect empirical measures of religion to reveal its "essence."

The present study of Protestant ideology concerning sport, while grounded in the sociology of religion, does not feel this issue as sharply, as it is a non-empirical analysis of what is "seen from the inside."

Probably the most familiar aspect of the sociology of religion and sport is their functional similarity. Edwards (1973:90), a sociologist, has argued that "if there is a
universal popular religion in America it is to be found within the institution of sport." From religion's perspective, Rogers (1972:394) contends that "sports are rapidly becoming the dominant ritualistic expression of the reification of established religion in America." Kilbourn opened his authoritative publication about religion in Canada by reflecting that

If I were asked by some stranger to North American culture to show him the most important religious building in Canada, I would take him to Toronto's Maple Leaf Gardens. (Kilbourn, 1968:6)

The decline of traditional religion in the face of secularization (Berger, 1969) and the resultant privatization of concern over the Ultimate (Luckmann, 1967) has paved the way for what Rousseau first termed civil religion. Bellah explains:

Although matters of personal religious belief, worship, and association are considered to be strictly private affairs, there are, at the same time, certain common elements of religious orientation that the great majority of Americans share. This public religious dimension is expressed in a set of beliefs, symbols, and rituals that I am calling the American civil religion. (Bellah, 1968:5)

Employing a functional analysis, Milton (1972) concluded that sport is a functional equivalent of religion, particularly with respect to its contribution to integration. As such, sport integrates individuals into their society by inculcating and reinforcing dominant social values and providing regulatory norms as controlling mechanisms. Stein's analysis of the cultic nature of University of Nebraska football noted that both sport and
religion
served to offer continuity in life, an
institutionalized agency for catharsis, a
transcendent experience giving followers an escape
from the mundane, and to foster a sense of
belonging, of community. (Stein, 1977:33)
Pursuing this latter proposition a step further, Pagin and
Brynteson's (1975) study substantiated that "a community
permeated by both sport and religion was exceptionally
cohesive, although "no effort was made to delineate the
singular effect of sport or religion." Fraser (1975), and
Smith (1976), have elaborated on the similarity of worship,
ceremony and ritual in sport and religion, and Evans (1971)
has even demonstrated a startling parallel between the
elements of a typical Protestant church service and that of
the football ethos. Meanwhile, Bianchi (1972:33) has
lamented that "voluntaristic moralism joined to coercive
manipulation is characteristic of pulpit and playing field."

From a more structural perspective, Edwards echoes Rudin
(1972), in observing the following features that sport and
religion have in common:
(a) a body of formally stated beliefs accepted by faith
(b) "what sport/religion has done for me" testimonials
(c) responsibility vested primarily in men
(d) "saints" - exemplary, departed souls who achieved immortality
(e) ruling patriarchs and high councils
(f) scribes to disseminate dogma
(g) "seekers of the kingdom" - believers, devotees,
converts, fanatics

(h) shrines - halls of fame
(i) houses of worship - stadia, arenas, etc.
(j) symbols of the faith - artifacts (Edwards, 1973:261)

Perhaps, as many have suggested, Marx' dictum should be updated to read that sport, not religion, is the opiate of the masses.

A second sociological aspect of religion and sport is not quite the inverse of sport as religion. Yet the religion-as-sport metaphor and/or allegory, especially within Protestantism, has evolved from St. Paul's own frequent use of the athletic metaphor in the New Testament to some current hyperbole that is an embarrassment to many Protestants (Marty, 1973:1239). One example will suffice. Warner recounts an invocation offered at a professional football game that is a

Classic example of sport baby talk:
"Your son is our quarterback and You are the coach. We sometimes get blitzed by heavy sorrows or red-dogged by Satan. Teach us to run the right patterns in our life so that we will truly make a touchdown one day through the heavenly gates as the angels and saints cheer us on from the sideline." (Warner, 1979:136)

Baker reports the even more involved attempts by

a few ministers with the spunk to make fools of themselves trying their hands at footballing the Word... [whose] attempts to make football a motif for the faith have fallen somewhere between faintly amusing and hilarious. (Baker, 1975:1001)

The sport metaphor, for Paul, was good pedagogical and exhortative strategy, a tidy allegorical representation of spiritual struggles. Nonetheless, "more and more players
and viewers are now asking themselves whether treating God as some kind of supercoach does not demean both faith and football" (Are Sports Good for the Soul? 1971:52).

In summation, what constructs have we gleaned from sociology with which to build a theoretical framework for the problem at hand? We see that Protestantism and sport fall under the purview of sociology as social systems. Protestant ideology concerning sport is best understood as a social fact that implies a functionalist orientation. Furthermore, this ideology is one aspect of a relationship between two cultural social institutions. And while the sociology of religion is a traditional sub-discipline and the sociology of sport a fledgling sub-discipline, the sociology of religion and sport offers little more than functional commonalities and metaphors, neither of which contribute much to our concerns.

C. Historical Overview

The history of western civilization provides many further constructs and influences that together have contoured much of present Protestant ideology concerning sport. According to Brasch, sport activities began as religious rites:

Its roots were in man's desire to gain victory over foes seen and unseen, to influence the forces of nature, and to promote fertility among his crops and cattle. ...He was firmly convinced that 'to play the game' meant to accelerate the revival of nature and the victory of vegetation. (Brasch, 1970:1, 4)

Similarly, Carl Diem's monumental world history of sports
begins with the bold assertion: "All physical exercises were originally cultic" (Diem, 1971:1). Indeed, plentiful evidence exists to document the claim that primitive societies frequently incorporated running, jumping, throwing, wrestling, and even ball-playing into their rituals and ceremonies (Guttmann, 1978; Brasch, 1972; and Huizinga, 1955).

The association of games with religious worship continued from prehistoric times well into the classical period. The Olympic games, like the Pythian, the Isthmian (to which St. Paul was probably alluding), the Nemean, and the Athenaic, were sacred festivals, integral aspects of the religious life of the Hellenes. In the words of Deubner:

The Olympic games were sacred games, staged in a sacred place and at a sacred festival; they were a religious act in honor of the deity. Those who took part did so in order to serve the god and the prizes which they won came from the god .... The Olympic games had their roots in religion. (Drees, 1968:24)

Protestantism, with its authority rested in Scripture, naturally looks to Biblical evidences for the genesis of its ideology concerning sport. There is repeated evidence that physical exercise was practised in Israel in the days of the Old Testament (Van Dalen, 1971), although much of it was purposeful and end-directed, as for example, in connection with military training or worship. Eisen (1975), in an exhaustive review of Old Testament references to physical activity, documents that dance was an important pastime activity among the ancient Jews, along with wrestling,
archery, slings, running and swimming. Artificially invented team sports, however, were lacking.

The major explicit reference to sport in the New Testament, despite attempts to portray Jesus as an athlete (Briën and Smith, 1914), is the athletic imagery of St. Paul. Foot-races, boxing and wrestling alike supplied him with memorable phrases to express essential lessons in no less than seven different epistles, and often several times within each epistle (Joks, 1976). In the first Epistle to the Corinthians we read:

Do you not know that in a race all the runners run, but only one gets the prize? Run in such a way as to get the prize. Everyone who competes in the games goes into strict training. They do it to get a crown of laurel that will not last; but we do it to get a crown that will last forever. Therefore, I do not run like a man running aimlessly; I do not fight like a man shadow boxing. No, I beat my body and make it my slave so that after I have preached to others, I myself will not be disqualified for the prize. (I Corinthians 9:24-27)

And near the end of his life, Paul wrote:

I have fought the good fight, I have finished the race, I have kept the faith. Now there is in store for me the crown of righteousness. (II Timothy 4:7-8a)

Paul's uses of athletic metaphors leave no doubt that he knew his athletics intimately; they were a part of his thought. He did not merely apply them as a literary convention to embellish his writings (Harris, 1964). It is true that they allow no very far-reaching conclusions as to Paul's attitude toward sport, but they at least show an absence of any fundamental prejudice against it.
The early Christians envisioned individual moral regeneration as the highest goal, and matters of the body were shunted aside. This emphasis, combined with an assimilation of Greek philosophy in terms of the dualistic conception of body and soul, led to a way of life known as asceticism, the gist of which is to subdue the desires of the flesh or subordinate them to the spirit, in order to suppress the evil that exists in the body. Thus, training of the body for its own sake, for pleasure in movement and play and for pure enjoyment, was rejected as a concession to man's sensual nature (Schloz, 1972:86). St. Bernard is representative of such thinking:

Always in a robust and active body the mind lies soft and more lukewarm; and, on the other hand, the spirit flourishes more strongly and more actively in an infirm and weakly body. (Coulton, 1923:5:523)

As Eitzen and Sage (1978:115) note, "Nothing could have been more damning for the promotion of active recreation and sport."

However, a controversy has developed over the actual attitude of the early Christian church toward physical activity. Van Dalen and Bennett (1971:90) noted that some early churchmen, such as Clement of Alexandria, did see some health value in exercises, games, and sports. In his scholarly analysis of the writings of Philo Judaeus of Alexandria, Harris comments:

That a devout Jew should have had such an intimate knowledge of [athletics] confirmed suspicions, already aroused by St. Paul's acquaintance with athletics, that the Jews ... were far more deeply
involved in this side of Hellenic culture than had generally been supposed. (Harris, 1976:13)

Zeigler (1979:63) calls phrases such as "most churchmen were strongly opposed to physical education" part of the "great Protestant legend." Zeigler further states that:

The presumed negative outlook of the Church against all physical activity has been overemphasized... it now seems probable that the Church was truly harsh only against professional sport and the barbarity of the arena, and not to amateur sport and physical training per se. Thus it seems that the earlier blame [for the historically low status of physical education and athletics in the Western world] placed upon the Church should be tempered. (Zeigler, 1979:70, 269)

Marrou's (1964:185) opinion is that physical education "simply died of old age." He maintains that it was the "passion for athletics" that the Church found abhorrent because Roman sports and games had led to many evils and excesses, and also because athletic festivals were often associated with pagan religions. In the name of Christianity, the Roman emperor Theodosius finally abolished the Olympic games in 394 A.D. as heathen.

From his careful examination of early Christian literature, Ballou agrees that the Church has been unjustly maligned on the point. He concludes that:

The Fathers found evil neither inherent in man nor in activity. Whatever evil existed related to attendance at, or participation in, the forms of sport or athletics as they existed in contemporary society. Christianity attempted to bring the relationship of itself to activity and sport into a more positive perspective compatible with a reverence for God, the dignity of man, and the integrity of activity. (Ballou, 1973:196)

The fact still remains that sport and physical activity
did fall into disrepute during the Middle Ages. The Christian Church continued to preserve a tolerant or even positive relationship with sport only as long as it could be categorized under the headings of "asceticism" or "education," did not conflict with religious rites, or become an experience in sensuality. The tolerance criterion was the principle that the body should be granted its rights if the denial of these rights would obstruct the attainment of spiritual objectives (Schloz, 1972). Moolenijzer (1968) reported that "the Church frowned on wasteful, nonutilitarian physical activity" but that "the clergy did not always enforce the rules and quite often interpreted them to their own liking."

Protestantism, was, of course, born in the Reformation. While the absorption of the reformers was obviously in matters other than sport, they did communicate attitudes and thoughts about sport and physical activity, especially concerning the education of youth. Zwingli, the theological predecessor of Calvin, portrayed a humanistic bent and appreciated the values of physical education far more than many succeeding reformers, who relegated physical education an inferior position in their endeavors to curb worldly pleasures (Van Dalen and Bennett, 1971). Hult examined all the sermons, tracts and treatises, institutes and correspondences of Luther and Calvin and summarized their respective positions as follows:

Luther: Participation in physical activity and sport could be used as a means toward preventing
man from engaging in more corrupt and sinful pursuits, by turning him away from his carnal nature towards more wholesome endeavors.

Calvin: Participation in physical activity and sport was seldom advocated, nor often denied man. If man selected to participate in any form of physical activity or sport, however, it must be done in moderation and with admiration and thanks to God. (Hult, 1973:12-13)

Without question, it is the attitude of the Puritans regarding sport that has been subjected to more inquisition and cross-examination than those of any other era. Yet if anything, the confusion is only compounded.

Until recently, the conventional wisdom that saw Puritans as dull and somber kill-joys and arrantly hostile toward sport and physical activity seemed well founded. As late as 1970 we were assured that "the Puritans saw their mission to erase all sport and play from men's lives" (Brailsford, 1969:141), and that "sport grew up .... like a flower in a macadam prison yard" in seventeenth-century New England (Boyle, 1963:6). To be sure, undeniable documentation of specific Puritan resistance to certain forms of sport is readily available (Dulles, 1965; Struna, 1977).

The issue of Sunday sports, or Sabbatarianism, is a prime example, although both Schrodt (1977) and Jable (1976a) argue that the economic and political implications of this issue were at least as important as the religious. Especially in the debate regarding James I's "Book of Sports," 1617, the Puritans demanded that Sundays should be kept free of physical exercises in the widest sense. They
denounced dancing by partners of different sexes because of its obvious sexual overtones, but recommended instruction in folk dancing with partners of the same sex. They rejected bloody games involving cruelty to animals. Taverns met with their disapproval due to the drunkenness and gambling that such environs fostered. In view of some of the contemporary physical activities, these and other criteria led to the distinction between "lawful" and "unlawful," or "trespass" sports (Schloz, 1972:87).

Swanson (1967) summarizes the traditional suspicions Protestant churchmen held of play. First, such participation might tend to withdraw one's affections from more important spiritual matters. Second, the pleasure of play might be addictive due to man's inherent moral weakness. Third, frontier life required long hours of hard work and time spent in play might jeopardize the entire community. Fourth, play was associated with the upper social classes - the "idle or decadent rich." Fifth, many recreational activities were associated with undesirable surroundings.

But was Puritanism the "prejudiced" deterrent to sport that is so easily portrayed? Much literature of the 1970's suggests not. Schneider (1968) was one of the first to hypothesize, and later verify, that contemporary groups by their characterization of Puritanism had wanted to make Puritans look ridiculous and to distort their doctrine, that the Puritans' attitude towards the human body and towards
physical training had been basically positive, that Puritanism had antagonized only the corruption of physical training, and that Puritanism had played an important part in the development and forming of physical training. Davis (1972) mentions the many festivities given at least tacit endorsement by the Puritan leaders for both practical and emotional reasons. Goldbach stated that:

Puritan physical recreational activity was a moderate, lawful, honest, harmless, sober, good, Christian, indifferent exercise ... [it] was acceptable and necessary and, if morally indifferent, was a delightful and pleasant experience. (Goldbach, 1977:289)

Goldbach even detects a tendency toward professional sports in Puritan literature (1977:291).

Perhaps the two most persuasive proponents of an over-all positive Puritan contribution to sport are Jable (1976b) and Wagner (1976), the former concerning British and the latter North American Puritanism. Wagner in particular argues that the "abundant terminological vagueness" and "etymological differences in vocabulary" of the terms sport historians have projected into the Puritan age render conclusions frequently erroneous. The supposedly negative attitude of Puritanism can be partly explained by the genre of secondary literature, which fails to consult primary sources but rather parrots the succinct judgments of previous authors and evokes popular cliches. Wagner traces the negativism to Samuel Petérs, an eighteenth century historian whose personal conflict with Puritanism led to its stigmatization via a more than obvious bias in his General
History of Connecticut by a Gentleman of that Province (London, 1781) that was nevertheless quoted by subsequent generations. Wagner further contends that the contemporary meaning of "Puritan"—prohibitive and austere—loses its denotative value and becomes an emotional outlet for prejudiced opinion. As such it ignores a whole wave of studies in Puritanism which is partly apologetic in character.

Where Jable and Wagner harmonize the most is on the plurality of Puritanism. No such thing as "the Puritan attitude or opinion" existed. Some Puritans, no doubt, detested sport and wished to suppress it (Jable, 1974), but the same could be said for other groups both then and now. Therefore, the modern perception of Puritanism and sport appears to be a "gross misunderstanding" fostered by hasty generalizations of selected conservative elements.

By the nineteenth century, social conditions had begun to change rapidly under the aegis of industrialization. Social reformers proposed that people would be happier, more productive, and have better health if they engaged in vigorous sport activities. Some of the leading advocates were Protestant clergy like Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Henry Ward Beecher, and Henry C. Wright, who deplored the "impression that physical vigor and spiritual sanctity were incompatible" (Lewis, 1966). Moreover, several of the pioneering physical educators in North America, such as Charles Beck and Dr. Edward Hitchcock, were outspoken
Protestants (Bennett, 1978).

All this was merely the North American countenance of what had become known in England as "Muscular Christianity," a form of "physical morality" - the essence of which was captured and nurtured in Charles Kingsley's *Westward Ho* and Thomas Hughes' *Tom Brown's Schooldays* (Lucas, 1975). Basically, the term "Muscular Christianity" has come to describe the teaching of moral virtues through sports (Lumpkin, 1979). Ziegler (1979) equates these principles of honesty, fair play, sportsmanship, effort, interest, initiative, and courage with the early Athenian ideals of beauty, harmony, excellence and the development of mind and body. This constellation of values he then categorizes as the egocentric ethic of sport, as opposed to the biocentric or ethnocentric ethics.

While Muscular Christianity "undoubtedly contributed to the oversimplification of the Christian faith during the second half of the nineteenth century," it left as part of its legacy, two modern social institutions, the Young Mens Christian Association (YMCA) and the Olympic Games (Lucas, 1975:218). Christian moralism had been partially responsible for the banishment of the Olympic Games fifteen centuries earlier, but was now partially responsible for their restoration in modern form.

According to Swanson (1967), the increased public popularity of play, the increased standard of living and leisure time, the church's new concern for man's life in
this world, and the support of other "respectable" elements in society all contributed to Protestantism's increasingly positive attitude and practise concerning play and sport at the turn of the century.

The early twentieth century saw Protestantism promoting sport not only as a modality for teaching moral behavior, but also as a means of community outreach in the form of service and evangelism, and as a means of strengthening the fellowship and social life of the church and its members. Facilities for sport and recreation became commonplace in churches throughout North America. The most public symbol of this enhanced relationship between Protestantism and sport was the inclusion of a sports bay in the prodigious Cathedral Church of St. John the Divine in New York City (Willis and Wettan, 1977). A pamphlet published by the trustees of the cathedral proclaimed that:

The Sports Bay ... will stand for the value and dignity of sport and it will stand also for the true humanness as well as the divineness of the Christian religion. (Modern Sport and the Cathedral of St. John the Divine, 1926:2)

Dahl (1974) describes three discernible phases in the Protestant response to the "leisure revolution" of the twentieth century. The first phase of the 1930's and 1940's focused on promoting constructive church-sponsored activities. In the 50's and 60's there was a proliferation of special leisure ministries that brought conventional ministries to vacation areas and entertainment districts. Thirdly, the 60's and 70's were a time of study and
discussion designed to encourage Protestants to consider the larger cultural and religious implications of a leisure revolution.

At mid-century, physical education programs in Protestant institutions were equal to those in secular schools (Lozes, 1955), as were athletic programs at three-quarter century (Plasek, 1974). The founding of the Fellowship of Christian Athletes in 1954 ushered in a whole new embodiment of Protestant involvement in sport. Camping programs, church athletic leagues, organized game periods at various group meetings, and even full-time recreation directors became the standard components of the Protestant ethos (Swanson, 1968).

Thus, by the 1970's, Protestantism had completed the transition from asceticism to athleticism, and had become a patron of sport. What were once religious holy days were now equally sport holidays. Schloz articulates some common misgivings:

The fact that this coalition has come about precisely in a phase extremely critical for both parties certainly makes one wonder whether this tendency is not defensive, conformist, and directed towards self-preservation rather than being an expression of the intention to meet social challenge and bring to bear in an emancipatory sense the ecstatic, eschatological and critical elements which are common to both parties. (Schloz, 1972:88)

It is to such skepticism that prevailing Protestant ideology concerning sport is addressed.
D. Theological Perspective

Sociology and history both provide valuable insights into Protestant ideology concerning sport, but a third very crucial perspective is necessary for a thorough understanding of its framework. We must grasp the Protestant mind-set; we must perceive how Protestants think.

The ill-fated "God is dead" school of theology notwithstanding, a most elementary descriptor of Protestant theology is that it is theistic. As a world view, or a set of presuppositions and/or assumptions which is held about the basic makeup of the world, Christian theism can be contrasted with conflicting world views such as naturalism, nihilism, existentialism, eastern pantheistic monism, and even the new consciousness. Theism holds that everything stems from God who is infinite and personal (Triune), transcendent and immanent, omniscient, sovereign and good. A Christian's system of metaphysics, ethics, and epistemology are grounded in this concept of God.

A Christian is concerned about truth, a philosophical and theological term which science has preferred to avoid. All truth is seen as God's truth, wherever it be found.

If [God] is the eternal and all-wise creator of all things, then his creative wisdom is the source and norm of all truth about everything. And if God and his wisdom are unchangingly the same, then truth is likewise unchanging and universal. If all truth is him, and he understands fully its interrelatedness, then truth is unified in his perfect understanding. (Holmes, 1977:8)

The pluralism within Protestantism is attributed to the fallibility of man's hermeneutics, not the unity of God's
truth. For the protestant, then, all of life matters and all of thought, including the truth about sport. In his effort to "take captive every thought to make it obedient to Christ" (2 Corinthians 10:5), he does not dichotomize between the sacred and the secular.

Sport is most basically a human endeavor, and therefore touches a cornerstone of Protestant theology, its view of man.

Man is created in the image of God (Genesis 1:26) and thus possesses personality, self-transcendence, intelligence, morality, gregariousness, and creativity.... Man was created good, but through the Fall the image of God became defaced (in every respect mentioned), though not so ruined as not to be capable of restoration; through the work of Christ, God redeemed man and began the process of restoring man to goodness, though any given man may choose to reject that redemption. (Sire, 1976:29,34)

The concept of sin in this article of faith is anathema to social science, but then the Protestant view of man is gained "from the outside" and thus is not subject to social relativism. Hence the Protestant view is informed with the belief that the horizontal aspect of life, including sport, cannot be fully appreciated until it is seen in the light of the vertical relationship with the Maker (Psalm 139). No earthly relationship can be seen in isolation or abstraction, for man is not absolutely autonomous or ultimately answerable to himself alone (Lyon, 1975).

In addition to its concern for truth and its view of man, a third aspect of Protestant theology bearing upon sport is its relationship with culture, for sport is an
ubiquitous component of culture. The seminal work of Niebuhr's *Christ and Culture* (1951) is instructive in this regard. He has classified Christian responses to culture in terms of two extreme and three median stances. The first extreme, Christ against culture, emphasizes their opposition and challenges Christians with an "either-or" decision. The other extreme, the Christ of culture, sees Jesus as the greatest hero of human cultural history, and practically identifies the Christian faith with what is "best and highest" in human achievement. Of the median stances, the synthesist views Christ as above culture and Christianity as the fulfillment and restorer of true culture, the dualist views Christ and culture in paradox and accepts the polarity and tension between them, and the conversionist views Christ as the transformer of culture by coming to man within his culture. If one were to substitute sport for culture in these various views, one would obtain a heuristic device of no small value, as Protestant perspectives of sport have reflected the entire spectrum of these very postures throughout history, including the present.

If one were to contrast the general Protestant theological perspective with its major competing world view, that view would be naturalism, as exhibited in modern forms of humanism and scientism. It is ironical that both humanism and scientism have at various times been described as the real religions of modern man. 11

Humanism and Christianity are both similar and
dissimilar. For example, both would agree that the value and dignity of the individual requires the preservation of the concept of man as a personal agent from the threat of mechanism (Evans, 1977). Nevertheless, the Humanist Manifesto II (1973), in addition to denying the existence of God,

finds insufficient evidence for belief in the existence of a supernatural ... no credible evidence that life survives the death of the body...[and] affirms that moral values derive their source from human experience. Ethics is autonomous and situational, needing no theological or ideological sanction.

Humanism places ultimate faith in man alone and believes that human beings possess the power or potentiality of solving their own problems through reliance upon reason and scientific method. Human happiness is its own justification (Lamont, 1965).

The distinction between Christian perspectives and naturalism becomes manifest in scientism as well. For example, Collins (1977) contrasts the philosophical presuppositions of psychology and Christianity as follows:

(1) While science holds to empiricism, Christianity assumes an expanded empiricism in which sense experience is one channel, but only one of several channels, through which truth comes to man from God.

(2) While science holds to determinism, Christianity makes a place for both determinism, which includes supernatural determinants, and free will.

(3) While science holds to relativism, Christianity assumes
a biblical absolutism that provides the general principles of or guide to behavior.

(4) While science holds to reductionism, Christianity allows a modified reductionism: not all subject matter is divisible into smaller units of analysis.

(5) While science holds to naturalism, Christianity is based on a supernaturalism that does not deny world order or laws of behavior, but maintains that they originated and are held together by a sovereign God.

(6) Christianity has one additional working assumption for which there is no parallel in psychology: A biblical anthropology, that is, a view or model of man derived from the Bible.

The point here is that both humanism and science possess certain qualities that the Christian finds laudable, yet both are seen as ultimately inadequate, and in their bedrock of naturalism, antithetical to the Christian world view (Johnson, 1973). Of course, one need not search long for evidence of the dominion humanism and science retain over modern sport. It is precisely into this awkward and imposing context that prevailing protestant ideology concerning sport is thrust.

Traditionally, theology has always considered itself to be concerned with the reality of the whole, while the particular is only of secondary importance as an object of attention. From this claim to universality it is somewhat difficult for theology to enter into a relationship with any
partial social phenomenon such as sport. Yet from the individual Protestant's perspective, the total, whole man is spiritual: Christianity is not an aspect of his life, rather it is his life. His humanness depends upon his religion. Therefore, since there is a spiritual dimension to all modes of experience, it becomes a necessity for Protestantism to address all other social phenomena, including sport. To do so is neither subtle opportunism nor aggression, but merely a logical exercise of its mandate.

There is a time for everything, and a season for every activity, under heaven: ... a time to tear down and a time to build a time to weep and a time to laugh a time to mourn and a time to dance. ... (Ecclesiastes 3:1, 4)

E. Summary

Having established the sociological context of Protestant ideology concerning sport, having surveyed the historical relationship between Protestantism and sport, and having acquainted ourselves with Protestant theological perspectives of life, we turn now to the core of the task at hand. The following chapters examine the components of Protestant ideology concerning sport; its view of the body, health and physical activity, its view of leisure, recreation and play, and its view of values, ethics and morals of sport.
NOTES


6. The elaboration of the sport metaphor by religion, particularly in pregame prayers, was initially restricted to the southern U.S.A. and to football, but has now spread. Deford, in "The Word According to Tom," Sports Illustrated, April 26, 1976, quotes a loquacious invocation preceding the 1976 World Hockey Association All-Star Game.

8. I Corinthians, Galatians, Ephesians, Philippians, I Thessalonians, II Timothy, Hebrews


10. The perspective communicated here, consistent with prevailing Protestant ideology concerning sport, is somewhat more conservative or evangelical in orientation than liberal or neo-orthodox. This discussion of theism is heavily based on James W. Sire, The Universe Next Door: A Basic World View Catalog. Downers Grove, Ill.: InterVarsity Press, 1976.

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CHAPTER III

THE BODY, HEALTH AND PHYSICAL ACTIVITY

A. Introduction

Our definition of sport postulates that the type of activity involved be physical to some degree. We have noted Coakley's suggestion that sport activity must involve relatively complex physical skills or vigorous physical exertion. Loy's definition, accepted here, speaks of the demonstration of physical prowess, which implies skills, exertion and strategies. This physical or bodily quality of sport may well be its most conspicuous; when one enters sport, one ipso facto enters the realm of the physical.

Sport is often valued on the basis of its physical parameters alone, and frequently measured by them. It is true that the concept of physical fitness remains somewhat ill-defined, sports vary markedly in their physical demands, and sport may not be the most efficient means of attaining physical objectives, yet in many instances the primary rationale for sport involvement is its physical benefit (Vanderzwaag, 1972), or what Holland and Davis (1975) term the biologic as opposed to the socio-psychological value.

The fact that sport engages the physical dictates that
Protestantism's perception of the human body will greatly influence its attitude toward sport. If the body is valued, then that which exercises and sustains it will be valued, and vice versa. Similarly, the view of the body is dependent upon an over-all view of man, and thus Protestant ideology concerning sport is grounded, in terms of sport's physical character, in no less than a biblical anthropology.

Interpretations of biblical anthropology have varied throughout the longitudinal and cross-sectional expressions of the Christian church, but much of the discussion has subsided. Certainly, in comparison to the other components of Protestant ideology concerning sport, the view of the physical is currently the least contentious. If one were to draw a hasty historical picture of the respective components, it could well be argued that the issue of the physical character of sport preoccupied the church from the dawn of Christianity to the Reformation, the issue of the playfulness of sport has been most prominent from the Puritan era to the present, while the issue of the morality of sport has remained a constant source of tension throughout church history. The relative paucity of sport/faith literature in the 1970's pertaining to the issue of the physical, compared with that of play or morality, lends credence to such a proposition.

While dialogue on the view of the body appears to be no longer in vogue, its ramifications and applications still cause some uneasiness and uncertainty within Protestantism.
Negatively, such uneasiness is reminiscent of the dualism and asceticism of previous centuries. Positively, such uncertainty calls forth the impulse of responsibility for or stewardship of the body with regard to physical fitness. Regardless of its currency as an issue, whether it be passe or problematic, the view of the body, health and physical activity remains fundamental to Protestant ideology concerning sport.

This chapter explores various aspects of the Protestant perception of the human body as it relates to the physical nature of sport.

B. Dualism and Asceticism

Any deliberation of the physical nature of man is well advised to commence with the concept of dualism, for its impact on Western thought has been formidable. Descartes' formulation of the classic philosophical form of dualism, the mind-body problem, has been termed by Schopenhauer as the "world knot." Although there are metaphysical and epistemological types of dualism, what concerns us here is ethico-religious interpretations based on two opposing factors (Kuhn, 1960:174). A prime example of religious duality seen from a sociological perspective is Durkheim's notion of the "sacred" and "profane" (Durkheim, 1961).

Dualism, as perceived in the Christian tradition, separated the soul and body and subjected the latter to the former. This two-sphere mentality then equated the soul with the spiritual, supernatural or sacred domain of God,
while the body was equated with the natural, secular or profane domain of the devil. Such depreciation of the body rendered it an appendage to the real man within, a necessary evil. But following the work of Robinson (1925) on Hebrew psychology, Protestantism has made extensive efforts to demonstrate that no support for such differentiation between soul and body exists in biblical theology (Schloz, 1972:90). Paxton points to its actual source:

The neglect of the body and the wider neglect of the world in much evangelical pietism is the sad testimony to the hegemony of Greek thought over the church. We have listened to Plato and Aristotle and not to Jesus Christ. (Paxton, 1977:20)

Ballou's (1965) research corroborates that, contrary to much physical education literature, early Christianity taught God's care for bodies as well as souls, but that the church "failed to exert leadership in the area of the games by not reorienting them to a Christian perspective."

Greek dualism was indeed utterly unlike Hebraic dualism, if one can with propriety speak of such. Platonic dualism was cosmological, as was the later, more radical Gnosticism. It saw two worlds, the visible and the invisible, the phenomenal and the noumenal, appearance and reality. Man, being both body and soul, belonged to both worlds. On the other hand, the Hebrew view was not a dualism of two worlds, but a religious dualism of God versus man. Man was God's creature; creation was the realm of God's constant activity. Man was not a bipartite creature of the divine and the human, of soul and body. Ladd
summarizes as follows:

The Greek view is that "God" can be known only by the flight of the soul from the world and history; the Hebrew view is that God can be known because he invades history to meet men in historical experience. (Ladd, 1968:40)

To be sure, there existed within Greek philosophy as well a competing school of thought to that of dualism. In both monism and dualism the human soul is nearest to the purest essence of God, but they differ in their relationship to the body. Monism views the body as of God whereas dualism sees the body as outside the sphere of God's work. It becomes apparent that both views have permeated Christianity during the course of history (Hatch, 1957).

Nevertheless, it was the neo-Platonic notion of dualism that penetrated early Christian theology. Very soon, under the influence of Gnostic and Manichaean tendencies that saw matter as inherently evil, Christianity's newly acquired distrust of the human body turned to distain (Rutan, n.d.). "The original, Biblical view of man as a unified being became entangled with conceptions hostile to the body" (Soll, 1972:74). And hostile they were. The Jew Philo spoke of the body as a foul prison-house, a grave of the soul (Ladd, 1968) and the Greek Plotinus admitted to being ashamed of having a body (Owen, 1956:39), yet the Christian apostle Paul reckoned the concept of the body as the "keystone" of his theology (Robinson, 1952).

This distortion of Christian anthropology (Van Asch, n.d.) was most pronounced in the period antedating
Protestantism, for it was Luther who exploded the whole pietistic framework of medieval theology by returning to a more biblical view of man. He understood that “flesh” [body] and “spirit” were not two parts of man but the whole man seen from two aspects. (Brinsmead, 1977:24)

Thus Braaten (1976a:317) may be unduly charitable when he suggests that the orthodox branch of Christianity, despite all its ambiguities, “never completely swallowed the Greek myth about the soul.” For Christianity had in truth tried to “affirm the goodness of creation without delighting in human flesh” (Cox, 1969:52). That it could not do so is not fully apprehended, even in the twentieth century. As Tournier has recently observed, some churches still suggest a contempt for the body, as if the Spirit had debased itself instead of fulfilled itself in this wonderful venture that God has willed. We find in all our patients, especially our pious patients, a certain contempt for the body. (Tournier, 1966:16)

Dualism in itself was only a philosophical and/or religious system of thought. Lapsley introduces its concomitant life style.

The theology of the early Middle Ages was dominated by the towering figure of Augustine of Hippo, who completed the fusion of the Pauline emphasis of sin and grace through faith with a Neoplatonic view of man that stressed the imprisonment of the soul in the body. This dualism led to an increasing asceticism in the life of the medieval church, which meant an attitude of indifference or even outright hostility toward the body. (Lapsley, 1972:39)

The concept or attitude of ethico-religious dualism translated very easily and logically into the practise of asceticism. This term, derived from the Greek askesis,
originally meant, "exercise," "practice" or "training" performed by an athlete or soldier in the attainment of a goal. Although in modern usage it commonly denotes religious exercise involving self-denial and abstinence from certain comforts and pleasures (Tepker, 1973a:40), it often concerned itself with the body in particular. Asceticism normally took the form of renunciation, for example fasting and celibacy, but was sometimes given to a more active form in such excesses as self-flagellation. In broader application, moral discipline, virtuous conduct, the practice of justice, the surrendering of possessions, and withdrawal from intellectual or cultural life in the interests of spiritual edification have been encompassed (Kelly, 1960:68).

Of note here is the fact that asceticism is not dependent upon a dualistic perspective; the biblical form of asceticism, summed up in Jesus' call to his disciples "If anyone would come after me, he must deny himself and take up his cross and follow me" (Mark 8:34), has nothing whatsoever to do with the depreciation of the body. Instead, Kelly (1960) sees a threefold emphasis in biblical asceticism. First, there is no suggestion of anything intrinsically evil in that which is foregone, including the physical. Second, there is no permanent or universal rule of asceticism. Third, asceticism is not an end in itself, but is undertaken with a view to something positive. As Tinsley so succinctly states:
The asceticism of Jesus was empirical and practical, not metaphysical or dogmatic, and was orientated towards the eschatological character of the kingdom. (Tinsley, 1969:17)

In the post-apostolic period, accompanied by the aforementioned assimilation of Greek metaphysics, Christian asceticism centered upon the ideals of martyrdom, celibacy and virginity. By the Middle ages, the ascetic ideal had reached full bloom in monasticism, both solitary and communal.

As with dualism, such asceticism became part of the heritage of Protestantism rather than part of Protestantism proper. The Protestant reformers rejected medieval asceticism as a perversion of the gospel. Luther, in his Freedom of the Christian Man, launches a spirited polemic against monasticism mainly on the ground that it produces a doctrine of justification by works as opposed to justification by faith alone (Cross, 1974). This does not signify that all images of asceticism were erased from Protestantism. To do so would have violated New Testament injunctions to bear afflictions willingly (Matthew 18:38) and to exercise watchfulness, patience, self-control and love while awaiting the return of the Lord (Matthew 24:42, 25:13).

The Puritans are a ready exemplification of Protestant asceticism and its relationship to sport. Their abstinence from particular pleasures or recreations is legendary, and has stigmatized their view of sport. At the same time, a positive conviction to care for their health through bodily
exercise, or "physical training," was the aspect of their self-disciplining asceticism that lead them to value other "lawful" sports (Meyer, 1973). The body was ordained for the service of God, and care of the body promoted this aim. The Puritans were, in effect, practising what Max Weber (1958) called "this-worldly [innerworldly] asceticism."

Geldbach illuminates this apparent paradox further:

The Puritans ... encouraged physical sports and recreations as a means to preserve the essential vigor of the body with the ultimate end in mind to glorify God. Sport activities were looked upon by Puritan theologians as a necessity to give strength to the body, to uphold and maintain life, to preserve health, to do away with weakness and sickness, and to prevent an untimely death. Sport activities became a necessary part of the ascetic life of the Puritan, provided it was honest and lawful. (Geldbach, 1977:290)

It is interesting to note that Geldbach then contends that ascetic Protestantism acted as the "cultural catalyst" to bring about both modern capitalism, Weber's famous thesis, and modern athletics. Whatever the case, whereas medieval asceticism had castigated physical activity, Protestant asceticism returned to its biblical footing and found cause to promote physical activity in a restrained manner.

In the final analysis, it was only that asceticism which was based upon a metaphysical dualistic conception of the inherently evil character of matter that shackled physical activity. This was incompatible with the Protestant interpretation of Christianity. At the same time, every Protestant is an ascetic in the general sense that his eschatology constrains him to seek first the
kingdom of God and His righteousness (Matthew 6:33). In so doing, the care of his body becomes not an end in itself, but a means to an end.

C. Contemporary Theology and the Body

If we are correct in describing certain forms of dualism and asceticism as approaches to the physical within Christianity of past centuries, we must then inquire as to the status of the body in contemporary protestant theology. Certainly, echoes of these traditional answers are still partially audible today, but the prevailing protestant ideology concerning the physical nature of sport carries its own distinctive sound. It features protestantism's characteristic return to biblical teachings, and the placidity of an unassuming accord no longer novel.

Brunner has argued that in protestant doctrine there is no special theology of the body. The depreciation of the body in traditional dualism would understandably counteract its development, but a second factor may be the intimidation of modern science, causing theology to withdraw to more ethereal themes. In summing Christian teaching on the physical body, Brunner only restates the case against dualism.

Body and mind belong equally to the nature of man, neither is to be deduced from the other... they are both destined for each other, and in a definite way adapted to one another... The body as well as the mind is God's good creation. (Brunner, 1939:373)

While Braaten tentatively proposes a "somatic theology," or
a "religious somatology," he enthusiastically seconds the urgency of ridding contemporary theology of those echoes of dualistic thinking.

From the Christian standpoint we experience the presence of God in our bodies or not at all. For we are simply no-bodies without our bodies. ...We are not being diminished but fulfilled in the body. (Braaten, 1976b:2,14)

The use of the Greek term *soma* is more commonplace in psychology than in theology, but it is the fundamental anthropological term of the New Testament. *Soma* translated means "body," and refers to the physical being, the "creation of God," not in itself implicated in moral issues. The Greek term *sark,* by contrast, is translated as "flesh," and does carry moral connotation. It is used in the description of those thoughts and activities of the body which are contrary to the influence of the Spirit of God (Brandon, 1960:101). (The Old Testament Hebrew *basar* designates both "body" and "flesh.") When Paul describes the flesh as totally corrupt and continuously warring against the spirit (Galatians 5:17), he is not referring to man's physical being but to his fallen human nature (Tepker, 1973b:66). Thus Christians have

> a responsibility to take care of the body (*soma*), to keep it healthy, and to use it in accordance with God's will, led by the Spirit, resisting the flesh (*sark*). (Hyder, 1979:31)

Sometimes "body" is used to convey man as a person, the whole man: thus "Christ shall be magnified in my body" (Philippians 1:20) means "in me"; and "Present your bodies" (Romans 12:1) may well mean present your selves (Bultmann,
The status of the *soma* concept in Protestant theology is further disclosed by a somatic dimension to Paul's theology that bears a faint resemblance to the athletic metaphor.

Here, with the exception of the doctrine of God, are represented all the main tenets of the Christian Faith—the doctrines of Man, Sin, the Incarnation and Atonement, the Church, the Sacraments, Sanctification, and Eschatology. To trace the subtle links and interaction between the different senses of this word "soma" is to grasp the thread that leads through the maze of Pauline thought. (Robinson, 1952:9)

Similarly, Brand and Yancey's odic *Fearfully and Wonderfully Made* (1980) is primarily and consciously a celebration of the human body that secondarily dissertates the metaphor of the community of believers as the body of Christ, which occurs more than thirty times in the New Testament.

From the earliest apologists for the Christian faith on, protestants who have valued the body and physical activity have done so on the basis of three articles of faith (Brinsmead, 1977:24). The first is that the body, along with material universe, is God's "highest creative act." This doctrine of creation bestows upon the human body its God-given dignity, a dignity that not only warrants the promotion of health through physical activity, but rails against the violence of abortion and euthanasia (Koop, 1976). Moreover, the body is to be consecrated to the Lord (1 Corinthians 6:13).

Secondly, the bodily reality of the incarnation has
made it impossible to depreciate the body without at the same time depreciating God the Son. God has taken to Himself in Jesus Christ the human body (Colossians 1:22), and thereby affirmed the goodness of the body. In Paxton's (1977:22) forthright phraseology, "Body-haters are God-haters" and "To deny the body is to deny the gospel."

A third dogma placing value on the human body, only mentioned here because of its theological complexity, is the resurrection of the body at the last day, as did the Lord's (I Corinthians 6:14). At this point the full dignity of the body will be realized in its transformed and glorious state (Philippians 3:21) (Leon-Dufour, 1973:54).

We see then several motifs in Protestant theology benign to the body. As Ruttan rhetorically queries,

Why then should Christians not be numbered among the closest friends of the body and the people most committed to the task of developing all its resources, even at the cost of a liberating asceticism, which, at one and the same time, configures them to Christ the Lord? (Ruttan, n.d.:29)

Stoeckle's reply almost seems to have sport in mind.

[The Christian] will be free, unrestrained and entirely without resentment in his attitude towards the natural value of the body, open to beauty, strength and physical prowess, happy if the body is enriched in any way and ready to promote anything that will receive the natural values of the body and help them to be expressed. (Stoeckle, 1979:33)

D. Health and Physical Fitness

One of the consistent themes emergent in much contemporary Protestant theology of the body, as in many
other analyses of the human condition in the later twentieth century, is the emphasis on the wholistic nature of man. The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) may have been the progenitor of this accent on sport when it adopted the triangular unity of body, mind and soul in training what in the nineteenth century was known as the "all-around man" (Lumpkin, 1980:5). Suenens ties some of the fore-going discussion together in this light.

In the logic and prolongation of the Incarnation of the Son of Man, Christian thought, if I may be so bold as to say, has sided with the human condition. It no longer wants anything to do with a spirituality that sees the body as the prison of the soul. Its concern extends not merely to the soul, but to the human person in his total reality. Christ is not only the life of the soul, but the life of man as well. The whole takes first place, rather than the parts. Man is neither a soul and a body, nor a soul with a duplicate-body, but rather an inspired flesh and an enfleshed spirit. Man is his body and he is his soul, at one and the same time. (Suenens, 1972)

This interdependence of the body with all other aspects of the person is cause enough for Protestantism to applaud the health benefit of physical activity, for holiness and wholeness are said to go together. Health and salvation do not obtain in different spheres; health is as much for the soul and salvation for the body as vice versa.

The primary biblical emphasis is on the person as a unified agent. In Genesis God did not add a soul to the body to make a person. Rather God breathed into man the physical creature and he (the whole person) "became a living being" (Genesis 2:7) (Evans, 1977:148). Luke 2:52, "And
Jesus grew in wisdom and stature, and in favor with God and men," models the unity of the mental, physical, spiritual and social dimensions of man. Thus, although the wholeness of man now seems platitudinous in approaching the value of the physical, for Protestantism, as for most other systems of thought, it is indispensable to its view of health.

Johnson, et. al. (1975:34) have construed asceticism as the overemphasis of the spiritual to the exclusion or even degradation of the intellectual and/or physical, scholasticism as the overemphasis of the intellectual to the exclusion or degradation of the spiritual and/or physical, and somaticism as the overemphasis of the physical to the exclusion or degradation of the spiritual and/or intellectual. Protestantism subscribes to none of these extremes, but seeks instead, and here is another catch-word, the "balanced life."

A wholistic view of health regards most ill-health as multifactorial in causation. Therefore the potential effect of the physical on the mental and spiritual health of a Christian is vital to Protestantism (Allen, 1977). The distinguished theologian, Lewis Sperry Chafer (1974) is quoted as having said, "Sometimes it is not prayer and Bible study that we need to straighten out our lives, but exercise and proper diet," implying that spiritual problems are upon occasion somatically based. The enthusiasm and indulgence of Muscular Christianity rhetoric is reflected in Watson's (1896) call for rigid physical examinations for entry into
theological colleges, on the grounds that "as a rule, one can only get robust sermons from a robust man." The personal example of Paul himself authenticates the principle of disciplining one's body in order to prevent health from interfering with obedience to God and ministry (I Corinthians 9:27).

Of course, the effect is reversible. Spiritual or mental problems can militate against physical health as well, in the form of what was first conceived by Paracelsus in the sixteenth century as psychosomatic disease. McMillen's (1963) popularized work posits that "the Bible's directives can save [man] from a long gauntlet of psychosomatic diseases," thereby instancing God's care for the body. Palmberg (1978) also documents how modern science has discovered the "remarkable health value" of Old Testament health regulations.

To gain an inkling of Protestant concern for physical health, one need only locate the "Christian Living" section of the nearest Christian bookstore. There one is struck by titles such as The Physical Side of Being Spiritual (Gillquist, 1979), and leading periodical cover stories such as Eternity's "Soul and Body: Is There a Christian Way of Health?" (January, 1978).

The first indication of Protestantism's heightened concern for health and the physical came in the glut of sex manuals of the early 1970's, a sort of Masters and Johnson for Christians, exemplified by LaHaye's (1976) The Act of
Marriage: The Beauty of Sexual Love. Then the wave of physical fitness publications followed. Gilmore's (1974) euphoric *Jog for Your Life* was one of the earliest, setting a shoddy standard for exegetical excellence. Titles such as *A Time for Fitness: A Daily Exercise for the Christian* (Carlton, 1976) and *Keeping Fit: A Christian's Guide to Fitness and Health* (Otis, 1979) are now prevalent, and while never rivaling Cooper's *Aerobics*, are nevertheless concrete evidences of Protestantism's promotion of physical activity and health. Commensurate with Christian physical fitness books have been Christian books on nutrition and diet, though these too "are largely subjective, uninformed, and tasteless" (Hendrix, 1978). Probably the most impressive publication on physical health for Christians is Hyder's (1979) *Shape Up: A Christian's Guide to Total Fitness*. After establishing the spiritual basis for physical fitness, he includes insightful and well-researched chapters on safety, tobacco, alcohol, narcotics, sweets, nutrition, relaxation and sleep, sex, weight control, and finishes with a flourish in three chapters on exercise. Many helpful appendices are also included.

Most Christian exhortations to physical fitness reference certain standard scriptures, and one that is often confronted first is 1 Timothy 4:8. The King James Version rendering, "Bodily exercise profiteth little," was formerly used by some to dismiss physical activity, but other translations and a contextual reading show this to be
misdirected.

Train yourself to be godly. For physical training is of some value, but godliness has value for all things, holding promise for both the present life and the life to come. (I Timothy 4:7b & 8)

Paul's focus is on godliness, and by way of comparison he in fact affirms the value of physical activity, accentuating only its temporal and personal limits. In this light, the value of physical exercise pales in comparison to that of godliness.

The primary biblical principle for the promotion of physical health through activity, and indeed for the reprehensibility of bodily abuses and vices as well, is the teaching of the body as being the temple of the Holy Spirit.

Do you not know that your body is the temple of the Holy Spirit, who is in you, whom you have received from God? You are not your own; you were bought with a price. Therefore honor God with your body. (I Corinthians 6:19-20)

This, in a sense, is a second incarnation, the Spirit enfleshed in man, for just as "the Word [Jesus] became flesh and lived for a while among us" (John 1:14) in the first incarnation, so also the Spirit becomes humanly embodied in an ongoing incarnational process. As Braaten exclaims:

We believe that Christianity today is called to announce and celebrate the sacredness of the body as the temple of the Spirit and to fight for its well-being on every front. (Braaten, 1976b:x1)

Some other references cited to admonish Christians regarding physical health are Paul's partial description of the Cretans as "lazy gluttons" and his instruction to Titus to "rebuke them sharply, so that they will be sound in
faith" (Titus 1:12-13), Paul's prayer that "your whole spirit, soul and body be kept blameless" (I Thessalonians 5:23), and the aforementioned disciplining of the body to avoid disqualification from ministry (I Corinthians 9:27). Krutza and DiCicco (1969) suggest that the "peripatetic" lifestyle of biblical times, versus the sedentary lifestyle of our own, may have negated more direct scriptural references to physical activity for health benefit.

Protestantism's view of health and physical fitness as glorifying God in one's body (I Corinthians 6:20) evokes the Westminster Catechism's "chief end of man," that is, to glorify God, and to enjoy Him forever. Soll's lyricism is an appropriate summary.

The religious person celebrates in exaltation the body he received from the Creator-God. The Incarnation of that God reveals to him the surpassing dignity of that body, and he infers from this his right and duty to be happy in his human [body]. He sings the praises of creation and of the life that comes bursting forth, as the energies of his being display their power. There wells up from his heart a prayer of thanksgiving. (Soll, 1972:88)

E. Summary

The physical nature of sport may be its most conspicuous characteristic, but for prevailing Protestant ideology concerning sport it is also the least contentious. Dualism and the resultant practise of asceticism did depreciate the value of the body in the early Christian church, but these ideas were denounced in the formulation of Protestant theology during the Reformation. While the
tendency to display one's spirituality by neglecting the body has proven difficult to shake off, Protestantism has emphasized the dignity of the body and wholistic view of health based on biblical teachings. This has led to an unprecedented promotion of physical fitness in the 1970's that finds great utility in sport.

By not actively debating the issue of the physical nature of sport, Protestantism today assumes a positive perspective of the body that, while only one aspect, is nonetheless of no little weight in its total perception of sport. What is more topical is the leisure, recreational or play aspect of sport.
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CHAPTER IV

LEISURE, RECREATION AND PLAY

A. Introduction

In dealing with Puritan interpretations of sport, Meyer (1973) is quite correct in his recognition of the superordinate nature of the term "sport," which may oscillate in its psychic condition between carefree amusement and diversion and the inexorably hard demands of work. Sport, reduced to physical training for the sake of physical health, as was the Puritan proclivity, must be contrasted with the admission that sport is fun. But when Meyer generalizes from Puritanism to conclude that "Christianity is open only to a kind of sport that confines itself to physical training," and that "the demand of amusement and pleasure brought about by sport is essentially incompatible with the predicate, 'for the glory of God,'" he glaringly dates his theology. The most recent, and probably most profound, facet of Protestant ideology concerning sport is its acceptance and even commendation of what Coakley categorized as the context of sport, its essential playfulness.

If Puritan aversion to the physical nature of sport has
been misconstrued, an overwhelming volume of evidence affirms that they did indeed disapprove of the play element in sport and of recreation in general (Kaplan, 1960; Hogan, 1967; Dulles, 1970).

The Puritan, who held the concept that work and piety were synonymous, denounced any form of play as evil. Whatever was pleasurable had to be sinful. (Carlson, Deppe and McLean, 1963:11).

Yet as previously discussed, these allegations are tempered by rebuttals such as Wagner's (1976) well-documented claims to the contrary, and Lee's (1964:163) point of Puritan opposition to excess of every kind, and his conclusion that "there is evidence enough to indicate that the Puritans were not opposed to diversion and recreation." By the coming of the twentieth century, however, Protestantism had struck an alliance with play and leisure (Swanson, 1968) that has blossomed throughout the century (Dahl, 1974a).

As with the view of the body, the diffusion of theological reflection on play is incomplete; Protestant laity has not fully appropriated its ramifications. When uneasiness regarding the body still lingers today, after the issue was settled theologically, to the extent that any such can, in the Reformation, it is not astonishing to encounter widespread ignorance of so recent an explication as that of theology and play.

But what is that of which we speak? What is the play and leisure element of sport? We have already defined play as an antecedent concept of sport. Recalling Loy's schematic, sport is a subset of games, which in turn are a
subset of play, and thus sport is infused with the characteristics of play. In Huizinga's (1955) and Caillois' (1961) classic formulations of play, this means that sport will be freely chosen, spatially and temporally separate or limited, uncertain in its outcome, materially unproductive, and governed by rules and a sense of make-believe that sets it outside "ordinary" life. In contrast to this content definition of play, Ellis (1973) catalogues thirteen motive definitions or theories of play proffered throughout the twentieth century, culminating in play as optimal arousal-seeking and play as demonstration of competence and/or effectance.

Following the inductive ordering of Kraus (1978), one is easily lead from the concept of play to that of recreation, and then to leisure. Most theorists advance a trichotomous content definition of recreation, although Yukic has done it best:

Recreation is an act or experience, selected by the individual during his leisure time, to meet a personal want or desire, primarily for his own satisfaction. (Yukic, 1970:5)

Some scholars with a moralistic predilection, such as Jensen (1977), add a fourth criterion of social desirability or wholesomeness to recreation's three characteristics of free choice, non-work time and personal satisfaction. Protestant moralistic absolutism would supplant this sociological ethic with the notion of spiritual virtue and edification.

The most enigmatic concept in this trilogy of terms describing the context of sport is leisure. Murphy (1974)
provides a useful outline of various conceptualizations of leisure. The one adhered to in dictionaries and many major works (Brightbill, 1961) is leisure as discretionary or unobligated time, time left over from the demands of existence and subsistence. This Neulinger (1974) describes as the "residual" and "objective" definition of leisure. Leisure as nonwork activity that brings relaxation, entertainment, and personal development, as proposed by Dumazedier (1967), is almost synonymous with recreation. The view of leisure as a symbol of social class stems largely from the writings of Thorstein Veblen (1953). The classical, qualitative view of leisure as the cultivation of self, first developed by Aristotle and now held by luminaries such as Sebastian de Grazia (1964), identifies leisure as a state of being free, a condition of the soul which is divorced from time. A fifth concept of leisure is Kerr's (1962) anti-utilitarian view. Finally, Max Kaplan's (1975) impressive articulation of the holistic concept of leisure sees it as neither a means to an end nor an end in itself, but as a central element in culture with ties to most social institutions. When fully understood, Kaplan's view may revolutionize leisure theory.

These definitions are confusing at best and contradictory at worst, leaving one bewildered as to whether leisure is a block of time, an activity, or an attitude. Unfortunately, we are even deterred from culling one definition for the purpose of this study by protestantism's
own inconsistent usage of the term. As we shall see, the awkward ambiguity that plagues secular literature on leisure is mirrored in Protestant literature as well, and in surveying Protestant ideology, we shall have to cope with such incongruities as best we can, if only by our cognizance.

To the same extent that sport assumes the characteristics of play, it also becomes a recreation and even leisure, whether by virtue of its leisure time setting, its being a non-work activity that relaxes or entertains, its cultivation of self, or its non-utility. And it is at this point that sport again contacts Protestant ideology. If institutionalized sport and religion have a sociological functional commonality, leisure and religion have an affinity of their own.

Both are expressions of the desire for personal well-being, afford opportunities to exercise free will, are integrative and inclusive, and attach special significance to "re-creation." (Godbey and Parker, 1976:52)

As with sport, there are religious prescriptions for leisure and religious sponsorships of organized leisure activities. Religion itself is researched as a leisure activity (Bull, 1978).

The view of leisure, recreation and play in Protestant ideology concerning sport is of major significance in that it encompasses many types of sport involvement. The sport phenomenon is comprised of many roles other than that of those who exercise their bodies, other than the primary
participation of the players. Loy (1978) points out that one can be involved in sport behaviorally, cognitively or, affectively. More to the point, there are often greater numbers of consumers of sport, both direct and indirect, than there are producers of sport (Kenyon, 1969), and sport consumption is every bit as much leisure as is sport production. Under the umbrella of leisure, protestant ideology concerning sport addresses the spectator as well as, and sometimes more than, the participant.

One extremely thorny barrier to Protestantism's view of the play element in sport remains, and that is the increasing obscuration of play in modern sport. To style the Stanley Cup playoffs or the Olympic games as playful seems ludicrous. Sport, especially the professional brand, has become specialized, rationalized, bureaucratized, and quantified (Guttmann, 1978) in the manner of very grave affairs. But perhaps sport remains only serious unto itself (Huizinga, 1955) and still within the spectrum of the spirit of games (Cailllois, 1961), and thus remains play and games.

The depiction of sport on the play-work continuum adopted from Loy (1978) for the purpose of this study, aids in the partial resolution of this perennial problem. Sport is predominantly expressive and non-utilitarian and therefore play, but when it becomes predominantly instrumental and utilitarian it has crossed over into the realm of work and is more properly termed athletics. Professional "sport" is, of course, work. Amateur sport,
assuming for the moment that the term "amateur" has adequate meaning, regardless of its trappings, remains at least a leisure time activity.

It is understandable how such ambiguity in sport and leisure is confounding for any approach to either, and Protestantism is no exception. Few take care to unravel the threads. While sport is essentially playful, it frequently exhibits a spirit that contravenes playfulness, though it remains a leisure time activity. Sport also creates the curious irony of persons investing their leisure time in observing others' work. Protestantism's success in coping with such paradox is no better than most other social institutions.

This chapter examines various aspects and evidences of the view of the leisure, recreation and play component in Protestant ideology concerning sport.

B. The Meaning of Work

Leisure is often understood simply as antithetical to work. Greek civilization "defined work as a function [namely the absence] of leisure, whereas we do the exact opposite, defining leisure as .nonwork" (Kando, 1975:23). "Leisure in the modern sense presupposes work" (Dumazedier, 1974). "The Christian world... may be even more caught up in the leisure-work dichotomy" (Sherrow, 1977:13) than plebeian thinking. In terms of Protestant ideology, conceptions of work naturally evolved in and through the now infamous: "Calvinist," "Puritan," or more generally
"Protestant work ethic." This ethic did not consider leisure and work as co-equals, but subjugated leisure to work. Leisure could be justified only if it aided in restoring one for work; if one did not work, one was not entitled to leisure.

Gordon Dahl (1972) has defined the work ethic as consisting of two elements: the primacy of man's work and its precedence over all other aspects of life, and the notion of work as the basis for deferred rewards. Scripture is laced with admonitions concerning work, such as "If a man will not work, he shall not eat" (2 Thessalonians 3:10), but as Weber (1958) notes, it provides no grounds for such work ethic thinking. In fact, it often suggests that man's work in the world gets in the way of his salvation. Yet the Protestant work ethic was cradled in Reformation theology.

Luther had repudiated the medieval Catholic notion of vocatio, that the primary purpose of a Christian's life was to offer special spiritual works unto God, and had offered instead the concept of Beruf, a combination of the call to salvation by grace through faith with the call to earthly obedience and service. Meanwhile, Calvin's emphasis on election and predestination taught that the measure of success one achieved in his work was an indication of his spiritual condition, a clue to his election (Dahl, 1972). In the Lutheran tradition, one expressed his vocation (religious calling) in his work or job, while Calvinism saw one's vocation expressed through his work (Green, 1968).
From Calvinism it was but a small step to viewing work as the meaning, contentment and definition of one's life. Not only did this make ideal frontier religion for New England Puritans, but, in Weber's (1958) classic theory, provided a fertile climate for the growth of capitalism. The Calvinist doctrine of Christian calling informed work with "both a moral and sacred legitimacy, but even beyond that a sense of holy and dedicated purpose" (Rasmussen, 1965).

Eventually, the Protestant designation of the work ethic became a euphemism, as economic, political and social considerations came to overshadow the theological. The secularized substitute was simply the gospel of hard work which eulogized the dignity of work for its own sake. Once its theological impetus was lost, the inevitable demise of the work ethic eventuated when the notion of deferred rewards, now focused solely on the material, became economically disfunctional in society.

Today the work ethic receives a rather harsh verdict, even from within Protestantism.

Because the church has stressed the idea that if one works hard and is frugal God will, because of this, give both contentment and prosperity, the church has helped encourage an enlightened self-interest in its vulgarest forms. (Drescher, 1971:713)

It is high time we pointed out that the so-called "Protestant ethic" was bad religion in the first place, and that in its modern secular form as the "work ethic" it is a superstition that sanctifies violence and exploitation. (Dahl, 1971:157)

Hoffman (1970), in condemning the Protestant ethic,
maintains that it did not really reflect the essence of the "Word made flesh," that it had degenerated into a worldly, materialistic view of life, that it had become culture-bound, and that it was "built on the rigid compulsiveness of ledger-ethics," thereby failing to alleviate the guilt feelings and anxieties of work-frustrated individuals. A further demurrer of the overvaluation of work is the addiction, assuredly not confined to Protestantism, to a "Workaholism" that induces one to "drop out of the human community and eat, drink, and sleep his job" (Oates, 1971:10).

According to Lehman (1974:111), "a Christian work ethic which befits a post-industrial age demands a reexamination of the concepts of vocation and work." The current emphasis in Protestant theology is to reestablish vocation as the spiritual calling to follow Christ that is as broad as the priesthood of all believers. Richardson (1958) contends that the vocation of Ephesians 4:1, "... live a life worthy of the calling you have received," is not that of an earthly profession, trade or craft, but that of the exercise of spiritual gifts in the service of the Kingdom of God. Such a view of vocation can then be differentiated from one's job or occupation, which is done for remuneration, involves a particular place, group of associates, and kind of activity or responsibility, and which usually is ethically neutral or amoral (Green, 1968). Vocation is holy, job is not. A Christian may therefore hold many different jobs in his
lifetime, pursuing a certain occupation or line of work, but will have only one Christian vocation.

This Christian vocation or calling pervades all aspects of life extending far beyond "work" alone. It is, in Hoffman's (1970) terms, the "center of life" that provides meaning and identity, and demands total discipleship in the arena of the world.

Norden elucidates the importance this approach to work holds for the view of leisure in Protestant ideology concerning sport:

The concept of Christian vocation under the Lordship of Jesus Christ puts meaning, purpose, and joy into work. By the same token it invests leisure with a sense of divine blessing. Christians do their work to God's glory. In the same measure do they glorify God by rest and leisure. Both work and recreation, toil and rest, stand under His benediction. Under the Lordship of Jesus Christ the great distinctions many want to make between work and leisure, as though one were God's will and the other not, all but disappear. (Norden, 1965:68-69)

This means that not only is leisure no longer subservient to work, but both have equal efficacy in the pursuance of the substance of life, Christian vocation. With the dissolution of the work-leisure contradistinction in Christian vocation, even the sport-athletics dialectic becomes inconsequential.

C. Theology of Leisure and Play

What then is the estimation of leisure and play that so inspires the Protestant perception and assessment of sport? What set of beliefs regarding leisure and play forms the
backdrop for its attitude toward sport? Very generally, it lies somewhere between free-wheeling libertinism and guilt-ridden moralism and suffers the malady of muddledness.

To put it sharply, most middle-class Americans tend to worship their work, to work at their play, and to play at their worship. As a result, their meanings and values are distorted, their relationships disintegrate faster than they can keep them in repair, and their lifestyles resemble a cast of characters in search of a plot. (Dahl, 1972:12)

In sorting through such befuddlement, most Christian lay writers opt for the quantitative, block of time definition of leisure (Sherrow, 1977), the qualitative, subjective, or classical definition of leisure (Stevens, 1970), or some combination of the two, such as "leisure as a quality in the use of time" (Chappell, 1972:7). Among major Christian thinkers on leisure, such as the Swiss Catholic philosopher Josef Pieper, leisure is taken as an attitude of perceived internal and external freedom. Lee's construction is representative:

Leisure is the growing time of the spirit. Leisure provides the occasion for learning and freedom, for growth and expression, for rest and restoration, for rediscovering life in its entirety. (Lee, 1964:35)

Dahl (1972) insists that leisure is essentially spiritual rather than economic or social in character, is a quality or style of life rather than fragments of a lifetime, and is man's synthesizing factor in a component civilization.

Most of these definitional perspectives of leisure communicate a strongly positive value judgment as well, many
bordering on unabashed apologetics. This is no inadvertence, for at least nine prominent uses of leisure are said to be found in Scripture (Fromer, 1973): worship (Exodus 20:8-11), rest (Hebrews 4), service (I Timothy 2), evangelism (Matthew 28:18-20), health (Ephesians 5:29), creative vocations (Amos 6:5), celebration (John 2), amusement (Matthew 11:16-19), and delight (Psalm 8). Lehman (1974) observed that various theological bases have been used in searching for a Christian view of leisure: the doctrine of creation, of time, of man, of the church, of vocation, or of revelation. It is Lehman's enumeration of specific themes that will outline our survey of what Christianity finds "in praise of leisure."

1. Leisure is God's gift, bound up in the creation model. After six days of creative work God rested, and has commanded his people to do likewise. Gates (1972:13) proposes that "Creation itself was (and is) an act of 'work' but also of God's creative, leisure activity."

2. Leisure is an expression of the lordship of Christ over all of life. "Whatsoever you do, whether in word or deed, do it all in the name of the Lord Jesus" (Colossians 3:17). This approach to leisure as involving "wholeness" (Gingrich, 1979), the "total person" (Sherrow, 1977), or "well-rounded Christian growth" (Mobley, 1965) is a reiteration of the Christian wholistic view of man previously discussed in reference to the body. It reflects Luther's dictum of total freedom and total responsibility.
3. Leisure is the sharing and participating use of God's gift of time. The injunction to "redeem the time" occurs twice in the New Testament (Ephesians 5:16; Colossians 4:5), yet by His own example and by His explicit charge to the disciples: 'Come with me by yourselves to a quiet place and get some rest' (Mark 6:31), [Jesus] safeguarded leisure against the suspicion of indolence. (Norden, 1965:60) "Leisure is not empty time, but it should be fulfilled, redeemed and responsible time" (Lee, 1962:57). This is spoken of as the proper stewardship of leisure time (Krutza and De Cicco, 1970; "The Christian Use of Leisure," 1964).

4. Leisure is a sphere of self-definition. Whereas work formerly granted a sense of self-worth and identity, many modern forms of work offer only alienation. Leisure then becomes the mechanism of self-identity (Chappell, 1972), even for Christians (Ogden, 1978). As Veblen once observed, man's historical need to work to provide the necessities of life had often rescued him from having to ask the most important questions of life.

5. Leisure is an expression of Christian vocation. The concept of Christian vocation transcends leisure or work, but in many cases is accomplished more through the former than the latter. Cox (1965) includes the visible demonstration of the character of a new society as one of the basic functions of the servant church. Ogden's (1978) research found that evangelism was considered the primary priority in the recreation of the Southern Baptist
Convention, as Smith (1973) had stated it ought to be.

6. Leisure is a realm of responsible decision-making. Recognizing the moral neutrality of leisure, the character formation of choice implies great moral consequence (Mobley, 1965). The issue of the "false and shallow charade" (Gingrich, 1979:53) of consumerism in leisure is one of the most recent emphases.

7. Leisure is a monument of true wealth. This is what Sherrow (1977) describes as making a life, not just living. "I have come that they may have life, and have it to the full" (John 10:10). In propounding leisure potential for the achievement of maturity in Christ, Chappell says,

> Far from ascetic renunciation of life and beyond the self-centered "pursuit of happiness", this is life in the depths of being where we meet the God of experience. (Chappell, 1962:25)

Dahl (1972) speaks of an abandon that takes seriously Jesus' counsel to "not worry about your life" (Matthew 6:25). Elsewhere, Dahl (1974b) promotes a "leisure aesthetic" and the "trails of transcendence." Stevens (1966) goes even further in suggesting that in terms of affirmation, celebration and freedom, only the Christian is capable of true leisure. His later expansion reads:

> The capacity and the incapacity for leisure are seen as rooted ultimately in the faith stance of the individual. The one who gains his sense of meaning and significance from idolatrous faith in such things as material possessions must be forever frantic securing his security, for rust and rot will take their toll. He can have no leisure. But the one who trusts in God as the source of meaning and significance is able to let himself be in leisure. He is liberated from the need to secure his life by work fanaticism. He is
liberated from the need to flee meaningfulness by escape mechanisms. (Stevens, 1970)

8. Leisure is the soul of celebration. To celebrate means "to emphasize, to highlight, to translate the ordinary into the extraordinary" (Dahl, 1972:100), and according to Pieper (1963), is the fundamental justification of leisure.

If celebration is the core of leisure, then leisure can only be made possible and justifiable in the same basis as the celebration of a festival. That basis is divine worship. Separated from the sphere of divine worship, and from the power it radiates, leisure is as impossible as the celebration of a feast. Cut off from the worship of the divine, leisure becomes laziness and work inhuman. (Pieper, 1963:56,57)

Cox (1969) has called for a renewal of the capacity and expression of festivity and fantasy, and Dever (1969) advocates the "golden mean" of a rhythmic, leisure-work celebration of life. As Pieper paraphrases Psalm 46:10, "Be still (have leisure) and know that I am God."

These themes in the Christian view of leisure reflect the various perceptions of leisure as a block of time, an activity, or an attitude, but all pertain to sport in some way. Prevailing Protestant ideology concerning sport has naturally accent ed some more than others, for instance, the lordship of Christ and responsible decision-making in the whole character development aspect of sport, or Christian vocation in the use of sport as an evangelistic tool. Lesser leisure themes in sport, such as the accrument of true wealth, or celebration, could conceivably come to the fore as Protestant ideology matures further.

Emerging almost contemporaneously with Protestantism's
magnified concern for leisure in general of the past two decades, has been a fascination by certain theologians with a play theology or a theology of play. This again is a metaphorical application in which play gives context to theology on the one hand, and play-theology gives meaning to play in return (Hoffman, 1976).

Play theology is rooted in the view of creation as being an act of divine play; creation of the world was a meaningful, serious, spontaneous, joyful, and free act, but was also entirely unnecessary as far as God was concerned. It is in his play that man achieves the "intuitive imitation and still earth-bound recovery of an original unity he once had with the One and the Good" (Rahner, 1972:11). The Catholic Rahner and the Protestant Hoffman (1980a:81) both seize hold of Zechariah 8:5, a prophecy of children playing in the streets during the Messianic age to come, as an indication that play is an "imitation" of the Christian's eternal state as well. Play, thus, can be both actual experience as well as a disposition of the soul.

Among theologians assuming radical postures, Huizinga's Homo Ludens is considered the "centerpost of the pleasure pavilion now under construction by today's life-celebrants" (Gurton, 1971:273), and Zorba the Greek is even nominated as "the saint for our time" (Keen, 1970). A common refrain is the need to become child-like in order to bring forth the Kingdom of God, based on Matthew 18:3, "unless you change and become like little children, you will never enter the
kingdom of heaven." Alves (1971) speaks of "de-adultizing" the world, and Miller (1973) would like to see the mature adult "living the divine gracefulness of a child in the present moment." Neale (1969) rejects any dichotomy between seriousness and non-seriousness in a manner reminiscent of the ancient mind's notion of both play and worship (Miller, 1973:104).

Moltmann's (1972) more moderate Theology of Play does not see man as being capable of bringing authentic glory to God in purposeful acts which are designed to justify his own existence; but rather in the acceptance of his existence as having been justified before he was able to do or fail to do anything (Hoffmann, 1976).

It is in true, groundless, goal-less, purposeless play in which man can fully lay hold of the joy which embraces the Creator and his own existence. (Moltmann, 1972:19)

Ruttan (n.d.: 45) points out that Christianity's hesitation and reserve in speaking about pleasure, or the more pious-sounding joy, relates primarily to Epicurean hedonism, but "if it is important to denounce excess, it is even more important to recognize and promote the genuine values of pleasure." Hansel's (1979) personable and unpretentious call for more wonder, joy, rest and freedom in the Christian life tenders four commandments of contentment: thou shalt live here and now, thou shalt not hurry, thou shalt not take thyself too seriously, and thou shalt be grateful. The joy of divine play detours one from "the hopelessly wrong road of idiotic earnestness" (Rahner, 1972).
Play theology naturally enough takes as its mission the preservation and development of the play element in sport (Ruttan, n.d.:43). Ironically, it finds its first mission field in its own backyard, the protestant sport/faith organizations. Hoffman's (1976) critique of the present-day "athlete of God" is based on Moltmann's articulation of play theology.

The exaggerated emphasis on productivity detracts from the ultimate theological purpose of the athletic experience, which should be to stimulate profound rejoicing in one's existence, secure in God. It is their achievement-ends orientation that obscures from the athleta dei's view the possibility of the game as a celebration. When the principle of grace becomes the integrative ideal for sport and theology, the symbolism (and thus the importance) associated with winning appears out of place, and the spiritual-athletic ascesis seems pointless. (Hoffman, 1976:49)

One is tempted to apply the theology of play exclusively to the already more playful concept of sport, leaving athletics to its "ascesis." Surely there is a time to play the games in and of life, and a time to take them seriously. Schloz did say that play cannot be interpreted adequately in a Christian sense unless its ecstatic and emancipatory characteristics are considered in relation to rational and social responsibility. (Schloz, 1972:96)

But to so curtail the application of play theology is to undersell its meaning.

Any man who can truly see the transcendental relation of all created things to God will avoid applying to the consideration of even the most serious things a seriousness that distorts them. He knows that even the greatest deeds of men are but children's games compared with the perfection...
which our souls desire or the perfection that is God himself. (Rahner, 1972:32)

It is unlikely that the importance of the leisure and play element in sport could be overstated. And from the time Cabot (1914) identified work, play, love and worship as the basal dimensions of life, Protestantism has viewed leisure as "a requirement, a divine principle wrought in man in his humanity" (Faith at Play, 1975:934). In Norden's (1965:98) paraphrase of I Timothy 6:17, "God richly provides us with leisure for our enjoyment," to which Christians "respond in praise of leisure because we accept it as a gift in the providence of God" (Lehman, 1974:154).

D. Recreation and the Church

When we move from the abstract and abstruse to the practical and particular, we discover that Protestantism's energetic involvement in recreation is basically consistent with its stated assessment of leisure and play. Occasionally it appears that practice preceded apologetics, that what the church was doing ran ahead of what it was saying. It also occasionally appears that practice and apologetics lack harmony in their advocacy of play, recreation and sport.

As we have seen, middle-level thinkers generally promote the expressive, non-utilitarian qualities of play. On the other hand, as we shall see, practitioners tend toward paradox when many of them promote what in effect become instrumental, utilitarian qualities of play or
recreation. This discrepancy is summarized in Hoffman's (1980b) argument, which first identifies the "play as a means to a 'Christian' end" position by quoting William's (1973) perspective:

> Enjoyed as part of the balanced life, sports can be invigorating; stimulating, a recreation of health and energy both for the participant, and to a lesser degree, the spectator. Treated as ends in themselves, sports degenerate into self-consuming preoccupations which rob God of the love, service and worship that are rightfully His. (Williams, 1973:64)

Hoffman then counters by insisting that utilitarian justifications for play aren't useful themes for integration because they make play something other than play... they tear the heart and soul from the play spirit... the integration of play and the Christian position is possible only when we recognize the potential for play as a celebrative and worshipful act. (Hoffman, 1980b:72-73)

Thus, when moving as we are from Protestant apologists of play to Protestant practitioners of recreation, we make a subtle shift from an end-in-itself orientation to a means-to-an-end orientation. The implication is that Protestant ideology ardently champions sport at either end of the play-work continuum.

The four broad areas in which recreation purported to make a contribution to church life at the advent of this century were: (a) community outreach -- service and evangelism; (b) fellowship -- strengthening the social life of the church and its members; (c) Christian education -- the religious teaching program; and (d) financial benefits -- fund raising social activities (Swanson, 1967). By 1969,
Boyd listed the three purposes of recreation in the total church ministry as "teaching, reaching, and ministering or involving." Generally, the most salient development in church recreation is that the corporate financial benefit motif has diminished while the personal enrichment motif has flourished. The church has retained its ability to influence the leisure and recreation involvements of its adherents, especially within the bounds of church sponsored recreation (Connor, 1972).

Conner (1977) provides a serviceable outline of prevailing Protestant ideology concerning church recreation that reflects the means-to-an-end orientation Mobley (1965) found the majority of church leaders embracing.

1. Church recreation is a channel of support and service. In Conner's own words, recreation "complements, undergirds, and strengthens [the church] by becoming a workshop in everyday Christian living" (Conner, 1977:11).

2. Church recreation is a catalyst in outreach. Ogden (1978) has documented that church leaders believe that "evangelism should have first place in the ideal church recreation program," although her sample was limited to the Southern Baptist Convention. Smith's (1973) title, Reaching People Through Recreation, leaves no doubt about its emphasis. Recreation as an evangelistic tool or platform is, of course, the premise of the sport/faith organizations.

3. Church recreation is a vehicle for ministry. It is an investment in the lives of people that is impregnated with
spiritual zest.

One can sympathize with the leader who said he was
tired of youth organizations that made young
people happy but didn't necessarily make them
holy.... Christian fun must be fun plus -- fun
plus enrichment of life, fun plus character and
personality growth, fun plus spiritual enrichment,
fun plus growth in Christlikeness. (Harbin,
1952:19)

Recreation facilities, programs, and personnel are funded by
many local churches as well as at the denominational
administration level as a service to members. Full-time
ministers of recreation are commonplace. The Southern
Baptist Convention has a full-blown Church Recreation
Department in its' bureaucracy that even publishes its own
quarterly *Church Recreation Magazine*. Their materials
typically embrace sports, drama, socials, camping, music,
crafts, etc., although in quality they tend toward redundant
banality. A second aspect of the ministry of recreation is
what parishioners can do for others in their recreation.
This service to others, according to Jensen's (1977)
modification of Nash's (1953) hierarchical value levels of
recreation, is the "highest" form of activity. What were
formerly known as church "work projects" are now more
correctly termed "leisure projects" (Walker, 1975:23).

4. Church recreation is a tool for teaching. Play has
received much attention as a learning medium (Sponseller,
1974) in educational psychology, and is valued as such in
religious education as well (Coleman, 1973).

Protestantism's traditional vacation church school is an
example of using play and recreation for religious education
(Kisrow, 1974). From another angle, there have been calls for more education for leisure and recreation within the church and its institutions (Ogden, 1978). This is in spite of the fact that most Protestant schools of higher education now offer courses in recreation theory or recreation leadership.

5. Church recreation is an avenue to abundant living. The appreciation of the personal enrichment potential of recreation is of more recent vintage within Protestantism. I would find no quarrel with Tillman's (1973) oft-quoted compilation of human needs fulfilled through recreation: new experience, relaxation/escape, recognition, security, dominance (leadership), physical activity, mental activity, creativity, response/social interaction, and service.

All of these points of rationale have incited some churches to marshal a nearly open-ended sponsorship of recreation, but some voices of caution and restraint are heard. Norden, for example, warns the church of forsaking its servant status in the world.

When the church follows this track, it becomes a glorified tension-relieving, hand-holding, baby-sitting agency in behalf of itself.... The church is profligate with people's time when, under the impulse of various leisure-related factors, it espouses programs beyond its divine calling and competence.... The growth of leisure bids the church remember that it is none of the secular institutions it often imitates. (Norden, 1965:90-2)

This is the ideological setting of sport in the program of the Protestant church. Sessoms' (1976:7) statement that "Sports is one of the major activities in which a church is
involved" will be considered folly by some, triumph by others, and tragedy by still others, but his *A Guide to Using Sports and Games in the Life of the Church* is certainly necessitated by current practise. As Mason (1973) notes, sport in the church has taken to heart Luther Gulick's old adage that "If you want to know what a child is, study his play; if you want to affect for good what he shall be, direct his play."

E. Summary

The view of leisure, recreation and play in Protestant ideology concerning sport is both crucially important and widely unfathomed. Ask the average Protestant about the meaning of the physical aspect of sport and he will likely speak of the body as the temple of the Holy Spirit. Ask him about the meaning of the play aspect of sport and he will likely stammer about restoration for work and then fall silent. Yet he recreates extensively, oblivious to obscure machinations such as a theology of leisure and play, that would seem almost coincidental to him.

When explored, Protestant conceptions of leisure, recreation and play have several significant implications for sport, not the least of which is the inclusion of the consumer as well as the producer. The decline of the supreme valuing of work has transferred greater credibility to leisure pursuits, although within the notion of Christian vocation, whether sport is play or work is a moot-point. Sport as leisure is seen as a celebration of the "abundant
life," and as play is seen as a worshipful reflection of the joy of God himself. Church recreation, of which sport is an integral part, is the framework for incorporating the values of leisure and play into programs and practice.

In a sense the Protestant view of leisure, recreation and play is only one embracive ethic, as the terms "work ethic" and "leisure ethic" portray, that is germane to its view of sport. There remains a plethora of ethical and moral issues in Protestant ideology concerning sport.
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CHAPTER V

VALUES, ETHICS AND MORALS

A. Introduction

Examination of the Protestant systems of ethics clearly confirms the marginal position of the problem of sport in theological thinking.... With few exceptions, the word is hardly ever mentioned. (Schloz, 1972:88)

This appraisal is accurate to the extent that major theologians have rarely felt compelled to ponder the sport phenomenon, but is assuredly deceptive in implying that Protestant ethics have little to do with sport. Down on the arena floor, Protestants have wrestled long and hard with the ethical and moral problems of sport, for the most part without explicit coaching from their own value system. Hence the role of what we have fashioned as middle level thinkers in bridging the gap between Protestant ethics and its practical exposition in sport is crucially important. This gap is one of logical casuistry rather than consistency, and its span is somewhere between the narrower theology-body and wider theology-leisure disparities.

Several interrelated features of Protestant values, ethics and morals concerning sport characterize the visage of this third component of its prevailing ideology. One is
that it does not flow as naturally from the definition of sport or its related concepts, as did the view of the body and the view of leisure. As much as one is attracted to a tidy diagrammatic construction of the elements of Protestant ideology concerning sport, made possible by repeated triplicate characterization and encouraged by some valid parallels, the reality is that not all the pieces fit into place. With the third and final component of Protestant ideology before us, an alignment of concepts reveals surprising yet incomplete congruencies.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Coakley's Factors of Sport</th>
<th>Coakley's Characteristics of Sport</th>
<th>Loy's Related Concepts</th>
<th>Protestant Ideological Components</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. Type of activity</td>
<td>physical</td>
<td>sport</td>
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<tr>
<td>2. Structure of context</td>
<td>game</td>
<td>game</td>
<td>leisure, recreation, and play</td>
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<td>3. Orientation of</td>
<td>internal satisfaction and</td>
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<td>Participants</td>
<td>external rewards</td>
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The parallelism of the first aspects is unequivocal; sport involves a physical type of activity and therefore relates to the Protestant view of the body. The parallelism of the second aspect is less pronounced yet evident. Sport occurs within the context of games and thus, with some reference to third level aspects, relates to the Protestant view of leisure, recreation, and play. However, what obscure parallelism there may be among the third aspects, and a case
could be made for some, is surely tenuous. The ubiquity of values, ethics and morals in Protestant ideology concerning sport is attributable more to the nature of religion than to the nature of sport.

Secondly, the sheer magnitude of the values, ethics and morals component of Protestant ideology concerning sport sets it apart from the previous two. The Protestant views of the body and leisure are definable and circumscribed topics or even sub-topics compared to the whole field of thought and inquiry that is ethics. Indeed, the view of the body and physical activity and the exploration of a leisure "ethic" both fall under the rubric of values. Thus this analysis of values pertinent to sport is only that which has not already been addressed. So pervasive and preponderant are ethics and morals in Protestant ideology that they often appear, to the detached and perhaps naive observer, to be the essence of a lifestyle tyrannized by simplistic, "do's - and - don'ts" legalism. The Protestant's ethics and morals are thus mistaken for his very faith. In light of its scope, even a parsimonious overview of values, ethics and morals in Protestant ideology concerning sport is admittedly somewhat presumptuous.

A third distinction of the ethical component is its currency throughout church history. The fact that at no point in time was the Christian church any more or less concerned about the ethics and morals of sport than at another (Lumpkin, 1979) is, in a sense, an extension of the
above. The Olympic Games of antiquity were terminated in part by early Christian condemnation of their ethical degeneracy. Luther saw sport as preventative of immorality. The Puritans distinguished between lawful and unlawful sport on the basis of morality. Muscular Christianity was the unabashed marriage of Christian moralism and sport. Some conclude that the predominence of Christianity in North American history and its moral influence on sport has informed sport with a value system that, even in its secularized configuration as civil religion, is essentially in the Christian tradition (Eitzen and Sage 1978:125).

Of course, not only Christian ideologues have concerned themselves with the values, ethics and morals of sport. Some notable trends and contributions have materialized during the time frame pertaining to this study alone. Sport in the early 1970's was rocked by the wave of New Left criticism of its values and ethics, led by writers such as Beissner (1967), Scott (1971), Meggesy (1971), Shaw (1973), and Hoch (1972). A sport counterculture arose to challenge what Edwards (1973) identified as the Dominant American Sports Creed. A conference on the "The Development of Human Values through Sports" was held (Frost and Sims, 1974), discussions of "Human Values and Personal Ethics" reappeared in introductory sport textbooks (Frost, 1975), and by the end of the decade textbooks for entire courses on the ethics and morality of sport were being published (Shea, 1978). Yet Gerber and Morgan recently commented that
ethics and socio-political philosophy, as aspects of philosophy and sport, have been allowed to remain a jumbled bag of assertions which have not been subjected to either philosophical or empirical analysis. (Gerber and Morgan, 1979:250)

Nevertheless, the extent of both academic and popular disquietude regarding the ethics and morals of sport is evident, and is perhaps best exemplified by Sport's Illustrated's plea for moral retrenchment and rearmament (Underwood, 1981:65).

Only so much can be said about values, ethics and morals before pausing to define them. From a sociological perspective, values are viewed as social facts, as instrumental in defining social institutions, and as part of normative culture. Sociology also tends to define values as "abstract, generalized, principles of behavior" (Theodorson and Theodorson, 1969:455), although a distinction has to be made between various groups of values: theoretical, social, political, religious, aesthetic, and economic (Eid, 1979:264). The focus of Protestant ideology is on what Frost (1974) calls human values, and which Rokeach defines as

a type of belief, centrally located within one's total belief system, about how one ought or ought not to behave, or about some end-state existence worth or not worth attaining. Values are thus abstract ideals, positive or negative, not tied to any specific person's beliefs about ideal modes of conduct and ideal terminal goals. (Rokeach, 1969:124)

The study of values is also one of the four major branches of philosophy, where it is known as axiology (Zeigler, 1964), and may be further subdivided into
non-moral values, such as aesthetics, and values of moral obligation. The latter is ethics, also known by the more traditional designation of moral philosophy. Morality goes beyond what is right or wrong, such as the correctness of a response, and beyond what is good or bad, such as the quality of an object, to that which is virtuous or wicked (Wellman, 1975). Morality has to do with human conduct, or the voluntary choice between alternatives as a result of preferring one to another. This is also beyond the notion of behavior, which is more descriptive than normative (Johnson, 1965). Furthermore, morality must be contrasted with prudence.

It may be that prudence and morality dictate some of the same conduct, for example, honesty. It may also be that prudence is a moral virtue; however it is not characteristic of the moral point of view to determine what is virtuous wholly in terms of what the individual desires or of what is to his interest. (Frankena, 1973:7)

Although in everyday language they are used interchangeably and their separation is far from clear-cut, it is possible to distinguish between ethics and morals, at least in degree. Ethics is the examination of morality in that ethical questions are general and theoretical whereas moral questions are specific and practical (Wellman, 1975). It is possible for one to be a good ethicist and an immoral person, and vice versa (Johnson, 1965). It should also be acknowledged that some would generalize ethics to the point where it includes the theory of value and describes the entire branch of philosophy (Runes, 1960).
Within the Christian approach to ethics, Protestantism has tended toward Christian moral philosophy or "Christian ethics," in contrast to the Roman Catholic tendency toward moral theology (Knudson, 1973). Both apply the source of Scripture, reason illuminated by faith, and the teaching of the church to moral problems. The divergence lies in Protestantism's disinclination to specify rules of action, stressing instead general principles and the individual and subjective aspects of moral life — personal devotion and obedience to God's will (Sainsbury, 1974). This also diminishes the weight of church teaching.

The Protestant mistrust of moral theology is because of its alleged tendency to fall into legalism and formalism (Mortimer, 1967). Yet within Protestantism one finds, in the Calvinist - Puritan - Reformed tradition, the teaching on the civil magistrate, and attempts to place the whole of society under God's law. Such deontological ethics, or judgements based on intrinsic moral goodness, value or obligation, are today represented by the work of John Murray (1957). On the other hand, Protestantism also espouses the teleological ethics, or judgments based on intended or actual ends, results or consequences, of neo-orthodox theology popularized by Fletcher's (1966) Situation Ethics. Needless to say, Protestantism is not exempt from ethical pluralism.

What does universally distinguish Christian ethics is that it is revelational ethics, as opposed to the
speculative ethics of Idealism and Naturalism (Henry, 1957). In general, it offers the love of God and man as a resolution to the mysticism vs. humanism tension, bondage to Christ as a resolution to the autonomy vs. necessity tension, love for one's neighbor as for one's self as a resolution to the egoism vs. altruism tension, and obedience to God as resolution to the tension of happiness vs. duty as motives (Henry, 1957).

Moral obligations arise out of a direct encounter with God and depend on His sovereign will. Moral problems are not matters of the will, not the intellect; hence the need for the regenerative power of God to enable one to do what is right. (McDonald, 1974:220)

This chapter surveys the nature of Protestant values as they relate to sport, and examines the ethics and morals that Protestant ideology brings to the milieu of sport.

B. Value Orientations

The deductive ordering of the general to the particular, again proves the more serviceable route to travel in searching out the values Protestants attach to sport. Before making sense out of specific teachings concerning their ethics of sport, we must apprehend the hidden as well as the unhidden agendas of basic Protestant value orientations. Taking the theological perspective outlined in Chapter Two one step closer to the values of sport, what perspectives characterize Protestant ideology?

Ruttan draws our attention to an important touchstone when embarking on an exploration of Protestant values and
Christian churches unreservedly take up and promote all human values which do not deviate from God’s plan of creation. Furthermore, these values usually constitute the primary meeting-ground and sphere of co-operation with all men of good will, who are sincerely working to promote and defend human values. (Ruttan, n.d.:24)

In other words, Protestant values may not always be distinctive from secular or human values; the two are not by definition mutually exclusive.

Any sociological treatise on Protestant values is invariably drawn to Weber’s epic work on The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (1958), despite its critics (Green, 1959). Weber’s thesis was that by teaching, in effect, that “God helps those who help themselves” (1958:115), Calvinism had an "elective affinity" with capitalism. The values accruing from such a symbiotic relationship include self-discipline, hard work, dedication, success, or in short; achievement orientation. It is impossible to overlook the unmistakable link between sport, or more properly athletic, values and those of such an expression of Protestantism. Indeed one is reminded of the functional commonality of the two social institutions.

Without attempting to claim a causal link between the two belief systems, it does seem possible to suggest an elective affinity between them. The Protestant stress on successful individual achievement is in keeping with the values of sport. The notion that one's achievement stamps the "chosen" from the "doomed" is seen in the "winning is everything" ideology of sports. Winners are the good people; personal worth, both in this and the other world, is equated with winning. The loser is obviously not one of God's chosen people, just as failure in one's occupation
stamps the Protestant as doomed to hell. (Eitzen and Sage, 1978:127)

Schloz is even ready to engage in value judgements:

If there is only a grain of truth in the theory of the sponsorship of [the achievement] principle by Christianity, and especially by Protestantism, then the church cannot escape its share of responsibility for the socially undesirable consequences. (Schloz, 1972:93)

Various scholars have recently reacted against what Edwards (1973) labels the oversimplification, exaggeration and facile interpretation of the relationship between Protestantism and individual achievement orientation. "There are strong indications that the predominant emphasis on this orientation in sport does not stem solely from Protestant religious traditions" (Edwards, 1973:335). Lueschen (1967) notes that cross-national comparisons show some non-Protestant cultures excelling in sport. Another problem is the storied Puritan hostility to sport. Scholars now claim the identification of an earlier independent variable that acts on both sport and Protestantism as dependent variables (Goldbach, 1977). In the words of Guttman:

The emergence of modern sports represents neither the triumph of capitalism nor the rise of Protestantism but rather the slow development of an empirical, experimental, mathematical Weltanschauung [world view]. (Guttmann, 1978:85)

Thus Merton's "Puritanism, Pietism and Science" (1957), which demonstrates Protestantism's commendation of empiricism and rationalism in the seventeenth century, may be a more plausible explanatory labyrinth than the Weber
thesis. Whether Protestantism created the orientation toward individual achievement or not, it undoubtedly at least heightens and legitimates the achievement value.

The achievement orientation in Protestant ideology concerning sport is one value orientation ascribed to Protestantism by sociology. A second would be its conservatism. The social institution of Protestantism, like sport, requires the adaption and internalization of a belief system that serves cohesive, integrative, and social control functions, giving adherents a meaningful way to organize their world. Both religion and sport resist social change, and, in this way, support the status quo (Eitzen and Sage, 1978). Whether one sees sport values as culturally lagging (Brown, 1974) or as a mirror of culture (Boyle, 1963), they are basically conservative (Edwards., 1973).

Protestantism's conservative orientation toward sport is a generalization not without exception. We need to be reminded of the conservative - liberal spectrum within Protestantism itself; some of its stewards do exercise their ideology as a change agent. Bianchi (1972), for example, reckoned football to be fascist and a dull conformity to the status quo, thereby airing invective of the counterculture genre. Yet the strongest defense of the dominant sport ethic has emerged from the Protestant camp (Hoffman, 1980). Meanwhile, some Protestants vacillate in indecision, hoping for evolution instead of revolution, sensing only transition.
The new values surely offer much that is needed in America, but the old values just as surely do the same. The older values are neither as bankrupt as the prophets of revolution pretend nor as adequate to our current situation as defenders of the Puritan ethic assert. (Bueter, 1972:392)

While certain sages such as Hoffman (1980) search for a new synthesis, Protestant value orientations regarding sport, especially those of the sport-faith organizations, remain as conservative as their theology, a fact that Deford (1976) and many others have witnessed.

A third value orientation is Protestantism's prioritizing of sport. What sport occupies on the priority scale of the average Christian is a concern voiced by Protestantism itself, not merely ascribed by sociology. This concern over the relative importance of sport is both qualitative and quantitative.

Some writers, such as Childs (1974), bypass the earlier question of the priority of sport and ventilate the priority of the values of sport, but for the most part, the earlier, larger question is one of sport's value relative to other Christian undertakings. The editors of Christianity Today conclude that "athletics are low on a scale of demonstrable religious significance" and that "sport is sometimes the path of least resistance" (Sport: Are We Overdoing It?, 1972:1059). They then quote Weiss (1969), who wrote, "Young men find it easier to master their bodies than to be truly noble, monumental, pious, or wise." A more impassioned admonition concerning the "treacherous idolatry" of sport comes from Williams:
There is nothing wrong with enjoying sports. But we need to remind ourselves that humans can enjoy a lot of things it would be wrong to worship. The error in idolatry is that we take essentially good things and exaggerate them until they consume us with their demands.... The whole system of sport-as-idol carries with it a self-defeating promise, for when people seek ultimate meaning from a thoroughly temporal pursuit, they find disillusionment. (Williams, 1973:63-4)

The quantitative priority of sport also concerns Protestantism, as it wrestles to justify the extent of its involvement in light of eternity's values. The principle of stewardship of time and money means that for the Protestant, more sport is not necessarily better, especially when sport begins to usurp the essence of faith. Sport at that point has degenerated into "self-consuming preoccupations which rob God of the love, service and worship that are rightfully His" (Williams, 1973:64). Excessive involvement in sport is said to "numb our concern for truth and justice" and to be an "easy means of evading responsibility" (Sports: Are We Overdoing It?, 1972:1058). Elias (1973:666) deplores the notion that church functions are occasionally viewed as "rude ecclesiastical encroachments into sacred sports time."

Perhaps the best characterization of Protestant values in the church versus sport confrontation is the comment of the minister who, although greatly enjoying sport himself, observed that in vying for the loyalties of parishioners, sport could be "the deception of the serpent."

Thus it can be stated that, whatever merit Protestant ideology locates in sport, its value orientation assigns sport a secondary role in the life of the Christian. The
nature of sport prevents it from becoming a high priority, and, therefore the extent of involvement must be controlled.

Few would argue that the most salient value orientation of Protestant ideology concerning sport is that sport is educative, that it contributes to the formation of conscience. Indeed, it is this very orientation that so pervades and informs Protestant ideology that it becomes the foundation for the bulk of ethical and moral reflection on sport. Most of the particulars dealt with in the remainder of this chapter must be understood in terms of the educative value orientation.

By rallying behind the educative orientation toward sport, Protestantism has merely reprocessed and refined a centuries-old campaign based on the utility of sport. This sport as a means to an end motif has only recently been challenged by playful life-celebrants, who highlight the expressive, non-utilitarian and worshipful themes of sport. It is noteworthy that the contemplation of ethical and moral dimensions of sport steers Protestant ideology clear of such more ethereal themes. Integration of utilitarian and non-utilitarian perspectives of sport is painfully lacking, so much so that by pursuing the educative orientation of ethics and morals we are forced, at this point in time, to abandon the more profound aspects of sport as play.

But we can do so only when we have weathered the thunderings of Lasch in his erudite *Culture of Narcissism* (1978). He is representative of the scholarly approach
within Protestant ideology which resists the "demystification" of sport.

Games quickly lose their charm when forced into the service of education, character development, or social improvement.... What corrupts an athletic performance is a breakdown of the conventions surrounding the game. It is at this point that ritual, drama, and sport all degenerate into spectacle. The degradation of sport consists in its trivialization.... The secularization of sport, which began as soon as athletics were pressed into the cause of character building, became complete only when sport became an object of mass consumption, reducing it to entertainment. (Lasch, 1978:100,108,119)

When athletes become mere entertainers, they sacrifice what Novak (1976) termed their "priestly" function, thus selling what Lasch would see as the soul of the sport experience. The acknowledgement of this concern tempers Protestant valuing of the educative orientation toward sport, the utility of which is not without its limitations.

Ruttan delineates further limitations to the educative value of sport and succinctly summarizes Protestantism's orientation.

1. Sports do not automatically and infallibly produce the benefits attributed to them; they possess no magical powers. They possess neither the pristine purity nor the recreative power nor the basic integrity which their ideologists too easily attribute to them. Although they may afford those who so desire with a favorable opportunity for acquiring certain personal qualities, they do not necessarily provide the internal and external conditions necessary for the promised success.

2. Sports do not constitute the only school of virtue, or even the main channel available to educators for promoting human formation. Even within the realm of physical activity, there are many other avenues that are more accessible and better adapted that could be explored.

3. Lastly, even if sports were the best or only school for training and development, the fact
that, in our country, scarcely 10% of our population is able to participate in them properly would force us to be concerned for the other 90% of the people, who might be capable of benefiting to some extent from a form of educative physical activity. (Rutten, n.d.:37)

As we shall see, the educative value orientation of Protestant ideology concerning sport, despite its circumscription, cuts a wide swath through the ethical and moral issues of sport.

C. Competition

Before surveying the plethora of more prosaic values and ethics associated with sport, we must scrutinize the ethic that dwarfs them all. And well it should, for it returns us to our very definition of sport. We refer to the competitive nature of sport and the "win ethic."

Competition is inherent in the definition of sport through the concept of games. As we have noted, Coakley (1978) sees the game characteristic of sport as the structure of the context, while Loy (1978) sees sport as a subset of games. Most theorists agree that in order for a game to exist, there must be competition (Cailliois, 1961; Edwards, 1973; Coakley, 1978; Loy, 1978), thus by definition, sports involve competition. The competitive aspect of sport is so predominant that the term "competition" frequently becomes a synonym for sport.

What is competition? Alderman articulates the common "reward" definition.

Competition is any situation in which two or more individuals struggle for the complete or larger
share of a particular goal, and in which the
success of their performances is relative to each
other. (Alderman, 1974:74)

Martens (1975) differentiates between a four-category
competition process, the personal disposition of
competitiveness, and the overt actions of competitive
behavior. On the societal level, competition is only one of
five basic social processes (Ulrich, 1968), but in North
American culture, it has become the hearthrob of every major
social institution, an integral part of the "American way of
life" (Sadler, 1973; Blanchard, 1976).

If, as we have previously stated, the physical nature
of sport is its most conspicuous characteristic, and play
its most profound, then competition is probably the most
contentious characteristic of sport with which Protestant
ideology, or any other for that matter, must grapple. As
befitting its definitional depth, competition is also the
ethical reservoir from which the morality of sport flows.
When Time, Inc. wanted to examine the moral fiber of the
country in its special project on American Renewal, it
focused on competition in sport (Grunwald, 1981).
Protestantism also recognizes competition to be the
wellspring of ethics and morals in sport. Warner's (1976b)
landmark discussion of the same is simply entitled
Competition.

The ethics of competition have proven to be the
shibboleth of sports. Polemics can be roughly divided
into two camps, those who continue to insist that
competition generates individual motivation and provides the basis for efficiency and excellence in a social system, and those who insist that competitive reward structures not only destroy much individual motivation, but that they create feelings of hostility, the use of deception, and a lack of concern for other human beings (Coakley, 1978). The latter camp also accuses competition of fostering the notion that personal achievement requires superiority in order to be worthwhile.

The Dominant American Sports Creed that Edwards (1973) identified in the early 1970’s imbued competition with the qualities of developing fortitude, preparing for life, and providing opportunities for advancement. At the same time, proponents of competition were receiving vice-presidential support (Agnew, 1972; Ford, 1974) in the face of the radical new "counterculture," which objected to the "dehumanizing" overemphasis on competition in sport (Scott, 1972). By the second half of the decade, mainstream academics, such as Tutko and Bruns in Winning is Everything and Other American Myths (1976), had chronicled the ethical bankruptcy wrought by unbridled competition, especially in youth sports (Orlick and Botterill, 1975). By the 1980’s, respected popular journals are calling for a "moral renaissance in sport" (Underwood, 1981) in the spirit of Leonard (1973), who pointed out that competition is like salt, "it adds zest to the game and to life itself. But when the seasoning is mistaken for the substance, only sickness can follow."
Where Protestant ideology concerning the competition of sport fits into this scenario is the task in hand. For the most part there appears to be a peculiar attraction of the Christian to the playground. Christians pursue their games with an intensity that borders on spiritual fervor. Whether competing in the more glamorous arenas of high school and college athletics or at the ping-pong table in his basement, the Christian competitor is a tiger. (Hoffman, 1980b:65)

We must discern his outlook on competition, how he defines winning, what motivates him, and how he views his opponent.

Through his work with the Fellowship of Christian Athletes, Warner has been left with the overriding impression that most Christian athletes, coaches, parents, and fans struggle with their competitiveness. "But no one talks about it. It's like suffering from a yet-to-be-determined disease. There are no handles" (Warner, 1979b:16). The malaise is such that Hoffman recommends "Only the prudent, the mature, the earnest, the self-controlled, and the committed Christian should take part" in the "delicate interpersonal experience" of "agonistic sport" (Hoffman, 1980a:80). Most Protestants now acknowledge the positive and negative qualities of sport, the heads and tails of the competitive coin, and construct their ethic accordingly.

The Protestant proponents of competition see Jesus as "a competitor par excellence" (Price, 1976) in his struggle with his opponent and adversary the devil. And if Jesus were a football player, "I guarantee you Christ would be the
toughest guy who ever played this game" (Evans, 1976:119). The locker-room Jesus is portrayed as "the man with hair on his chest and sweat on his brow and dirt under his fingernails. The man who needs deodorant" (Skinner, 1976:119). Proponents also see competition as "glorifying God" who has given them the skills to compete (McGrath, 1979), and which Scripture (Galatians 6:4; Colossians 3:23) calls them to do with every last ounce of strength and dedication (Sessoms, 1978). For example, a pro baseball player claims that he just wants "to glorify God — that's why I play ball" (Sanguillen, 1973:33), and a wrestler observes that "Wrestling can be a worship of God if I wrestle the best that I can" (Athletes in Action Sportlight, 1975:4). Hoffman (1976) has remarked that these acts of glorification are generally measured on a productivity rather than an ethical scale. Yet these proponents of competition are not oblivious to its detractors.

The contention that sport fosters an unhealthy spirit of competition needs to be refined. The crisis of athletic competition today derives not from the persistence of a martial ethic, the cult of victory, or the obsession with achievement, but from the collapse of conventions that formerly restrained rivalry even as they glorified it. (Lasch, 1978:116-7)

On the other hand, Protestant critics of competition see Jesus as being so secure that he did not have to compete (Young, 1979), a theory adopted by many during the Jesus Revolution of the late 1960's and early 1970's. They have occasionally parrotted the refrain of the humanitarian counterculture (Bianchi, 1972), and occasionally espoused a
pacifistic orientation. Elias is representative of the latter.

The problem with [competition] is that it isn't Christian. Christ did not advise his followers to be fiercely competitive in their own behalf. The person who feels compelled to win for himself is actually a loser. (Elias, 1973:668)

It is precisely this aversion to competition and the declaration of a winner that Slusher (1967) depicted as the "traditional Christian ethic" when he pronounced its death in sports. But Christians today continue to compete.

The most intriguing basis for competition on the part of the Protestant appears when Warner (1976b) takes the foregoing thought full circle to where Christ was not only so secure that he did not have to compete, he was in fact so secure that he could compete in consummate freedom. This apparently was the experience of the coach who exclaimed that "I still hate to lose; but I can live with defeat because as a Christian I am free; free to win and just as free to fail" (Stevens, 1979:20). The unconditional love of God frees the Christian from the personal risk of competing (Moomaw, 1975).

Winning and losing are, of course, the products of competition, and Protestant ideology must come to terms with both. "Winning for its own sake has not traditionally been regarded as a Christian virtue" (Are Sports Good for the Soul?, 1971:52). Yet the popular evangelist and university president Oral Roberts has crassly enthused that "Just playing the game is not enough. It's all right to lose
some, but I'm not much for losing. We're geared up for
winning here" (Boyle, 1970:65). Now, despite some benign
effusions about sport providing a "theology for failure"
(Baker, 1975), Protestantism is constrained to seek what
virtue, if any, there may be in winning. Warner has
established four guideposts for such a search.

1. Winning and losing is simply not subject to
drastic change. The challenge for the Christian
sport competitor is to bring a higher quality of
competitiveness to the system.

2. There are positive qualities to be gained and
lessons to be learned from both winning and
losing. And both can be detrimental experiences
if our attitudes and perspectives are not in
order.

3. Both play and competition are valuable, but there
is a compulsion to be better in some competitive
people that requires a personal opponent or
standard against which to test his skills.

4. Jesus Christ calls his followers to be successful
by his standards. And winning and losing are
wrapped up in that. (Warner, 1979b:84-92)

Some Protestants cope with the issue of winning by
simply condoning anything short of the winning - is -
everything ethic. This stance is based on the
interpretation of Paul's admonition to "Run in such a way as
to get the prize" (I Corinthians 9:24) as meaning not just
"Do your best," but rather "Do your best to win."

You ought to hate to lose, but at the same time
you ought to be a good sportsman. You ought to
congratulate your opponent for winning but go in
and beat your head against the wall because you
lost. (Evans, 1978:4)

There is no harm wanting to accomplish; the harm
is in having to accomplish. (Prather, 1979)

There is nothing wrong or negative with winning,
but winning at all costs and emphasizing it
constantly can produce negative results.
(Sessoms, 1978:16)
To be sure, a good deal of ambivalence accompanies such a facile philosophy. As Smedes warns:

There seems to be an unbroken line between wanting to win, believing you deserve to win, and cheating to make it all come true.... When winning gets in your blood, you are in trouble. (Smedes, 1973:3)

Other Protestants, and perhaps the majority, cope with the issue of winning by redefining it. Instead of adhering to the objective scoreboard determination of winners and losers, they use the personal subjective evaluation of effort. In effect, the win ethic is replaced by a try ethic in which all who put forth maximum effort, the "total release performance," are defined as winners.

Success is peace of mind which is a direct result of self-satisfaction in knowing you did your best to become the best that you are capable of becoming. (Wooden, 1972)

I don't think competition is right unless both sides are evaluated on how well they did with what they had.... What matters is how well I did with the ability God's given me. (Rote, 1975:25-6)

Winning is the total release of all that you are toward becoming like Jesus Christ in each situation. Losing is not releasing your entire self toward becoming like Jesus Christ in each situation. (Neal, 1975:38)

In modelling "winning character" through his crucifixion, "Jesus has been transformed, emerging anew as a holler guy, a hustler, a give - it - 100 - percenter" in an apparent attempt to "shame athletes into competing more intently" (Deford, 1976:98). Though its theological validity may be suspect and its approach to the issue little more than circumvention, the redefinition of winning is at least consistent with the Christian focus on process and means as
opposed to product and ends.

Still other Protestants cope with the issue of winning by transcending it. This is the approach taken by two of the most astute spokesmen for Protestant ideology concerning the ethics of sport, Warner and Hoffman, although in this case Hoffman is the more suasive.

If sport is to be sport at all, the objective of winning must not be de-emphasized. Not to try to win is to play the spoil. The spoil sport is worse than a cheat. The cheat robs the game of its noble spirit; but the spoil sport steals its very heart. At the same time, however, we must be careful not to delude ourselves into thinking that God in any way cares about the outcome. Those who feel that God especially cherishes winners - or that a win somehow glorifies Him more than a loss - have theologically reduced God to a spectator who sits on the sidelines caught up in the surprises of the game. (Hoffman, 1980:81)

Given the explicit sanction of the redefinition stance on winning and the implicit sanction of the condoning and transcendent stances on winning, it would appear that the Protestant is unlikely to want for motivation in athletic competition. Nevertheless, Christian commitment does occasionally dull motivation to pursue athletic excellence when the athlete becomes more concerned about spiritual disciplines. Dirksen (1975) reminds these athletes that, according to the parable of the talents in Mathew 25; they are responsible to God to develop their talents to the fullest. "No person, athlete or not, can afford to discredit Jesus by giving anything less than total involvement with those talents he has been given" (Dirksen, 1975:54)
Neal (1976) tutors Christian coaches regarding motivation in specific competitive situations. Revenge, money, locker room talks, hatred for the opponent, anger, and personal recognition as motivational techniques are all rejected in favor of love. Teaff's cassette tape on "Motivation: The Key to Success" also preaches the motivation of love. "I say it to coaches in every clinic, don't be afraid of that word love. I tell my team every day that I love them" (Teaff, 1979). Curiously enough, Neal's dismissal of conventional motivations is not an ethical protestation, but a functional preference; the motivation of love produces more consistent results because it is not dependent on circumstances. But others (Maximum Motivation, 1976) have cited Biblical injunctions of hatred (Proverbs 10:12), greed (I Timothy 6:10), and pride (Proverbs 16:18) as motives, as well as testified to the potency of love.

My motivation for competition is love for God, rather that the old motivations like ego and fear. Love is a more powerful motivation. (Sherman, 1975)

The notion of love as a primary motivational impulse is a corollary of the ubiquitous "glorify God" theme, which again is foundational to Christian living (Maximum Motivation, 1975). In a sense these motives can be subsumed in the expressive, celebration of life theme developed in the previous chapter.

Motivational impulses are implicated in the final aspect of Protestant ideology concerning athletic competition, the competitor's view of his opponent. Little
discussion of the view of the opponent exists in Protestant literature concerning sport, perhaps because few ideologues have thought competition through to such a point, perhaps because those who have give voice to a common chorus. The occasional brutish belligerence notwithstanding (Evans, 1973), most Protestants adhere to an ethic that even the humanistic reformers of the sport counterculture candidly admit to reflecting (Hoffman, 1980a), that is, that the opponent in the agonistic struggle is not an enemy, obstacle or instrument to be used, but a brother to be respected (Ruttan n.d.). This brotherhood need not be spiritual, only athletic. "As mutual servants, opponents are bound together in a certain equality that announces them as brothers" (Sauer, 1979).

Once again it is Warner (1979a) who most perceptively sorts through the puzzle of attitudes that confront the Protestant athlete. He rejects the rationalization of hatred, or the "I can leave it on the field" syndrome, as less than Christian even if it were operant. He dismisses the elimination of the specific opponent role in favor of more playful frameworks as "nebulous, even mushy." Playing for a tie is an "incongruity" and an "aberration," besides which "life is too precious a gift to play it to a tie." Internalizing one's competitiveness is "ludicrous. We cannot rationalize or conditionalize our opponent from existence. He or she is there." What is the key to preventing athletic competition from becoming the "us or
them" life that Samuel Beckett described as "a terminal illness?"

To build our attitude toward our opponent on anything less that a heart probed and massaged by the love of Christ is to be the foolish builder of Matthew 7:26. The foundation erodes and we slip to the levels of self-delusion or hatred. (Warner, 1979a:38)

Most people look upon the Biblical injunction "Love your enemies," either as impossibly Utopian or impossibly sentimental.... It may sound odd, but true athletes "love" their enemies. That is, they respect them as other persons striving toward an opposite goal. And they oppose them only within the rules that both obey. (Harris, 1979)

Before concluding our inquiry into Protestant ethics of athletic competition, we must pause to consider a related issue that has proven to be a particularly sticky wicket, the effect of faith on performance. Does becoming a Christian cultivate or corrode athletic performance, if it has any effect at all? As noted earlier, Dirksen (1975) foresaw spiritual disciplines preempting athletic desire, but was assured that "There is no reason to think that an athlete will not be better after receiving Christ into his life" (Dirksen, 1975:53). The director of Athletes in Action is notorious for having said that "Joe Namath is a good quarterback. But if he were a Christian, he'd be a better one" (Are sports good for the soul?, 1971:52). The type of divine intervention into athletic outcomes reported by Collins (1978) has led to the quip that "Jesus, it seems, is coming across as the next best thing to a homecourt advantage" (Deford, 1976:98).

Much of Protestantism refutes the notion that "If I
accept Christ I'm going to be a better athlete," yet acknowledges that such an inference or innuendo is possible from references to self-improvement (Stodsgill, 1975:20). For example, the booklet *The Total Athlete* (1976) discusses overcoming physical barriers such as limited talent, poor conditioning, and surrender to pain, mental barriers such as a self-oriented attitude and fear, and spiritual barriers such as separation from God, but in summation states that "becoming a Christian does not mean you will automatically become a star in athletics."

Prayers for personal excellence or winning performance are one way faith is reputed to affect the Christian athlete. Marbeto's (1967) data indicated that fifty-five percent of coaches and athletes prayed in connection with athletic contests, even before it became fashionable to do so in the 1970's. One athlete testified that "My experience tells me that sincere prayer can be the winning factor" (Marbeto, 1967:88). Prayers for performance contain prudential dilemmas of their own, even for those Protestants who believe "that God can get awfully concerned about the outcome of a ballgame" (Roberts, 1976:109). One is that prayers for victory can be neutralized by Christians on opposing sides praying to win. Another is appearing selfish. As a revolted athlete so raffishly observed, "They always made a point of pointing out that they were really not praying to win. Otherwise God would have been pissed off" (Gent, 1976:111). Again, much of Protestantism
dismisses such prayers as spiritually immature. The effect of faith on athletic performance is limited to a generalized personal well-being that does not presume upon the providence of God.

From this analysis of Protestant ideology concerning the competitive nature of sport, it is evident that Protestantism, while not endorsing the popular “win ethic” per se, provides ample substance and stimulus for athletic competition. The Christian competitor, whether exhilarating in the freedom to compete or maximizing his talents for the glory of God, can be that veritable tiger while loving his brother-opponent. He needs cautions that

blind, unperceptive competition has sometimes midwifed a mindless cruelty, a cold intensity, a calloused seriousness, and a joylessness that is a far country from competition as Jesus manifested it. (Warner, 1979a:39)

And in so doing, he recognizes competition to be the fountainhead of ethical and moral currents in sport.

D. Personal Ethics and Morals

The social institution of sport is saturated with slogans and aphorisms, and the quaint verse of sportswriter Grantland Rice is one of the classics.

F or when the One Great Scorer comes
To write against you: name,
He marks – not that you won or lost –
But how you played the game.

This juxtaposition of celestial accounting and personal accountability suggests that there is more to sport than the physical exercise, play, and competition discussed thus far;
there is a means or a process that overshadows the ends or the immediate products of sport. This process is the inculcation of personal ethics and morals that the sport experience imparts to the participant. And whereas Protestant attitudes toward competition were a function of the achievement orientation of Protestant ideology concerning sport, attitudes toward personal ethics and morals are a function of the educative orientation. That sport can be an education in personal ethics and morals is one of the cardinal utilitarian values Protestantism rests in sport.

The notion of sport as teacher is as old as Wellington's famous adage that the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton. In the moral realm, this tutelage came to be known as character development, and was the watchword of early North American physical education. Nash, the most eloquent spokesman for character development, claimed that "No phase of education offers so many opportunities for the guiding of conduct as does physical education" (Nash, 1931:499). Williams (1930) advocated education through the physical instead of mere training of the physical.

Despite continued pronouncements from ideologues such as generals, presidents, educators, and of course sport administrators, enthusiasm for the character development value of sport has recently waned perceptively in the cold light scientific analysis (Vanderzwaag, 1972). Following
Snyder's (1972) classification of athletic dressing room slogans, Edwards (1973) assembled what he termed the Dominant American Sports Creed, and in all cases found evidence for its claims to be inconclusive, unsubstantiated, or non-existent. Included in this Creed were character development values such as loyalty, altruism, discipline, fortitude, mental alertness, religiosity, and nationalism. Ogilvie and Tutko (1971) recommended that "if you want to build character, try something else," because as Tutko and Bruns (1976) later stated, "sports don't build character — they build characters." Among the ever fewer cases being made today by academics for the moral character development quality of sport is Loy's (1978) application to sport of Goffman's (1967) five major forms of character related to the management of fateful events. These include courage, gameness, integrity, gallantry, and composure.

Suffice it to say that the debate over character development in sport rages on. Perhaps "neither the proponents nor the critics of athletics are able to offer substantial evidence to prove that athletics is either beneficial or harmful" (Kniker, 1974:20). Happily, the task of this study does not require a conclusion of our own, only the conclusion of Protestant ideology, regardless of its veracity.

Protestant ideology concerning the personal ethics and morals accruing from sport is couched in a philosophical framework that is akin to secular sentiment. Whether one
was borrowed from the other or whether they evolved contemporaneously may well be indeterminable, as traces of such a framework are sprinkled throughout the history of both. What does seem more determinable is that this philosophical framework unfolded from the recognition that sport was a reflection of society, or in Boyle's (1963) words, that sport was a mirror of society. "Thus, American sport, like American society, is authoritarian, bureaucratic, and product-oriented" (Eitzen, 1979:38). From this recognition grew the notion that sport was in effect a miniature replica of society, and hence the philosophical framework of sport as a microcosm (Cosell, 1971:33).

The significance of sport as a microcosm is enhanced by several of its characteristics. The separateness of the play element of sport means that sport is a rather artificial world removed from "real life." The intensification and dramatization of the competitive structure of the sport experience make role playing difficult; the athlete usually exposes his true self. As Tutko and Tosi have observed, sport "brings out characteristic behavior more vividly than does ordinary experience.... it isolates and magnifies your typical reactions" (Tutko and Tosi, 1976:211). As a social institution, sport consists of many of the types of relationships and processes that comprise everyday life. The net effect of these characteristics is that sport as a microcosm becomes a workshop for the development of personal
ethics and morals, or for the development of "character." Frost effectively ties the threads of this philosophical framework together.

One of the most universally held tenets is that sports are a microcosm of life itself and thus serve as a laboratory where a positive value system may be formulated and developed. (Frost and Simş, 1974:5)

It should be noted that sport as microcosm does not assume automatic positive effects on personal ethics and morals. It only assumes that character will be displayed (Freeman, 1977). This is sport as magnifying glass, or Plato's maxim that you can learn more about an individual in an hour of play than in a year of conversation. Whether there will be positive or negative effect varies with the individual and the situation. Sport as microcosm does however assume that personal ethics and morals transfer or generalize from sport to non-sport environs, a question that is also beyond the scope of this study. As Scott cautions,

You have to be careful that we don't generalize too simply about sports related to life.... Life isn't always that simple.... There is more ambiguity to life than sports. (Scott, 1973:8)

The following collection of quotations from Protestants reconstruct and summarize the foregoing discussion, thereby demonstrating that, in terms of personal ethics and morals, Protestant ideology and secular thought do indeed share the philosophical framework of sport as a microcosm.

Sports are a kind of crucible for self-discovery and realization... in the demands of competition lie all the ingredients necessary to test the student in the areas of his emotional values, and physical and character fibre.... The season is
too long and the pressure too demanding to cover or hide weaknesses and flaws. (Chrouser, 1979:34)

You will understand more clearly how to apply God's Word to your non-athletic world as you apply it to your athletic performance. One of the most important benefits of athletics is that it is a microcosm of life. Competitive athletics provide us with a mirror for our real attitudes. (Neal, 1975:vi)

There is nothing like one's play life to make one transparent.... Be prepared to deal with those character flaws that are brought to the surface during the excitement of the contest. Do not dismiss them as part of the game; they are the true you. (Hoffman, 1980a:81)

The final statement uncovers the foremost liability of the microcosm framework for Protestantism. Some Protestants have occasionally licensed intemperate attitudes and behaviors in sport with the rationalization that the separateness or artificiality of sport has excused them from responsibility for it; as if the "other-worldliness" of sport divorces it from personal sanctity.

When we come to the specific personal ethics and morals that Protestant ideology considers attendant to sport, we are confronted with a potpourri of values that virtually defy denomination. Any attempt to catalogue them would be prohibitive; we can at best categorize and characterize. Some Protestants with a teleological perspective, such as Neal (1972), never really come to specifics. Their ethereal treatments of ethics and morality in sport are endemic to the situation ethics more representative of secular, pragmatic belief systems, a prime example of which is Slusher's view that "morality and immorality are not based
on an absolute scale, but are situationally relative" (Slusher, 1967:149). However the vast majority of Protestants point to numerous specific contributions of sport to character development.

These specific values are often presented in the form of summary statements that lose weight in the fragmentation of analysis.

Football in particular was described by [Bishop Manning] as one of the best developers of the qualities of fairness, self-control, teamwork, self-sacrifice, the suppression of self for the good of the whole and the inculcation of a sense of honor. (Willis and Wettan, 1977:196)

Sport contributes to the building of character: self-awareness and self-control, knowledge of one's own limitations, endurance, perseverance in effort, and determination to succeed. (Ruttan, n.d.:34)

Frederick's (1979) compendium of medical facts, human interest stories, humor, witticisms, and varied philosophical insights bears the chapter headings of Motivation, Starting, Training, Discipline, Pain, Excellence, Endurance, and Reward. Wooden's (1972) cumbersome but widely-circulated Pyramid of Success diagrams no less than twenty-five personal qualities, of which industriousness and enthusiasm are the cornerstones, friendship, loyalty, and cooperation are the foundation, and faith and patience meet at the apex.

Some systematic analysis of specific ethics and morals, beyond the recitation of summary statements, is possible. We shall employ Warner's (1979b) benefits of competition as an outline for a synthesis of Protestant perspectives.
1. **Responsibility.** Warner defines responsibility as "commitment to a set of worthwhile priorities that help produce maturity.... Commitment involves such attributes as obedience, a single-mindedness, and discipline." (1979b:55) The discipline concept is the more familiar in sport. "The point here is that the discipline and self-denial learned in sport may well transfer to living the Christian life." (Willoughby, 1972:152). This is to be an internal, "spiritually symbolic ascesis" (Hoffman, 1976) as opposed to an external, authoritarian discipline. "Perhaps only in some of the performing arts is as much discipline practised as in athletics" (Kucharšky, 1975:20).

2. **Self-Control.** "Emotional stability," as Howard (1979) refers to it, is often linked with discipline as the main lessons of St. Paul's athletic metaphor in I Corinthians 9:24-27 (Elias, 1973). Self-control is also listed among the "fruit of the Spirit" (Galatians 5:22-23). Its relevance to sport is in the control of anger and emotional catharsis. Protestantism is cognizant of the uncertainty over whether sport relieves or fosters aggression (Kucharšky, 1975), but insists that anger be controlled, because it is a foothold for the devil (Ephesians 4:27) and must be dealt with in no uncertain terms (Colossians 3:8). Loss of self-control needs to be recognized for what it is, and not privately winked at or artfully encouraged as defining a "real competitor."

3. **Endurance.** Warner suggests that it is at the point of
endurance that sport competition is separated from play and most closely parallels faith. Such endurance is physical, mental determination (Howard, 1979), and a spiritual fascination with the "pain/pleasure principle" that illumines "the scope of one's freedom" (Williams, 1977). It is Bonhoeffer's Cost of Discipleship (1963). It is the "apparent insanity" in which "you just have to be there."

"We also rejoice in our sufferings, because we know that suffering produces perseverance; perseverance, character; and character, hope; and hope does not disappoint us" (Romans 5:3-5a).

4. Winning and Losing. That sport can teach the Protestant much about the dynamics of competition has already been examined in the preceding section.

5. Relationships. Included here is the concept of teamwork (Moomaw, 1975), which transferred to the spiritual realm is faithfulness to the corporate "Body of Christ" (Howard, 1979). But Warner is his own best spokesman.

Competitive relationships, while incomplete in and of themselves, can be an escalator carrying us to the highest level of lasting relationship, the brotherhood of faith.... When teammates find something worth putting themselves on the line for, rather than merely against, then they have established the deeper relationships of the sport/faith context.... Sport competition can bring the participant further toward Christ's commandment to love one another. (Warner, 1979b:97,100,102)

6. Healing Power. A somewhat esoteric ethic, the healing power of sport lies in its contribution to self-identity and self-worth, and in the "purely spiritual experiences
discovered at unintended and 'unexpected moments' that convey the athlete beyond himself. It is the personal security of not having to prove oneself to others. "If the Son sets you free, you will be free indeed" (John 8:36).

Not all the potential personal fruits of sport are appetizing to Protestant ethical tastes. Some find it incomprehensible that there should be any. "All the evidence indicates that sports do not develop Christian morals. In fact, they tend to undermine them" (Edwards, 1971:52). Certainly the symptoms of a winning craze (Tutko and Bruns, 1976) do not read like a list of biblical virtues: drug abuse, the glorification of violence, playing in pain, scandals and cheating, neurotic work habits, neurotic behavior, egocentrism and greed, disloyalty, inability to handle defeat, and immature behavior. What does Protestantism make of this side of the coin? Warner (1979b) balances his compilation of the benefits of sport with a similar compilation of the dangers of sport.

1. Pride. Pride is the first of the seven cardinal sins; the core malignancy from which other vices grow. "Everyone who exalts himself will be humbled, and he who humbles himself will be exalted" (Luke 14:11). Sport compounds the problem of pride because "pride in yourself" is often regarded as part of what it takes to be a "competitor," because sport is performed in high profile or spotlighted situations, and because both sport and pride are by nature competitive. Warner's antidotes for athletic pride are to
balance one's life by pursuing non-sport interests, and to take oneself less seriously, the latter being in response to Deford's (1976) accusation that Protestant athletes tend to be "humorless and persevering."

2. **Lifelong Adolescence.** While it may be possible for sport to make men out of boys, preoccupation with sport and play can also make boys out of men. "When I was a child, I talked like a child, I thought like a child, I reasoned like a child. When I became a man, I put childish ways behind me" (I Corinthians 13:11). "To avoid a lifelong adolescence, the athlete must face up to what he is involved in, face up to whom he is involved with, and face up to himself" (Warner, 1979b:138).

3. **Hero Worship and Idolatry.** Hero worship in sport has proven to be a "tricky balance beam" (Stogsdill, 1978) for Protestantism. On one hand Protestantism has harnessed hero worship for use as an evangelistic tool, and on the other hand has acknowledged its proclivity to retard spiritual maturation (Michaelson, 1978). The sport/faith organizations in particular have struggled with the confusion of message and messenger, person and position, ministry and manipulation (Bickel, 1978). The search is for models, not idols, the difference being those who let the "light" shine through them and those who let the "light" shine on them. Christians are to keep from 'idols' (I John 5:21), as idolaters will not inherit the Kingdom of God (I Corinthians 6:9).
4. *Greed and Exploitation.* Greed in sport need hardly be documented or defined, and it is Warner's impression that Christians are as guilty as their less pious colleagues. Jesus' parable of the rich fool (Luke 12:16-21) stands in judgement of such anti-God (Luke 16:13) devotion. McKenna (1975) has predicted that all professional sports will resort to betting in order to pay their costs and hold spectator interest. Exploitation is the corollary of greed, and occurs in five different areas: exploitation of athletes by coaches, college recruiting, exploitation of the public by pro sports, exploitation of sport by business, and lastly and most significantly, the exploitation of athletes by the sport/faith community.

5. *Violence and Militarism.* Morris (1976) has spurned sociological and psychological explanations of violence in sport and attributed it to the doctrine of original sin. Beausay's (1978) definition of violence as being anything that detracts from a sense of well-being and respect for others encompasses both physical and psychological violence. McKenna (1975) expects this violence to increase in sport as dehumanization continues. Yet the Lord hates those who love violence (Psalm 11:5) and taught his followers to turn the other cheek (Matthew 5:39). Therefore Warner denounces the unwitting coconspiracy of the church with a number of other self-righteous forces in "this distasteful competition/militarism/patriotism blend that breeds the tumor of violence," and in an authoritarianism that condones
man's inhumanity to man in the name of sport.

The foregoing sampling of personal ethics and morals confirms our previous observation that Protestant ideology concerning sport is not significantly different from secular humanistic conscience on this matter. If anything, Warner's dangers of athletic competition are those to which Protestants are most susceptible, not unique. It is true that the basis of Biblical authority is unique to the Protestant, but he too views sport as a microcosm and ethical laboratory subject to discovery or disaster, and for the most part agrees with humanistic scruples as to which sport attitudes and behaviors are laudable or lamentable.

E. Summary

Grappling with the values, ethics and morals of Protestant ideology concerning sport seems more a question of survival than conquest. One can only hope to account for selected categorical inclinations, not every conceivable impulse. The issues are simply too numerous, the history too rich, and the stances too manifold for comprehensive analysis in, only a synthesis of Protestant ideology. Perhaps the complexity and contention pervading the values, ethics and morals of sport simply underscore their gravity. The visissitudes of the task notwithstanding, most Protestants still begin with the ethical questions of sport, not the physical or playful, in seeking to reconcile sport with their faith.

In so doing Protestantism expresses, perhaps
unwittingly, a strong achievement orientation and acts as a conservative force in sport and society. Sport is valued for its educative utility, albeit not with the highest spiritual priority. Competition is usually promoted, and winning given a spiritual significance. Yet the Christian athlete is to be motivated by love for his God, his coach and opponent. These attitudes are pivotal, because the microcosm of sport functions as a workshop for the development of positive or negative personal ethics and morals.

Examination of Protestant values, ethics and morals concerning sport crowns our analysis of the three cardinal components of Protestant ideology concerning sport. Some would argue that it also swallows the previous two components of body and play, but our differentiation has been governed by the definitional factors and characteristics of sport. We can consummate our comprehension of Protestant ideology by briefly scanning its practical interface with sport.
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CHAPTER VI

THE INTERFACE OF PROTESTANTISM AND SPORT

A. Introduction

Both Protestantism and sport are depicted as social institutions for the purpose of this study, and thus, by definition, as having "distinctive value orientations and interests" (Schneider, 1964:338). Since it is inevitable that social institutions within the same cultural milieu will encounter one another, these values and interests will be projected onto the other. Hence the role of ideology, which reflects, rationalizes and defends the institution's values and interests, and serves as justification for the institution's behavior (Theodorson, 1969). It is therefore difficult to dissociate social institutions from their ideology, yet this study broaches an aspect of Protestant ideology concerning sport not yet investigated, the interface of Protestantism and sport.

The previous three chapters have examined what Protestantism has communicated regarding its perception and assessment of sport. Analysis of the physical, playful and ethical qualities of sport has been guided by Coakley's (1978) factors or characteristics of sport. This has insured coverage of the primary components of Protestant
ideology concerning sport, those which deal with sport for its own sake. But to terminate the inquiry at this point would be to stop short of comprehensive understanding, for ideology is usually more than communicated. It is also implemented.

The interface of Protestantism and sport constitutes not only the points at which Protestantism meets and communicates with sport, but also the points at which Protestantism acts upon sport. There is a practical dimension to the interface of institutions that can tease out strands of ideology that would otherwise remain concealed in official communication. Ideology is often embellished, complemented and confirmed by the actions institutions take.

The actions taken by social institutions also fulfill the function of providing points of contact for those outside the reach of the institution. So it is with Protestantism and sport. Dialogue on ideology concerning the primary components of sport occurs more naturally within Protestantism, leaving non-Protestants to appraise its ideology by its actions toward sport. This perspective cannot be ignored.

Granted, the question of what an institution does versus what an institution says may be a question in its own right. However, the purpose in reviewing the practical relations of Protestant ideology and sport is only to discover those strands which, while not related to the
primary components already scrutinized, still enhance our understanding of that ideology. Furthermore, the limitations of our methodology prevent us from pretending to investigate the practical relationship Protestantism has nurtured with sport with any reasonable degree of depth.

This chapter reviews various modes of the practical interface of Protestantism and sport with a view to rounding out the primary components of Protestant ideology concerning sport.

B. Protestant Involvement in Sport

Much has been reported in the preceding chapters about Protestant involvement in sport that need not be reiterated here. The historical overview of Protestantism and sport revealed the endorsement of sport in the nineteenth century and the accelerated sponsorship of sport throughout the twentieth. The promotion of health via physical activity has been built into physical education programs (Vanderbilt, 1979), and sport has dominated flourishing church recreation programs. Ever since Lueschen (1967) documented the overrepresentation of Protestants in sport, and evangelist Billy Graham remarked that "there are probably more really committed Christians in sports than any other occupation in America" (Are Sports Good for the Soul?, 1971:51), observers have puzzled over and been suspicious of the apparent marriage of religion and sport.

Nor am I appalled at the ludicrous apparition of nuns playing soccer, ministers leading grass drills, and rabbis organizing volleyball leagues.
These seem to me the desperate measures of institutions grasping at gimmicky straws to simulate a relevance in the hopes of salvaging some interest if not souls. (Isaacs, 1978:147)

An understanding of Protestant ideology renders such acrimony inane and trifling, and sets the stage for studied involvement in sport.

Amateur sport in North America has been tied to the educational system, and much Protestant involvement in sport occurs under the auspices of this third social institution. Christian colleges and universities have developed athletic programs that are a viable alternative to those on secular campuses (Taylor, 1980). The first time Christian Life published a Christian College Sports Directory in 1979 it listed seventy-one schools sponsoring intercollegiate programs in nineteen different sports. Sixty-two schools had women's teams as well. The National Christian College Athletic Association (NCSAA) presides over nearly one hundred schools and expects to grow to three hundred shortly. The frontrunner in this stampede is Oral Roberts University, which has already been competing in "big time" college athletics for a decade (Kucharsky, 1975).

By far the most visible involvement of Protestantism in sport is the proliferation of sport/faith organizations dedicated to bringing Christianity to sport, or what Deford (1976) so pithily termed "Sportianity." These organizations range from eccentric, backwoods karate camps run by charismatic visionaries (Gutkind, 1973), to spiritual resorts for athletes in search of meaning and purpose
(Halberstadt, 1976), to national syndicates involving thousands of sport producers and consumers of every level.

The patriarch of sport/faith organizations of the latter genre is the Fellowship of Christian Athletes. Founded in 1954, its size and influence is now so vast that one coach commented that joining FCA was like "getting a union card," and it has been referred to by its leader as a "para-church" (Deford, 1976). Its many publications, including the bimonthly periodical The Christian Athlete, state the FCA purpose as being "to present to athletes and coaches, and all whom they influence, the challenge and adventure of receiving Jesus Christ as Savior and Lord, serving Him in their relationships and in the fellowship of the church." At the core of FCA activities are high school Huddles, college Fellowships and adult Chapters in which small groups of athletes meet "to talk about their concerns, doubts, fears, feelings, and faith. Around the common bond of sports, teammates share fellowship and their commitment to Jesus Christ. Program emphasis is on Bible study, prayer and discussion." The highlights of the FCA calendar are the approximately thirty National Conferences of "inspiration and perspiration" attended by over ten thousand athletes and coaches. A significant shift in emphasis has occurred over the years, from ministering through the athlete to ministering to the athlete. As an executive put it, "We ought to understand that what the FCA does best is affirm, not evangelize" (Morris, 1976). A most recent emphasis has
been ecumenism and a recommitment to the local church.

While the FCA tends toward egalitarianism, its main counterpart and some would say rival, Athletes in Action (AIA), tends toward elitism. AIA is a branch of the fervent Campus Crusade for Christ, and fields top-notch touring teams in basketball, gymnastics, weightlifting, soccer, volleyball, wrestling, and track and field (Jares, 1977). Their goals are basically twofold: to become the top amateur teams in the world and to use sport as a platform for evangelism. Although AIA has also pursued a ministry to professional athletes, the intent even here is to train them to be better proselytizers.

Other sport/faith organizations include the Pro Athletes Outreach (PAO), a boot camp for athlete/missionaries, which was founded as "an intramural peace-keeping force" (Deford, 1976) between the two previous organizations. Sports Ambassadors is the sports arm of Overseas Crusades whose Venture for Victory teams have played and witnessed in over sixty-four countries around the world since 1952. Sports World Ministries is the personal empire of "Doc" Eshleman who advertizes himself as pro football's first full-time chaplain. Eshleman, along with other prominent sport gurus such as Billy Zeoli and Tom Skinner, have lined up at the locker room door in their promotion of team chapels, a practise which Warner (1979) senses has turned "Let us pray" into "Let us prey."

The involvement of Protestantism in sport may thus be
seen as embracing three broadly defined purposes: the enrichment of Protestant laity already discussed, the use of sport as an evangelistic tool which will be discussed later, and the ministry to a special sport population. The latter two are the domain of the sport/faith organizations, most of which were founded with the intention of using sport as an evangelistic tool, but have since come to direct ever more of their energies to ministering to athletes.

That Protestantism should produce special organizations to minister to athletes and coaches is not anomalous. It has also produced organizations for businessmen and almost every other kind of special interest group. But the hazard of ministry to elite athletes is one of integrity; motives are sometimes suspect. Skeptics such as Boyd (1976) feel Protestantism is "ego-tripping with sport" and "show-bizzing religion." The pitfall of a noxious hero worship can easily engulf ministers with the best of intentions, leaving them looking like what Deford (1976) termed "athletic groupies" or "jock sniffers." Zeoli, one of the most prominent sport ministers, responds to charges that he and those like him are self-serving, seeking the glory of being associated with athletes, by saying that:

some people just can't relate to pros. They aren't able to work in that spontaneous situation — and they're bothered by those who can. (Zeoli, 1977:34)

What special needs or uniqueness of sport gives focus to ministering to its special population? Immaturity and shallowness wrought by a fawning society is one
characteristic that has been identified.

Many pro athletes are very hard to get close to... many of them are prima donnas. Greedy. Selfish. They have been exploited and used and it's just natural for them to accept that kind of adulation and treat people very superficially. (Door Interview: Gary Warner and Skip Stogsdill, 1975:18)

The pros have got so much flash themselves that the only way you're going to impress them is to throw flash at them. (Hildebrand, 1976:96)

A second characteristic of athletes is the stress they live with, an uncertainty that defines their activity and lures the curiosity of the public.

There is a final moment before any competition when an athlete finds himself reaching out for something beyond himself. What a wonderful feeling to reach out and know there is something there. (Enos, 1976:4)

Generally, "the kind of religion that predominates in sport solves personal need. There are no philosophical issues, nothing is "cosmic" (Cutler, 1976:58). The needs of a Protestant minister in sport may meet may vary from simply keeping a personal confidence to finding meaning for life.

The strongest evidence of maturation in Protestant ministry to athletes and coaches has been the move away from pre-game chapels toward a one-on-one discipling outside the sporting arena. Game-day religion for players, much like pre-game prayer, has come to be acknowledged as "shallow and ineffective beyond providing a kind of pablum for Bible-weaned athletes" (Raney, 1977:34). at best, and a "hypocritical farce" (Deford, 1976) at worst. Pre-game arousal leaves athletes emotionally exposed and vulnerable,
reducing most spiritual exercises to the roles of security blankets, talismans and good luck charms. In contrast, discipleship ministries deal with athletes as individuals, and concern the spiritual pilgrimage of their lives as a whole.

The unequivocal implication for Protestant ideology of such involvement in sport, be it through sponsorship or ingresson, is the enthusiasm with which Protestantism endorses sport. Protestantism is not only attitudinally attuned to the components of sport, but is actively aiding the practise of sport, and bringing its message to sportsmen in the process.

C. Protestant Use of Sport

Even the most naive observer of sport will recognize that there is more to Protestantism's interface with sport than involvement in it. If aware of the interface at all, he may well first puzzle over Protestant use of sport, as it is this aspect that profiles Protestant ideology concerning sport to the detached observer.

The irony of preoccupation with Protestant use of sport is that it is rather peripheral to its ideology concerning sport; it has little to do with the perception and assessment of the components of sport. It reveals more about the nature of Protestantism than about the nature of sport. In fact, its only contribution to Protestant ideology concerning sport lies in Protestantism's
recognition of the social significance of sport, whatever its constitution. Were sport of menial status, Protestantism's use of it would be reduced. As it is, Protestant use of sport does relate to its ideology concerning sport, however indirectly and if only by popular demand, and must be understood.

One way in which Protestantism uses sport is for the promotion of its colleges (Boyle, 1970) in the pattern of public universities, another is as a "drawing card" for church activities, but generally Protestant use of sport refers to one practise, that of sport as an evangelistic tool. No aspect of the interface of Protestantism and sport has raised as much anxiety, both within and without Protestantism. As already noted, most of the sport/faith organizations were founded on this principle, and many continue to be ruled by it. Yet the acerbic Protestant journal, The Wittenburg Door, has derisively labelled the movement "Jocks for Jesus," and editorialized that

Call it whatever you want and build as elaborate a rationale around it as you desire – when all of the euphemisms have been dropped it is still naked propaganda. (Patterson, 1975:3)

The mechanics of Protestant use of sport as an evangelistic tool are fairly simple. Athletes simply take advantage of their celebrity to "share" their faith with an adoring public.

God is no respecter of persons, there are no stars for Him, but the fact is that people view athletes as stars, and we can't change that. So we say: let's change the stars, teach them to be right and moral, and then take them to the people. (Zeoli,
If athletes can endorse products, why can't they endorse a way of life? Athletes and coaches, be it right or wrong, have a platform in this country. Athletes have power, a voice. So, simply, how can we best use this for something constructive in the faith life? (Erickson, 1976:69)

[Athletes are] no more important than anyone else in God's eyes. But society has given them a great platform and many athletes are beginning to use it for Christ. (Hannah, 1977:36)

These heroes [are] in a position to influence and assist millions of people, especially youngsters who might never listen to a teacher, pastor, policeman or parent. (Eshleman, 1976:117)

These mechanics are not only simple, but rather venerable, dating back to the Cambridge Seven of England, star cricketers turned evangelical missionaries during the Victorian period (Scott, 1970).

Sport celebrities, of course, are used by any number of social groups to sell or promote a particular entity, be it religion, commercial products, charities, or whatever, as are celebrities of every other ilk. From Protestantism's perspective, it is only natural to use any medium available to communicate the message it believes to be the essence and meaning of life. As St. Paul exemplified, "I have become all things to all men so that by all possible means I might save some" (I Corinthians 9:22).

The problems associated with Protestant use of sport as an evangelistic tool, that have raised the ire of Protestants and non-Protestants alike, are the resultant obsession with winning and the exploitation of both athletes
and sport. In order to retain their platform, athletes must retain their celebrity, and therefore must be successful. The director of AIA is quoted as having said that "infidels will not listen to losers" and that "we need to win to command respect" (Deford, 1976). Former All-Pro turned evangelist Bill Glass observed that "People are more interested in what an effective defensive end has to say than an unsuccessful one" (Roberts, 1976:117). And Dallas quarterback Roger Staubach stated that

when the Cowboys played Miami in the Super Bowl, I had promised that it would be for God's honor and glory, whether we won or lost. Of course the glory was better for God and me since we won, because the victory gave me a greater platform from which to speak. (Roberts, 1976:117-8)

Such sentiment has led some Protestants to query "Who gives these people authority, but the pagan world in which we live?" (Patterson, 1975:4). The power of celebrity evangelism "lies not in its god, but in the degree to which that god has been identified with success and happiness" (Patterson, 1975:4). Hoffman (1976) has succinctly summarized these revised motives for winning.

1. Winning brings popularity and popularity offers new opportunity for evangelism.

2. Winning lends a degree of credibility to the athlete's message.

3. Winning athletic contests takes on significance because of the heavy symbolic value attached to winning in the theological realm.

4. Having identified his efforts with God, the athlete becomes responsible for magnification of the name of the Lord in victory or devaluing His name in defeat.
The second problem of exploitation in Protestant use of sport is more sensitive. The hyper-sensitive would insist that any use of sport is by definition exploitation, and many are offended by it. But the concern from within Protestantism is with the exploitation of individual athletes and by individual gurus seeking to project themselves into the limelight. The case of the three-time All-American Donn Moomaw, currently a pastor, is often cited as an example of the exploitation of athletes.

I was used to build an organization.... I don't think the organizational leader felt, "Let's use Moomaw." But I think the nature of their position at the time and my vulnerability to be liked by Christians led me to fall right into exploitation. The wounds didn't come until years later as I began to look in retrospect at how I was not really appreciated for being me.... I have scars all over from people inviting me, saying, "We want you to come because we know you can get a crowd".... There was a time when I reacted very much against that because I wanted to be known for something else, but I don't do that anymore. (Moomaw, 1975:9,15)

Both the obsession with winning and the exploitation of athletes are tempered by the degree to which Protestant use of sport as an evangelistic tool is pursued via a hard or soft sell. The FCA's motto of "evangelism through fellowship" has caused it to de-emphasize celebrity evangelism as a function of hero worship, and use no-name speakers as readily as stars. Thus the need for success and the accentuating of it, once problematic, is now alleviated. Yet "FCA's theology does not produce enough pelts on the salvation barn door to satisfy the [AIA] zealots" (Warner, 1979:169).
The use of sport by Protestantism remains a fact of the practical interface of Protestantism and sport, that grants Protestant ideology considerable visibility while contributing little to its view of sport for sport's own sake. It is merely the fulfillment of the Biblical mandate to "go and make disciples" (Matthew 28:19) that compels coaches to witness to athletes (Sessons, 1978), and athletes to witness to the public. Manipulation is not intended, as sport becomes a medium in the manner of medicine and education in more traditional missionary endeavors. Were sport as instrumental a social service as medicine and education, the charge of exploitation may not have surfaced at all. Meanwhile, the non-utilitarian nature coupled with the social prestige of sport make its use by Protestantism uncomfortable for many. Any potential resolution to this dilemma would placate its critics, with only secondary impact on Protestant ideology concerning sport.

D. Protestant Influence on Sport

As a final approach to comprehending Protestant ideology concerning sport by examining the the practical interface of Protestantism and sport, we may look to what influence Protestantism may have had on sport. The nature and the method of influence Protestantism exerts on sport is again a practical manifestation of its ideology not necessarily evident in its communication, yet one that amplifies the focus of this study. Influence is an evaluation of effect, not merit, and is thus within the
sociological task.

Protestant influence on sport is largely channeled through the third component of its ideology, the ethics of sport. Certainly no attempt has been made to influence the physical nature of sport. Only recently, and in limited fashion, has Protestantism promoted the play nature of sport. When Protestantism seeks to be the salt and light of the world of sport, it is the values, ethics and morals of sport that are usually the intended beneficiaries (Bickel, 1978).

Here lie tasks and opportunities for theology - a chance to help in the formulation of a sports ideology in such a way that the truth content of the Christian presentation of reality may be socially fruitful. (Schloz, 1972:97)

But the extent of Protestant influence on the ethics of sport has been minimal by secular consensus and dubious by its own admission.

The sad fact of the matter is that there is nothing to distinguish authentic Christian sport from sport played under the banner of the contemporary ethic. Christian sport today is merely sport played by Christians, and from where I've been standing it doesn't look a whole lot different, in its goals and its structure, from sport played by non-Christians. (Hoffman, 1988:79)

As a conservative social institution, it is predictable that Protestantism be reproached for a lack of social activism, and not without due cause. Coakley (1978) sees Protestantism merely reaffirming traditional values and impeding change. His view, like so many others, is heavily based on Deford's (1976) provocative and immensely
influential series on "Religion in Sport" in *Sports Illustrated*. Although he retracted many statements a year later (*Would You Buy a Used "Sports Illustrated" From This Man?* 1977), Deford led the castigation of Protestant influence on sport, or lack of same.

Sadly, lost in the shuffle, in the competition for dotted-line converts, is sport itself. In the process of dozens of interviews with people in Sportianity, not one even remotely suggested any direct effort was being considered to improve the morality of athletics.... No one in the movement speaks out against the cheating in sport, against dirty play; no one attacks the evils of recruiting, racism or any of the many other well-known excesses and abuses.... Sportianity does not question the casual brutality that sends players to the hospital every year. It does not censure the intemperate behavior of coaches like Woody Hayes and Bobby Knight. (Deford, 1976:99, 100, 698)

This mindset which avoids taking a stand on moral issues was dramatized in 1971 when *The Christian Athlete* ran a cover story juxtaposing sport and war, touching off the largest reader response in the history of the magazine. Although the vast majority of the letters were positive, the FCA board slapped the hands of the editorial staff, and through inflexibility and harassment, eventually secured the resignation of the editor in 1978. When *The Wittenburg Door* asked these editors whether they saw their role as trying to change athletics, their reply was:

[We] would see that. The FCA board and officers would not see that. ... Stick with the positive, don't deal with the evils in athletics.... the board would rather have us not stir the waters. Just print the good story about the good ole' boy who does good things. (Door Interview: Gary Warner and Skip Stogsdill, 1975:19)
Not only did Deford accuse the sport/faith organizations of apathy regarding moral/social issues, he submitted that

sport has had a greater impact upon religion than the other way around... the religious people who work that side of the street seem to have been colored by some of the worst attitudes formed in sport. The temper of athletic religion is competitive, full of coaches and cheerleaders, with an ever-riding sense of wins and losses, stars and recruiting, game plans and dugout chatter. (Deford, 1976:59).

What Deford styled as "worshipping sport as much as they do Jesus" is exemplified in the recently published twenty-five year history of the FCA. The caption under one of the photographs reads "Golf great Nancy Lopez has served tirelessly on the Board of Trustees of the FCA," but a published erratum is inserted which reads, "Golf great Nancy Lopez has occasionally participated in FCA events" (Dunn, 1980). Deford concludes that

As long as it can work the territory, Sportianity seems prepared to accept athletics as it is, more devoted to exploiting sport than serving it. (Deford, 1976:100)

As a final exhortation, Deford quotes Malcolm Boyd: "Remember that religion can gain the whole world and lose its own soul, just like a person."

Possibly the classic historical example of instances where Protestantism has engaged in social activism and attempted to influence sport is its well documented struggle to ban sport on Sundays (Jable, 1976; Schrod, 1977). In this case, according to Deford, "the churches have ceded Sunday to sports.... Sports owns Sunday now, and religion
is content to lease a few minutes before the big games" (Deford, 1976:92, 102). For the most part, the activism is a quieter, more subtle influence, such as the attempts by Christian colleges to provide model athletic programs.

Athletic participation becomes more meaningful when there is no compromise in the integrity of admission policies, financial aid, or academic requirements simply to produce winning teams.... the sporting world hunger for models of inter-collegiate sports that are based on sound Christian principles, not merely showmanship, public relations, and the almighty dollar. (Baptista, 1979:42,60)

Toward that end, the National Christian College Athletic Association's creed states:

1. That athletics are a means to an end, not an end in themselves.
2. That the process is as important as the performance.
3. That the person (athlete) is more important than the program.

Protestants have also spoken out on many of what have become motherhood issues in the humanistic drive to improve sports. Some of these have been cited in the previous chapters. Some, such as Stogsdill's "Godsport" (1976), appear in the form of comprehensive manifestos directed at Christians.

One popular issue is the promotion of increased participation and decreased spectatorship in sport (Open Season, 1973). "Christian colleges need to lead the way toward a more mature appreciation of athletics and a more balanced participation" (Kucharisky, 1975:20). According to Ruttan (n.d.), current elitism leaves the stereotypical
values associated with sport more image than reality, resulting in

a sports world using the values associated with sport, instead of serving them and under the cover of values still commonly accepted, pursuing less disinterested objectives. (Ruttan, n.d.: 36)

Warner (1979) cautions that zealous spectating can create a false sense of community and tend toward loss of self-control. Youth sport is another popular issue, and here Protestantism has often espoused the views of acknowledged authority Rainer Martens (1976, 1978) (Sessions, 1978). In 1976 The Christian Athlete devoted two full issues to calling for moderation in youth league sports. Protestantism has also championed the cause of women in sport (Harding, 1979).

Weighed by its social activism, Protestant influence on sport is clearly wanting. Even when it has felt the compulsion and summoned the courage to address issues in sport, its contribution has been indistinct, meshing with popular humanistic cries for reform. However, from the prevailing Protestant perspective, such an appraisal misses the point, for social activism is not the sole or even favored avenue of influence. As previously noted, prevailing Protestant ideology concerning sport is more representative of the conservative, evangelical element. The upshot is that Protestantism is more absorbed with people than with social institutions. Therefore, instead of influencing sport directly, it seeks to influence the people in sport. As Deford put it, "Sportians are out to save
sport by saving athletes" (Deford, 1976:98).

In dealing with athletic morality, [Protestants] believe the most important thing is the individual faith awakening of the athlete and coach.... [Protestantism] would believe that, it does put something into sports. It puts Jesus in the individual's life and this individual is better, and this, in turn makes sports moral and better. (Would You Buy a Used "Sports Illustrated" From This Man? 1977:22-3)

There are numerous exemplifications of Protestant ministry to sportsmen, and thereby to sport, that are quite unlike the ministry to elite athletes already discussed. Reviewing literature, one finds publications such as Inspiring Sports Stories (Ward, 1977) and Free Agents (Talentino, 1980) that represent a genre of anecdotal and biographical case collections designed to stimulate a commitment to Christ and model a positive athletic morality. Winning Words: Devotions for Athletes (French, 1977) builds Scriptural lessons around sundry terms found both in the Bible and in sport.

The foible in this approach to influencing sport, by Protestantism's own concession, is that too many Christian athletes and coaches have not applied principles of their faith to their athletic ethics and morals. To remedy this failing, Protestantism has spawned its own athletic think-tank, The Institute of Athletic Perfection, the purpose of which is "to research, develop and distribute materials that relate biblical principles to athletic performance" (Neal, 1975). For example, coaches are instructed how to recruit, motivate, counsel, rebuke and cut
athletes, handle ego conflicts, and maximize assistants (Neal, 1976). The Christian Athlete now devotes each issue to a single topic of the sport/faith interface, recent examples being anger, awards, hero worship, peer pressure, and gratitude. Warner's Competition (1979) remains the single most impressive articulation of Christian conscience and conduct in sport.

What effect Protestantism has had on sport is obviously difficult to detect let alone summarize, but it is clear that one cannot look to its social actions alone, for to do so is to misunderstand its ideology. When Deford (1976) succumbed to just such a tendency in what he confessed to be a sensationalized series, Protestants reacted by describing his effort as "spurious, vindictive, petty, and sophmoric" (Would You Buy a Used 'Sports Illustrated' From This Man? 1977:19). Yet he has become the accepted authority on the interface of Protestantism and sport for standard textbooks such as Coakley (1978) and Eitzen and Sage (1978). What is never heard is his final verdict on the matter.

Religion is a force for good. When you really get down to the bottom line and everything is included, it is good. I came away feeling that in all of Sportianity there are abuses and excesses. But with so many good people devoted to the movement the final product will be good and it will be beneficial and there will be gains from it. (Would You Buy a Used 'Sports Illustrated' From This Man? 1977:26)

E. Summary

It is said that actions speak louder than words, and the practical interface of Protestantism with sport has
often deafened the primary components of Protestant ideology concerning sport. Not that what Protestantism has done has contradicted what it has said about the physical, playful and ethical nature of sport. Rather, the practical relationship between the two social institutions reveals a different aspect of Protestant ideology that while more peripheral, is nevertheless more immediate and visible, and thus an important part of the totality.

Despite our methodological limitations, it can be seen that Protestantism is heavily involved in sport through college athletics and special sport organizations. These organizations minister to the special sport population, but more importantly use sport as an evangelistic tool. In so doing, they wrestle with tendencies to overemphasize winning and to exploit athletes. And while it is difficult to attribute any influence to Protestant social activism, Protestantism seeks to contribute to sport by regenerating the individual.

Thus, the practical complements the theoretical, and completes the task of this study. The opening chapter called for a comprehensive, qualitative, theoretical analysis that would set in order a plethora of ambiguous impressions and confusing evidences regarding prevailing Protestant ideology concerning sport. We have, at least, responded.
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CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

The theoretical analysis of prevailing Protestant ideology concerning sport, as ascertained by a qualitative content analysis of North American sport/faith literature, leads to the following conclusions.

1. Protestant ideology concerning sport has not been adequately addressed by the sociology of religion and sport; it consists of much more than functional commonalities between the two social institutions and athletic metaphors in religious jargon.

2. Protestant ideology concerning sport appears to have been unjustly maligned throughout history. The church has been portrayed as unconditionally hostile toward sport when in fact, while doing little to promote sport, they did not consider it inherently evil. Thus, the promotion of sport in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries is not the outright reversal usually depicted.

3. Protestant perspectives of sport are representative of those it holds toward any component of culture; running
the gamut of seeing Christianity as in opposition to sport, as above sport, as in tension with sport, as the transformer of sport, and as in agreement with sport. Naturalism in the form of humanism and scientism is its major competing world view.

4. The primary components of Protestant ideology concerning sport are determined by the primary characteristics or factors of sport: sport is physical, playful and competitive. These components relate to major themes within Protestantism such as the theology of the body, the theology of leisure, and ethics.

5. The primary components of Protestant ideology concerning sport evidence their own distinguishing features. The physical nature of sport is the most conspicuous, and preoccupied Christianity from the early church to the Reformation. The playful nature of sport is the most profound, and has engaged Protestantism since the Reformation. The ethical nature of sport is the most contentious, and has been vigorously debated throughout church history.

6. The depreciation of the body in dualism and asceticism, as commonly understood, were notions antedating Protestantism. A form of the ascetic lifestyle that does not single out the physical remains a part of Protestant teaching, as exemplified by Puritanism.
7. Contemporary theology promotes physical health and fitness on the basis of Biblical principles and a holistic view of man, thus placing value on physical activity.

8. The dissolution of the Protestant work ethic and the rise of a leisure ethic have opened the door to the valuing of the playfulness of sport. Yet despite Protestant affinity to the qualitative concept of leisure, the theology of play has been poorly integrated with Protestant ideology concerning sport.

9. There is a fundamental tension between the non-utilitarian rationale for play advanced by Protestant apologists and the utilitarian justification for play set forth by Protestant practitioners of church recreation.

10. Protestant ethics and morals, such as the educative orientation of sport as a microcosm, are not qualitatively different than those of secular humanism, except for their divine origin, authority and enablement.

11. The ethic of competition and its corollaries remains the most confused aspect of Protestant ideology concerning the ethics of sport, even while the majority of Protestants compete eagerly and espouse an achievement orientation.
12. The practical interface of Protestantism and sport confirms the endorsement of sport by Protestantism and is the most visible aspect of Protestant ideology. Its contribution to ideology, however, is secondary or peripheral, as it does not speak to sport for sport's own sake.

13. Protestants, and especially the sport/faith organizations, minister to the special sport population and use sport as an evangelistic tool. Meanwhile, Protestant influence on sport is negligible, other than its influence on individuals in sport.

The following implications are drawn from the foregoing conclusions regarding this inquiry into prevailing Protestant ideology concerning sport.

1. Protestant perceptions of and attitudes toward sport have, throughout history as well as currently, been too easily over-simplified and presumed negative. More careful study is needed before observers can speak with adequate authority on the issue.

2. Until Protestantism can muster a consensus on its approach to culture in general, inconsistencies and contradictions within its ideology concerning the sport ethos will linger.

3. Both secular analysts and Protestants themselves need to explore the deeper meanings of the Protestant
interface with sport; sport must be rationalized and justified for its own sake. The role of sport in the personal experience of the individual participant must become the core of Protestant ideology concerning sport.

4. The Christian heritage of North American sport has imbued sport with an ideology of its own that is not unlike prevailing Protestant ideology. When searching for distinctives within the Protestant view, observers should focus more on the authoritative basis for the stances taken than on the nature of the stances themselves, although even the content differentiation may increase as secular sport grows further away from its ideological heritage.

5. With the physical component of Protestant ideology more or less agreed upon, and the ethical component, especially the ethics of competition, in disarray, the component with the greatest potential for immediate and significant development is that of play. This, of course, is hinted at by characterizing play as the most recent and profound component of Protestant ideology. The playful nature of sport offers the brightest hope for a more thoroughgoing integration of sport with Protestant ideology; if, for example, it is modelled after the integration of performing arts such as music.

6. Observers who are bewildered and somewhat offended by
Protestant involvement in, use of, and influence on sport need to come to a fuller understanding of the nature of religion. To recoil at the interface of Protestantism and sport is to betray an ignorance of Protestantism's interface with other social institutions, and a tendency to exalt sport to the plane of the sacred.
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