Editor's Notes

It's conference time again! Last year, in February, I was enjoying Louisiana and the Mardi Gras. This Newsletter contains the conference arrangements and abstracts for the forthcoming 1984 conference meeting, March 28th to the 31st, at Clemson, South Carolina.

Many thanks are extended to Barney Mergen (TAASP President-Elect and Conference Organizer) and Joe Arbena (Local Arrangements Chairman) for their meritorious efforts in preparing the conference schedule and in arduously providing the TAASP abstracts. This year TAASP has 40 papers to offer, which are arranged in 11 sessions. As well, sessions have been organized by NASS and the Clemson Conference on Sport and Society. If you cannot attend the conference, but are intrigued by a contributor's abstract, you could write to the author(s) for a copy of the paper. As well, this Newsletter contains contributions from Powell and Sutton-Smith in response to Klaus Meier's article (Volume 10, No. 1). Additionally, Hilliard and Coakley have provided book reviews on the nature and essence of sport in societies.
A combined meeting of: The Association for the Anthropological Study of Play (TAASP)  
The North American Society for the Sociology of Sport (NASSS)  
The Clemson University Conference on Sport & Society  

Meeting Sites: Clemson University campus; Holiday Inn of Clemson, S.C.  

Housing: Holiday Inn of Clemson -- Rates: Single $35.00  
Double 40.00  
Additional Persons 5.00  

Contact: (800) 238-8000 (toll free) or (803) 654-4450  
Or return the enclosed room reservation form directly to the Inn no later than March 1, 1984 for priority booking.  

Transportation: Clemson can be reached by plane through the Greenville-Spartanburg Jetport (GSP) or by Amtrak. Transportation between campus and both terminals will be provided. If you wish to be met at the airport or train station, please return the enclosed ground transportation request, along with your registration form, as soon as possible. We must hear from you in advance of your arrival.  

Air Fare: Eastern Airlines has approved special convention rates for conference participants arriving/departing GSP. Be sure to ask about these rates, though in some cases discount fares may be in effect which are lower than the convention rates. Eastern will arrange to give you the best fare. You may work through your own travel agent, call the Eastern convention desk (800-327-1295; in Florida 800-432-1217), or contact Small World Travel in Clemson (803-654-6125). The Easy Access Number assigned to this convention is EZ3P18.  

Registration: The registration fee of $25 covers program materials, local transportation, a luncheon, receptions, and a wine-and-cheese party. To guarantee space at the luncheon, we must receive registrations by Monday, March 26. Make checks payable to Conference on Sport & Society.  

Information: For additional information concerning the program and local arrangements, contact Dr. Joseph L. Arbena, 105 Hardin Hall, Clemson University, Clemson, South Carolina, 29631. Telephone: (803) 656-3153.
REGISTRATION FORM
Registration Fee $25.00
TAASP-NASSS-Clemson University Conference on Sport & Society, March 28-31, 1984

Name(s) ____________________________________________________________

Address ________________________________ ____________________________

__________________________ __________________________
(city) (state) (zip)

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Arrival ____________________________

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Number of Nights _________________________

Arrival by 6:00 pm ____________________________

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Contact: Joe Arbena
Local Arrangements Chairman
(803) 656-3153/4

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For information, call or write:
C. Dick Plyler, Administrator
Greenville, South Carolina 29602 U.S.A.

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The Cultural Dimensions of Play, Games, and Sport

TAASP Sessions and Abstracts

Note: All activities in Clemson Holiday Inn unless indicated.

Wednesday, March 28

Registration (4:00-6:00) - also Thursday, 8 - 4, and Friday, 8 - 11:00.

Keynote Address (Tillman Auditorium 7:30 - 9:00)

"The Student Athlete" (Alan Page)

Reception (Alumni Center: 9:00 - 10:00)

Session 1

Play and Socialization (8:45-10:15) (Mergen)

"Play in the City: Creating a Sense of Place" (Zeitlin & Dargan)

"Impacting Trait Anxiety and Psychological Well-Being in Incarcerated Youth Through the Use of Scuba Training" (Davies)

"Gambling as Play" (Smith & Abt)

"The Serious Side of Jump Rope: Conversational Practices and Social Organization in the Frame of Play" (Goodwin)

Zeitlin, S. and Dargan A.

Play in the City: Creating a Sense of Place

This paper, which grows out of current research for an exhibition project on the history and customs of play in New York, will explore the changing role of play activities in establishing a sense of place in the city. Through urban play, city residents embue particular locations with value, establish neighborhood boundaries and humanize the urban environment. "A neighborhood is at first a confusion of images," writes cultural geographer, Yi-Fu Tuan, "it is blurred space 'out there.'" Play forms are one of the ways residents attend to these spaces, organize them into "playing fields," and perform the cultural events which render those places meaningful. This transformation of what folklorists Sheldon Posen and Maxine Miska term "space into place" is a twofold process. First, parts of the urban landscape--its buildings, front stoops, sidewalks, rooftops and streets--are imaginatively transformed into arenas for play; second, the recurring play activities serve to render those sometimes inauspicious urban settings significant in people's lives.

Davies, Mary S. (Temple University)

Impacting Trait Anxiety and Psychological Well-Being In Incarcerated Delinquents Through The Use of Scuba Training

The purpose of this research study was to determine the impact of a basic 48-hour scuba training course on trait anxiety levels and psychological well-being of incarcerated juvenile delinquents. Three groups totaling 26 delinquent youth from Ferris School, Wilmington, Delaware were set up: 10 in the scuba (experimental) group, who participated in two hours of scuba lecture and two hours of pool training twice a week for 12 weeks; 8 in the swimming control group, who participated in the scuba lecture and one hour of recreational swimming twice a week for 12 weeks and; 8 in the control group who only participated in the standard Ferris program and the pre- and post-testing sessions.

Smith, James F. and Abt, Vicki (Pennsylvania State University).

Gambling As Play

Individuals are socialized into a culture by means of various myths and rituals characteristic of that culture. Among the rituals that reflect, articulate, and transmit cultural myths are play and games. Materialism and
competition are two distinguishing traits of the American character which are reflected in the games children and adolescents play; and in a world that encourages great expectations while offering diminishing opportunities for fulfillment, the playing of gambling games provides a form of recreation that is a product of and a contributor to prevailing cultural myths. The cultural context of childhood and adolescent socialization is discussed. Within this context, selected games combining chance and skill illustrate ways in which individuals "learn to bet." As teacher and mirror of cultural values, such games may actually predispose Americans to gambling behavior, and it is not surprising that commercial gambling among adults has become such a significant social, economic, and cultural issue in contemporary American civilization.

Goodwin, Marjorie H. (University of South Carolina) 
The Serious Side of Jump Rope: Conversational Practices and Social Organization in the Frame of Play

Though a great deal of folklore research has documented the rhymes that girls use in jumping rope, few studies have taken seriously the conversational activities through which negotiable features of the game are organized. This study, based on naturalistic fieldwork undertaken over a year and a half's period in Philadelphia, examines the forms of speech events and their sequencing through which rules are disputed within the frame of jumping rope among a group of 7-14 year old urban black girls. Despite the fact that the general outline of rules for coordinating jump rope activity remains relatively constant over time, the ways in which any particular game is to be played are open for negotiation each occasion of its performance. For example, the members of the activity must decide how the positions of jumper or ender are to be selected, what roles newcomers are to take on, what rhymes will be used and in what sequence, what moves are required by a jumper in keeping with the rhyme selected, whether a girl receives one or two chances at jumping during her turn, how the interference of a vehicle on the street or an ender's ineptness will have an effect upon a jumper's turn, etc. The processes of arriving at decisions on such issues are consistent with how activities in other frames such as organizing a task (i.e. making glass rings from soda bottle rims) are conducted in the girls' group. Whereas within the boys' playgroup hierarchical structures emerge in such circumstances, among the girls a social organization more egalitarian in nature develops; nevertheless, the "play" frame permits attempted differentiation between players. Specific types of conversational moves occurring during girls' jump rope rule negotiations and their relationship to social organization are investigated in this paper.

Session 2
Approaches to Play Through Literature And History (10:30 - 12:30) (Nardo)

"Sir Thomas Browne: A Scientist At Play" (Nardo) 
"1984: Perversions of the Play-Impulse" (Weatherly & Weatherly) 
"Travel as Play" (Mergen) 
"Roller Ball and Sport in the Future" (Vanderwerken) 
"The Poker Game in William Faulkner's Go Down, Moses" (Posselt)

Nardo, Anna K. (Louisiana State University) 
Sir Thomas Browne: A Scientist At Play

Sir Thomas Browne, the seventeenth-century English physician, was one of the new men of science—a believer in Baconian empiricism and author of a treatise dispelling
the superstitions and "vulgar errors" still held by his contemporaries. Although he criticizes the mythic consciousness that literalizes mere metaphors and allegories, his own version of science is play with the creation that leads to wonder at its Maker. In detailed and accurate descriptions of animals, vegetables, minerals, and cosmic bodies, Browne illustrates the handwriting of God in His hieroglyphic universe. These serious works of both science and divinity are full of puns, jokes, and the rapture of one absorbed in play, because Browne considered the universe to be a marvelous toy globe to "toure... round sometimes for my recreatioh." After illustrating Browne's ludic science, this paper will propose an explanation of why so much early science in England was play.

Weatherly, Joan (Memphis State University) and Weatherly, James (Mississippi State University) 1984: Perversions of the Play-Impulse

One of the most terrifying aspects of George Orwell's vision of life in the Western World in 1984 is the children who are absolutely devoid of any sense of fun or play. They are, in fact, monstrous spies of the state with no qualms about handing their own parents over to Big Brother. And one of the terrifying aspects of the year 1984 is the several recent warnings that childhood--whatever myth it may always have been--is vanishing from contemporary Western life. Even in Japan the suicide rate among adolescents is increasing with pressure to do well on advanced placement tests. Yet another form of the problem emerging from loss of play is reflected in the recent Marcus Dupree saga.

In his 1896 novel Jude the Obscure, Thomas Hardy sees Little Father Time's murder-suicide as a portent of "the coming will not to live" in modern children. Both Hardy and Orwell illustrate what can happen when, as the philosopher Schiller put it long ago, "the play-impulse" is stifled. Hardy's Father Time becomes Schiller's "slave type" and Orwell's children illustrate the "dictator type."

Following an overview of children with perverted play-impulse in fiction (Joan Weatherly) and in non-fiction (Jim Weatherly), several recent manifestations of the problem will be considered. Our purpose here is not so much to solve as to explore this problem which seems to be increasing in intensity.

Mergen, B. (George Washington University) Travel as Play

This presentation will examine some of the ways in which recreational travel by private boat, bicycle, automobile, and aircraft becomes play in the multiple senses that Sutton-Smith and others have used the word. My data comes from numerous books on sailing, flying, driving, etc. published from the early 19th century to the present in the United States. An attempt will be made to show the relationships among the factors of culture, technology, geography, and business. It is a central hypothesis of this paper that the sailors, riders, and flyers who write about their experiences develop a set of literary conventions that must be understood in order to interpret the various cultural meanings of travel and play.

Vanderwerken, David L. (Texas Christian University) Roller Ball and Sport in the Future

Although the subject is mentioned in passing, neither Orwell's 1984 nor Huxley's Brave New World has much to say about the future of sport. One of the few works that envisions sport in the future is William Harrison's "Roller Ball Murder," which first appeared in Esquire in 1973 and
upon which the movie *Roller Ball*, starring James Caan, was based. Harrison's indebtedness to both landmarks of futuristic writing is everywhere apparent. Set in the first quarter of the next century, the story posits a world that blends 1984 and *Brave New World*. This paper will examine the world and the game Harrison has invented, will analyze the star of our show, Jonathan E, and will comment on Harrison's predictions which, for him, are merely logical projections and intensifications of contemporary states in sports-world.

The world of "Roller Ball Murder" is one we are familiar with, overpopulated and over-organized, rich in consumer goods but poor in spirit. The locale is Houston, which now stretches from Galveston to Huntsville. Jonathan E tells us, "The cities are too much, so large and uninhabitable that one has to have a business passport to enter such immensities as New York" (12).

Posselt, Nancy (Midlands Technical College) *The Poker Game in William Faulkner's "Go Down, Moses".*

The poker game in "Was," the initial segment of Faulkner's *Go Down, Moses*, is classified as a game of struggle, as opposed to chance or mimicry. As such, it serves three functions in the novel, the most important of which it shares with other works. First, the game serves as springboard for the plot, the primary cause of subsequent events. Second, as agonistic struggle, it symbolizes the conflict of social forces which dominates the novel. Third, the play of the game serves as a metaphor for the narrative structure of the novel, in which meaning is created through cyclic passages through time, a structure shared by the classic form of the detective novel, illustrated by Christie, et al. Thus card game, detective novel, and Faulkner's novel share the classic elements of the agonistic struggle.

**Session 2**

**Sexual Stereotypes in Sports and Play (2:00-3:45) (Harris)**

"Sport and Popular Symbolism: Comparisons Among Heroes of 6th Grade Boys and Girls" (Harris)
"Sport and the Family: A Consideration of Their Compatibility" (Coleman)
"Children's Sport Viewing Behavior and Adoption of Athletes as Role Models" (Giles)
Comment (Sutton-Smith)

Harris, Janet C. (University of North Carolina at Greensboro) *Sport and Popular Symbolism: Comparisons Among Heroes of 6th Grade Boys and Girls*

It is frequently suggested that sport in the United States functions symbolically to provide people with opportunities to develop for themselves a more complex understanding of our society. It must be remembered, however, that sport is only one of many expressive phenomena with which people are involved. Therefore, if we wish to learn more about its symbolic functioning, it seems important to compare it with other popular symbolic mechanisms such as motion pictures, television, advertising, music, literature, news media, cartoons, and religion. What aspects of our society are examined through these various symbolic mechanisms? What is the relative importance of each of these mechanisms? What are the relative strengths and limitations of these mechanisms? These broad and complex questions provided the impetus and rationale for a comparative investigation of heroes in our society, and the findings reported here are part of the results of this study. Heroes are important components of many popular symbolic phenomena in the United States. An examination of our heroes can provide us with some
comparative information about the nature and relative importance of the symbolic mechanisms in which they are found. Youths in our society frequently seem more willing than adults to discuss their heroes, and therefore the investigation was carried out focusing upon children and adolescents. Tape-recorded interviews were conducted with 128 young people at four grade levels (3rd, 6th, 9th and 12th) in pre-selected schools in Greensboro, North Carolina in the spring of 1982. Sample quotas within a random selection procedure assured equal numbers of boys/girls and blacks/whites at each of the four grade levels. All 128 interviews were transcribed. The youths were asked questions about the nature and relative importance of people and/or fictional characters whom they admired and/or considered to be heroes. Many of the people/characters named were also studied further by the investigator through examination of relevant popular symbolic materials and events. The present paper includes consideration of: (a) the theoretical rationale for the study; (b) the influences of preliminary interview findings upon the nature of the final interview format; and (c) comparisons of the people/characters who were admired and/or considered to be heroes by the white 6th grade boys and girls in the study. The findings reported here will serve as flexible guideposts as analyses of other portions of the data are carried out.

Coleman, Thomas (University of Georgia) Sport and the Family: A Consideration of Their Compatibility

Sport has become a major institution in our society (Coakley, 1982; Eitzen & Sage, 1982) extending into education, politics, economics, art, the mass media, and even international diplomatic relations (Sage, 1974). "Involvement in sport, either directly as a participant, or indirectly as a spectator, is almost considered a public duty by many Americans" (Sage, 1974).

The fact that family scholars have shown little interest in studying sport is surprising given the numerous ways in which sport affects family functioning. Such phrases as "the Monday night football widow," while humorous, attests to the impact of sport upon the family. With the advent of organized participatory sport for all age groups, the popularity of the physical fitness movement, and the mass media's attention to sport, sport can be said to represent an influential force on family schedules, relationships, communications, and finances.

Since concern over the social aspects of sport will continue to increase in the future (Sage, 1974), family professionals must begin to address the relation between sport and the family. In particular, there is a need to move beyond consideration of the benefits associated with individual sport involvement to address ways in which sport and the family can become more integrated and mutually supportive of both the individual and family. Therefore, the purpose of the proposed conceptual presentation will be to discuss the relation between sport and the family by addressing the following issues: (1) the significance of sport to society; (2) the significance of sport to the individual; (3) the potential for individual sport involvement to act as both a stressor and resource for family coping.

Giles, Margaret (University of Illinois) Children's Sport Viewing Behavior and Adoption of Athletes As Role Models

The purpose of this study was to examine children's television sport viewing behavior. It was postulated that there would be age and sex differences in sport viewing habits. It was hypothesized that: 1) Boys would view more sport on television than girls;
2) This relationship would increase with age 3) Boys would identify with male athletes as role models 4) Girls would identify with both male and female athletes 5) The tendency to adopt athletes as role models would increase with age, and 6) Children would view the same sports on television as their parents.

Eighty-five children from central Illinois elementary schools completed a six page questionnaire, which was administered in the classroom. The sample was evenly divided by sex and age 8 - 12 year olds. All parents who gave parental permission also completed a two-page questionnaire.

T-test, chi-square and Pearson product-moment correlations were used to analyse the data. The results show there is a relationship between parental and child sport viewing. As hypothesized, boys view more sport on television than girls and this disparity increases with age. Favorite sports for boys to view are baseball, football, and basketball; girls select gymnastics and basketball. Children who have an interest in sport both view and play sport.

There is no age difference in children's aspirations to resemble their favorite athlete. Boys identify with male athletes while girls identify with both male and female athletes. The gender of the athlete adopted as a role model may have important implications for children's play preferences.

Keynote Address (Tillman Auditorium: 7:30 - 9:00)
"Are Video Games Really Games?" (De Koven)
Wine and Cheese Party (Clemson House: 9:00 - 11:00)

Session 4

Play and Individual Development
(9:00 - 11:30) (Christie)
"Play and the Positive: What About the Lighter Side?" (Johnsen)
"Effects of Dramatic Play as a Basis of a Parent Instructional Model for Home Intervention Programming for Parents and Their Preschool Children: Preliminary Findings" (Yawkey & Diantonnis)
"Play and Writing: Possible Connections" (Christie & Noyce)
"The Changes in Interpersonal Relations of College Students as a Result of Social Recreational Play" (Lytle)
"The Social-Cognitive Ecology of Preschool Classrooms" (Pellegrini)
"The Development of Children's Narrative-like Play Behaviors" (Caster & Pellegrini)

Luncheon and Address (Clemson House: 12:00 - 1:30)
"World Olympism and American Games" (MacAlloon)

Johnsen, Peter E. (University of Kansas) Play and the Positive: What About the Lighter Side?

Recent writings of some author reflect a concern for the darker side of play originally examined in psychoanalytic approaches to children's use of play. However, little has been written or researched in recent years on the topic of play and the development of prosocial behaviors, i.e., sharing, cooperating, helping, comforting, and donating. This paper reviews the empirical studies on normal and specialized populations in terms of the interrelationships between various types of play and the emergence of the positive behaviors many societies promote during the early years of children's lives. Outcomes and Relationships are interpreted in light of research into other aspects of developing characteristics of Children; suggestions for future research questions are made.
Since 1965 - the beginning of Head Start - Federal and private agencies have focused their attention on parent intervention programs with disadvantaged, bilingual and special needs' populations. Substantiated by research findings, there are two primary reasons for this focus and interest. First, the findings of studies conducted by Bronfenbrenner (1975) and Bee, VanEngeren, Streissguth, Nyman and Lechie (1975) show that reciprocal interactions between child and parent contribute to emotional attachments and intellectual stimulation and the youngster's feelings, aspirations and attitudes. Piers and Landau's (1980), Pulaski's (1980) and Cohen and Tomlinson-Keasey's findings indicate that the highest levels of reciprocal interplay occur in play settings. Given that parents exert the earliest, greatest, and longest influences on their children (Madden, Levenstein & Levenstein, 1976; Schaeffer, 1973), home intervention for parents could be developed that not only maximizes the parent-child teaching-learning potential but also employ the medium of play as a basis for these reciprocal interactions. Second, results of research studies (e.g. Schaeffer, 1972) indicate that parent intervention programs should begin as early as possible to have maximum impact on the youngster's formative or early years, birth through eight. During these formative years, the child's basic concepts for thinking and communicating initially develop and evolve.

With this rationale, parent-home intervention programs were begun to explore whether parents trained in home settings to use play as a basis for reciprocal interactions between themselves and their children could impact parents' understandings of and attitudes and actions toward their children's growth and development and their children compared to control parents not receiving home-intervention training. This paper shares preliminary findings of the impact of a parent instructional model which trains lower-income parents to use dramatic play as a vehicle to enrich the interplay between themselves and their children and to report results on selected parent behaviors with and toward their children.

The parent-home intervention model using a dramatic play base was initially developed in Project H.O.M.E. -- and funded by the Margaret F. Patton Foundation. One year later, it was again tested in Project P.I.A.G.E.T. through funding by the U.S. Department of Education. The parent instructional model consists of five successive and hierarchically ordered sequences: (1) Summarizing and Reporting from the Previous Week; (2) Explaining the Current Session's Parent-Child Dramatic Play Routines; (3) Describing the Use of Dramatic Play Routines for Use in Home Settings; (4) Role-Playing and Rehearsal of the Dramatic Play Routine, and (5) Extending the Routine for Use in Settings Outside the Home.

In operationalizing the model, a trained aide met individually with parents in their homes for one hour and on a weekly basis trained them to use dramatic play using the instructional cycle. In Project P.I.A.G.E.T., 40 parents with children in a Title VII program constituted the experimental group and an additional 40 with children enrolled in a traditional English-as-a-Second-Language Program constituted the control group. All parents in Project P.I.A.G.E.T. treatments were Hispanic and from lower income populations.
The Problem The purpose of this study was to investigate the effect of a social-recreational games class upon the interpersonal needs of inclusion and control, as measured by the FIRO-B, in young adults.

Method A quasi-experimental study was conducted with fifty-seven subjects in the experimental/games group and forty-seven control group subjects who had enrolled in a political science course. The study was conducted over an academic year. The FIRO-B administered as a pretest and post test to all the subjects measured the interpersonal needs of inclusion and control, both behaviorally expressed and wanted from others. The treatment for those who enrolled in the physical education class entitled, \textit{People Games}, consisted of social-recreational games and activities. The class met twice a week averaging 35 minutes of playing time per session, for fifteen weeks.

Results An uncorrelated t-test was used to compare the pretest scores of the control and experimental group subjects. The experimental group was not significantly different from the control group at the outset of the experiment. Subjects who experienced the games class raised their pretest scores significantly in expressed inclusion ($p < .013$) and in expressed
control (p = .021), as measured by a correlated t-test. Men contributed significantly to the former (p = .001) and women to the latter (p = .036). Ex post facto results of significance included: Experimental group scoring higher in wanted affection (p = .01); Men from both groups scoring higher in expressed control (p = .046); Women from both groups scoring higher in wanted affection (p = .037); Experimental group students had higher affection interchange scores (p = .012).

Specified play programs are viewed as a powerful determinant in interpersonal relations and change.

Pellegrini, Anthony D. (University of Georgia) *The Social-Cognitive Ecology of Preschool Classrooms*

The intent of this study was to examine the extent to which social-cognitive aspects of preschool children's play varied according to two classroom contextual variables: presence in different learning centers (art, blocks, and housekeeping) and participants (number of children and adults) in those centers. Children from two age groups (three and four year old) were observed in their age-graded preschool classrooms. Each child was observed, on a time-sampling schedule, 15 times across a four week period. Play was categorized according to the Smilansky-Parten matrix. Data were analyzed in three stages: age effects on play, learning center effects on play, and separate correlations for relations between adult presence, peer presence, and play behaviors. The first two stages utilized one-way ANOVAs and the third utilized Pearson product moment correlations. Results indicated that children behaved differently according to each of these variables. Children engaged in lower-order social-cognitive behaviors in art centers than they did in blocks and housekeeping centers. Adult presence related to less mature forms of play whereas peer presence related to more mature forms of play. With age, play became more frequently social and dramatic.

Caster, Tonja & Pellegrini, Anthony, D. (University of Georgia)

Objectives To evaluate the narrative-like organization of four- and five-year-olds' play in two contexts to answer the following questions:
1. Does the narrative-like organization of children's play vary as a function of age?
2. Does the level of narrative-like play vary according to different play contexts (constructive and dramatic)?

Session 5

"Women: Myths and Ms in Contemporary Adult Play (2:00-3:45) (Duthie)"
"Play Potentials for Older Women" (Guilmette)
"Aging—the Survival of the Wisest" (Duthie)
"The Experience of Play in the Daily Activities of Older Adults: Sex-Role Stereotypes and Realities" (Mannell & Zuzanek) Comment (Cheska)

Guilmette, Ann Marie (Brock University) *Play Potentials for Older Women*

The premise, on which this paper is based, suggests that women are disadvantaged employees. As such, this paper also suggests that play strategies be invoked to render women more marketable in a changing work world. Ultimately, what is needed, is a clear conceptualization of the nature of adult play, and this paper suggests a research model for dealing with these issues.

Women struggle more to find employment (being the last to hear about opportunities or openings), struggle more to get a job (failing interviews because
of appearance rather than incompetence), and struggle more to keep their jobs (exceedingly high rate of imposed withdrawal). Due to this lack of sustained time in the job market (seniority), a large number of women struggle to re-enter the job force, often unprepared for the technological changes in their occupations, which render their skills antiquated.

This paper examines three different forms of employment, characteristic of women's traditional employment settings (secretaries, restaurant/hotel personnel, and switchboard operators), and suggests ways in which play could function to facilitate women's adjustment to the demands of a changing job market. In the process, traditional definitions of play are reviewed and consequently, a theoretical framework for understanding adult play is constructed.

Duthie, J. H. (University of Windsor)
Aging -- the Survival of the Wisest

An experimental program of intervention designed to avert institutionalization for the elderly.

Mannell, Roger C. & Zuzanek, Jiri (University of Waterloo) The Experience of Play in the Daily Activities of Older Adults - Sex-Role Stereotypes and Realities

The objectives of this study were to map out when and where in daily life older adults tend to experience their activities as play (intrinsically motivated experiences). Data were obtained from a sample of older adults, each of whom filled out self-report forms at random times during the waking hours of a normal week. Each subject carried out pocket-sized electronic paging device which signalled when the report was to be completed. Not only did the respondents report the activity in which they were engaged and the accompanying circumstances, but they also completed various scales which allowed their psychological experience of the activity to be assessed. Analysis suggests that older men and women experience different types of activities as play or intrinsically motivated episodes. For example, women experienced physical exercise as more playful than men, and men experienced home domestic activities as more playful. The paper discusses the utility of viewing play as a subjective state, and examines the relationship of various gender-related differences in playfulness to well-being and feelings of competence.

Session 6

Theories and Methods of Play (2:00 - 3:45) (Bowman)
"The Nature of Play Revisited: Biological Bases and Emotional Ties" (Dixon)
"Attitudes Toward Play and Beliefs About Development" (Johnson)
"Playing with Games: 'Playful' vs. 'Serious' Games" (Bowman)
"Cubal Analysis: A Post-Sexist Model of the Psyche" (Blair)

Typologies of Play, Games and Sport (4:00 - 5:30) (Cheska)
"Play" (Norbeck)
"Games" (Roberts)
"Sport" (Loy)
Comment (Sutton-Smith)

Keynote Address (Tillman Auditorium 7:30 - 9:00)
"Sport: It's More Than a Game" (Dick Vermeil)

Reception (Alumni Center; 9:00-10:00)

Dixon, Sandy L. (University of North Carolina) The Nature of Play Revisited: Biological Bases and Emotional Ties

This paper presents a synthesis of research dealing with the biological bases of behavior and research dealing with emotions in an effort to provide further insight concerning the nature of play. Current research with infants shows that newborns are
all around more capable physiologically/psychologically than was once thought. Consideration of some of the findings may provide a base for maintaining and/or adjusting some of the commonly held views with regard to the nature of play. Two questions are addressed: a) of what significance, if any, is the fact that emotions and play are, as categories of behavior, biologically based (as is all behavior), and b) what relationships can be drawn between emotions and play. In examining the first question, play as a voluntary event and play as a spontaneous event is considered. It is suggested that the occurrence of play is inevitable. An exploration of the relationships between emotions and play results in the suggestion that it may be useful to view play as a complex of certain emotions when attempting to define what play is.

Johnson, James E. (Pennsylvania State University) *Attitudes Towards Play and Beliefs About Development: An Empirical Analysis*

A theoretical model is constructed (Fig. 1) to depict the relationships among play, the environment, and behavior and development. An important conceptual link is proposed between the adult's attitudes and values concerning play and the adult's knowledge and beliefs concerning child development. This linkage is the focus of the present paper. After reviewing the extant play literature on this topic, and summarizing several measurement instruments that have been used in the past, this paper presents three new instruments that have been developed and tested for use in the present investigation: 1) Beliefs about Development (BD) scale; 2) Attitudes towards Play and Development (APD) scale; 3) Attitudes towards Play scale (AP). The first instrument evaluates the degree to which one prefers maturational, environmental, or interactional views of development, the second instrument measures one's priorities concerning imaginative and constructive play and cognitive process and product learning activities, and the third instrument evaluates one's priorities towards imaginative play, constructive play, games, physical play, and expressive play activities.

The sets of instruments were administered to 15 preschool teachers and 35 mothers of preschool children. Response patterns comparing instruments and respondents (e.g., parents verses teachers) were analyzed. Among the preliminary findings is that adherence to maturational views of child development is related to a preference for age-inappropriate play activities for children. Endorsement of learning theory views was associated with preference for imaginative and constructive play activities for preschoolers. Cognitive developmental views appeared to be unrelated to play attitudes and play and development attitudes. These and other findings are discussed in connection with the theoretical model proposed, with particular attention given to other possible factors affecting play attitudes besides one's knowledge and beliefs and child development.

Bowman, John (Pembroke State University) *Playing With Games: "Playful" Vs. "Serious" Games*

An examination of the literature on play and games reveals that there is little consistency in how these terms are defined and used. Rather than using these terms interchangeably, a distinction will be drawn here between the terms "play" and "games." As viewed by play participants, a delineation is oftentimes employed to distinguish between certain kinds of games, or to make a distinction between how certain games are actually played. Whereas "serious
games" are viewed as having pre- determinated and unalterable rules, sides, and competition, "playful games" are characterized by a greater freedom to change existing rules, and a suspension of competitive attitudes.

Although it is not possible to specify and describe in detail all the myriad possibilities of "playful games," an examination and analysis of three hundred such games revealed four common types of "playful games" experienced by adults: 1) spontaneous games; 2) silly and ridiculous games, including adults playing children's games; 3) playing at playing games; and 4) combination games. Each of these types of "playful games" are described in detail, and a number of tacit rules for successfully accomplishing such play forms will be elaborated.

Blair, Karin L. (Northampton, Mass.)
Cubal Analysis: A Post-Sexist Model of the Psyche

"Cubal analysis" is the name I have given to a series of concepts which constitute a post-sexist intellectual model of the psyche. These concepts can be incorporated into a game complex centered around an octahedral die. Basically both model and the games embodying it assume simply that people can be understood as living somewhere within a three-dimensional coordinate system that can be conceptualized as a cube that is, arrayed in relation to three axes: age, sex and morality (or, alternatively, as time, space, and value). Thus we can understand living as conditioned by 1) passage through time, otherwise known as aging, 2) passage through space in a body which is sexually differentiated, and 3) passage through at least one culture which makes available a variety of roles or identities of differing social and moral value.

This model invites us to become conscious of our state of being in relation to a framework where mathematical symmetry replaces the more arbitrary and skewed realities of everyday life. The cube, by conceptualizing free access to all the possible distributions and combinations of age, sex and morality, permits the individual equal access to an imaginative realization of an encounter with the full range of these possibilities.

In the same spirit cubal gaming invites the individual to contact in imagination parts of oneself which real-life asymmetries may have suppressed. Whereas the cubal model is based on mathematical completeness, the cubal game functions by means of a randomizing die which engages the individual case.

The game, then, explores the individual circumstance rather than the probabilities of poker or the rational strategies of chess. Rules become a function of the context within which the game is played and cannot in fact exist out of context. Therefore, for TAASP I would propose a brief theoretical introduction followed by a short demonstration which uses the specificity of those circumstances. Assuming the participants are strangers to each other, my main practical goal would be to demonstrate the use of this projective game to put players in tune with each other as each enters the world of the cube.

Saturday, March 31
Session 7
Contemporary Rituals in Society
(9:00-10:30)
"Notre Dame Football as Ritual and Secular Festival" (Koval)
"Impact of Home Video Games on Families" (Mitchell)
Contemporary Rituals in Society
Koval: Abstract not available at this time.
Mitchell: Abstract not available at this time.
Oliver, Leonard P. (Washington, D.C.)

Position Paper

There are over one million young people playing this international sport in America, it has become an intense and widespread phenomenon, somewhat white, middle-class and suburban small town based, and it carries implications for our multi-cultural society, including the influence of soccer on our culture, and the influence of cultures on soccer. Congressman Jack Kemp, on the floor of the Congress, called soccer "the cultural manifestation of European socialism" whereas American "football" epitomizes "democratic capitalism."

Further, whereas soccer is fluid, non-stop, with little coaching from the sidelines--meaning individuals can soar while still playing a team sport, American football is constant stoppage, acute divisions of labor, hierarchically-oriented with plays from the sidelines, and organized offense against organized competition defense.

In addition, each nation has a distinct soccer-style, with the national and club teams in Brazil, England, Germany, Italy the Soviet Union, etc. all exemplifying a different approach to the game. The question that arises, therefore, is given the multiple cultures that make up our society, and given our distinct approach to sports (an American spirit"), what distinct characteristics will our soccer have once it is a truly recognized national sport?

Panel Reactors: Williams, Clyde
(Mississippi State University)
(Parent-Coach perspectives
if he were an object); and (c) the vicarious play of the audience that views the performance. These distinct yet related play modes provide a context for exploring the shared qualities of "fun" activities. This paper explores the interrelationship of the three modes as a means of developing a definition of play compatible with sociological (symbolic interactionist) theory. The conclusion reached is that stage hypnotism is an analog of any play act, consisting of interactions that take place within an "unreflected" command-action matrix and that are confirmed as play by an audience of participants who give social legitimation to activities "done for themselves." The three "fun" modes are differentiated by the degree of role distance displayed in the action. In true play there is no role distance. In fact there is engrossment in the role. In toying, role distance is the major role action. The role of the entertained audience member is an amalgam of playing at engrossment and role distance.

Fox, Steven, J. (University of Southern Mississippi) Rodeo: Western Sport and Subculture in Transition

Rodeo, the sportive legacy of the traditional American cowboy, is more often viewed as a novelty than the subject of social scientific inquiry. While remaining rich in the symbolism of its western heritage, the sport has undergone considerable change in the past two decades. Modern rodeo performers are less frequently individuals demonstrating their mastery of occupation related skills than highly trained athletes that have developed their expertise through years of practice and competition. Moreover, extensive corporate sponsorship at all levels, growing national media exposure, and a high degree of specialization within the sport have transformed rodeo from a phenomenon exclusive to rural, western subculture into a complex, sophisticated undertaking comparable to other major athletic enterprises. Toennies' dichotimization of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft sociocultural patterns and processes provides a useful context for examining the changes occurring in the sport of rodeo.

Session 10

Ethnographies of Play (2:00-3:45) (Blanchard)
"Psychological and Ecological Dimensions of Adolescent Play: A Comparison of Thai Muslim and Copper Eskimo Adolescents" (Anderson & Condon)
"Play in Amish Society" (Lee)
"Play as Adaptation: The Work-Play Dichotomy Revisited" (Blanchard)
"Games in a Changing Sard Village" (Lonergan)


This paper compares the psychosocial and ecological dimensions of adolescent play culture in two culturally and ecological distinct settings: a Thai Muslim community in southern Thailand and a Copper Eskimo Village in Central Canadian Arctic. These data were collected in the context of a larger cross-cultural investigation of the social, psychological, and physiological aspects of adolescent development. Sullivan's theory of adolescent development states that from preadolescence to adolescence there is a shift in intimacy from a same-sex close friend like oneself to someone who is "very different from oneself." This is also accompanied by the development of an interest in the opposite sex (Sullivan 1953: 245,264)
The present paper examines whether or not these developmental changes in intimacy occur cross-culturally and the extent to which they are demonstrated in adolescents' social interactions in play activities. Also, given adolescents' tendency to assimilate rapidly new innovations, what are the effects of modernization upon the play culture of adolescents in the societies under investigation? To examine these questions, this paper presents qualitative data on the social and ecological contexts of adolescent play, cultural values, and culture change along with quantitative data on actual play behaviors based upon spot observations of adolescent play activities and settings.

Lee, Karen K. "Play in Amish Society"

This paper will describe play in Amish society. The Amish have retained what has been called a folk society - small, isolated, traditional, homogeneous. They have set themselves apart from the larger society. Despite the attempts at isolation, they have had to deal with pressures from the fast-paced, ever-changing larger society, making maintenance of the folk society difficult. Their predominant forms of play reflect their success in maintaining this simple separate way of life, based largely on a farm culture.

Two forms of play will be discussed: "work as play" and "modern play." "Work as play" stems from the need to work and to work hard. Play becomes incorporated into many of the folk culture enterprises - quilting, barn raising, corn husking.

The Amish have set themselves apart by their distinctive mode of dress, their use of the horse and buggy, their Amish dialect, among other means for cultural separation. Since they set themselves apart as fully in these ways, the Amish can maintain their separation while engaging in leisure time activities shared by the larger society.

"Modern play" becomes possible. "Modern in play" includes visiting the zoo, riding the railroad, fishing and canoeing, buying an ice cream at the Dairy Queen.

This "modern play" is curious given the social conservatism of Amish life. It reflects a balance that the Amish society has struck with its need to isolate itself and maintain conformity and the lure of the outside world. The Amish have chosen highly visible areas in which to require strict conformity, making non-conformity obvious and expulsion possible. This process allows for some sharing of the "modern" way of life, play being no exception, as long as conformity in the required areas is maintained.

Blanchard, Kendall (Middle Tennessee State University) Play as Adaptation: The Work-Play Dichotomy Revisited

The theoretical relationship between work and play remains an unresolved conceptual issue. This paper questions both the logical and practical wisdom in the dichotomization of the two phenomena. Using a Bateson notion of play, it is suggested that rather than being an antonym for work, play, similar to work, is a viable strategy of adaptation. Historically, many societies have developed playful mechanisms for coping with the fundamental problems of existence, and in most cases these have proven to be as effective as those of more work-conscious populations. It is also suggested that one of the dangers of the work-play dichotomy is the theoretical legitimation it provides for the demeaning stereotypes often attached to such playful societies.

The paper's central themes are illustrated with data from a variety of "playful" Native American systems. A new definition of play as adaptation is proposed, and
Examples of lunch time games were collected in two elementary schools, which included kindergarten classes through fourth grade classes. Lunch time was a 40 minute period for each class. Classes rotated into the cafeteria on a staggered schedule, as all the classes could not fit into the room at the same time. Teachers and university students who worked in the classrooms and ate with the children recorded games played in the cafeteria over a six month period.

Children were required to remain seated during lunch. As a result, many of their games were low on action and high on language. Some games did relate to food and eating; e.g., fourth graders established eating-related conditions for having cooties ("Charlotte is eating her hot dog now. Don't eat yours, or you'll have cooties."). Other games related directly to the physical environment, but were unrelated to food; e.g., in one cafeteria the seats of the tables were alternately blue and red, which served as a stimulus for a game for kindergarteners ("Blue is for the girls. Mark, you're on the blue, so you have to be a girl."). Other games were not related in any way to the cafeteria or its functions: e.g., first graders played with their phonics skills while eating ("Are you a P.T.?" "No". "Then you're not a Pretty Teacher." Or, "Yes." "Then you're a Pregnant Teacher.").

The range of games to be reported will demonstrate that an environment such as a cafeteria can be a locale wherein unique games occur. However, the games that take place in that locale are not limited to environmentally "appropriate" games. The possible meaning of the games will be discussed. The discussion will also raise questions about how games and play are surviving in
elementary school environments, where recess is not a daily happening, where E. is increasingly adult-directed, and where little or no class time is left free for children to interact and develop ludic activities. Time in the cafeteria may be one of the few occasions when child play can be expressed.

Moran, Robert "Playfighting Among Male Adolescent Residents of a Boys' Home"

This paper examines a form of playfighting which is both popular and traditional among adolescent residents of a boys' home. Unlike ethnological studies of such play, this paper will attend to participants' narratives which feature playfighting events and which provide symbolic 'explanations' of them. And, unlike some folkloristic studies of fight stories, this paper will discuss primarily non-verbal behaviours which "play with" fighting and which negotiate related issues.

A discussion of the social uses and personal risks involved in playfighting will follow an examination of the framed sequences of playfighting. Playfighting will be considered with related play forms (such as breakdancing and roughhouse basketball games) as means of establishing and testing knowledge of both the performing self and the social world.

Within the context of the boys' home, playfighting is regarded by staff less favorably than actual fighting. Playfighting will be shown to occupy an interstitial zone - neither approved of or punished by staff - which participants transform into a stage in order to perform this play which is both visible and private. Stories and conversation about playfighting and about real fights, along with ethnographic description and autobiographies, will be used to interpret playfighting in relation to the social life from which it emerges and on which it comments, as well as to the personal history and desire which it dramatizes.

Harrington, Wilma M. (University of Georgia) Physical Education Versus Athletics: A Teacher's perception of who Controls the Gymnasium

The purpose of the study was to observe and describe a secondary physical education program in a rural setting. The ethnographic method of participant observation was used to study one female physical educator and three of her classes. The investigator spent four hours daily for a period of nine weeks observing. The program observed was conducted in a rural, predominantly black high school which included grades seven to twelve.

Data were collected using fieldnotes and formal and informal interview techniques. Analysis of the fieldnotes and interview data yielded a distinct conflict between the value placed on physical education and the value placed on athletics. Personnel in the two programs were accorded differing status in the form of access to and control of facilities and equipment. Differences also emerged in terms of the physical educator's position and power in the school reorganizational hierarchy and reward system as compared to the athletic staff's position and power.

The analysis of a series of events occurring in the final weeks of the study indicated that the physical education teacher perceived a lower status for her program than that evidenced by administrative decisions regarding facility assignment. The results provide definite implications for the effectiveness of an instructional program which is perceived as relatively unimportant when compared to an extracurricular athletic program.
Final printed programs will be distributed during the conference to all paid registrants. All participants are kindly requested to pay the registration fee in advance (see enclosed materials).

Index of TAASP Participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Session No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Anderson &amp; Condon</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bickel</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blair</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blanchard</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bowman</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caster &amp; Pellegrini</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Christie &amp; Joyce</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coleman</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davies</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dixon</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Douthie</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fox</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gilett</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goodwin</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gullmette</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harrington</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harris</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keran</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnsen</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Johnson</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Korr</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Keval</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lee</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lonergan</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lytle</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mannell &amp; Zuzanek</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mergen</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mitchell</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nardo</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Oliver</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pellegrini</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Posselt</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reifel</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smith &amp; Abt</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vanderwerken</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walker</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Weatherly &amp; Weatherly</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Williams</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yawkney &amp; Diantoniis</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zeitlin &amp; Dargan</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Contribution...Powell

Richard Powell, Department of Physical Education and Recreation, New Mexico State University, Box 3N/Las Cruces, New Mexico, 88003, U.S.A.

Toward A Biological Paradigm of Play Behavior

I read with nodding agreement Dr. Klaus Heier's accurate echoing of Cheska's indictment of the status of play research today (Fall, 1983 TAASP Newsletter). As an exercise physiologist with only an avocational interest in play research, the last several years of my "play" time has been devoted to organizing a more biological orientation of play theory. While a relative newcomer to play research, I feel that a physiologist's perspective might add to the confusion in a positive way.

As Levy (1978) has pointed out, we are in need of a more comprehensive paradigm to describe play behavior. It may be suggested that the play conundrum, as it exists today, is in part a reflection of analyses taking place at a variety of different levels. Play is researched at different growth and development periods, as well as cross culturally, and by a multitude of categorization schemes often unrelated to a more comprehensive construct. The view that human play is "intrinsically" motivated does little to contribute meaningfully to the development of such a construct, in that the underlying mechanisms of such motivation are reduced to an ethereal level of interpretation. The time is clearly at hand to develop a motivational construct of play behavior which serves to make better sense of the family of behaviors commonly referred to as "play."
Specifically, there are some serious limitations with purely phenomenological analyses of play behavior so common today. If there is anything to be found that can link these often disparate views of play behavior, then it might be the incorporation of a play theory advanced in light of a biological paradigm. I would put forth a very tentative hypothesis which incorporates elements of biopsychology and sociobiology.

A biopsychological analysis would suggest a common neurophysiological basis underlying play pleasure states in all mammals, including man. A sociobiological analysis would suggest the existence of altruistic patterns of behavior among primates, in particular, with cooperative team games and sports activities arising as among the unique play characteristics of humans specifically. A biologically-based hypothetical construct might emerge from such an orientation.

Play behavior in all mammal groups, and some submammalian species as well, can be fundamentally viewed as a class of behaviors which elicits a unique type of pleasure state. A prototypic pleasure state from which all play behavior emanates is posited to be a conscious perception (or conception, in the higher primate at least) of being in control. The feeling of being in control is presumably a pleasurable state having neurophysiological correlates. There are numerous levels of play behavior abstractions upon which to develop this biopsychological analysis, and human play behavior is a particularly complex collection of symbolic manifestations of pleasure states which ultimately relate to a prototypical control-pleasure state represented in the limbic brain circuits of all mammals. Zuckerman's (1979) work on sensation seeking has tentatively identified a neurophysiological model of stimulatory pleasure states in the limbic center which advances such notions. The concept of a prototypic control-pleasure center hypothesis, in my own view at least, provides a foundation for a more cohesive analytical approach to all play behavior, including that of humans. Specifically a need for control represents an underlying motivation for action as it is manifested in play behaviors; such a "need" is satisfied through pleasurable arousal states which arise from these play behaviors.

Some of the basic psychoevolutionary concepts underlying a control-pleasure hypothesis are based on the work of Plutchik (1979, 1980). In particular, he outlines a prototypical emotional state identified as a "territoriality" need. Such a need is seen as common to all mammals, and a pleasure state is derived from the securing and maintaining of an individual's "territory." Two prototypic drive states are seen to emerge from the territoriality that pleasure functions emerge via a satiation of a need for control in one's environment (orientation) or an extension of an existing control state (exploration). Both types of needs seem to be reinforced by pleasurable stimulation.

The synthesizing work of Berlyne (1973) suggests that pleasurable stimulation takes two forms: arousal boost and arousal reduction. Arousal boost is pleasurable stimulatory by virtue of its departure from a resting state often perceived of as "boring." Arousal reduction is a pleasurable shift from aversive stimulation to a more homeostatic state. Arousal boost describes well the orientation control need while arousal reduction typifies the outcome of successful exploration.

The psychoevolutionary genesis of play behavior, incorporating the orientation and exploration drive states, appears to correspond to human play forms as well, and I have tentatively outlined this in
greater detail elsewhere (Powell, 1984). In general, the relationship of these dual drive states in phenomenological analyses of human play have been advanced, both in terms of personal motivational states as well as in light of more complex and abstract cultural elaborations of these motivational states.

It is likely that a strong case can be made for the emergence of all human play behaviors on the basis of orientation and exploration drive states. For example, primary human play behaviors have been identified as "imitative" play and "Fantasy" play (Pearce, 1977) - a division consistent with the control need duality of orientation and exploration respectively. Furthermore, I have identified at the cultural level two types of play which also align well with the proposed primary drive states. One type, "enculturation" play, has been suggested to involve "imitative" activities involving arousal boost stimulatory pleasures characteristic of most sports and games; a second type, "transcendent" play, has been suggested to involve fantasy activities involving arousal reducing stimulatory pleasures more characteristic of expressive-creative undertakings, and some types strategizing in sports and games.

It may also be of less than just casual interest that many sociobiological implications appear to exist supporting the emergence of cultural play forms. Genetically influenced behaviors of altruism are presumed to be manifested especially in team sports which typically promote cooperative play.

I applaud Dr. Meier's call for efforts to define primary conceptual frameworks around which the vast body of play literature can be organized. Such a concern has also troubled me for a number of years, and has personally prompted the development of a more biologically oriented attempt to comprehend the play behavior phenomenon. Clearly, there are many details to be clarified in the foregoing approach, but I would hope that such a model might serve usefully in the continued development of a primary conceptual play framework so urgently needed.

References

Powell, R. Play as an Ideal: Toward a Biosocial Model. Quest, 1984 (in publication).

Contribution. Sutton-Smith

Brian Sutton-Smith, Graduate School of Education, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA., 19104, U.S.A.

Having A Boojum In The Meier With Klaus

We in TAASP, on my reckoning, are a polyglot academic group meandering our way in and about the conglomerate of verbal games that Wittgenstein has wished upon us. Into this relatively protean mire Klaus has asserted himself with the suggestion that what the field needs is a "destructive analysis" of the existing literature, and to that end he has undertaken a content analysis of 169 articles from seven
conference proceedings which he says will "ascertain the true nature (sic) of this body of literature." This is a remarkable promise, and hardly one to be taken either seriously or playfully.

But what would be playful would be to pursue a deconstructive analysis of Klaus' imagery, metaphors, allusions, illusions, etc. Let me list some of the descriptors he uses for Cheska, Olofson, Moledoux, Bateson, Handelman, Schwatman, Denzin, Salter, Stevens, Mihaly, Stewart and Sutton-Smith, just to mention the lucky ones. This is a group who: "aggrandize", "self-contradict", and "fallacious", "incongruous", "inappropriately mistaken", "inexplicably mistaken", "are in dire need", "unabashedly appreciative", "take febrile partisanship", "are flawed", "outrageously erroneous", "make bland equations", "beg the question", "make facile dismissals", "unjustifiable assumptions", "are deceptive", "illegitimate", and "irreparably damage themselves".

Opposed to their kind of thinking Klaus offers "clarity", "precision", "critical thought", "resolution", "forthrightness", and "modesty". At one stage his critique takes place in the kitchen and is described as follows:

To presume that all children's activities conducted on a playground, even under their volition must necessarily be instances of play is something akin to suggesting that whatever actions a cook undertakes in the kitchen is related to, if not an integral part of, the activity of food preparation. Thus if a cook writes cheques on the sideboard, participates in conversation with another person, or even engages in sexual relations, voluntarily or through coercion, on the butcher block island these ventures must all be accommodated to a revised definition of cooking."

Apart from the paradoxical problem that play has to do not with cooking in the kitchen but with not cooking in the kitchen, as well as the much more fundamental problem of knowing whether you are in a kitchen in the first place, I would call the readers' attention to the action taking place around the butcher's block. A deconstructive analysis, unlike a destructive analysis, attempts the aporic task of contrasting the logic of a text with its metaphor. What the present most brief deconstruction seems to show is that while in logic Klaus pursues "true nature" in metaphor he engages in a moral struggle, lambasts evil and sexually flays the unrighteous. Which is to say that his article is itself an allegory of the evangelical rather than the scientific pursuit of truth. He concludes with the statement that in his opinion "play is most definitely not a boojum" (that is a self engendered and transformed world). We might indeed wish that Klaus' article was such a Boojum. Perhaps it is.

Book Review: Hilliard

Dan C. Hilliard, Department of Sociology, Southwestern University, Georgetown, TX, U.S.A. 78626


Author Bale, an English geographer taking his lead from the work in the United States by John Rooney, provides a thorough description of the spatial distribution of sport in Britain. He accumulates a wealth of data, primarily from the records of the bureaucracies which govern the various sports in Britain. He looks at a wide range of sporting activities; he begins by studying the "national sports" of football (soccer), rugby, and cricket, then provides more brief discussions of
a number of other sports popular to a greater or lesser degree in Britain—racket sports, track and field, road racing and race walking, golf, cycling, auto racing, basketball, swimming, horse racing, professional boxing, Olympic wrestling, volleyball, canoeing, rowing, ice skating, skiing, and orienteering.

The core data are sets of calculations which allow Bale to present both absolute and per capita figures on, variously, availability of sports facilities, number of sports clubs, and number of sports club members, comparing regions and/or counties within England, Scotland, and Wales. On occasion, he shifts his scale of analysis, providing some data on the distribution of racket sport facilities at the intraurban level, and doing some analysis of British athletic performance at the international level. Still, the regional and county data are central to the study. These data are supplemented by limited survey data (based on responses of 61 university students) which allow Bale to discuss the concept of "perceived sports regions" and by historical vignettes which allow the reader to gain some feel for the diffusion of the various sports following their invention or importation. There are some significant limitations in the data of which Bale is well aware. First, because the data deal with sports clubs and their membership, there is the problem of knowing what level of participants are represented. In some sports club members are almost all serious competitors, with recreational participants being excluded from the data. In other cases, club members represent some unknown proportion of serious competitors and recreational players. Generally speaking, Bale's analysis is of more value to those interested in serious sporting competition than to those interested in recreation and leisure; indeed, many of the data on soccer, rugby, cricket, and athletics apply to professional or quasi-professional athletes. A second limitation, related to the first, is that Bale's data apply almost entirely to male sports participation. Brief discussions of women's soccer, cricket, track and field, and race walking are included, but the data for women are much more limited. Still, Bale has provided a useful service by collecting these data and putting them in presentable form; in fact, the reader who is not steeped in either the basic techniques of social geography or the geography of Britain will probably feel inundated by the sheer quantity of data provided, as was this reviewer.

Some of the most basic findings are hardly surprising to anyone vaguely familiar with British sport. Top level soccer is associated with the North of England, especially as regards the provision of professional soccer players. Rugby is "bifurcated", with the professional League version being popular in Northern England and the amateur Union version being popular in Southern England and in Wales. The racket sports are primarily Southern and suburban. Track and field events are dominated by athletes from the South and South-east, while road racing and race walking are primarily Northern sports. Golf courses are greatly overrepresented in Scotland and are especially scarce in urban areas and in metropolitan London in particular. Finally, there is the general pattern of amateur sport centered in the South and professional sport centered in the highly industrialized North, a pattern which holds for soccer, rugby, cricket, and athletics.

More interesting than the major patterns are the many subtleties and anomalies in the data; as with many exploratory quantitative studies, Bale's analysis raises intriguing questions which beg for at least some speculation.
or hypothesis on the analyst's part. Dale resists almost entirely this temptation, providing a study which is atheoretical and almost entirely descriptive. Dale's concluding chapter is very brief, and it seems to me that a more fully developed conclusion drawing upon findings across the various sports and applying several theoretical perspectives might have brought the book to a richer close and provided the reader a valuable service. Among the findings that might have been discussed are the following. The Northern region around Yorkshire has largely supplanted the Southeast as the center of British cricket. What are the factors which have allowed this outlying region to surpass the traditional bastion of cricket? While top level soccer is centered in the North, recreational soccer is distributed quite differently, being centered in a band running from the Midlands to the Southeast. This finding raises questions about the link between the professional and recreational levels of sport, an important issue that has not been addressed by sport scholars to any great degree. While the geographic distribution of men's and women's cricket is very similar, the distribution of men and women's soccer is quite different, with women's soccer being most popular in the South and Southwest. What is the relation of men's and women's sports to each other and to the regional cultures within which they develop? Some sports, such as professional boxing, auto racing, and race walking, have been highly localized for many years, while other sports, such as swimming, become very widely dispersed, so that there are no real nodes of strength or interest. What factors cause some sports to remain the focus of intense but localized subcultures, while others are incorporated into national or even international cultures? Finally, both rugby and professional boxing are extremely popular in the Swansea-Cardiff region of Wales, but the third combative sport studied by Dale, Olympic wrestling, is not. Is there a relationship between violent sport activities and the culture of urban Wales? If so, how is this link different from that in other areas of Britain where violence emerges in the form of soccer hooliganism? These are only a few of the interesting issues that might be raised by a careful perusal of Dale's data.

In fairness, Dale does make occasional reference to theories of leisure activity choice. He seems to lean in the direction of differential opportunity theories, explaining the dominance of Southern track and field athletes in terms of the presence of specialized facilities in their region, and explaining the relatively even distribution of swimming in terms of the relatively even distribution of swimming pools. He is aware of the light that a study of cultural factors might shed on the patterns of activity he has described, but he prefers to leave a discussion of those factors to others. It is hoped that scholars who have knowledge of British culture and the various traditions and subcultures related to British sport will put Dale's data to good use.

Book Review... Coakley


In these days of overspecialization, sociology has become fragmented into numerous subfields. Each subfield has tended to focus on narrowly defined research areas and ignore crucial and potentially unifying questions related to freedom, constraint and social development. Gruneau's book is an attempt to redress this problem in the sociology of sport. His goals are to critique selected theories in
the field and to "develop a set of guidelines for reorienting studies of the nature and role of sport in western capitalist societies" (p.3). Those familiar with Gruneau's work will not be surprised to learn that his analysis of the relationship between sport and social development is grounded in his awareness of the significance of material history and the limiting features of class inequity and domination.

In spite of the fact that Gruneau has fine-tuned his writing skills for this book, most readers will be challenged by the complexity of his arguments and the detailed nature of his analysis. I found myself regularly rereading paragraphs to understand the concepts used and his applications of critical theory. Fortunately, Gruneau anticipated this problem and included a "summary and conclusion" section at the end of each of the four chapters. But even with these sections, he may frustrate readers unfamiliar with critical theory.

After a well-written introduction in which he relates his own work to the sociology of sport and to sociology in general, Gruneau's first chapter deals with the "problems of human agency and freedom." He uses the phenomenon of play to raise basic sociological questions about the extent to which human agents, both individual and collective, are free or constrained. He argues that a review of the literature on play reveals a paradox: on the one hand, play involves free, spontaneous expression separating participants from reality; on the other hand, the very existence of collective play depends on the development of rules grounded in the prevailing logic of existing social relations. As play becomes institutionalized and takes the form of games and sport, this paradox grows more apparent.

In highlighting the implications of this paradox, Gruneau critiques the works of Johan Huizinga (Homo Ludens), Michael Novak (The Joy of Sports), Allen Guttmann (From Ritual to Record), and Jean-Marie Brohm (Sport: A Prison of Measured Time). The first three writers are criticized for their failures to recognize the ways in which play, games, and sports are constrained by the material conditions of the society in which they exist. Brohm, on the other hand, is criticized for using an overly deterministic, non-dialectical approach in his study of games and play, an approach that precludes an awareness of the creative abilities of players and the oppositional qualities of various play forms.

In chapter 2, Gruneau makes the case that "play, games, and sport do not emerge 'naturally' in social interaction, nor are they the manifestations of 'received' states of consciousness, universal aesthetics, or the human spirit; rather, they are activities people 'produce' in different forms and in different ways out of the stuff of everyday experiences (p.55). And the "stuff of everyday experiences" is primarily grounded in the complex and constantly changing relationships within and between social classes and status groups. In other words, even though sports and games contain an element of the play spirit, they cannot be separated from the material conditions of history. It cannot be forgotten that the rules and the dominant meanings associated with play, games, and sports emerge out of the nonrandomly distributed resources of individuals and groups. Thus, some "agents" have more collective power than others to structure these activities and meanings to fit their own interests.

Using the theoretical framework developed in Chapter 2, Gruneau moves on to a brief analysis of the changing structure of Canadian sport over the past two centuries.
Although this framework does not force him into a deterministic corner, his analysis is quite similar to what Brohm might have written. He focuses on "the dominant forms of institutional structuring" which emerged out of the dynamics of class formation, struggle, and reformation. However, he says little about the oppositional qualities of games and sports, probably because games and sports have seldom served oppositional purposes in Canadian life. But I kept waiting to read about the diversity of "structures" characterizing the games and sports created and maintained by the numerous and diverse groups in Canadian life— in spite of the overpowering shadow of the "dominant forms." The construction of social history is painstakingly difficult and Gruneau had neither the time nor the information to spotlight the subtle and diverse meanings attached to sport in all of its forms during those 200 years. Such a task remains for others to do.

It is not until his last chapter ("The Limits and Possibilities of Modern Sport") that Gruneau gives any real attention to the oppositional potential of play, games, and sports. In this chapter he pulls together his critical theory of sport and reviews how forms of freedom and constraint "are expressed in and through sport...in modern capitalistic societies" (p.138). Although Gruneau acknowledges the contribution of both the idealists (who have identified unique features of the experiences within play, games, and sports) and the structural determinists (who have described how sport contributes to the maintenance of the status quo), he recommends that attention within the field now be turned to an analysis of how sport is forever emerging out of the complex and changing relationships between classes and status groups. This analysis will not only reveal the role of sport in cultural reproduction and hegemony, but it will show how play, games, and sports contain the potential for calling attention to the alternatives out of which social changes are forged.

Gruneau optimistically states that the oppositional potential of sports rests in the fact that "Human desires for fun, fantasy, and excitement, or for personal mastery, drama, or creative expression are a shaky foundation for hegemony" (p.152). This allows him to shake the label of determinism he has pinned on others, however, he neglects to point out how these desires can be used as a foundation for anything but weakly organized, sporadic oppositional movements. In other words, Gruneau barely stops short of Paul Hoch's argument that "we will have a humane, creative sports (only after) we have built a humane and creative society." He says that sport can foster freedom and choice and questions about existing patterns of authority and inequality, but he gives little attention to when and how this has happened in the past or might happen in the future.

One of Gruneau's major contributions is reemphasized in his parting words. He concludes that progress in the sociology of sport inevitably requires an understanding of the nature and dynamics of the social order. Others have said this before but Gruneau makes it clear that it is only through this awareness that the study of sport as a social phenomenon becomes a meaningful enterprise. Even if one does not totally agree with his assumptions about class inequity and domination it is hard to disagree with his overall conception of the issues and questions that must be dealt with by those of us in the field. And for those just entering the field Gruneau offers reassurance that all those hours spent reading Veblen, Weber, and Durkheim were not only worthwhile but essential to the task at hand.