AN INTERPRETATION OF CHANGE IN THE
INTERNAL DYNAMICS OF A SPORT
SYSTEM IN THE UNITED STATES FROM
1850 TO 1900

A Thesis
Presented to
the Graduate Faculty
California State College, Hayward

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Science in Physical Education

by
Martha Marie Seban
November 1971
AN INTERPRETATION OF CHANGE IN THE INTERNAL DYNAMICS OF A SPORT SYSTEM IN THE UNITED STATES FROM 1850 TO 1900

by

Martha Marie Seban

Approved: Date:

Date:

Committee in Charge
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude and appreciation to my thesis committee, Dr. Marie Hart, Dr. Donald Hudson, and Dr. Nadia Youssef, for their guidance and assistance throughout the preparation of this thesis.

Special appreciation is extended to my family for their constant encouragement, and in particular to my sister, Mrs. Ralph Anthenien, for the many hours she devoted to the typing of this thesis.
TABLE OF CONTENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>INTRODUCTION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>STATEMENT OF PURPOSE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>STATEMENT OF HYPOTHESIS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DEFINITION OF TERMS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>METHODOLOGY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>COLLECTION OF DATA</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>ANALYSIS OF DATA FROM THE LITERATURE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>SPORT - A SOCIAL SYSTEM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>CONCEPT OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>THE SPORT SYSTEM 1850 TO 1900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>THE CONCEPT OF STRUCTURAL DIFFERENTIATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>STRUCTURAL DIFFERENTIATION OF BASEBALL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>A PERIOD OF ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT 1850 TO 1858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>BASEBALL - AN ORGANIZED SYSTEM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter</td>
<td>Page</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FROM AMATEUR TO PROFESSIONAL</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STATUS 1858 TO 1900</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE PROCESS OF CHANGE</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>RESULTS OF DIFFERENTIATION</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REFERENCES</td>
<td>71</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
LIST OF CHARTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chart</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>The Social System in the General Action System</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Sport System in the General Action System</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Differentiation of Baseball</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The development of sport in the United States may be cited as an example of social change that occurred during the latter part of the nineteenth century. Sport remained virtually unorganized until the late 1800's. The Amateur Athletic Association was not organized until 1888. College and university sport programs were extremely limited until the 1870's. The University of Virginia was the first college to have a gymnasium. And it was not until 1896 that Baron Pierre de Coubertin of France brought about the revival of the Olympic Games (28:222, 13:182, 21:98). In addition to these evidences of increased interest in sport, there was a change in attitude manifested toward sport. Dulles points out the decline of informal sport activities associated with country festivals as a consequence of urbanization. To counteract this loss, interest was directed toward organized athletic clubs, gymnastic events sponsored by clubs such as the German Turnverein, college athletic programs, and spectator sports such as baseball, the turf, and football (13:182). Dulles further suggests that the growing interest in sporting endeavors during the last part of the
nineteenth century was due to a basic societal need for outdoor exercise.

Up until the middle 1880's the general societal attitude toward sport was one that viewed sport as idle, unorganized, and a purely recreational activity. It was not until the late 1850's that a campaign was initiated to breakdown the prejudices held against sporting activity as an idle diversion, and to encourage active participation in both indoor and outdoor games (13:183). Within a period of approximately fifty years sport advanced from the status of a leisure activity to a socially accepted, complex institution.

This rapid development of sport during the last fifty years of the nineteenth century has been studied, researched, and accounted for by historians, sociologists, and physical educators. Each respective discipline undoubtedly has had its individual interests and purposes in accounting for the growth and development of sport in American society. A general contention most often held by these disciplines is that industrialization and urbanization provided the major impetus to the change and development of sport. Other influences provided by social institutions, such as religion, education, politics, and the family have also been underlined as having had an important impact upon the development of sport. At the
same time, it would be difficult to deny that the innovation, both material and ideological, that was engulfing the American society at the end of the Civil War did not have an impact on the development of all social institutions.

Although descriptive studies have provided valuable information and insight into the growth and development of sport, it appears that emphasis has been, until recently, primarily toward identifying the factors that caused or contributed to this rapid development (5, 7, 13, 18, 21, 28). Focus towards analysis and explanation of the manner in which this change and development occurred has been negligible. In attempting to provide such an analysis and subsequent explanation, this study is concerned with the process of change that occurred in the internal dynamics of sport by treating sport as a subsystem of society and examining the internal structure of that unit. Inquiry into the process of change that occurred in sport may assist in not only a more thorough understanding of the process of social change, but also of the development of sport during the last part of the nineteenth century.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

It is the purpose of this study to define sport as an entity in itself and to conduct an inquiry into the
changes that occurred within this unit. In order to deal with sport as a specific social unit, an analogy will be made between sport as it existed during the period 1850 to 1900 and what Talcott Parsons has defined as a "social system". Once it can be established that sport may be evaluated in terms of a social system, it becomes feasible to focus on changes within that system.

Within this framework, this study will endeavor to provide an explanation for the changes that have taken place in the sport system. The theoretical framework that will be used to analyze change will be the structural differentiation model. The basic contention of this model is that there is a breakdown in the structure of the social system. The term breakdown does not necessarily imply a malfunctioning of the system but rather a process of the multiplication of one structural unit of the social system into two or more distinct units which then function for greater specialization and organization within the system (43:2).

STATEMENT OF HYPOTHESIS

The development of professional baseball will be utilized to illustrate the applicability of the differentiation process in explaining change within the sport system. Although the time period researched is defined
as the span between 1850 and 1900, the process of structural differentiation as it has occurred in baseball is considered as beginning in 1858. Prior to that date, baseball cannot be considered as a system since there was no unifying association until that time. The period 1850 to 1858 is considered as a period of growth and organizational development leading to the crystalization of baseball as a system.

The problem to be researched may be expressed hypothetically in terms of the following statement:

The structural and functional changes that occurred in baseball organization in the United States between 1850 and 1900 and which led to the development of professional baseball may be analyzed by application of the structural differentiation model as outlined by Neil J. Smelser, in his works Social Change and the Industrial Revolution and Economy and Society.

RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

In accounting for change and development that occurred in sport, no one single factor may be isolated as "the" cause. Authors such as Betts (5), Dulles (13),
Krout (21), and Ulrich (49) have singled out the industrial revolution and increasing technology as reasons for what has been commonly referred to as the rise of sport. These two specific factors undoubtedly did contribute to the process of change and development. However, to isolate industrialization and technology as the causes for change is to depart from the total picture of change within the social institutions. A causal-effect approach external to sport does not provide sufficient explanation for satisfying inquiry into the internal development of sport.

Given that descriptive studies in this area have documented sources of change external to the sport system, the objective of this study is to analyze the changes and developments that have occurred in the sport system from an internal point of view. Examining the internal dynamics of change from within the sport system may provide an explanation for the fact that sport did in fact proceed to change and develop at the rapid pace that has been indicated in earlier accounts of the rise of sport.

Talcott Parsons' concept of the social system was chosen by the researcher as a conceptual framework within which the internal structure of sport could be studied and analyzed. Sociologist Neil J. Smelser (42) applied Parsons' theory to his study of the process of
social change that occurred in England during the Industrial Revolution. More recently Gunther Luschen (25) outlined sport as a social system in a theoretical presentation of the sport system. The latter study gives credence to the contention that Parsons' theory is applicable to research that concerns itself not only with change and development of social systems in general but also with the theoretical analysis of sport as a specific, concrete unit in society.

LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study is limited to the development of professional baseball in the United States between 1850 and 1900. The time period was established on the basis that significant change, both historical and social, took place during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Historians Sellers and May (41) point out that with the Compromise of 1850 the American people again turned their energies to the march of enterprise. The fifties were a decade of unprecedented economic growth and prosperity, the climax of the market revolution and the beginning of the industrial revolution (41:177).

In addition, not until the 1850's did the United States witness the beginning of urbanization and the confirmation of the age of technology (28:33, 54:412). Also Betts maintains that it was only in the 1850's "that sport was transformed, to any significant degree, in the direction
of organization" (5:56). More specific to the content of this study, is the evidence of popular interest in sports shown a decade prior to the Civil War, despite the fact that the major impetus for sports development did not emerge until after the war (13:183).

The period covered in this study does not extend beyond 1900 on the basis that from the beginning of the twentieth century onwards the United States experienced a decrease in technological productivity and urbanization. Sellers and May point out that by 1900 the American people no longer found it necessary to concentrate "all resources and efforts on the expansion of productive capacity" (41:282). Production and urbanization continued to increase but not at the rapid pace of the 1800's (41:283).

In addition to the limitation in the time period to be covered, this study will concentrate specifically on the development of professional baseball as one unit within the sport system only to exemplify the change in the structure of the sport system. For the purpose and nature of this study it would not be feasible to attempt to analyze the changes and developments of all aspects of the sport system.

**DEFINITION OF TERMS**

In order to provide consistency throughout this
study, the following terms will be used in reference to their respective definitions.

**Industrialization**

In the United States, the movement or reallocation of man power from agriculture to industrial occupations generally characterized by such phenomena as rural to urban migration, occupational specialization, change in family role patterns, and immigration.

**Normative Order**

According to Parsons, the concrete description of behavior that is deemed desirable by the actors within a system combined with sanctions that require that all actions conform to the defined behavior.

**Role**

The expected set of behavior patterns within a social system.

**Society**

An aggregate of interrelated social systems, specifically those systems of the United States from 1850 to 1900.

**Social Change**

The result of breakdown or imbalance in the functioning of any unit within the social system.
Social System

According to Parsons, the fundamental unit of society composed of the interrelationships (structures) of expected sets of behavioral patterns (roles).

Sport

An institutionalized game composed of organizational hierarchy, governed by a normative order which defines behavior within the specific sporting endeavor.

Sport System

A social system in which the interrelationship of individual behavioral patterns are governed by a normative order thus regulating all aspects of sport and also the interaction of the sport system with other social systems.

Structure

A pattern of interrelationships between roles.

Structural Differentiation

According to Parsons, a model of change that holds that due to a certain sequence of events, a unit within the social system becomes divided and no longer functions to attain its original goal but separates into two or more distinct units which each function to attain that same goal, each in a more organized and specialized manner.
Values

As seen by Parsons, a general standard or ideal element which functions to structure the individual's orientation to situations in a system of action.
CHAPTER II

METHODOLOGY

The procedures adopted in this study entailed three steps. First, a structural and functional analysis of sport as a social system; second, collection of data on the change and development of professional baseball; and third, an explanation for these developments based on the structural differentiation model of social change.

The structural analysis of sport consisted of establishing an analogy between Parsons' concept of the social system and sport. Parsons conceives of the social system as a subsystem within a more general action system. A diagram was constructed of the social system within the general action system. A second diagram was constructed to illustrate application of sport to the social system. (See Chapter III.) Specific analogy is made to professional baseball since this one sport activity was designated to exemplify a process of change within the sport system.

COLLECTION OF DATA

The data collected was selected in the sense of being directed toward obtaining evidence of the develop-
ment of professional baseball. Material was obtained from periodicals, autobiographies and other books concerning the history and development of professional baseball which were readily available to the researcher. Concern was not placed on obtaining data at specific intervals of time over the fifty year period of this study. Should an interval schedule have been established it is conceivable that pertinent material would have been omitted. It is possible that all changes and developments that occurred were not recorded; however, the amount of material researched was within the limits of the nature of this study and human capabilities. The noted changes recorded supplied a sizeable quantity of data regarding the specialization of baseball that was necessary to provide an analysis of change, according to the structural differentiation model.

Indications of changes and development in professional baseball were extracted from the readings and recorded if evidence of any of the following criteria was noted:

1. Growth and development by expansion of geographic limits which indicated increased interest in baseball;
2. establishment of organizational hierarchies such as baseball associations, clubs, and leagues;
3. stated purposes and goals that the roles function to meet such as perpetuation of the game as recreation, enjoyment and entertainment of the public;

4. specialization of these roles such as the amateur role, the professional role, the manager's role, and the player's role.

The first criterion provides an indication of initial growth of baseball. The latter criteria were established by the researcher since they are conditions that must be present not only for the existence of a system but also for the specialization of a system (43:6).

ANALYSIS OF DATA FROM THE LITERATURE

Evidence of changes experienced within the sport system according to the four above-mentioned criteria were recorded in note-form on index cards. A collection sheet was drawn up for systematic recording of the data and for categorizing the changes in the structure of the system in which the change occurred. The four structural components of the social system - values, norms, collectivities, and roles - were listed horizontally indicating four areas where changes could take place. The noted changes were listed chronologically under the structural category in which that particular change did in fact occur.
This method of classifying changes and developments provided a clear picture of where changes occurred in the structure of the sport system. From this point in the study it became possible to discuss the changes by application of the structural differentiation model.

Structural differentiation provides that there is a breakdown in the structure of the system which proceeds in a definite sequence and results in a greater specialization of roles when the original roles have become obsolete. Neil J. Smelser (43) has broken down the sequence of social phenomena into the following seven steps (43:15-16).

1. The process of change begins with dissatisfaction of the goal achievements of the social system and an awareness that the system has the potential facilities to change.

2. Symptoms of disturbance, manifested by adverse emotional reaction, appear on the part of various members of the population.

3. A means of handling and controlling these tensions occurs and a movement toward realizing the implications of the existing value system takes place.

4. The "new ideas" are now encouraged but the responsibility for their implementation is not placed on any specific population.

5. Commitments are made toward positive attempts to attain a specification of the new ideas.

6. The innovations are carried out by persons or collectivities which are either rewarded or punished depending on how the innovations are evaluated in terms of the existing value system.
7. Should the implementation of Step 6 be received favorably, the new ideas are gradually routinized into customary patterns of performance.

Smelser's seven step process of structural differentiation was utilized to explain the changes noted in baseball organization, and to provide a mechanism for illustrating the process of change that led to the development of professional baseball.
CHAPTER III

SPORT - A SOCIAL SYSTEM

In order to analyze developments that occurred in sport, sport must be defined as a unit which allows for study within the boundaries of that unit. For this reason it is suggested that Parsons' definition of the social system, as it functions within his concept of the general action system, be applied to sport. For the purpose of clarity the social system as a theoretical concept will first be discussed, after which attention will be focused on the sport system.

CONCEPT OF THE SOCIAL SYSTEM

The basis of Parsons' concept of the social system is found in his general action theory. The theory holds that an aggregate of action systems govern the actions of individuals which are initially stimulated from roles (33:4-5). The social system is but one of the four possible types of action which are constantly interacting with each other. The others include the cultural system, the personality system, and the behavioral organism system (33:4). Although there is continual interaction among these systems, for purely analytical purposes, one
may consider the social system as independent of the other action systems. For the purpose of analysis in this study, the social system is treated independently of the culture, personality, and behavioral organism systems.

The structure of the social system consists of units or levels which allow for a hierarchy of control. Parsons maintains that "when examining an empirical system such a system may be treated as consisting in units and patterned relations" (30:86). The four structural units identified by Parsons as constituting the social system are values, norms, collectivities, and roles. Values govern and control the actions within the other three units. Norms establish sets of rules which are specific to a given situation in which the actors perform. A plurality of actors within the social system who perform according to the specified rules form a collectivity. The role, which is the minimum unit of that system, is an expected set of behavioral patterns of the individual actor participating in that social system (27:57).

For purposes of clarification it must be pointed out that values and norms are not synonymous. Values, as explained by Parsons, are the highest order component of the social system that define the behavioral orientation and legitimize the activities of that system (30:96). Parsons makes the distinction by explaining that a value
is a normative pattern which "defines desirable behavior for a system in relation to its environment without differentiation in terms of the functions of units or of their particular situations" (30:86). A norm is a pattern defining "desirable behavior for a unit or class of units in respects specific to it, and differentiated from the obligations of other classes" (30:86).

In addition, Parsons maintains the distinction between "units" and "systems" is relative to the point of view established for analytical purposes. For example:

> What is a unit in terms of one point of view may also be treated as a social system from another. We should be clear whether we are referring to the system as such, the system within which it is functioning or the systems of units which constitute it (34:168).

Giving credence to Parsons' contention of the relative nature of systems and units, it must be recognized that for the purposes of this analysis, the social system will be viewed as "a system of units which constitute" the social system, and also a subsystem of the larger society.

The social system has also been conceived of as consisting of structural units comprising patterned reciprocal interactions. This means that the units within the system interact with each other. The minimum relations are patterned interactions of the individual participant with another actor whose role is specific to his particular role within that system (30:85-86). These patterned
relations are said to be "normative", that is, the patterned relations include a set of expectations that dictate to the actor's behavior as to what is appropriate and correct (30:86). From the point of view of other units with which the role unit is interacting, these expectations are a set of standards "according to which positive or negative sanctions can be legitimized" (30:86). Parsons conceives of the patterned relations as systematic interaction among the units of the social system.

In his general action theory, Parsons maintains that each of the four structural units of the social system function to maintain a state of equilibrium which is basic to the survival of the social system as a whole. To maintain a state of equilibrium, the social system must meet the needs of the following four functional imperatives: pattern maintenance, integration, goal attainment, and adaptation. Briefly stated, pattern maintenance requires that the social system be protected from disruptive and disintegrating influences; integration requires that the social units be mutually and continually adjusted to one another in order to provide the most efficient functioning of the system; goal attainment requires that individuals and groups within the system be able to recognize and be motivated towards certain ends which are "perceived as possible gratifications or felt
needs" (27:59-60); and adaptation requires that the social system must utilize all available resources to provide maximum functional efficiency (27:59).

Each one of the four functional units of the social system functions for the purpose of fulfilling these needs. (See Chart I.) For example, it has been noted that pattern maintenance requires that the entire social system be protected from disruptive influences. Values, therefore, function for the purpose of providing controlling patterns, i.e., desirable behavior for the system, which means that they in fact define and legitimize the activities of the system. Norms function to meet the need of integration within the system. Norms provide the rules that dictate patterned behavior for a specific class or group within the system. Moreover, they provide the basis for order under which these classes or groups may function in harmony. Norms are also a basis for providing for any internal adjustments that may be required as a result of change external to the system. The problem of goal attainment is met by the collectivity level. The collectivities or "plurality of actors within the system" function to perceive the ends or goals for which the system is functioning. Moreover, the collectivity must be motivated towards achieving these goals. The most fundamental unit of the system must meet the problem of adaptation. Roles provide
### Chart I

#### The Social System in the General Action System

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>General Action System</th>
<th>Structural Levels of the Social System</th>
<th>Functional Problems of the Social System</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Cultural System</strong></td>
<td>Values</td>
<td>Pattern Maintenance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>General Principles - govern, determine behavior within the system</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Norms</td>
<td>Integration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Applied principles - specific to a given group or class</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Social System</strong></td>
<td>Collectivity</td>
<td>Goal Attainment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intrasocial structure - a given organized population</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Role</td>
<td>Adaptation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boundary structure of tasks performed in a socially defined pattern of behavior</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Personality System</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Learned behavior system; sharing experience with other personalities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Behavioral Organism</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The genetic species type - physical world</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
a means for the system to adapt to its environment and to utilize the resources available to it. The actors performing a specific role, should necessity demand it, must be able to adapt to environmental conditions that will allow for maximum utilization of resources.

When the system is meeting these four functional problems, the system is said to be in equilibrium and consequently functioning with maximum efficiency. However, if there is an imbalance or malfunctioning in any one of the four areas, then disequilibrium occurs (30:83). When such an imbalance occurs, a process of change may emerge in an attempt to restore equilibrium to the system. If no attempt is made to correct the imbalance, according to Parsons, the system will cease functioning (30:83). The problem of imbalance and the resultant process of change will be discussed in detail in Chapters IV and V.

In order to apply the social system concept to sports, it is necessary to establish the four structural levels of the sport system and to account for the functional problems that the system must meet. (See Chart II.)
CHART II

SPORT SYSTEM IN THE GENERAL ACTION SYSTEM (25)

GENERAL ACTION SYSTEM
SUBSYSTEMS OF HUMAN ACTION

CULTURAL SYSTEM
Gives legitimation

to normative order of
sport

SOCIAL SYSTEM
SPORT SYSTEM
Socialization system -
becoming member of
sporting activity -
interaction among members

PERSONALITY SYSTEM
Learned behavior of
participants in sport

BEHAVIORAL ORGANISM
Genetic species type -
Human within physical
world

STRUCTURAL LEVELS
OF THE SPORT SYSTEM

VALUES
General principles of
fair play, enjoyment,
achievement; regulate
attitudes towards
participation

NORMS
Laws, rules governing
and regulating clubs,
associations, leagues -
specific to each group

COLLECTIVITY
Given organized
population - team,
athletic club, spectators,
group of players

ROLE
Boundary structure of
tasks performed by
participant: captain,
player, owner, member

FUNCTIONAL PROBLEMS
(NEEDS) OF THE SPORT SYSTEM

PATTERN MAINTENANCE
Controlling patterns of
system - maintaining values,
attitudes toward sport

INTEGRATION
Internal integration of
sport groups - provides
harmony: agreement of
baseball clubs on league
rules

GOAL ATTAINMENT
Attainment of cultural
goals in relation to sport
environment - i.e., need
for outdoor sport, competition,
livelihood

ADAPTATION
Adjustment to environmental
conditions - situations
resulting from rule changes,
adapting to use of
equipment
THE SPORT SYSTEM
1850 TO 1900

In this section an analogy will be drawn between the social system as described by Parsons and sport in the United States during the period 1850 to 1900. As is true of all social systems, the institution of sport consists of four structural levels with each unit functioning to meet the needs of the system. In the latter 1800's the values of the sport system were generally expressed as those principles of sport representative of the "American ideal", i.e., sportsmanship, fair play, enjoyment of recreational activity (13:185, 21:5). Engaging in sport for physical exercise and the development of a healthy body demonstrated the physical values found in sport (23:59). These values of the sport system functioned to provide the basis for achievement and fair play and sportsmanship. As illustrated in Chart II, they also provided a motivational level which can be considered as a set of commitments to encourage participation in sporting activities. These commitments took the forms of healthful living, exercise, social distinction or rewards granted for a successful performance (13:185). Values of the sport system also functioned to legitimize the actor's participation in sport endeavors, to exercise, to seek achievement and recognition for his performance. Moreover, the values defined the orientation of the system as a
whole and legitimized the activity (12:36).

The normative order of the system, according to Parsons "is always relative to a given system of norms or elements whether ends, rules or other norms" (35:91). That is, certain laws or rules define behavior that "ought" and "ought not" be in everyday interest (35:75). In the case of sport, norms were those stipulations which defined the players' behavior while participating in sporting activities. Norms include a set of expectations as to the player's behavior on a scale of what is appropriate and correct (30:86). He must perform and play according to the rules of the game. The normative order of sport, for example, provided a criterion for winning a contest. Such means for determining the winner in sporting efforts included a series of contests, e.g., the best of five games, the most points scored in a given period of time, the fastest time. Although the normative order provided criteria for winning a sporting endeavor, nevertheless each sporting activity developed its own means for determining the winner. For example, football defined the winner as the team which earned the most points in four quarters of play. Racing defined the winner as the horse that had run a given distance in the fastest time. Although these norms were specific to each sport, still they reflected the normative pattern of the wider
sport system which required that a criteria be established for determining the winner of a contest.

Moreover, the behavior of the player must conform to the rules of the game. Although the rules of each game were specific to the game being played, nevertheless there were certain norms which were generic to all games, and from these general norms certain rules specific to each game ultimately developed. For example, the game of baseball required that the player strike the ball with a bat and run to first base; in football the player must direct the ball either by passing or by running with it toward his team's goal. In racing the jockey rides his horse in a given direction toward the finish line.

Similarly there were sanctions specific to each sport; some were more stringent than others, depending on the nature of the game. If a player demonstrated unsportsmanlike conduct he served a penalty, that is, he must leave the game. If a player committed a foul, either he or his team, or both, acquired a penalty. The norms functioned to define and limit the player's behavior in a game situation. The normative patterns functioned to protect the system from potential conflicts. For example, the player was to help his team to win; the referees were to sanction the rules; the spectators were to observe the game and not to become directly involved in the playing
of the game. In addition, as illustrated in Chart II, the normative patterns function to integrate the sport system. They provide a commonality for winning and playing the game fairly for all sporting endeavors.

Normative patterns cannot be effective unless they are "communicated, reinforced by appropriate sanctions, and supported by appropriate symbols" (12:47). Rules of a game may be sanctioned by players who are willing to play according to them, spectators who are pleased with the manner in which the game is played, and referees who enforce those rules. The extent to which the rules can be enforced is dependent upon the degree of organization within the system. As will be shown in Chapter V, the development of baseball, for example, illustrates the manner in which the increased growth and development of the game led to a highly structured normative order of its own while maintaining the above mentioned norms of the sport system. Moreover, there must be an understanding and acceptance of the normative order by the participants. The appropriate symbols of the normative order of sport included defined areas in which the contest would take place, presence of officials to enforce game rules, costume, for example, uniforms worn by the players, and the use of equipment.

The collectivity of the sport system refers to
the structure of organized groups participating in the various sporting activities, whether as players or as spectators. Clubs, team leagues, and associations were characterized as relatively unstructured prior to the 1850's, but nonetheless, the groups of athletes, the farmers, the city dwellers, and the spectators joined together for the enjoyment of their own particular sporting interests. Krout, writing about sports of the 1850's, reports that the sports of that period were those emphasizing individual skill. Not until the middle of the nineteenth century did the "team", the "league", and the "association" become pronounced.

The goal attainment that the collectivity functions to meet may be expressed in terms of the needs or goals that elicit gratification for its members. Sport groups, such as clubs, teams, leagues, and associations must recognize and be impelled toward certain ends they perceive as gratifications or felt needs (12:57). The coordination of sporting endeavors emphasized by such groups and clubs allows the sport system to advance towards the goals that it had established, such as recreational enjoyment, physical exercise, and entertainment (13:120). The baseball clubs, the turf clubs, and the gymnastic clubs provided a means for the sport system to meet the goals of its members in these sporting endeavors.
In the middle of the nineteenth century, the basic, most fundamental unit of the sport system may be said to be the defined patterns of behavior that participants were expected to assume. At the normative level, the sport system defined specific obligations incumbent upon each individual in a given situation. For example, the baseball player would have a specific task of playing one of nine positions. When rules became more specific, the role of the player became more explicit by more clearly defining that "certain selected things be done and others not" (53:80). A first baseman covered a limited territory, a pitcher had to remain a given distance from the batter (38:516). The role of the participant in the 1850's was indicative of the values and norms of the sport system. The patterns of behavior were suggestive of the enjoyment and pleasurable entertaining purposes of the system.

The role level of the sport system functioned to meet the system's needs at the level of adaptation to natural resources and physical environment. On the role level this means that "by adjusting himself to the complexity of the structure, a participant makes himself fit into the situation" (53:81). Moreover, the individual is expected to interact not only with himself and the situation but also with other actors and ultimately with the entire system. Adaptation to a given situation means
the existence of reciprocal interacting patterns between roles (30:82).

If adaptation to given conditions and situations is to succeed at the level of interaction, the actor must yield somewhat to the situation at hand (53:80). For example, using new playing equipment such as the glove or the catcher's mask required adjustment to the situation on the part of the participants. At the same time the players' roles required that they adapt to the situation although the situation created a position that was not "normal" for the players.

To summarize, then, it may be stated that sport in the latter half of the nineteenth century met the attributes of a social system as defined by Parsons. The four structural levels of values, norms, collectivities, and roles could be identified for sports. Each of these four levels functioned for the unit as a whole.
CHAPTER IV

THE CONCEPT OF STRUCTURAL DIFFERENTIATION

The major concern of this chapter is to explain the model of structural differentiation. Attention will be directed towards defining the process of structural differentiation and the consequences resulting from differentiation. In Chapter V the focus of discussion will be directed towards the application of the structural differentiation model for an interpretation of the development of professional baseball.

The structural differentiation model was derived to typify a long term change which, as pointed out by Smelser, is characteristic of growing and developing social systems. In addition, the model of structural differentiation may also be considered as a "general statement of social development, hence applying to industrial systems, familial systems as well as many others" (43:164).

Smelser elaborates on the generality and broad application of this model by maintaining that:

in the development of the model there have been indications that its application is exceedingly wide, e.g., that fields as diverse as economic development, small groups, and psychological processes of learning and socia-
lization. To apply it vigorously to another empirical field, therefore provides evidence as to the generality of this model (43:5).

It is the general nature of this model, then, that provides the feasibility of its application to the empirical sport system.

The fundamental thesis of the differentiation model holds that a breakdown occurs in the structural units of the system. The breakdown is a result of an impinging force or crisis on the goal attainment level of the system. The breakthrough is necessary to overcome the crisis in order for the system to continue functioning. The result of the actual breakdown in the units is a specialization of roles and collectivities which provides for greater efficiency in the functioning of the initial unit. The emergent units, though an outgrowth of the original unit, are structurally distinct and functionally specialized. The new units continue to function to attain the goals of the original. In other words, differentiation results in the emergence of more distinct organizations to fulfill more specialized functions and to provide greater efficiency in the functioning of the system (43:2).

Prior to examining the process of differentiation, certain preliminaries must be considered. First, the structure of the system, which has been established as
"sets of properties of its component parts and their relations or combinations which for a particular set of analytical purposes can be treated as constant for particular types of systems" (30:84). In considering the empirical sport system for analytical purposes, the development of professional baseball and propositions about its development become empirical generalizations for the wider sport system.

Of equal importance to this discussion is the distinction Parsons makes between the concepts of structure and process and of stability and change. Parsons maintains that processes which act to initiate structural change are different from those processes which operate to maintain stability and equilibrium. The social system functions under conditions of equilibrium and in any case of disturbance, such as differentiation, the system becomes unstable and imbalanced. In order for the system to regain equilibrium it is necessary for the system to change. A constantly changing equilibrium is an example of the unstable condition of a growing and developing social system which continually readjusts to the new structures that result from the process of change (30:87).

In considering the growth and development of the sport system, one must also take into account the insta-
bility that results from the differentiation and the adjustment of the system to these unstable conditions. The concept of "process" as applicable to this study implies an interchange between the structure and the balance of the system by which a structure of the social system is altered. The alteration leads to a new innovative state of the system; a state that must be described and evaluated in terms of change in its previous structure (30:85). When the structures of a social system are altered, the system must be able to adapt and adjust to the consequences of change if it is to regain its equilibrium and continue to function. Moreover, the social system's capacity to adapt to the results of structural differentiation allows it to move in a direction of development that provides for greater efficiency in the functioning of the system.

The initiation of change, according to Parsons, stems from pressure applied to "the definition of the situation for one or more classes of acting units within the system, and that has further repercussions which can put pressure for change on the normative institutional patterns" (30:89). The type of pressure visualized by Parsons results in differentiation.

Smelser has devised a seven step scheme of events which he maintains occur in a temporal relationship to
each other resulting in differentiation of a specific unit of the system or subsystem. In other words, as outlined in Chapter II, the process of differentiation occurs in a segmented order (43:15). In order for change to take place a prerequisite must be present. As explained by Parsons, there must be "disengagement from the preceding pattern" on the part of the new units (27:76). In other words, some order of deprivation would result should the system adhere to following "the old way".

The idea of deprivation occurring within the system if change fails to take place reflects the concept which holds that if there is a "deficit of input at the goal attainment level of the social system", then the social system would not function to its fullest capacity (30:89). Perceiving such a deficit from the point of view of the functioning of the system, it may be postulated that the inability of the system's capacity to attain its goals occurs at the fundamental level. This is, in fact, the first step in Smelser's schematic outline leading to differentiation. Of utmost importance is the fact that "whatever its source, if a disturbance impinges on the goal-attaining subsystem of a social system, its effects will, in a first instance, be propagated in two directions" (31:90). One of the directions concerns the problem of availability of facilities for performance
of primary functions. The other direction concerns the required "integrative support which the unit receives within the system" (31:90). In other words, the unit of the system must be able to successfully "do a job" with support from that specific unit and receive support from the normative order governing that specific unit (30:90). For differentiation to be legitimized it must no longer be thought or believed that only one specific unit within the system is capable of performing those functions for which the unit operated (30:90). The less differentiated unit which seemingly "lost functions" can still benefit the system while the new unit is functioning with more defined direction toward the goals previously sought by the more diffuse unit.

Differentiation in one sense, then, frees a unit from previous functional responsibilities and in being so freed possesses the adaptive ability required for a higher level of functioning. "In differentiating ... the unit gains certain degrees of freedom of choice and action which were not open to it before the process of differentiation had taken place" (30:90).

To summarize, differentiation is a process which is stimulated by a deficit in the goal attainment level of the social system. This sequence of social phenomena results in the formation of newly established units of the
social system when an original unit becomes obsolete. The newly formed unit provides increased functioning of the system and increased efficiency in the functioning of the original unit. The new unit remains governed by the general normative level of the social system, but with specific norms and values applicable to the particular unit.

Parsons' concept of structural differentiation is based on the assumption that the value patterns of the social system remain unchanged even when new specialized units emerge. This assumption is based on Parsons' concept of systematic control of social systems. Specifically, the cultural system is viewed as controlling the social, personality, and human organism systems (30:96). This does not imply that changes fail to occur at the value level during the process itself. As pointed out, the value structure is the highest order level of the system. Therefore, the new values of the differentiated unit become more extensive in the sense that they legitimize the functioning of the new unit more clearly and specify "the implications of the more generalized pattern of the more extensive system ..." (30:97).

Differentiation does not occur without leaving certain consequences to bear on the system. Parsons maintains that consequences of differentiation include first,
what he refers to as the opportunity factor, second, the way in which the new unit or classes of units are related to each other within the more general system, and third, the normative components that must be reorganized to apply not only to one unit but also to a number of collectivities. The opportunity factor refers to the necessity for some individual or group at the organizational level to assume responsibilities for both management and reorganization. The new units that are formed require the articulation of differentiated roles for the individual which in turn will provide for a restructuring of the collectivities within the system (30:92). The third consequence that Parsons foresees is the higher order of generality of the norms governing the performance of the "functioning of the unit, including the relations of its performers to other units in the social structure" (30:96). That is, the general norms define the standards which can no longer be performed by the original functioning unit.

With these preliminaries established it is now possible to consider the application of the differentiation model to the growth and development of professional baseball.
CHAPTER V

STRUCTURAL DIFFERENTIATION
OF BASEBALL

In this chapter the differentiation model will be applied to the sport system in order to trace and analyze the growth and development of baseball and the structural changes that occurred within that subsystem. Although the structural changes to be discussed apply specifically to baseball, they are intended to provide an interpretation about the expansion and concurring specialization that has characterized the development and internal change of the sport system. The central theme underlying this discussion is that the development of professional baseball occurred as a result of a process of structural differentiation within the sport system. However, it is not suggested that all sporting activities have undergone a process of change the same as that suggested for the development of professional baseball.

A PERIOD OF ORGANIZATIONAL DEVELOPMENT
1850 TO 1858

In order to discuss the process of differentiation within baseball, it is first necessary to establish whether baseball may be considered, by itself, as constituting a
"social" system or "subsystem" of the wider sport system. Its emergence into a concrete unit did not occur until 1858 when the National Association of Base Ball Players was established. Prior to that time, particularly within the period 1850 to 1858, baseball was still in a period of organizational development.

Before the mid-nineteenth century, sport was considered a pastime, a recreational activity, and the idle engagement of time, fostered primarily by members of the aristocracy (13:182). Before 1850 the American people experienced virtually no organized sports in the sense of representative administrative hierarchies and organized competition regulated by the standardization of rules. The 1850's witnessed a direct movement toward outdoor sporting activity as a reaction to the recreational needs of a people suddenly confined to industrial urban life (18:48). Sporting activity came to be recognized as a necessity for facilitating healthful living and for providing relaxation and diversion. It was not until the late 1850's, however, that definite steps were taken to establish organizational hierarchies to govern these groups of individuals who had banded together to seek enjoyment and recreation in this activity.

At mid-century, although baseball clubs had been in existence for five years, baseball itself could not be
considered a "system". There was little evidence of organized structure other than the administrative offices of each respective club. Moreover, there was limited uniformity in the manner in which baseball was played. Henry Chadwick recalls that in the days of its inception "the game was one merely for field recreation with a bat and ball, the rules being of the crudest kind" (9:420). The rules, as established by the New York Knickerbocker Club, served as a basis for the rules of subsequent clubs. The rules were not only ambiguous, but also, of great importance, they were not often enforced. The ambiguity of the rules resulted in "no two localities interpreting them alike" (47:334). Additional clubs such as the Gotham, Eagle, and Empire of New York, and the Atlantic, Excelsior, Putnam, and Eckford of Brooklyn were organized during the period 1850 to 1856 (9:420). Each club had its own sets of rules which ultimately led to the haphazard practice of using different rules in each community which played the game. Moreover, the individual was a club member whose position relative to other club members was virtually undefined. The loosely defined role of the participants is manifested in the rules of the Knickerbocker Base Ball club which were adopted in 1845. Rule 6 stated:

If there should not be a sufficient number of members of the club present at the time agreed upon to commence exercise, gentlemen not members
may be chosen in to make up the match, which shall not be broken up to take in members that may afterwards appear; but in all cases members shall have the preference, when present, at the making of a match (38:341).

Although the role of the player was ambiguous, the roles of president, vice-president, secretary and treasurer of the various clubs were more distinct if only by the role the title indicated. The umpire's role was to "note all violations of the By-Laws and Rules during the time of exercise" (38:341). However, the umpire was appointed by the "presiding officer" attending the exercise. The individual performing the role of umpire did not assume this task as a permanent role. The same condition occurred in the case of the captains of the clubs. The "presiding officer" merely "designated two club members as 'captains' at the time the club members were to make a match" (38:341).

In addition, the player's position on the playing field and amongst his team mates was ambiguous. The opponents of the individual at bat were referred to as "adversaries", not as fielders or basemen. The player delivering the ball was the pitcher, but the area to which he was confined was noticeably ambiguous. The distance between home base and the pitcher was written as "not less than 15 paces" (38:347). The ambiguity in the rules and role expectation of the player remained until the rules were more clearly expressed.
Direct movement toward standardization of the game occurred in 1857. The numerous clubs that had been established recognized the need for organization amongst the clubs. A convention was called in May, 1857, for the purpose of establishing a uniform set of rules (48:3). The following year in March, 1858, delegates from twenty-five different clubs met to establish the first baseball league, the National Association of Base Ball Players (48:4).

BASEBALL - AN ORGANIZED SYSTEM

The National Association of Base Ball Players was established in 1858 for the purpose of providing the standardization required if the game played by the increasing number of clubs was to be played in the same manner by all clubs. The National Association provided the institutionalization of a normative order, reflecting both the values and norms of the sport system. The National Association established a constitution and code of by-laws which defined the behavior for all member clubs playing the game.

The code of rules, introduced in 1858, is suggestive of the normative order of the subsystem of baseball. The rules and by-laws provided an integrating force by establishing a level of conformity to which the clubs adhered. Spalding points out that the new association
in 1858 therefore marked a new era in the history of the game, for it was then that there was put in operation for the first time a code of rules, framed by a special committee of the new association for that express purpose (46:70).

Originally the game was organized for the purpose of providing exercise, enjoyment and relaxation for groups or individuals expressly interested in that particular sport. However, as the number of clubs increased, the National Association of Base Ball Players was established to control the complications that became apparent when no two clubs interpreted the rules established by the Knickerbockers in the same manner (2:12). It was obvious that there was a "need" for standardization in the game's organization.

With the establishment of the National Association of Base Ball Players, the game of baseball achieved organizational status unknown to it prior to the inception of the Association. The newly formed Association provided an integrating force that resulted in the uniformity of rules which terminated the era in which each club played according to its own rules. The rules and by-laws of the National Association were crude in comparison to those rules established in subsequent years. Nonetheless they served the purpose for which they were established. As pointed out by Chadwick:

...the authorized code of playing rules of
baseball was published in May 1858 and it was a very crude set of regulations, and admitted only of the playing of a very inferior kind of game; but it was sufficient for the character of the sport then in vogue - which was simply enjoyable field exercise on a ball ground (9:421).

By 1858, then, baseball had progressed to an organizational status that displayed the structural properties of a subsystem of the wider sport system. It is proposed that examination of the internal changes in baseball is feasible beginning with the year 1858 since it may be postulated that at that time baseball constituted a system from the structural point of view.

FROM AMATEUR TO PROFESSIONAL STATUS 
1858 TO 1900

The application of the structural differentiation model allows one to conceptualize the development of professional baseball as an outgrowth of the National Association of Base Ball Players. The initial purpose of the National Association was to perpetuate "enjoyable field exercise" (38:500). However, clubs of the Association gradually adopted another purpose - to perpetuate baseball as a game of skill and to perfect the quality of play (38:510). By the early 1860's, branch organizations of the National Association were established. These included the New England Association and the North-Western Association (38:501). The rules and by-laws established by the National
Association were adopted by the New England and North-Western Associations. However, these Associations emphasized that their "avowed objects (were found) in perpetuating the game and fostering kindly feelings among clubs" (38:516).

In addition to the clubs' desire to perpetuate the game, the predilection of each club to possess superior players was being strengthened by the "spirit of local partisanship" on the part of the spectator. Spalding recalls that on September 10, 1858, in the final match of a series of games between Brooklyn and New York "the fight for supremacy ... was very bitter. Both teams were on their mettle, every player feeling that the future welfare of the city represented by him depended on the result" (46:73).

Even as early as 1858, the intense desire to win on the part of the club and its players was becoming an integral part of the game. John M. Ward recalled that at the time of its inception

... Baseball was looked upon as merely pastime. Individuals of means and leisure organized clubs for pleasure, and were perfectly satisfied if at the close of the season the nine had won a fair majority of the games and receipts balanced expenditures (51:215).

As indicated by Ward, the "necessity" to win in the period of the early fifties was a latent concern. However, with the increasing number of clubs, the instigation of admission fees, and the frequent gambling, pooling and throwing
of games that had become prevalent, the ability of baseball to function not only on an amateur level but also purely as an exercise for enjoyment was undoubtedly questionable (46:75). The emphasis on winning, the desire of each club to possess the most highly skilled players and perfect the quality of the game may be postulated as initiating the process of differentiation.

THE PROCESS OF CHANGE

The process of structural differentiation, as developed by Smelser, requires that "certain social phenomena proceed in a definite sequence to produce specific types of structural change" (43:15). This sequence of social phenomena, it may be recalled, was outlined in Chapter II. The initial stage of the differentiation process occurs with a dissatisfaction at the goal attainment level of the social system. The process continues to develop with the demonstration of negative emotional reactions in response to the dissatisfaction in the goal attainment level and the attempt to control these tensions. Once the tensions have been controlled, the new ideas are openly encouraged which are then followed by a specification of the new ideas. The conclusion of this process of change is marked by the implementation of the new idea and finally the routinization and institutionalization of the
innovation.

The first stage in the process of structural differentiation of baseball involved dissatisfaction at the goal attainment level. Dissatisfaction occurred as the result of players failing to find gratification in playing baseball for purely exercise and recreational activity. The baseball players of 1850 found gratification in playing for the enjoyment and exercise found in the game. The New York gentlemen used to assemble to "engage in exercise for health, recreation, and social enjoyment" (19:161). The Knickerbockers' purpose was "not so much to play baseball as to provide a group of gentlemen with a means of exercise and opportunity for social amenities" (19:165). In fact it may be noted that in the by-laws of the Knickerbocker Club reference is made to "gathering for Exercise" (38:341). There was no mention of gathering to "play a game of baseball". The groups of gentlemen found gratification in the exercise, the enjoyment, and social distinction provided by their affiliation with a club.

However, with the increased emphasis on the competitive aspect of the game, and with the desire of each club to possess the most highly skilled players, the goal gratification focused on the player seeking distinction as a skilled player, on reimbursement for his services, and on opportunity to engage in a more challenging game of
baseball. The needs of distinction and success became of greater importance than exercise and enjoyment. The change in the purposes for which one participated in baseball was the source of dissatisfaction in the attainment of goal gratifications. Players began seeking satisfaction in the form of monetary reimbursement. However, the National Association did not function to provide for that specific goal and as a result dissatisfaction occurred.

Accompanying the dissatisfaction in the functioning of baseball to achieve goals and needs of the baseball system was the appearance of "symptoms of disturbance in the form of 'unjustified' negative emotional reactions and unrealistic aspirations on the part of various elements in the system" (43:15). The appearance of symptoms of disturbance is the second stage in the temporal sequence of differentiation. They appear in the form of uncertain expectations about baseball. Conditions of panic that baseball would be exploited should the payment of players become an open practice were evident. It was felt that the game would suffer should professionals be allowed to participate. "It meant the introduction of rowdies, drunkards, and deadbeats (46:134). The occurrence of these emotional reactions can be correlated with the conditions that gave rise to it. Such conditions include the failure of the National Association to enforce the rules that for-
bade payment of players, and the desire for upgrading the caliber of the game. The increased element of competition and the desire to win "gradually outweighed the civic nature of the game" (2:13). Spalding recalls that the "players were usually paid in part by promoters of the ball clubs and partly by the firms in whose employ the players were enrolled" (46:130). There was outspoken criticism by players and the public about such practices. The negative emotional reaction was manifested in the form of

Mutterings, ... showing that dissatisfaction was present in the minds of the press and public, were heard everywhere from those who had any interest whatever in the welfare of Base Ball in America (46:133)

Such manifestation of disturbance occurred primarily during the 1860's although there was evidence as early as the late 1850's. By the late 1860's, players were being paid with semipro inducements (13:189). Some players were throwing games in return for bribes. Incidents such as these illustrate the negative reactions to the new idea of paying players for the playing of baseball.

If the new idea of playing the game for monetary profit was to be institutionalized, the system had to control the symptoms of disturbance. This need for control constituted the third stage of the sequence of differentiation. The third stage appeared in the form of a covert handling of the tension manifested in the second stage.
That is, the disturbances that accompanied the idea of playing baseball for money were not to be ignored. Motivational resources were mobilized in an attempt to realize the implications of the value system that governed the system and were reflected in the organization of baseball.

The values were characterized by those ideals of fair play, recreational activity, achievement, and entertainment (8:511). However, of great importance was the perpetuation of the game as entertainment not only for the players but also for the public in general, which illustrated a new attempt to realize the implications of the existing value system. The crisis that came upon the game was the desire to win and to make the game a means of livelihood, which would allow players to devote themselves entirely to perfecting the quality of the game. As noted by Allen,

... although baseball had begun as an amateur game that was civic in nature, the desire to win soon made it necessary to import players and pay them for their services (2:13-14).

The goal of the players to win began to outweigh the goal to engage in a pastime. By the mid 1860's, the new idea of professional players was thought to be a primary means of achieving that goal (2:15). Moreover, motivational resources were available which stimulated the idea of advancement toward perfection of the game. Chadwick suggests that "development of the finer points of the game were
retarded by the difficulty its amateur exemplars experienced in finding time for the amount of practice and training so essential in bringing about the beauties of the game" (9:422).

What was essential at this stage was that the new idea of professionalism was questionable in terms of benefiting the game. For this reason there was a reorganization of motivational resources which essentially acted as a mechanism to control the tensions manifested in the second stage (31:266). Essentially what occurred here was the control of tensions by both permissive and supportive attitudes which recognized the necessity to conduct baseball on a business level if the quality of the game was to improve and its value as a form of entertainment was to increase. Palmer notes that the "growth in popular favor soon rendered necessary the employment of more businesslike methods in conduct of its affairs" (29:351). The motivational resources were put into motion to present a rationale basis for professional baseball. As pointed out by Spalding, professional baseball increased the quality of the game while maintaining the element of entertainment for the public (46:143). Such supportive attitudes were adopted by the players, owners, managers, and the public, although initially it was only by a small percentage of these groups (46:145). When
the tensions were controlled and motivational resources utilized to realize the implications of the new idea of professionalism in baseball, the system proceeded to encourage the new idea of players being paid for their services.

The encouragement of the new idea of professional baseball constituted the fourth stage of the structural differentiation process. The encouragement of the new idea does not impose the responsibility for implementation of the idea of professional baseball (43:15). Encouragement of professionalism in baseball was most noticeably manifested in 1869 when Harry Wright, manager of the Cincinnati Red Stockings announced that his baseball club would henceforth play as professionals (46:133). However, the Cincinnati Club was not held responsible for the implementation of professionalism. The idea was actually implemented before the Cincinnati Club openly endorsed professional baseball. Between the latter 1850's and early 1860's, there was evidence of players playing for a set salary (3:31). There is little doubt that during the 1860's local pride had in some instances caused the offering of inducements to skilled players (16:6).

The Red Stockings proved the game could be played effectively and with superiority by winning all their games during an Eastern and Western tour in 1869 and 1870
Spalding maintains that:

Every game played was won, presenting an important object lesson in professionalism for it demonstrated at once and for all the superiority of an organization of ball players chosen and trained and paid for the work they were engaged to do ... (46:137).

This new idea was also encouraged by the public. Initially apprehensive about professional baseball, Krout notes that the number of crowds that watched the first professional games were undoubtedly demonstrating "popular endorsement of the innovation" (21:122). Spalding supports this contention by recalling that:

... The dreaded opposition on the part of the public did not materialize since the simple announcement that the Red Stockings were to appear had been sufficient always to attract crowds (46:140).

Civic leaders who realized that winning teams would bring notoriety to their city also provided encouragement of professionalism. Turkin points out that:

Cincinnati had shown (civic leaders) how a successful baseball team can bring fame to a metropolis, and civic pride more than profit provided the impetus toward the formulation of baseball's first professional league (48:7).

The success of the Red Stockings in terms of the team's playing ability demonstrated that there was some value in hiring individuals to play the game in a highly skilled manner. By 1871 there were already thirteen clubs who had changed their status from amateur to professional (46:160).
The increase in the number of professional clubs stimulated the establishment of the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players in 1871 (46:161). This organization was a direct attempt to formulate the new idea of professional baseball. The fifth stage of the differentiation sequence required that positive attempts be made to reach specification of new ideas which ultimately would become objects of commitments. Positive attempts were made in fostering the quality of the game. Commitments were made to this new idea so that "the game would be presented in its highest state of perfection" (46:160). This commitment demonstrated the new unit of professional baseball had released itself from the older more diffuse unit. At the same time there was rapid organizational development as demonstrated by the organization of the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players in 1871.

The formation of the National Association illustrated the organizational status of the new unit. The organization was predicated on conducting the game on a business basis and perfecting the game by developing its "scientific features" (9:421). The organizational bases of the Association also reinforced the new unit's commitment to specialization of the "new ideas". However, as pointed out by Paxson, the basis of this organization was
unstable (37:25). That is, there was no distinction between the management and player roles. The National Association of Professional Base Ball Players decided that the organization would be guided by a player-president. In 1872, Robert Ferguson was elected President of the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players. However, the new professional unit found that the player-president executive caused disruption in the effective functioning of the organization (2:27). The disruptions that had plagued the National Association in the late 1860's continued to disturb the newly founded professional association. Gambling, throwing games, and players jumping contracts remained as problems to be solved. These disruptions that occurred may be postulated as temporary organizational failure that can occur, according to Smelser, should the new innovation (professional baseball) not be fully approved (42:42). At this point the new structured unit recognized its failure to function in its executive capacity.

Concern was then placed on a more positive and responsible implementation of professional baseball commitments, that had been formulated in the previous stage. If the newly formulated commitments were to become institutionalized then preventive action against continued disruption had to be taken. The action taken was to make
a clear distinction between management's roles and players' roles. This illustrates the occurrence of the sixth stage of the differentiation sequence. That is, direction was taken towards "responsible implementation of new ideas".

Spalding has noted that

It was apparent to some that the system in vogue for the business management of the sport was defective; that means ought to be adopted to separate the control of the executive management from the playing of the game (46:103).

Specialization of the management and player roles was not only inevitable, but also necessary if professional baseball was to survive. Spalding provides evidence that the player must assume a player role and the manager a management role when he commented that

No man can do his best at ball playing unless his whole soul is in the effort. The man whose soul is absorbed in the business of playing ball has no soul left for the other business ... of administering discipline, arranging schedules and finding the ways and means of financing a team (46:103-104).

A further process of specialization occurred in 1875 when the distinction was made between the terms "club" and "team". Prior to the proposal that the distinction be made, "Base Ball Clubs had won and lost games, matches and tournaments, and trophies" (46:104). It was decided that clubs would manage teams. The rationale supporting this breakdown was that "a manager must be equipped to manage while the player must be qualified to play the game" (46:106).
Distinctions, such as those cited above, were made in order to perfect baseball and conduct it on a responsible business basis. As a result of the aforementioned reforms the National League was established in 1876 for the purpose of abolishing the unstable federation of players governing the National Association. This transition as Paxson points out "gave a firm basis to the sport" (37:25) and provided additional impetus to the responsible implementation of professional baseball. The National League illustrated confirmation of a means of achieving the promotion of the sport. The constitution of the National League stated the objectives of the new organization to be

First - To encourage, foster and elevate the game of Base Ball.
Second - To enact and enforce proper rules for the exhibition and conduct of the game.
Third - To make Base Ball playing respectable and honorable (46:211).

These objectives may be viewed as the synthesis of responsible implementation of the new idea of professional baseball.

The seventh and final stage in the differentiation process sequence demonstrates the routinization of professional baseball. The conditions by which players were to be hired, contracted and paid for playing the game of baseball which at one time appeared as extraordinary became a standard, common and accepted occurrence. The overall gains achieved in the previous stages in the growth
of professional baseball were accepted as part of the developing sport system. Smelser maintains that as a result of standardization of new conditions the new unit continues to expand but not at the rapid rate as illustrated in the fifth and sixth stages (31:270). For example, Spalding notes, that by 1877, "the game made slow progress, not many new clubs were organized, while financial failures attended most ventures in a professional way" (46:223).

Perfecting professional baseball in terms of respectability of the game continued. For example, in 1879 the National League rid the game of umpires who were in collusion with gamblers by establishing a regular staff of umpires paid on a yearly basis as opposed to payment per game (2:62). The league attempted to resolve disruptions caused by clubs "stealing players" and players refusing to abide by their contracts. "Contracts didn't mean much to the players; they went where the money was to get them through the winter" (2:72). Thus, in 1879, the reserve rule was adopted which initially was to be used as a means of "retaining the services of a player" (50:315). However, the reserve rule did not retain its original purpose. Interpretation of this rule found that clubs were using it as a means of selling players not retaining them (50:318).

With disruption stemming from various interpr-
tations of the reserve clause, the stability of professional baseball was again threatened. In 1882, the American Association of Professional Base Ball Players was founded with its avowed purpose being to rival the National League (46:240). In 1883, the Union Association was founded to fight the reserve clause (46:242). The National League enforced its rule that controlled the players' association with a specific club by expelling all players who had deserted to the Union Association from the National League (46:243).

In 1885, John M. Ward established the Brotherhood League as a fraternal organization which emphasized concern for the relations between players as opposed to relations between players and clubs. In other words, it provided a means for players to air their grievances and plan action to secure relief of such dissatisfaction (46:270). Essentially the Players' League attempted to fight not only the reserve clause but also the "tangled web of legislation" which hampered the game (46:270). However, the Players' League succumbed to the National League in 1890.

From 1890 to 1894, Spalding recalls that baseball suffered a "depression". The American Association in 1891 began to raid players from the National League; however, the National League in turn "maneuvered a series of deals that brought over four of the best franchises
from the American Association" (46:275). From 1892 to 1900, the National League remained the lone professional league with twelve clubs listed under its organization.

The fluctuation in the number of leagues from the time the National Association of Professional Base Ball Players was established in 1871 and until 1900 is indicative of what Smelser refers to as an occurrence of disequilibrium (43:41).

This premise is evident in the situation cited illustrating the movement of professional baseball toward a state of respectability and perfection in achieving its goals of encouraging, fostering and elevating the game of baseball (46:211).

RESULTS OF DIFFERENTIATION

Professional baseball in becoming institutionalized reflected the normative order of the sport system. Although functioning more specifically to attain the goals that were a source of dissatisfaction at the initial stage of the differentiation process, professional baseball maintained norms that were reflective of the normative order of the sport system. For example, the normative order of professional baseball provides the criteria for winning as the team which has earned the most points in nine innings of play; professional baseball players were to conduct themselves as gentlemen in a sportsmanlike
manner as expressed in the Constitution of the National League (46:211). Such emphasis on behavior is indicative of the normative order of the sport system which maintains that certain things such as winning and maintaining sportsmanlike conduct be defined. In addition, the normative order governing professional baseball sanctioned the league rules. Violations of league contracts resulted in fines or expulsion of players from the League (46:211).

The structural differentiation model maintains that for the process to be complete, the new specialized unit must be fully integrated into the value structure of the system. In the case of professional baseball, the values of the sport system became more specific to the new unit. For example, the values that supported the attitudes of fair play, sportsmanship, achievement, and entertainment were not discarded by the new unit but rather became specific to the new unit. The aforementioned values were maintained while at the same time role behavior was legitimized to seek perfection of the game and payment of the individual for his performance.

Of significant importance in the differentiation process is the fact that the old unit became obsolete in terms of achieving goals for which it was functioning. Confirmation of the obsolescence of the original unit is manifested in baseball by the inability of the National
Association in 1858 to function for the purposes and needs of baseball at that time. In 1858, the National Association functioned for the purpose of providing recreational pastime and enjoyment to those engaged in the sport. However, the increased emphasis on winning and various clubs attempting to secure highly skilled players resulted in the inability of the baseball unit of that time to achieve the goals desired by some clubs. The baseball clubs, dissatisfied with playing baseball for personal amusement, sought a higher caliber of play and ultimately monetary reimbursement for their skilled performances.

As the initial unit became differentiated, two distinct units emerged - the professional unit and the amateur unit. The goals that the professional role and amateur role function to meet may be said to be independent of each other although the two units were essentially functioning to attain the goals of the initial unit. (See Chart III.) That is, the professional unit had become independent of the wide spread playing clubs that were initially unified for the purpose of enjoying baseball as an exercise. The new, strictly amateur unit functioned to attain the goals of relaxation and enjoyment for the sake of the sport itself while the professional unit functioned to play the game for profit and entertainment
CHART III
DIFERENTIATION OF BASEBALL

PLAYERS
Form teams to play game

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS
1871
(Unit of livelihood
perpetuation of game)

1875
Unit divides which defines
specific functioning of
players and management

ADMINISTRATORS
(Management)

BASEBALL - 1858

- A single relatively defined
  unit in the sport system

- Unit for recreation,
  entertainment, perpetuation
  of game

Divides into two units
which differ in structural
significance for more
effective functioning of
the original

AMATEUR ASSOCIATIONS
(Unit of recreation)
of the public (46:137). The values of fair play, achievement, and sportsmanship were maintained as criteria for defining the desirable behavior of both new units while each functioned to attain their own more specific goals.

The emergence of structurally distinct units such as occurred in baseball have provided the sport system with more efficient means of functioning. This contention is based on the premise that new units will function effectively to meet the needs of the system. For example, the initial baseball unit from which professional baseball emerged was the National Association of Base Ball Players which was established in 1858. This unit functioned to attain such goals as entertainment for the public and perpetuation of the game. Chadwick has noted that prior to differentiation in baseball

...Advancement toward perfection and development of the finer points of the game were retarded by the difficulty amateur exemplars experienced in finding time for the amount of practice and training so essential in bringing about the beauties of the game - hence the introduction of professional baseball proved to be of great use in perfecting the game and in developing its scientific features (9:421).

By differentiating, the new structural units were able to function more effectively in meeting the needs of both amateur and professional baseball. The sport system itself functioned more efficiently by providing a means for those who wished to pursue baseball as a livelihood
and perfect the quality of the game. Also for those who found satisfaction in playing the game on a lower caliber of play the unit could function for that goal. As a result the system has greater accessibility for meeting the various needs, for which it is functioning, particularly at the goal attainment level.
CHAPTER VI
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The purpose of this study has been to provide an interpretation of change in the internal properties of the sport system in the United States from 1850 to 1900. In order to analyze the internal developments in sport it was necessary to define sport as a specific boundary maintaining unit. Parsons' definition of the social system, as defined in his general action theory, was utilized for the identification of sport as a concrete unit.

The growth and development of professional baseball served to illustrate the internal change within the sport system. The structural differentiation model was utilized to analyze the growth and development of professional baseball. The "seven step process" of structural differentiation, as formulated by Smelser, provided a mechanism by which the sequence of social phenomena associated with the differentiation process could be illustrated.

Historical data was collected from the literature to provide evidence of the growth and development of professional baseball. The structural differentiation model was then applied to the recorded data in order to
analyze the internal changes that led to the emergence of baseball as a professional sport. The development of professional baseball was interpreted as part of a process of structural differentiation that characterized the growth and development of the sport system as a whole during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Although the structural changes discussed in this study apply specifically to baseball, the ultimate intention has been to provide an interpretation of the internal dynamics of sport in general.

With respect to the application of the concept of the social system to sport and the structural differentiation model to the growth and development of professional baseball, the following conclusions were derived. First, there is sufficient evidence to legitimize the treatment of sport as a social system since sport has been shown to possess the structural and functional properties of a social system. Second, the concept of sport as a social system has shown that it can be utilized to create a frame of reference which enables the researcher to analyze the process of change. Third, the application of the structural differentiation model, as outlined by Smelser, provides a mechanism for analyzing and interpreting changes in the internal properties of baseball.

Since this study has derived the above conclusions
the hypothesis, which suggests that the structural differentiation model as formulated by Smelser provides the basis for an interpretation of the development of professional baseball, may be accepted.

Thus, in this study it has been shown that the growth and development of professional baseball in the United States during the period 1850 to 1900 may be viewed in terms of a specialized unit generated by the process of structural differentiation. Additional research in the area of growth and development of sport as a process of change is recommended. Further investigation into the conception of sport as a social system may lead to the possibilities of generalizing about the overall growth of sport during the period of industrialization.

Continued investigation into specific sporting endeavors is of course required before generalizations about sport and the manner in which it developed are established. At the present time, the researcher is restricted to interpreting and offering explanations of changes noted in sport. With additional study in this area it may be possible to suggest more generalized theories pertaining to the process of change in sport.
REFERENCES


5. Betts, John R., Organized Sport In Industrial America, University Microfilms Inc., Ann Arbor, 1952.


47. Steele, James L., "How the National Game Developed", Outing Magazine, XLIV, No. 3, (1904), 333.


