CHAPTER - II

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In this chapter attempt has been made to review the studies competed in the field of social mobility amongst the sportsmen. Comparatively very few studies have been done in social mobility. The researcher could not come across any study completed on social mobility of sportswomen in India. In America and European countries, most of the mobility studies were in relation to sportmen. As the social mobility studies are closely related to social stratification, an attempt has also been made to review the studies on sports and social stratification. In India many of the studies in sports sociology were found to be on socio-economic status of the sportsmen of various games and sports.

The scope of the present review is restricted to the literature available in the library of Degree College of Physical Education Amravati and Amravati University. The studies have been classified in the following headings:-

A) Sports and Social Stratification
B) Sports and Social mobility

A) SPORTS AND SOCIAL STRATIFICATION

It was believed that sports and sports participation were open and democratic, that the inequalities existing in other
parts of social life did not spill over into organised games we played and watched. However the following studies indicated that this was not true. In fact very existence of sports in any society was connected with class relations. This may be because sports consist of formally organised, institutionalised competitive physical activities that could not exist with material resources and without a group of people that has time, power and social connections to organise activities and bring people together to play them. Number of attempts have been made to explore relation of sports with social stratification in America and European countries.

Certain studies have also been made in India in relation to social stratification amongst Indian sportsmen at different level. In India most of the studies were found to be at Master's degree level dissertations submitted to different Universities.

On the basis of the available literature the first such dissertation was submitted by Sharan Kaur (1973) to Panjab University Patiala on “The Social-Economic Background in relation to the performance of Punjab University Hockey Players.” She found that most of the Hockey Players were from the middle social economic strata. This was further confirmed by Deepika Sharma (1987).

The second such study was completed by Sampathu (1979) on socio-economic status of the University Athletes. Same type of studies on Athletes of Inter collegiate, University and State levels were conducted by Bullam (1980), Nair (1982), Lokeshwar (1984), Uppalwar (1990) and Gawaade.
(1993). All these studies concluded that more than 55 per cent of the athletes were from middle economic strata and further they indicated that they selected athletics because of the availability of athletic facilities nearby and the interest of their friend circle.

A very interesting work was done by Bunia (1981) on socio-economic status of the college players who participated in Nagpur University in Inter-collegiate competitions of Kabaddi, Football, Table-Tennis and Cricket. He found that Cricket and Table-Tennis players were from Upper socio-economic strata. Whereas Kabaddi and Football college players were from Middle and Lower socio-economic strata. Table-Tennis and cricket needed more financial support for continuing participation than Kabaddi and Football. Similar type of studies were conducted at Master's degree level by Phadnis (1987), Singh (1990), Wakode (1994) and concluded that the players of Table - Tennis and Cricket were found to be from Upper - middle and Upper class. The Players participating in Kabaddi and Football at Intervarsity and State level were from Middle and Lower economic strata. These findings supported the statement of Bunia. Bunia concluded that family atmosphere and financial condition effected the selection and specialization of the game by college students.

Yadav (1986) undertook a study on socio-economic status of the inter-university swimmers. He found that more than 50 per cent of the swimmers were from upper middle economic strata. He further stated that because of the high cost
of swimming pool membership it might not be within the economic reach of the students from middle and lower economic class of the society.

Number of dissertations for Master’s degree were also found in relation with economic status of wrestlers. The studies conducted by Rai (1985), Sharma (1990), Thorat (1990), Singh (1993) were on socio-economic status of wrestlers of Inter-University and State level players. They found that 55 to 73 per cent wrestlers were from middle class and 15 to 30 per cent were from Lower and Lower middle class. Negligible per cent of wrestlers were found to be from higher economic strata.

The studies were also conducted on socio-economic status of Inter collegiate, Inter University and State level players of Volleyball (Gowada 1982, Dondal 1987, Premlata 1987, Phadnis 1987 and Alset 1989), Basketball (Phadnis 1987, Uppalwar 1990 and Premlata 1987), Kho-Kho (Phadnis 1987, Kuikarni 1988, Ghongade 1989), Judo (Singh 1983, Uppalwar 1990) and Handball (Singh 1980). These studies indicated that more than 50 per cent of the Volleyball, Basketball, Kho-Kho, Handball, players, Judokas were from middle and lower middle economic strata.

Maximum studies in sports and social stratification were found to be completed in America.

1. Social Stratification Among Elite Athletes in America.

At the intercollegiate level, McIntyre (1956), Loy (1969, 1972), Webb (1969), McPherson (1968), Petrie
(1973) and Berryman and Loy (1976) have found sport differences in the class background of athletes in a variety of intercollegiate sports. While all investigators found a range of backgrounds, most athletes were from a lower to upper middle-class background. However, this finding might have been influenced by the nature of the sample studies, which included athletes at Harvard and Yale (Berryman and Loy, 1976), at ULCA (Loy, 1972), at Penn State (McIntyre, 1959), at Michigan (Webb, 1969), throughout the Big Ten Conference (Petrie, 1973), and in one province of Canada (McPherson, 1968). As a result of these diverse samples, differences within sports, as well as between sports, might have resulted because of different recruiting policies or recruitment from different geographical regions of the country (Rooney, 1974). In summary, those involved in intercollegiate boxing and wrestling appeared to be primarily from the lower strata, while those involved in tennis, skiing, golf, and crew appeared to be from upper strata. Most other sports, however, were characterised by a range of backgrounds, although the middle classes tend to be overrepresented in all sports.

In addition to studies on intercollegiate athletic, some evidence concerning the class basis of sport was found by studying elite amateur and professional athletes. Weinberg and Arond (1952) reported that most boxers were recruited from the lower socio-economic strata since most of the boxing clubs were located in this type of residential or commercial
area. In a report of the background factors related to success in professional baseball, Haerle (1975) found that although there was a range of backgrounds, socio-economic status had no discriminating power in predicting success.

Gruneau (1972) found that male and female athletes competing in the 1971 Canada Winter Games came from a variety of class backgrounds, but that athletes from the upper middle and upper strata were generally overrepresented. That pattern held even more so for the female athletes. Similar to Webb (1969), Gruneau (1972) found that individual sports tend to outweigh team sports in terms of representation at the extreme ends of the socio-economic scale. Furthermore, he noted that if any democratization is occurring at the elite levels of amateur sport, it is occurring in a downward trend. That is, those sports more closely identified with the lower strata have more middle- and upper-level participants than upper-strata sports have lower-strata participants.

2. Stratification and Mass Participation

In addition to the socio-economic status of intercollegiate and elite amateur or professional athletes, there was also evidence of class differences in the primary and secondary sport involvement patterns by the masses or subelites. For example, in a classic study of the meaning of sports to adults, Stone (1957) found that the upper strata prefer hockey (ice-hockey), golf, and tennis; the middle strata football, baseball, bowling, boxing and wrestling. That preferences can change over time was illustrated in a replication of this study ten years
later (Stone, 1969) in which it was noted that baseball was more silent for the lower strata, although it permitted all strata.

However, based on a content analysis from 1900 to 1960 of four class-related magazines, Noe (1974) found both qualitative and quantitative differences in leisure life style that were stable over time across social classes. Specifically, he noted that the lower-middle classes used sport as leisure to a greater extent than the upper and upper-middle classes do. In short there was not mass equality in quantity, type, or style of leisure pursuits.

Further evidence for the lack of egalitarianism in sport at the level of mass participation can be found by analyzing differential expenditure patterns for sport equipment by social strata. For example, in spite of claims that democratization is occurring in tennis, those with incomes over $20,000 purchase the most tennis equipment, while those with incomes under $8000 purchased the least amount. Similar examples could be given for a variety of other sports ranging from boxing and bowling to polo and other equestrian events. Another factor closely related to income was the type of high school and college attended and their influence on life style. For example, a study by Berryam and Loy (1976) found that most athletes on the intercollegiate teams at Harvard and Yale were those who had attended a private school and who had therefore gained specific advantages in certain sports. This advantage results from differential social experiences in a private school, rather than from inherent sport aptitude (Eggleston, 1965).
Concomitant with class differences in primary sport involvement, there also appear to be class differences in secondary sport involvement. Kenyon (1960) suggested that for direct or indirect secondary involvement there may be variation by social class. In fact he found that while those in the lower strata did not attend sport events, (i.e. direct consumption) as the higher strata, there were no significant differences across strata for various forms of indirect consumption rather, direct attendance at sport events is primarily a middle to upper class event, especially with rising admission prices and the sale of blocks of tickets to business organizations. The major exceptions appear to be horse racing, wrestling, and boxing. On the other hand, indirect secondary involvement, especially through television, is available to all. Unfortunately, accurate information is not available on the class background of viewers of specific sport events.

A final form of secondary involvement that is class based pertains to the leadership roles within amateur sport held by adults. In a study of the sport executives in national swimming and volleyball associations in Canada, Braiton (1970) found that the executives of the swimming associations were from a higher class background. This might have been related to the fact that volleyball was more closely associated with ethnic groups who were in a disadvantaged position.

McPherson (1974) found that volunteer coaches in youth hockey (ice) programs had a range of class backgrounds, although the American coaches tended to be from a higher
strata than the Canadian coaches. This may be partially explained by the fact that the diffusion of hockey throughout the United States had been initiated in the more affluent suburbs of the larger cities where the economic resources permit the building of expensive arena. Similarly, a recent study by Beamish (1976) reported that 70 per cent of all executives of the national sport governing bodies in Canada were engaged in professional occupations. Furthermore, most were originally from middle class family background.

Unlike the above studies, which deal with officers at the middle administrative level, three recent studies demonstrated that the "real" control of both professional and amateur sport was held by the social and economic elite. To illustrate this Kiviahö and Simola (1974) found that Finnish commercial leaders had increasingly gained representation in the executive positions of both bourgeois and working-class sport organizations. Similarly, in the United State, Clark (1977) had reported that there was direct relationship or connection between owning a professional football, baseball or basketball team and decision making at the highest corporate, financial, political media or educational levels. Specifically he found that for 56 of the 67 presidents of professional sport teams, there were 216 business links (e.g. automobile, oil, transportation, real estate, construction, insurance, banking), 72 government links (e.g. public officials, government committees or commissions, lawyers), 40 educational links, and 41 media links (e.g. television, radio, newspaper, book publishing,
movies theater) in the most detailed and analytical examination of control in sport.

Gruneau (1976) found that there was "an increased interlocking of professional team sports with the larger corporations". More specifically, he discovered through interviews and secondary analysis that the executive officers and directors of the Canadian Football League and the National Hockey League teams were linked with similar positions in the financial, trade, transportation, and communication sectors of the economy. As a result of this evidence, there was little support for the hypothesis that mobility into the "elite" or "power" roles in sport have been opened up to any great extent.

3. Stratification in Sport in Other Continents

In addition to studies completed in North America, the stratification process in sport has also been examined in societies that vary in culture, degree of industrialization, political structure, and ideology.

Eggleston (1965) found that the grammar school males in England, when compared to ex-public school males, were at a disadvantage in successfully competing in cricket and rugby at Oxford and Cambridge. This study was replicated in America by Berryman and Loy (1976) who similarly found that, with the exception of basketball, those who attended a private school were overrepresented on Harvard and Yale athletic teams. In the German Federal Republic, Luschen (1969) reported that 15-25 year-old youths with different social backgrounds had different favourite sports. Similarly, Ulrich (1976) concludes:
"The lower classes, which after all constitute half of the inhabitants of the FRG (Federal Republic of Germany), do not participate in high-level sport. The failure of many talented athletes to cope with the demands and to overcome the class barriers of today's competitive sport is par excellence a social inequality regarding chances".¹

At the mass level for adults, Renson (1976) found that sport involvement is related to the social class structure in Belgium, with skiing, golf, tennis, and fencing being at the top, and gymnastics, calisthenics, track and field, judo, boxing, soccer, and handball team at the bottom. As an indication that social events or social change may result in a different stratification system, Takenoshita (1967) noted that before World War II and national and international champion athletes in Japan were college students or college graduates. This was a reflection of the privileged status accorded students before the war. However, with the rise of industrialization after the war, the student's privileged position was lost and many industries began to sponsor sport activities. As a result, most male and female champion athletes since World War II have been industrial workers sponsored by their work organizations.

Although this cannot be considered in the purest sense a social class difference, both Starosta (1967) and Nowak (1969) indicated that Polish athletes have differential sports opportunities. For example, most of the students admitted to the Warsaw Figure Skating School were children of parents who belonged to the intelligentsia with higher education (Starosts, 1967) in a comparative analysis of figure skaters from other countries. It was similarly found that figure skaters of international calibre were children of well-to-do people who could afford to bear the expenses required to pursue elitism in sport. Similarly, although the recruitment process was reversed.

Nowak (1969) found that over 70 per cent of the elite Boxer were from working class family environment rather than a peasant or intelligentsia background. Studies of elite athletes in Australia, Great Britain, and New Zealand also suggested overrepresented in athletics. For example, on the basis of a study of British male athletes at the Mexico Olympic Games, Collins (1972) derived the following four categories of sport; egalitarian (e.g. swimming, cycling, canoeing), independent (e.g. gymnastics and the modern pentathlon, which are not so firmly established in the British culture to have become class-based), working class (e.g. boxing, weightlifting and wrestling), and middle class (e.g. track and field, rowing, fencing, field hockey, equestrian). In a similar study, Pavia (1973) analyzed the social class background of 174 male and female members of the 1972. Australian Olympic team
and derived five sport categories, although 60 per cent of these athletes belonged to the upper three social classes. Furthermore, in a more detailed study of Australian athletes in a variety of other sports, Pavia and Jaques (1976) noted that as a group they were over-represented in the upper class and that a great number of females were of upper-class origin. This latter finding, agrees with Luschen (1969) and Grunenau (1975) suggested that there may be greater social obstacles for lower-class females than for lower class males.

In a study of the New Zealand team at the Montreal Olympics, Crawford (1977) found that the athletes represented five categories of occupational prestige. Those involved in hockey, shooting, and rowing were drawn from a cross-section of prestige rankings and the sports were labeled as egalitarian (Collins, 1972); those in track and field, boxing, and cycling were from a blue-collar/manual-labour category; those in canoeing, equestrian, weightlifting, wrestling and yachting fit into a white-collar/nonmanual-labour category. He completed the five categories by noting that rowers fell into an intermediate category and that swimmers were an undetermined category, possibly because so many of them were students.

In (1979), a study Szot and Jurkiewicz, compared the social backgrounds of Polish gymnasts of the beginning level (first class), participants in the Polish national championships (national champion class) and participants in international competition (international champion class). First, it was found
that first class and national class gymnasts from intellectual families did better than those of working class origin. But, "this thesis found no confirmation in the highest (international) class, where competitors of working class origin obtained results better than their counterparts coming from the families of intellectuals". The reason? At the beginning, on the lower levels of competition, the white-collar athletes had the advantage of not having to work to help support their families and can go to school, where they have required physical education. But on the higher levels, the working class have started earlier, are helped by their experience in physical work, and are more strongly motivated. "Men who started to train gymnasts at the age of 10-12 years achieved the biggest success and they come from workers families". Furthermore, for gymnasts of blue-collar origin there is a "a possibility of promotion through practising of gymnastics which is greater than in the case of competitors from the families of intellectuals." Therefore, "they are more strongly committed to sport activity and show perseverance in the difficult training for gymnastic exercises". He felt that the factors of early beginning, physical work, and motivation outlined by the Polish sociologists also helped us in to understand why working class Polish-America-
can athletes and athlete from other ethnic minorities succeed in the American sport system.

In another Communist country, Yugoslavia, in 1976 article Petrovic summarized efforts to study how sport was related to social stratification in his country. A 1965 study of 283 top athletes, male and female, showed only 5% to be children of farmers. A study found sport achievement positively related to socio-economic status and residence. A 1973 sample of 24,000 Yugoslavian athletes showed that "children of parents with a higher social position were more active in more expensive sports, or rather in sports having the nature of a status symbol, both in Yugoslavia and outside of it". A 1974 study of skiers spelled out the status rankings in that sport: downhill slalom first, ski jumping second, and cross-country racing third. Petrovic found that such ranking in sports contributed to the increasing separation of social status groups. He concluded that "Sport is predominantly the privilege of those individuals who need sports activity very much, are practically without any'". He concluded that sports organizations should be aware of this stratifying effect of sport and try to become less exclusive.

'Ibid, P 112
How social background, individual achievement drive, and choice of sport activity can work together was indicated by Belgian research conducted by Famaey-Lamon, Hebbelinck, and Cadron (1979) involving 5,500 children aged 6-12, and their parents. The children, who were from 107 primary schools representing all parts of Belgium, should have been a pretty good sample from that country. The problem studied was choice of team sports as compared with individual sports. How, the researchers asked in this choice related to social position and educational attainment? They tabulated the choice of team versus individual sports for the parents of the 5,500 children and for the children themselves. The answer: For parents, "team-sports were more practised by manual workers. In the other professional groups, mainly individual sports were chosen, in a most pronounced way in the category of the self-employed and the intellectuals, that means the professions in which the sense of responsibility is most strongly developed". The term responsibility seems here to refer to individualistic motivation and choice in a person's life. The children followed their parents: Team sports were practised more by children whose parents left after the primary grades, and individual sport by those whose parents went further in

their schooling. It appears that those who “succeed” individually in the world outside sport also choose those sports in which they were most likely to star as individuals.

In summary, the evidence suggests that there was a stratification system operating cross-nationally and indicated existence of elite status. However, the stratification system within any given country varied, often in relation to the inherent social structure in that society and perhaps in relation to the degree to which a sport is institutionalized in that society.

B) SPORTS AND SOCIAL MOBILITY:

Although no definitive study of social mobility in the sport context has been conducted, numerous social scientists have commented on the role of sport as a mechanism of mobility for lower class youths. Hodges (1964) states in his text on social stratification that “college football functioned as a highly effective status elevator for thousands of boys from blue-collar ethnic background.”9 Surprisingly, Hodges provides not one shred of evidence to support his rather striking statement.

In a similar manner, other social scientists have made rather broad generalizations on the basis of only a modicum of empirical data. For instance, Havighurst and Neugarten (1957).

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on the basis of a case study, assert that "Athletic" is a very good base for mobility in a lower class boy." Riesman and Denney (1950), on the basis of their cursory examination of early All-American football listings, stated that there was an element of class identification running through American football since its earliest days, and the ethnic origins of players contain ample invitations to the making of theory about the class dimensions of footballs. Most observers would be inclined to agree that the arrival of names like Kelley and Kipke on the annual All-American list was taken by the Flanagan’s and the Webers as the achievement of a lower-class aspiration to be among the best at an upper-class sport.11

An exception to these expository accounts was Weinberg and Arond’s (1952) study of professional boxers. Drawing upon empirical data, they showed that nearly all boxers were recruited from low socio-economic backgrounds. They also showed that although a number of successful boxers experience a rather quick economic ascent at a young age, their punitive sports career typically results in an equally swift

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10 Robert J. Havighurst and Bernice L. Neugarten (1957) *Society and Education*, Boston, Allyn and Bacon. P. 45

economic descent.\textsuperscript{12}

Other sociological studies of professional athletes, while not directly concerned with mobility patterns per se., do nevertheless, provide some data from which inferences can be made.

Information regarding the income and educational levels of major league baseball players, for example, was contained in the works of Gregory (1956), Andreano (1965A, 1965B) and Charnofsky (1967). Moreover, a comparison of the three studies was indicative of changes in the social characteristics of professional baseball players. As an example Charnofsky’s data when compared with that of Andreano may indicate” “an important trend toward increasing college education for major league baseball players””. On the basis of data collected from 75 major league players in the summer of 1965, Charnofsky found that” “only 3% of the sample failed to graduate from high school and whereas only 17% managed to earn a college degree, 58% had attended college” “for one semester or more.”\textsuperscript{13}

According to Loy, (1969) findings from the few studies of professional athletes, while giving some indication of the social status of certain sportsmen and a hint of their social

\textsuperscript{12}S K. Weinberg and H. Arond (1952) “The Occupational Cultural of the boxer.” American Journal of Sociology, 57 P 468

origins, did not provide a firm basis for generalization concerning mobility patterns; nor did they show the linkage between sport, education and the broader occupational structure of society. Regretfully, research studies regarding the relationships between participation in collegiate athletics, college graduation, and consequent upward mobility were also few in number. Loy (1969) further stated that on the one hand, a couple of large scale surveys had been made which illustrated the occupational success patterns of former college athletes in several sports, but they failed to report on other hand, largely in the form of master's theses in physical education, there have been a few studies which indicated the social origin of athletes in several sports, but they failed to show what social heights the athletes have risen to in later life. An early example of the former type of study was the survey made by the National Biographical Society in 1927 and presented in the volume titled 'Who's who' in American sport in 1928. Questionnaires were mailed to more than 32,000 contemporary or former sportsmen in America, and over 12,000 responded in whole or in part. Data concerning present occupation, educational achievement, and past athletic records were reported for 4,000 of the individuals who returned their questionnaires. In order to gain some small historical in sight in to the occupational trends of selected sportsmen, the speaker has coded the data for these 4,000 individuals and placed it on edge-notched punch cards to be hand-sorted and analyzed in the near future. Admittedly, the analysis was not likely to produce important
findings, since the social origins of the sportsmen were not given in their biographical sketches.

A more modern survey of some scope was that made by the Assistant Athletic Director at the University of Pittsburgh in 1961. He located 1,678 former Pitt lettermen whose performances date from 1900 to 1960. A questionnaire was mailed to each of these former athletes and 1,391 or 83% returned them. The former Chancellor of the University of Pittsburgh, Litchfield, presented some of the findings of the survey in an article written for "Sports Illustrated" with Myron Cope in 1962. They cite several exemplary cases of personal success and report that 37% of the sample had earned advanced degrees. They also recorded what percent of athletes in each of seven sports (tennis, baseball, golf, track, swimming, football, and basketball) have succeeded in each of eight professions (medicine, law, engineering, education, management, entrepreneurs, sales and dentistry). A predominant number of golfers were found to have gone into sales work, swimmers stressed engineering, baseball players were prominent in education, and there was "...a clear affinity between football and dentistry. Only 8% of former lettermen had gone into coaching, of whom three quarters were also teachers". Again, no data were given as to what was the original socio-economic background of the athletes in the various sports.

*Edward H. Litchfield and Cope Myron, "Saturday's Hero is Doing Fine," Sports Illustrated (July 8), p. 67*
An example of an investigation explicitly designed to determine the socio-economic background of college athletes is that of McIntyre (1959). He set forth two hypotheses: (1) Differences in socio-economic levels were characteristic of persons engaging in various types of sports, and (2) individuals who participate in contact or combative type sports, such as football and wrestling, were more likely to have been brought up in a lower social setting than those athletes who participated in non-combative sports.¹⁴

McIntyre tested his hypotheses by determining the socio-economic background of varsity athletes participating in football, basketball, gymnastics and wrestling at Pennsylvania State University in the 1958-59 academic year. In brief, he found that "...football players were characterized by a constellation of socio-economic factors which were not typical of other athletes", and "wrestlers seemed to fall in to a socio-economic background pattern very similar to that of basketball players and gymnasts".¹⁵ A specific finding underlying his general conclusions was the fact that 69% of the fathers of football players had not completed high school as compared to 35% of the fathers of basketball players and 31% of the fathers of gymnasts and wrestler.¹⁶ Where the athletes of McIntyre’s

¹⁴ Thomas D McIntyre (1959) "Socio-economic Background of white male Athletes from Four selected sports at Pennsylvania State University". A Thesis submitted to Pennsylvania University for the Degree of M.Ed. P.60.

¹⁵ Ibid, P.68

¹⁶ Ibid, P.26
sample were located in the social structure was of course, an open question; suggesting that longitudinal studies of athletic mobility were needed.

Webb (1968A, 1968B), at the National Convention of the American Association for Health, Physical Education, and Recreation held in St. Louis, reported his research regarding the social backgrounds and success patterns of college athletes. Schafer and his colleagues have recently presented findings concerning relationships between athletic participation and academic achievement in the American journal of Sociology (Reinhart and Schafer, 1968) and Transaction (Schafer & Armer, 1968). In brief, the combined findings of their investigations showed a positive relationship between participation in interscholastic athletics and high school grades, completion of high school and college plans.

One of the most substantial studies in the literature regarding social mobility among sportsmen is that of Luschen (1963). In an investigation of sample of 1,880 youths in German sports clubs he found that 14% were upwardly mobile and 7% were downwardly mobile. Moreover, he discovered a number of characteristics which differentiated the two groups of sportsmen. Luschen found, for example, that approximately half of the upwardly mobile sportsmen occupied leadership position in the clubs, while not a single important office was held by downwardly mobile sportsmen. Another interesting finding of his study was that sports seemed to be an important means of instilling middle class values in upwardly mobile
lower class youths. A third point of interest was that the lowest status sports in Germany appeared to be cycling and boxing followed by soccer, wrestling and field Handball. It was noted that upwardly mobile sportsmen showed a preference for boxing and Hockey while upwardly mobile athletes preferred sports like track and rowing. These latter findings have certain parallels with finding reported by Meyer (1951) in America.

Meyer attempted to identify certain characteristics related to success in the human relations aspect of work-group leadership. He administered a battery of tests to approximately 200 first line supervisors in large utility company. Meyer established a criterion of leadership ability and classified supervisors, rated in the upper and lower 27 per cents on the criterion measure as good and poor supervisors, respectively. Regarding the differences between the two groups, Meyer reported that:

The most conspicuous of all differences found was probably the fact that many more of the good supervisors had participated in sports than had the poor supervisors. In twenty-one of the twenty-five activities listed, more of the good supervisors indicated that they then did or that they had one time participated in the activities than did the poor supervisors. For most of the popular sports, such as tennis, golf, football, softball, swimming, track, and bowling, the differences were significant at least the five per cent level of confidence.
However more of the poor supervisors had participated in boxing and wrestling than had the good supervisors." The preference shown for combatives sports by poor supervisors raised an interesting problem for the psychologist as well as the sociologist.

When Lever studied Brazilian soccer in 1969. This mania was kept going by 5,000 professional athletes playing for about 100 teams. Eighty per cent were from the lowest social class, many of them black. "Scouts for various teams scour the beaches of the Island cities." Hoping eventually to attract these scouts, boys from the age of four or five up, "too poor to afford soccer balls... will practice the whole day through on beaches or empty lots with only a tightly rolled stocking for a ball". Many poor, uneducated boys rise fast to the big city teams, but a number fall back down as fast as they rose. "Around the age of 30 they find themselves with no work skills, no money and only memories of their brief career. Because he neither studied nor worked during his brief playing career, lower-class retiring player had no choice but to accept a manial, unskilled job." For reasons that Lever discussed

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3Ibid.
4Ibid., p. 41.
interestingly, soccer players on the less professionalized, smaller city teams very often come out better than the top-flight big city stars.

It was certain, said Lever, that the ladder of mobility such as professional sport took on a much greater significance in a traditional, rigidly stratified society than in a relatively open social system such as in the United States.\textsuperscript{23}

A report by a sociologist from Nigeria, Sohi (1981) studied how sports related to social stratification in India. Indian sportsmen, said Sohi, were predominantly from the lower middle class. After becoming sportsmen they were higher in social class and educational level than their fathers (15\% of the fathers of sportsmen were just literate, 17\% having no more than a primary-school education. One reason for upward mobility was that a trend was emerging in India now which provided weightage to sport performance at the time of employment. The private industrial concerns showed a keen interest in sports\textsuperscript{22}. Another reason was that as education had become available to all classes, sportsmen were likely to have places reserved for them in institutions of higher education and to receive athletic scholarships\textsuperscript{23}. The facilities for the higher prestige sports were more available to the

\textsuperscript{22}Ibid., P. 43


\textsuperscript{23}Ibid., P. 72
youths of higher social status. Also, as they grow up, children of each class learn the sports typical of class. We can see the similarity in the absence of American ghetto youths in such sports as tennis, golf and swimming.

Sports mobility in Brazil was very much like some things we should see in the United States, and also very different. Brazil had an extreme case of what Janet Lever (1969) calls soccer mania. When Brazil lost in the 1966 World Cup Finals, after thousands of fans followed the team all the way to London, black streamers and clouds of black carbon paper came down from office building, flags flew at half mast, and people wept in the streets. Lever cited a recent Brazilian study by Antonio Teixeira that showed that production in Sao Paulo increased 12.3% in the weeks that their top team won and that industrial accidents increased by 15.3% in losing weeks. Fans ritually burn candles in their team's colours to enlist divine support.

Thus the evidences revealed that there was a social mobility amongst sportsmen. But the upward social mobility was uncertain amongst the sportsmen throughout the world depending upon education, scholarship, industrial sponsorship and professional top club membership, importance of acquiring additional skills in trade or other profession has also been recognised for upward mobility. The review of literature has also indicated that present study was the first of it's kind in the field of social mobility amongst Veteran Women University players in India.

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