The theme of this issue is order-disorder.

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TAASP ANNUAL CONFERENCE MARCH 23-25, 1978

Plan on joining us! The TAASP Annual
Conference is scheduled for Indiana Uni-
versity Conference Center, University of
Indiana, Bloomington, Indiana, March

The program is shaping up well with
persons submitting 250 word abstracts
to Program Chairperson, Helen Schwartz-
man. How about you submitting your
favorite topic for consideration.

************

Send your abstract to: Dr. Helen
Schwartzman, Institute for Juvenile
Research, 1735 W. Taylor St., Chicago,
Illinois 60612.

Housing will be in the Indiana Memorial
Union Conference Center Hotel and also
at The Poplears. Reservation cards for
housing and pre-registration forms will
be included in the winter newsletter.

TAASP and Central States Anthropological
Society are meeting jointly.

EDITORIAL

In our prior issues we took up the ques-
tion of frames with Bateson. In this
issue our three articles all deal with
the view that one frame for social reali-
ty has to do with the dialectic of order
and disorder.

In addition our research brief on Eliza-
beth Whatley's work in the urban ghettos
introduces another perspective on the
same phenomenon. The original article on
which these ideas are in part based is
published here for the first time. Its
publication has been delayed for a variety
of reasons, largely because of its in-
tended appearance in another book to be
published in German. We call the reader's
attention to the varieties of order-
disorder relationships mentioned across
these several articles.
Editorial Continued

Robinson shows the need of the Vietnamese children, particularly the girls, for a tighter form of order than they can generally find on an American playground. She shows also, American girls introducing disorder into the play of boys because of their exclusion from their competitive games. But Whatley demonstrates that Black girls at least have been able to convert some of their normally collaborative games into highly competitive endeavours. The antithesis for those girls is between one type of game and another; whereas for Robinson's sample it is between their formal games and their informal play. Though it should be mentioned that jump rope has long been a game where even White girls have introduced a considerable amount of competitiveness. In the Games of New Zealand Children (1959) I have described the jump rope game exams that the girls set themselves in that society.

Finally, in Renson's article on historical games in Belgium we have a nice contrast between the orderly target shooting and the disorderly popinjay contests, along with the suggestion that the popinjay may be more prototypic than the target shooting. The popinjay is indeed a nice symbol of the lightness, inconsequentiality, and humour with which we surround our most dangerous thinking about the possibility of alternative ways of living.

TAASP PUBLICITY

At our San Diego conference I volunteered to compile a list of all those professional organizations that may be willing to carry TAASP information in their publications. In order to draw together a detailed list and one that includes all the disciplines represented in our association, I would ask that you forward to me, as soon as possible, the name of any newsletter, journal, bulletin, or the like, that you feel may be of interest to us in this respect. I would be grateful if you could provide me with the title of the publication, the address of the editor, and if possible, the disciplinary group most likely to read the publication. I thank you for your assistance in this.

Best personal wishes.

Cordially yours,

Michael A. Salter, Ph.D.
Associate Professor
Faculty of Human Kinetics
University of Windsor
Windsor, Ontario N9B 3P4
Canada

ELECTION OF TAASP OFFICERS

(see attached ballot for voting)

This year we have an outstanding slate of candidates for the offices of President-Elect and Member-at-Large (three members to be elected).

Directions for Voting: Remove the attached ballot from margin of Newsletter. Mark your ballot. Do not sign the ballot. Fold ballot in half; staple or scotch tape sides together. Put stamp on addressed side, and drop in mail. Return ballot no later than December 30, 1977, to: Dr. Helen B. Schwartzman, Institute for Juvenile Research, 1735 West Taylor Street, Chicago, Illinois 60612.

Offices and Candidates:

--President-Elect (one-year term): Shall organize the program for the Annual Meeting, and shall perform other duties within his/her capabilities, as requested by the President. The President-Elect shall succeed the President as chief executive officer after one year.

Candidates:


RESEARCH BRIEFS

(1) Chins Up

A number of researchers are finding that children telegraph their expectations in play encounters. Children who more often win games (or encounters) tend to display a different face from those who lose. A win face is characterized by raised eyebrows, direct eye contact and a raised chin. A losing face is characterized by furrowed or pinched brows, eyes that break contact and a lowered chin. With increasing age, the winner tends not to telegraph so completely, except for the winning chin, though now he
Research Briefs Continued

accompanies his actions with more verbal-
ization. For Goffman, this would imply
more disguise. An article is in press in
Child Development by Gail Zivin.

Winning means getting more objects or
space, being autonomous, being recognized
as the winner, or by showing more compe-
tence. Back in the days when the world
and the British Empire were much the same,
all the heroes, had forward-thrust chins.
Any boy who read the Boys Own Paper, The
Champion, The Triumph or the Magnet, natu-
rally went about with his chin stuck out.
Winners all.

(2) Urban Games Amongst Black Girls
Elizabeth Whatley of the Division of Read-
ing at Cheney State College in Cheney,
Pennsylvania, 1931 has pioneered some
most interesting contrasts in the play of
girls in Pittsburgh, Baltimore, Detroit,
Atlantic City, and Washington D.C. These
contrasts indicate the great importance of
knowing the complete corpus of the child-
ren's playlore. To know all about one
kind of game, or one kind of setting, may
give a quite false impression of the dia-
lectic and complexity of the groups full
scale playlife. For example, in Step it
Down, Bessie Jones and Bessie Lomax Hawes
emphasize the highly collaborative charac-
ter of the games of black girls. But what
Mrs. Whatley discovered is that this is
more true of some games than others. In
Handclapping for example, there is indeed
much attention, much fussing with each
other to establish precisely the frames
for rhymes, claps and body movement that
are going to be used, so that in the col-
laborative activity there is a close
parallelism throughout (mirrored also in
the movie by Bess Lomax, "Pizza Pizza
Daddy Oh''). However, the very same girls
in Jump Rope use it with great competi-
tiveness and have various techniques for
disrupting the play of those who may be
their rivals. The spirit here is aggres-
sively agonistic in contrast to the col-
laborative spirit in the hand games.

Or again consider the contrast between
some of these game rhymes when adults are
nearby, and the rhymes are acceptable; and
the same rhymes with obscene interpo-
lations added, which are called "ignorant"
rhymes when adults are not present and
boys are.

In both of these sets of contrasts we
begin to get a picture of a process of

WORLD NOTES

(1) SOME GAMES OBSERVATIONS OF THE BASOTHO
During a three week stay in southern Africa, I
was able to make some observations of the
games in Lesotho. Lesotho, the Basotho
nation, is an independent kingdom which forms
an enclave in the Republic of South Africa.

- PLAY AND ENCULTURATION: From the age of
five years onwards, young boys learn to herd
the cattle. They make PLAY OXEN from clay
which they herd into tiny kraals. From the
same early age on, girls have to help their
mothers with the daily chores and they have
to take care of their younger brothers and
sisters. Girls play games such as CHEKO:
a kind of hopscotch, LIKETO: knucklebones
and MANTLOANE: imitation of their parents.
Girls are often better educated than boys
because they are able to attend school at
an earlier age than the boys, who have to
look after the cattle until a younger bro-
ther can take over the job. STICK FIGHTING
among the men does not only occur as a ritu-
alistic mock fight, but the know kerries which
the BASOTHO proudly carry with them are also
used to settle interpersonal conflicts.
MORAMBARABA is a board game, which is
played with twelve black and twelve white
stones on a flat stone with twenty five holes.

- GAMES AND CULTURAL CHANGE: In the cities,
such as Maseru, boys are frequently seen
wheeling all kinds of hoops. They also con-
struct very elaborate toy cars from iron
wires and shoe polish tins. SOCCER is the
popular game of the masses, even in the
most remote villages soccer goals appear in
the landscape. The players often seem to
strive more for individual than for team
success. This is reinforced by the fact
that individual players are identified by
praise-names like those one given to famous
Sotho-warriors. NET BALL has been introduced
as part of the physical education program in
the schools and is a popular girls' sport.

ROLAND RENSON
University of Leuven
Belgium
WORLD NOTES Continued

(2) INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL FOR CHILDREN’S PLAY (EUROPE)

Our attention has been called to this body which met in September, 1977 to consider "Play as Cultural Development of the Child". The President is Mr. Gustav Mugglin, Seefeldstrasse 8, Zurich, Schweiz (Switzerland). The general secretary is Mrs. Lieselotte Pee, Seidenstrasse 65, Stuttgart, West Germany.

The titles of their previous conferences are of some interest:
1959: What toys do children of today need? (Held in Ulm)
1960: How do children like to play and what prevents them doing so? (Brighton)
1961: When and with what do children play today? (Gronigen)
1963: What are we doing for children in town planning? (Zurich)
1966: Must handicapped children stand aside as others play? (Paris)
1968: International evaluation of toys. (Turin)
1970: The educational role of play and toys in the world of tomorrow. (Oslo)
1972: Mechanical toys and creativity. (Nijmegen)
1974: Children’s play and toys. (Schloss Reisenberg, near Ulm)

JAVANESE COURT DANCE

Miriam Morrison, ethnomusicologist with a specialization in dance ethnology, will conduct classes in Javanese court dance, beginning in November and continue throughout the year. Dances will be taught by Miriam Morrison, a dancer who spent over two years as a company member and soloist with the Mardawa Budaya Dance Company of Jogjakarta, Central Java. She has been performing Javanese Dance in the United States since 1968.

This elegant dance style is characterized by a slow and fluid quality, making use of intricate hand and head movements. For information about classes or to book lecture-demonstrations, contact M. J. Morrison, 864 2056, 515 Cathedral Parkway, #9b, New York, New York 10025 (212-864-7056).

BOOK REVIEWS

(1) Housing Messages by Franklin D. Becker (Dowden, Hutchinson & Ross, Stroudsburg, PA. 141 pp). Chapter Seven entitled "Children's Play" is largely a horror story of the lack of opportunity for play in large urban housing developments. Research on Traditional Contemporary Adventure playgrounds is quoted. There is the interesting anthropological insight, that often junk playgrounds are rejected in working class areas as they are seen as second class treatment. Traditional playground equipment is demanded. There are a number of useful references as follows:
R. Dattner. Design for Play (MIT, 1969)
C. Cooper-Marcus, Children’s Play Behavior in a Low Rise, Inner City Housing Development Man-Environment Interaction, 12: 197-211.


Smilansky introduced us all to the notion that some children are deficient in imagination. Attempting to be a school psychologist with children of Asiatic-African origin in Israel, she found the usual verbal psychoanalytic approaches did not work. She tried play therapy. But that did not work either. From there she went to attempts to enhance the imagination of preschool children who seemed to be lacking it.

In this article which is quite brief she is very careful to point out that she is talking about children from the point of view of their ability to match the modernizing demands of the present world. The disadvantaged are those who do not fit the system of modernization, she says. The most disadvantaged are those whose movement and choice are the least open and whose learning is most limited with respect to fitting into the system.

Clearly this is a deficit theory carefully stated in terms of assumptions about what is "modern" and progressive. This is not quite the same as saying that members of certain groups lack imagination. From this vantage point they may well have imagination, but it is not of a kind that will help them in the modern world it is suggested.

Earlier, Smilansky seemed to be saying that imagination was lacking in some groups. Her training programs at Ohio State University were based on that premise. All the current work of Jerome and Dorothy Singer is based
BOOK REVIEWS Continued

on that premise. The Singers have shown in a number of studies that those who are more imaginative are less aggressive, have more delay capacity etc. In her article: "Cross Cultural Studies of Representation- 
al Play" in Biology of Play (Ed. B. Tizard and O. Harvey, Heinemann, London, 1977), Dina Feitelson essentially states the case that representational play is lacking in many groups studied cross culturally. "Many studies point to a complete dearth of representational play." (p. 9)

But as Helen Schwartzmann has made clear, much of the time we do not know whether such play was lacking or whether the 19th century habit of describing most play as imitative led to a neglect on the part of anthropologists to describe the function. If one reads older anthropological accounts of children's play there is occasional mention (though not a dominant mention) of what sound like imaginative behaviors. In A Children's Game Anthology (Ed. B. Sutton-Smith, Arno Press, NY 1976) the word make believe often occurs, there is mock fighting, behaving like madmen, imaginary artifacts and animals, pretending to die, etc. So we are probably talking about cultural differences rather than deficits. Still we do need a more careful analysis of the different ways imagination functions for different groups.

(3) BIOLOGY OF PLAY. Edited by Barbara Tizard and David Harvey, Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Co., 1977. A very expensive, glossy papered report of a conference on the same name. There are various chapters, the one above by Feitelson being most relevant to TAASP. Others are: "Play in Animals" (Lilyan White) "Developmental Trends in Infant Play" (Deborah Rosenblatt) "Play in the Home and its Implications for Learning" (Judy Dunn & Carol Wooding) "Play and Learning" (Kathy Sylva) "Play with Language" (Catherine Garvey) "Measurement of Play: Clinical Applications" (Alex Kalverboer) "Social and Fantasy Play in Young Children" (Peter K. Smith) "A Survey of Children's Outdoor Activities in Two Modern Housing Areas in Sweden" (Pia Bjorklid-Chu) "Play in Hospital" (Ivanny Lindquist, John Lind & David Harvey) "The Play of Handicapped Children" (Kay Mogford)

"The Role of Play in Psychotherapeutic Work with Children and Their Families" (Arnon Bentovin)
"Play: The Child's Way of Learning" (Barbara Tizard)

There is too much here for review commentary, but this is an important book with much substantial data contained in it. The final review by Barbara Tizard is very much of a cultural anthropological view of the treatment of play in this century where she sees the major theorizing and data collection as itself an issue of implicit premises not always discussed about the nature of children and society. She is very skeptical about the "play way" in nursery schools which she sees as leading to too much of an object orientation, too much individual play, too much distractibility, too little constructive play, and too little play with adults or observing of adequate models. There is a useful skepticism here.

PLAYNOTES

1. Frank and Teresa Caplan of the Princeton Center for Infancy, and once of Creative Playthings, and recently of THE POWER OF PLAY (Doubleday, 1973) are the prime movers in an innovative effort to establish an INSTITUTE AND MUSEUM OF FANTASY AND PLAY, probably to be established in New Jersey near Princeton; probably to include play modules for children, adults, arts; perhaps to include training centres for educators, etc; certain to include media, exhibits, collections, history, etc; possibly to include commercial arrangements. Can you put fantasy in a museum? It takes a Power of Play to believe it, but the symbol may be important in any case.

2. Karen Hewitt and Louise B. Roome of the Fleming Museum of the University of Vermont, have received a grant from the National Endowment for the Humanities to develop an exhibition on the History of Educational Toys.

3. New York Times, Sept. 18th, 1977 reports on a Kansas group of adults who meet every Sunday in a local park to play children's games; including Vampire, Caterpillar, Elephant, Elbow Tag, Flying Dutchman. All games are based on participation and none on elimination, it is said. For many participants, The Times says, it is the first encounter with such games since childhood. "I guess I stopped playing games like that around the seventh grade when we stopped getting recess," says one participant.
COURSE OUTLINES

Man at Play
Michael A. Salter
University of Windsor
Cult of Human Kinetics

A. COURSE
HK 340C Man at Play: Historical and Cross-Cultural Perspectives.
2 lecture hours, 1 seminar hour per week; one semester.

B. OBJECTIVES:
To examine historically and cross-culturally:
1. the concept of play, and the game-sport-athletic syndrome
2. the relationships between play and culture, with special reference to the political, education, metaphysical and economic environments.

C. CONTENT:
SECTION I - PLAY
1. Toward a definition of play; associated problems, elements and constructs.
2. Theories of Play
   (a) classical
   (b) recent and contemporary Origins, underlying assumptions, and implications for research.
3. Typologies for collecting, and models for analyzing, play.
4. Types of play forms—based on actor/counter-actor relationships, outcome determinants, power distribution, rule structure.
5. Sport and Athletics. The evolution of play to the institutionalized game form; definitions, assumptions and associated problems.

SECTION II - PLAY IN CULTURE
1. Toward an understanding of the concepts, 'society' and 'culture'.
2. Play and culture—underlying theories; symbol analysis, functionalism, structural-functionalism, neo-structuralism, cultural diffusion, cultural relativism.
3. Play: a cultural stabilizer or modifier?
4. Relationships between play and specific cultural elements.
   A. Play and politics; unit solidarity, government involvement, military, normative order, race and minority groups.
   B. Play in the educative system; child training and game types, play in informal and formal inculcative systems.
   C. Play and the metaphysical; play in ritual, impact of religious beliefs and practices.
   D. Play in the economic structure; gambling and the redistribution of wealth; maintenance and propagation of the economic sub-strata.
6. Play as a mirror of culture: cooperation vs competition, culture types/play types, reflectors.

D. REQUIRED TEXTS

A PH.D. IN THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF PLAY
There are probably few places where it is possible to obtain a higher level degree in play. But at the University of Pennsylvania, Graduate School of Education we are currently planning for a series of interdisciplinary degree programs which would permit such an MA, Ed.D. or Ph.D. These interdisciplinary programs will include specializations in cross cultural psychology, anthropology, folklore and communications, all rising out of a base in the Department of Human Development and Learning. Current plans are that by September, 1978, a student entering at the MA or PhD levels and using developmental psychology as a base (with Prof. Brian Sutton-Smith), will be able to branch into Folklore (with Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett,
the author of "Speech Play"); into the linguistics of play (with Lila Gleitman or William Labov), the ethnography of play (with Dell Hymes and Shirley Heath), play as communications (with George Gerbner, Larry Gross, Ray Birdwhistell), play as small group interaction (with Erving Coffman). In addition it will probably be possible to take the reverse route in some of these cases with the major in the other field and the interdisciplinary additional work in developmental psychology. This will certainly be true for Folklore, and for the Anthropology of Education.

Students interested in these rather unique and new opportunities for extending the study of play and making it central in their own careers should write to Dr. Brian Sutton-Smith, Graduate School of Education, University of Pennsylvania, 3700 Walnut, Philadelphia, Penn. 19174.

On the more practical level the student will have the kind of degree that enables him to deal not only with child development scientifically, but child development as manifested in the behaviors of different ethnic groups (Folklore); or child development in relationship to modern mass media (television, films and literature); or child development as manifested through both linguistic and other expressive systems.
THE USES OF ORDER AND DISORDER IN PLAY:
AN ANALYSIS OF VIETNAMESE REFUGEE CHILDREN'S PLAY

Christine Emile Robinson
Stanford University
Palo Alto, California

Adults often assume that children freely join play groups and will be able to play as long as they know the game rules. However, some play forms demand a cultural sophistication which many children do not have. By sophistication I mean more than knowing the rules; some games require knowing the rules so well you can ignore or distort them. The rules referred to are not merely game rules; they are social rules which shape non-play behavior and influence children's behavior in play. These games are the spontaneous, seemingly structureless activities in which children chase, wrestle, and taunt each other, enjoying freedom from everyday social restraints.

These data are based on observations of the play of nine to twelve year old Vietnamese refugee children in four San Francisco area schools. Simple observation shows that Vietnamese children are developing American social skills in play. However, on closer observation it becomes clear that their participation in play is limited by their unfamiliarity with American culture. A major difference between Vietnamese children's play and the play of their American peers lies in their play preferences. Vietnamese children tend to choose highly structured games for the security of the structure, even though their American peers often choose games with structures they can destroy.

The school experience and Vietnamese refugee children varies greatly. The four schools I chose for observation have student populations ranging from predominantly White to predominantly Black. School programs for limited-English speaking students range from all day English as a Second Language programs to limited or non-existent special language programs.

Despite the differences in school environments, I found two patterns in the play of Vietnamese children. First, Vietnamese boys have very different patterns of play involvement that Vietnamese girls. All Vietnamese boys play actively, while few girls participate in play or games. Secondly, Vietnamese children play rule-governed games almost exclusively. They rarely participate in the spontaneous, free-flowing play created by their peers.

These patterns reflect two common notions about play. First, boys and girls in most cultures have different play patterns (Sutton-Smith & Roberts 1962), and secondly, the play of nine to twelve year olds is often described as rule-governed (Piaget 1962). The play preferences of Vietnamese children reflects these characteristics perfectly, but the play preferences of their peers conform less closely.

Sex Differences in Play Involvement

Part of the difference between the Vietnamese boys' and girls' participation rests in the nature of traditional boys and girls games. Certain games that are labelled "boys' games" and "girls' games" have existed for generations. Boys' games are traditionally aggressive and competitive, while girls' games are passive and accommodating (Sutton-Smith, Rosenberg & Morgan 1963). When asked what they played in Vietnam, most boys said soccer, while girls said jump rope and badminton (Robinson 1976). Play experience in Vietnam parallels the experience of American boy and young girls, but American girls over nine years of age are often not satisfied with passive traditional girls' play.

By the age of nine, many American girls are discontent with their role on the playground. Their traditional games do not offer them the challenges they used to offer. After several years of jump rope and hopscotch, most girls have reached the game's skill

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1. Field work was conducted from October 1976 through March 1977. Twenty two Vietnamese children were enrolled in the four schools; twelve of them were in the 4-6th grades.
ceiling. Meanwhile, girls have not developed the skills needed for extended competitive games and seem envious of boys' deep involvement in play (Lever 1976). For these reasons, girls often list "bugging the boys" as a favorite pastime.

Most playground activities geared to children over nine years of age are competitive and aggressive. Team sports take on new importance to fourth graders. Boys' games build progressively toward competitive team sports, but girls learn to sublimate aggression and competition in their early play. Girls learn cooperation in order to play together, not to cooperate for a desired goal, such as winning a game. Boys' team sports, in contrast, require cooperation for success. Boys are able to combine cooperation, competition and aggression in their games, but these behaviors are at odds in girls' play. Girls rarely sustain games which require cooperation, competition and aggression. Thus, they frequently turn to spontaneous play to release aggression (Robinson n.d.).

Vietnamese girls seem reluctant to participate in even slightly aggressive play. They often stand or sit near the games, participating vicariously. For example:

Van² (fifth grade) was with a group of boys and girls standing on either side of a chain-link fence. They threw a frisbee from one side to the other. Children near the fence tried to intercept the frisbee as it went over the fence. Van leaned against the fence, near those who were leaping for the frisbee. She smiled, laughed and watched the game eagerly, but she did not participate. She was holding a brown shopping bag in one hand and never put it down to try to catch the frisbee. (Field notes 2/18/77 Black school 10:30-10:45)

In contrast, all of the Vietnamese boys play actively. They frequently play four-square, tag football and a modified basketball game. They play aggressively and competitively. For example:

Dinh and Thiet (fourth grade) were playing six-square (four-square with two additional players). The ball came low into the inside corner of Dinh's square. He lunged at the ball, fell forward onto his knees and left elbow but recovered the ball and kept it in play. Another ball came to him before he could get up, and he threw himself on his back to recover it. He got up, dusted off his hands and responded to the exclamations of the on-lookers with a look of "what else was I supposed to do? I had to get the ball." (ESL school 2/18/77 1:45-2:00)

The difference between Vietnamese boys' play and girls' play reflects both general sex differences in play and the specific play patterns of Vietnamese children. Vietnamese boys were prepared for competitive group play by playing soccer and other team sports in Vietnam, but girls' play experiences in Vietnam did not prepare them for the play of older American girls. They were familiar with structured, cooperative, non-competitive games which have been abandoned by their American peers. They seem unwilling to join in the brief, spontaneous chasing and taunting that marks much of the play of their peers.

Language limitations seem to be felt more strongly by Vietnamese girls because girls' play is generally more verbal than boys' play. As Millar points out, "Girls are, generally speaking, linguistically more skillful from an early age than boys in our society, and when they are aggressive, tend to use their tongues rather than their fists" (1968, 196). Differences in verbal style are particularly evident in interactions at the predominantly Black school. When asked who she plays with after school, Van said, "My sister. I don't have many friends. I don't like the Black kids very well; they are too mean. They say mean things to me. They use bad words." (Home visit 3/4/77)

One conclusion from this study is that Vietnamese girls rely less on play for social interactions than do boys. Vietnamese girls interact with other girls on the playground, but their interactions are usually limited to talking to one or two girls, whereas boys play with large groups of boys. The girls' limited participation in play may have significance for their adaptation to American culture because they cut off an important channel of social learning. They do not learn game rules which can be transferred to social rules. Avoidance of games with rules may have repercussions on Vietnamese girls' confidence to

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2. Names have been changed. Schools will be referred to by their ethnic make-up, except one school was called ESL school because the Vietnamese children only played with other limited English speaking children.
Preference for Rule Governed Games

All Vietnamese boys play during recess, but they limit their play participation to rule governed games. When Vietnamese girls play, they also play rule governed games. Free-
owing, spontaneous play exists on all of the playgrounds, but the Vietnamese children
choose rule governed games instead. Since they are free to choose their play activity,
there must be a reason why they prefer rule governed games to spontaneous play. It seems
that the security of rule governed games is attractive to Vietnamese children. Their
limited knowledge of more subtle rules of play in the United States makes the freedom of
spontaneous play somewhat frightening.

The structure of each activity determines whether it is a game or play. Games are
relatively predictable. They are governed by a set of predetermined rules; participation
is geared to a known goal (making baskets, scoring points, gaining territory, etc.).
Quite often games are competitive. Play, on the other hand, does not have clearly defined
rules or roles for participants. No one wins in play and players are free to come and go
without destroying the shape of the activity.

According to Piaget, children are cognitively unable to play rule governed games
until after they are seven years old. They remain interested in rule governed games into
adulthood because these games are the "ludic activity of the socialized being" (1962, 142).
Piaget goes on to say:

In a general way it can be said that the more the child adapts himself to the
natural and social world the less he indulges in symbolic distortions and
transpositions because of assimilating the external world to the ego
he progressively subordinates the ego to reality. (1962, 145)

The play of Vietnamese refugee children fits Piaget's model perfectly. The younger
children (kindergarten and first graders) often play alone, creating the fantasies of
solitary play, while the older children play rule governed games exclusively. This does not
explain why the older Vietnamese children's peers often play non-rule governed games.
It suggests that they have learned the game rules and now enjoy turning the rules over and
playing with deeper social rules and structures.

Vietnamese children choose play forms with well defined boundaries and well defined
roles. They rely on the game's structure to clarify and define their position in relation to
the other players. It is not clear if they are retreating from the confusion of
learning a new culture into the safety of rules, or if they are pulled to a structure they
can work within. According to Cailllois, all game players try to eliminate confusion, "The
confused and intricate laws of ordinary life are replaced in this fixed space and for this
given time by precise, arbitrary, unexceptionable rules that must be accepted as such and
that govern the correct playing of the game" (Cailllois 1961, 7).

The role Vietnamese children take in decision making and conflict resolution also
points to their desire for well defined boundaries. In most cases, Vietnamese children
avoid threatening and poorly defined play interactions. They usually stand back while
decisions are made and conflicts settled. For example:

Pham (sixth grade) was playing four-square with a large blonde boy, an Asian boy
and a Chicano boy. The blonde boy (best described as a bully) controlled the game.
He was standing in the first square bouncing the ball. Suddenly, he jammed the
ball into Pham's square. Since Pham had no warning, he could not reach the ball in
time, and he ran obediently onto the field to retrieve it. Meanwhile, the Asian
boy stood up to the bully, saying that he hit the ball out. Their argument continued
after Pham returned with the ball. Pham's only contribution to the discussion was
to bounce the ball on a spot outside the square where he thought the ball landed.
(White school 2/7/77 10:30-10:45)

Pham's reaction to the conflict was to let the other boy argue with the bully, although
Pham was the injured party. His only involvement in the argument was to non-verbally
emphasize the rules.
Vietnamese children often state rules when disputes arise, but they do not participate actively in arguments or discussions. They seem much more concerned with following the rules than in negotiating for better positions. Brian Sutton-Smith noticed a similar insistence on rules among first grade children. He says:

The rules give the children a way of functioning as a group...As the players become more experienced in the ways of groups their attitude toward such rules can become more flexible. The very rigidity of the rules is a quarantor for the players against the chaos of their own and others' idiosyncratic behavior (1971, 89).

The Vietnamese children are like the young children described by Sutton-Smith; they too are uncertain about their role in group play. Therefore, they want well defined roles in their play interactions.

The children who are fairly sure of their status on the playground and understand the social rules, create novel play situations by transcending and over-turning social rules. In contrast, children unfamiliar with American culture find rule governed games novel because they learn new social rules. D. E. Berrylene writes that we are most responsive to an intermediate degree of novelty. We are indifferent to situations that are either too remote or too familiar (1960, 21). Different criteria for novelty influence the play patterns of Vietnamese children and their American peers. A novel situation for an immigrant child may seem boring to an American child because it is too familiar, while a novel situation for an American child may be too foreign for an immigrant child.

Novel play forms for many children do not have pre-established rules and well defined boundaries and roles. These play forms will be referred to as spontaneous play. This play appears chaotic, but it has an underlying structure and unstated boundaries. Spontaneous play does not rely on rules to mark the distinction between play and non-play behavior. Instead, players create a "play frame" or a boundary between play and non-play behavior. A play frame is created through signalling an unstated message, "this is play" (Bateson 1972, 187). The players must understand the messages and the unstated boundaries in which they play because there are no rules to rely on. The lack of rules and pre-established play patterns gives children freedom to do whatever they want and assume any role they please. This freedom can be frightening if the play frame is not carefully maintained and clearly understood.

Children's spontaneous play goes beyond preparing for future roles and understanding social relations. It actually allows children to "play with play." Children turn over the social order and expected behaviors and create disorder and chaos for the pure enjoyment of experiencing the unknown and otherwise unknowable (Sutton-Smith in press, Robinson n.d.).

Spontaneous play often involves what Clifford Geertz calls "deep play." People engage in deep play when the stakes are so high it is irrational to be involved in the activity (Geertz 1972). Children's play seems to involve fairly low stakes, except when spontaneous play turns upon the social structure and cultural norms. This would be the deepest of play if the social structure were static. The intensity and depth of spontaneous play is evident when a child's play frame breaks, and he or she asks, "is this play?" At this point, the child no longer enjoys the disorder in the play world and flees to the security of the rule governed, structured world.

Previous discussions of spontaneous play have not recognized the importance of a shared cultural base. New social structures and interactions intrigue those who are so secure in their culture they can think about changing it. If children do not fully understand the social structure and rules spontaneous play turns against, play boundaries, infra-structures and signalling will not be strong enough to hold children in spontaneous play. Vietnamese children avoid spontaneous play with American peers because they do not understand the rules well enough to break them. They are still trying to establish boundaries and understand social relations in their everyday world. They engage in play forms that strengthen social relations and clarify social rules rather than participating in play that breaks down the social structure they are trying to build.

Children do not participate whole-heartedly in spontaneous play unless they are sure of the social rules they violate. Vietnamese children will gain this security by first
mastering rule governed games. I do not mean they must become good athletes; rather, they must understand the rules along with what lies beneath the rules. A parallel development of rule manipulation occurs in children's riddling.

Children go through three stages in learning to riddle. They begin with learning the structure and linguistic rules and end with transcending and distorting the rules. First, children learn the linguistic code, in this case, the question/answer sequence. They enjoy asking riddles such as, "What two letters do Indians live in? T.P." Once the code is learned, they play with and distort the linguistic sequence by demanding answers that do not follow logically from the question, for example "What is black and white and read all over? A bloody zebra." Children eventually subordinate the linguistic code to their interpersonal relations and substitute victimization as the proper response to the question. They ask a question such as, "Do you want a Hawaiian punch? and follow it by punching the child in the face (McDowell 1974).

Conclusion

The development of riddling skills is analogous to the development of play skills. Rules of proper speech or play behavior are learned in the first stage. At this time, children enjoy mastering rules they will use in daily life. Learning rules loses its novelty once children are proficient in them. Children then begin testing the sensation of rule distortion. Players are not bound by the rules because they are playing, either physically or linguistically. Eventually, the riddles or games transcend the limits of their codes. Communication in both cases goes beyond verbalization or patterned interaction into what Bateson calls "metacommunication" (Bateson 1972, 191).

Vietnamese children are essentially in the first stage, learning the linguistic and social codes. Vietnamese girls are at a disadvantage because they are avoiding both spontaneous play and rule governed games. They are like the child who never tells a riddle. They stand back and observe the social interactions of play, but they do not learn what it is like to participate in the play. The girls learn the social rules, just as the non-riddler learns the question/answer sequence, but they do not learn how to play with the codes. In contrast, Vietnamese boys are learning social rules through play and may eventually know them well enough to play with them. These data suggest that Vietnamese boys will gain a deeper understanding of American culture than will Vietnamese girls because of their participation in play.

Vietnamese boys are learning American cultural rules through the informal channel of play. They will learn to play with the rules and adapt to changes in American society, if they go beyond rule governed games. Vietnamese girls, in contrast, are learning social rules through the more formal channel of school and adults. They may be less prepared for change than Vietnamese boys because school and adults do not give children an opportunity to play with the rules they have learned.

The difference between Vietnamese and American children's play patterns points to another level of play beyond those recognized by Piaget. Children do not stop progressing in play once they have learned its rules. Rule governed games are an important aspect of play, but they are not the ultimate play form. They might be the ultimate form in a static, unchanging society, but today children must become flexible and adaptive to change. Spontaneous play offers them this opportunity.

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Sutton-Smith, Brian

and J. M. Roberts

KINGS SHOOTING AND SHOOTING KINGS

Roland Renson
Catholic University
Leuven, Belgium

A first attempt to compare Sutton-Smith’s analysis of games of order and disorder with some symbolic inversions in the Flemish archery scene.

Introduction

In a paper entitled Play in exile: the continental pastimes of King Charles II (1630-1685), a picture has been drawn of the participation of the exiled king Charles II of England in the shooting festivities of the armed gilds of Bruges in 1656. These festivities were centered around the yearly popinjay shooting of the different gilds, which consisted in shooting at a wooden bird fixed at the top of a tall shooting mast. This form of shooting stood in contrast to the weekly training sessions at regular butts in the gild lanes (Renson, 1977).1

In the present article, our attention will be focused on some more controversial aspects of the social functions of the armed gilds in Flanders. An attempt is made to compare Sutton-Smith's analysis of games of order and disorder with the forms of symbolic inversions which occur in the shooting contests of the armed gilds.

The Dialectics of Innovation and Stabilisation Through Games

A classical interpretation of the social functions of the armed gilds in Flanders consists of stressing their role as defense mechanisms. Even today they are often rhetorically referred to as the loyal conservators of law and order and as the guardians of noble values and traditions. This vision is not uncommon among some folklorists who sometimes give the impression that they like to create an imaginary picture of armed gilds according to the stereotype they would want them to be, or at least like they would have wanted them to have stayed. I have already criticized this rather conservative and nostalgic point of view by drawing a picture of the continual process of evolution and differentiation—both in form and function—which has characterized archery in Flemish society throughout the course of history (Renson, 1976).

In addition, recent theories and developments in anthropology and sociology have led to the formulation of considerable doubt on the functionalist presumptions that social groups and institutions act as socializing agents and integrative mechanisms. It has been argued, quite the reverse, that minor cultural systems such as games (or shooting contests) do not simply exist to socialize members into the normative systems of the culture of which they are a part. Or, as Brian Sutton-Smith formulates it:

On the contrary the very nature of many of these systems is to challenge, even to reverse the systems of which they are a part (1976, p. 9).

Classical examples of such forms of symbolic inversion are found in the role of the fool at the court2, the opposition of Mardi Gras to the Lent or in many ritual inversions within non-complex societies. Moreover, it is our intention to show that such oppositions can also be "articulated" in the symbolic code of two diverging forms of archery contests like the ones Charles II and many other kings and rulers have participated in.

1. Popinjay shooting is still popular in Flanders today. There even exists an independent Federation of mast shooters (Flemish Folk Games Files).

2. The XVIIth century armed gilds also had their gild fool. Official competitions between these gild fools were even part of the shooting meets between the gilds from different towns. The fool of the Saint Barbara gild of Bruges is represented on the painting which shows King Charles II, participating in the popinjay shoot.
Analysis of the Symbolic Inversions in Target Shooting and Popinjay Shooting

Let us now compare — in terms of conflict — the weekly target shootings of the seventeenth century gilds on the one hand with their yearly popinjay contests on the other hand. From this comparison, at set of textual (game structure) and contextual (socio-cultural correlates) oppositions appear. These are represented in Figure I.

FIG. I: Analysis of the symbolic inversions in target shooting and popinjay shooting.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TEXT</th>
<th>TARGET SHOOTING</th>
<th>POPINJAY SHOOTING</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Temporal dimension</td>
<td>Weekly</td>
<td>Yearly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goal (aim)</td>
<td>Well defined and standardized marks</td>
<td>Wooden bird (popinjay) on a tall mast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shooting direction</td>
<td>Horizontal</td>
<td>Vertical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Determinant of outcome</td>
<td>Emphasis on skill</td>
<td>Emphasis on chance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individual - group</td>
<td>Teams shooting</td>
<td>Individuals shooting</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTEXT</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sociocultural setting</td>
<td>Normal life</td>
<td>Exceptional</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purpose (function)</td>
<td>Training</td>
<td>Festivity</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal status</td>
<td>Achieved status</td>
<td>Ascriptive status</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the set of oppositions analyzed in Figure I, it appears that in the conventional target shooting practice, individual skill and achieved (shooting) status were buffered and controlled in an egalitarian setting teams of shooting (gild brotherhood). Whereas — in contrast to the foregoing — in the yearly popinjay contest luck and the ascriptive status connected to it, were exalted to "royal" proportions (See also Sutton-Smith, 1969).

Comparison of the Analysis of Games of Order and Disorder with the Analysis of the Two Forms of Shooting Contests

The symbolic mechanism apparent in the archery shooting contests of adult Flemish citizens present some structural similarities with the so called games of order and disorder, as they were analysed by Brian Sutton-Smith.

Let us therefore compare both analyses and try to find out in which aspects these two categories of symbolic inversions are similar and in which they differ. Like in the case of the games of order and disorder, role inversions occur in the popinjay festival (a wine merchant becomes shooting king, a king participated as gild brother). Thus both forms "provide the participants with a novel experience — rather than simply a replication of the cultural experience" (Sutton-Smith, 1976, p. 9). These role inversions can also be seen as a model of equality in turn taking and role access, where life in the XVIIth century certainly did not!

Up until this point, the symbolic process seems to be identical in both systems compared. A third aspect however: the access to novelty within play roles, which is characteristic for the games of order and disorder, seems to be absent in the shooting contests. In fact, there seems to be little opportunity for strategical and tactical variations and innovations in the highly institutionalized and standardized shooting activities.

I would like to call upon some historical considerations now in order to confront the Sutton-Smith theory of games of order and disorder with the already mentioned traditionalistic point of view on the archery gilds in Flanders. The first one has pointed towards the possible latent proto-cultural and innovative functions of certain forms of symbolic inversion in play; and it was my intention to show in this paper that similar
symbolic oppositions did also appear in the shooting activities of the Flemish gilds. The traditionalistic interpretation, on the other hand, has stressed the stabilizing, replicating social function of these gilds.

So it seems that we are now engaging ourselves more or less into the dialectic of dialectics, but perhaps these theoretical oppositions might also carry some symbolic message for understanding the phenomenon studied if we succeed to break their hidden code under the apparent controversial surface.

If we reconsider the two opposite forms of the shooting contests of the gilds then it can be argued that the popinjay contest - just like the games of order and disorder - seems to mock the conventional status of the King and that it symbolizes clearly how this position is primarily due to chance and not to skill or assiduous training. In this respect it might indeed carry some subversive or revolutionary potentials. But it should also be noted that at the very same time this arbitrary status is replicated in the well defined sub-status-system of the gild itself. Within this subsystem the particular status of shooting king certainly was a most desirable and honorific title, irrespective of some less attractive elements which were connected with it such as e.g. the high costs involved in offering drinks to all participants. The high status character of this title is testified by the numerous family names derived from the words De Koning (The king) and De Kiezer (The emperor), now very common names in Flanders. By the way, the origin of these names should not be connected with the extramartial adventures of kings and rulers in Flanders' history, but simply to the high number of Flemish shooting kings.

It might therefore be interesting to find out whether historical facts tend to elicit proof either of the innovative or of the stabilizing role of the armed gilds in Flemish society.

**History as a Test Case**

From the historical evolution process, which was analyzed in a previously published article (Renson, 1976), it appears that the armed gilds have both been revolutionary cells which sometimes even succeeded in overthrowing the governing political structures on the one hand as well as strongholds of conservatism and reactionarism on the other hand. It can therefore be concluded that the ritualisation of "played disorder" in the gilds' popinjay festivities should probably neither be seen as a cathartic outlet which rendered life more tolerable nor as a vehicle for social and cultural change, but as a mechanism of tacit knowledge.

This interpretation of the symbolic mechanism in games and contests is very much consistent with the theory on symbolism, recently outlined by Dan Sperber in his book *Rethinking Symbolism*. Sperber has, in fact, defined symbolism as a cognitive mechanism of knowledge about knowledge, as knowledge of conceptual representation (Sperber, 1975).

**Conclusions**

The question whether these examples of symbolic inversions in playing and shooting activities act either as innovative or as normative mechanisms "per se", might turn out to be a wrongly formulated question. Perhaps it would be more interesting to investigate the specific social and cultural circumstances and conditions in which these endemic cognitive instruments become either mediators of novelty or tools of conservatism.

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3. The title of emperor was, and is still, given to the shooting king who succeeded to shoot the popinjay on three successive years. It is interesting to note that the former king got the opening shot in the popinjay contest, which, of course, favoured his chances to the emperor title to some extent.

4. In the 1975-76 telephone book under the area of Bruges, the following names are mentioned (+ frequency):
   (the king): Conincks, 1; Conings, 1; De Coninck, 56; De Koninck, 22; Koning, 2;
   Konings, 8.
   (The emperor): De Keyser, 67.
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Games of Order and Disorder

Brian Sutton-Smith
University of Pennsylvania


INTRODUCTION

I happened onto the basic game class of order and disorder in attempting to account for an anomaly in game collections. There has always been a class of games variously defined as amusements, pastimes, entertainments, or diversions which have not fitted the usual definitions. For example, Ring a Roses in which the players dance around singing and fall down at the end. Investigators with an eye to adult games rather than those of children have defined games as voluntary rule governed behaviors involving sides, outcomes and winners (Roberts and Bush, 1954). Pastimes do not have winners and they may not have sides. Yet like games, they are voluntary activities with their own particular rules, and they do have uncertainty with respect to outcomes. Instead of the players contesting with each other, however, they combine together to act out a contest between the forces of order and disorder. I like to think that these games illustrate the basic issue in all co-operation, which is whether the playing group can maintain its existence against the normally divisive forces which play upon it. While it has often been pointed out that competition implies cooperation because the players must be able to agree about the rules, it has not been generally realized, that there are games whose major focus had been the question of that co-operation; games whose focus is the antithesis between order and disorder.

Because these games are the most elementary to be found in childhood, it seems probable that the playful opposition between forces and the disequilibrating outcome which they contain, provide us with the generic definition of a game. At least such a definition enables us to combine in one category such discrepant phenomena as the games of mother and infant, the games people play (after Berne), and the games of the Blues and the Reds.

Method

It was originally intended to study games of order and disorder in cross-cultural perspective and to this end, a sample of 60 cultures was drawn from the Human Relations Area Files (Category 524), so chosen as to represent the major culture areas of Europe, Africa, Asia, Pacific, North and South America (Naroll, 1967). Unfortunately the search was unproductive, yielding only about a dozen examples, most of which resulted from some of the excellent game descriptions in North American sources. And yet, where more comprehensive game collections (outside the Human Relations Area Files) have been made, examples of these games are often to be found (Salter, 1967; Lansley, 1968). Naturally such games are not as abundant in such collections as the records of competitive games. They are generally felt to exemplify more childish tendencies, and are thus even harder to justify as matters for serious study. Given the paucity of evidence, therefore, I am forced to set up a hypothetical account of the way in which such games might exist. The procedure is to outline the age-developmental stages of complexity in these games as they appear amongst children in western societies, and then see if similar examples can be found in the cross-cultural materials. But first, it is necessary to deal with play across the general dimension of order and disorder, leaving the specific games of order and disorder for treatment secondarily.

The dimension of order and disorder

On a dimension of play behavior which ranges from a concern with order at one end to disorder at the other end, the games that I wish to discuss occupy a middle ground containing elements of both. But at each end of the dimension, there are yet other plays and games in which the action is more completely polarized. They are either completely orderly or completely disorderly. The position can be expressed diagrammatically as follows:
As an illustration of "order" we may take the many plays of children throughout the world in which the action of adults is mimetically reproduced as closely as possible. These imitation games are undoubtedly the most universal of all, and they illustrate the desire for mastery of which many play theorists have spoken. There is evidence that these games are most clearly reproductive of adult activity and authority, when adult authority is itself very coercive (Smilansky, 1968). We may conjecture that somewhat similar motivation enters into the extensive imitation activity of adults in those tribal communities where it occurs. The Jivaro Indians, for example, are reported (HRAF #524) to believe that by dramatizing the actions they fear, they are able to take control over their occurrence. Identification with the aggressor, or representation of the feared or conflict inducing event, may result in a sense of playful mastery in tribal culture as some have written (Huizinga, 1944, p. 14).

In the following game of imitating sea lions from the Yahgans of Tierra del Fuego (HRAF), the anthropologist recording these responses comments throughout on the great skill and sophistication of the performers. It seems probable that although this game is formally similar to the imitation activities of children, it is carried out with a level of skill to be found today only amongst experts in mime.

"In the game of the sea lion, both men and women clumsily and ponderously lie down close to one another in an irregular group. Some of them stretch slowly, others look around in a bored way, some prop themselves up with their hands flat, while others, half upright drag themselves along the ground. One person will scratch his back as though his hand were a flipper; another wallows exuberantly in the sand. One person will snore loudly until his neighbor lies down on top of him, whereupon he shoots up angrily and bares his teeth at the one who disturbed him. Two other persons fondle each other, imitating male and female. This one or that one will repeatedly snap shut his wide open mouth as though he had caught a fish in the water, make loud chewing motions, and smack his lips with delight. In the midst of all this a few persons will rear in a deep threatening voice. While this confused tangle moves and stirs about, the spectators nearby repeat the melody and often clap their hands. The players themselves intermittently call out 'ho ho'. After a time a woman gets up and gently taps one player after another with a piece of leather. Immediately each one collapses and is dead. Lying in a jumbled confusion, they remain motionless until the same woman puts a mussel shell filled with water to the mouth of each one; he takes a small swallow and is alive again. When all the players have resumed their places, the whole company concludes this extraordinarily charming game with loud high-pitched cries of 'ho ho'."

In imitative games of such considerable orderliness, the game is itself a response to considerable disorder (chance, hazard, uncontrollability, difficulty, conflict) in the nature of things, whether in the action of powerful others or powerful or scarce animal food supplies. Australian aborigines, for example, spend considerable effort in imitation of the animals they hunt, and in imitation of the hunting skills required to do so. They encourage and reward the same imitation in children (Salter, 1967).

At the opposite end of this particular dimension of order–disorder are many plays of imitative mimicry. An Australian corroboree, with all its celebration of customary life, contains also its humor, clowns and parodies of scenes from the same life. There are, in addition, children's play corroborees and fun dances which are said to be "all fun and make-believe."
Another dimension of order-disorder includes as one pole the many ritual games where there is the impressive orderliness of choral and rhythmic verse and action. These games, sometimes known as ring games, singing games or ritual dramas, are usually an orderly symbolic statement of cultural life or childish aspiration (for example, Punchinello, Farmer in the Dell, London Bridge, etc.). In European culture, the majority of such games center on the conflict of females over acceptance and rejection. They embody a reversal in social forms only insofar as the players who are powerless children are here pretending to be adults and powerful. In life, they have no say yet in love and marriage, although in the game they do. The considerable difficulty that children have in maintaining these games, in keeping time as they march and as they sing, is evidence that part of the function of these orders, is to overcome the inchoateness of their abilities, quite apart from any mastery over the cultural reality. It is an accomplishment for five-to-seven-year olds to get through these games without a disruption occurring from the incompetence of the members. At this age level, then, a game of order is mastery over social psychological anarchy, not only mastery over these more difficult and remote matters of love and marriage.

When one observes three-year-olds first rising to collaboration, for example, it is often in the form of momentary unison. They may begin beating their blocks on the floor in sporadically parallel contagion rising toward some rare moment when all are in accord. There is no question that when such accord is achieved through games between the ages of three and five, it is done in the teeth of imminent collapse into the disorder of egocentric impulse or simple incompetency. Just as contrarily, however, the children themselves having achieved some degree of order often show much enjoyment of breaking it down into disorder, so that sand-castles built with much co-operative effort are hilariously destroyed, and blocks tumbled down. Here the contrast or antagonism between social order and play liminality (Turner, 1969) is mirrored in the play activity itself.

The other end of this orderly ritual dimension may well be games of vertigo which Caillios has called to our attention (1961). These are a defiance of the usual sensory-motor orders. Children as well as adults gain great pleasure from whirling and whirling round on blocks of ice (Eskimos), etc., from swinging, sliding and toboganning. The very physical and impulsive forces, which must be brought under control in the former games, are given indulgence and, in a sense, a new order of their own.

Even games of skill may be arranged along a similar dimension with regard to the extent to which they deal with the issues of order or disorder. Many games of skill hinge on not breaking down, or not misstepping, or on not missing one's turn. The cumulative games of Hopscotch, Jackstones and Jumprope, which are traditionally games of girls, all have this character of using skill as a way of establishing cumulative order, rather than as a means to some dramatic outcome such as capturing an opponent. At the opposite end of such a dimension may be the disorderly contests in which the effort is made to make another player lose his control. There are games of steadfastness, for example, where one must not laugh until a certain signal, as in Poor Kitty, where one must put the head of kitty on all fours without laughing. To laugh is to take his place. Or the Tlingit Indians have the game of "Ha-goo?" in which if the opponent laughs when questioned, he is captured by the questioning team. They in the meantime do every ridiculous thing in their power to make him laugh (HRAF).

One can generalize that across these three sets of dimensions with their opposing poles of order (limitation, ritual games, contests) and disorder (mimicry, vertigo, steadfastness), the orderly pole always exists in distinction to some disequilibrating force of the natural or cultural type or some internal psychological disorder. The play activity is an attempt to bring order out of that other chaos, or other disequilibration. However even the order in these games often breaks down into disorder, and that inadvertence may sometimes itself give rise to enjoyment. At the other end of the dimension, it is disorder itself which is directly enjoyed, and yet paradoxically organized to prolong that possibility.

The games or order and disorder

To this point then I have described pure games of order, as well as their frequent more or less inadvertent collapse into disorder, and pure games of disorder and their more
occasional absorption into games of order. The games of order and disorder with which I wish to deal most centrally, however, contain both elements as a part of their explicit rule structure. They are not any more important than the other examples, in fact judged by quantity, they are probably less important. Their interest lies in the encapsulation of the order-disorder dialectic within their own structure, rather than being manifested in breakdown or in relationships between games and non-game behavior. These games may be arranged tentatively as a series of structures of succeeding complexity, and it can be shown at least anecdotally from the HRAP and other sources that they are to be found in tribal as well as higher cultures.

Level 1. Everyone acts at the same time either diffusely or more or less in parallel, and the outcome may occur to one or all. The outcome is usually a motor collapse.

The most obvious example in European culture is Ring a Ring a Roses, where all proceed in an orderly way, until the last line, "Ashes Ashes (or, A tishoo A tishoo), they all fall down," where everyone collapses on the ground. Malinowski described Trobriand Island games where all the players holding hands like a long string wind around each other until they are a tight ball, then they run it out until it breaks and they all fall down or apart (Sutton-Smith, 1959, p. 24). The same type of game is played in western countries, but often without the emphasis on breaking apart (and is, therefore a ritual game as described above) and without the subsidiary sexual satisfactions to which Malinowski alludes. A game from D'entrecasteaux in Melanesia is described in which "the children all squat in a row on their heels and pass their hands between their legs, clasping the back of the left leg with their left hand, and the right leg with the right. They then chant a song about the "KIWIWI" bird with an ending of 'pip pip pip' for which they attempt to jump backwards. Somebody invariably falls over much to the delight of the other participants and onlookers." (Lansley, 1968)

Level 2. There is role differentiation to the extent that one or more players have a central role in bringing about the collapse.

In the game of magic wand from Mota Banks Island, Melanesia (Lansley, 1968), there are two lines facing each other singing a chant about a magic wand. In order to get the wand a player must make faces and twist his body or distort his voice. If he makes the rest of the group laugh, he becomes the possessor of the wand and someone else must try to get it. There are western equivalents (Sutton-Smith, 1959, p. 57).

In the following aboriginal game about lightning striking from Australia, an artifact is used to produce the chaos. This game was popular with small girls.

"Two children stood several feet apart, facing each other, with an endless string around their necks. Each child placed a small stick between the string and began to turn it in the opposite direction to her partner until the string twisted tightly. . . . On a given signal, the hands were removed from the sticks and the girls pressed backwards with their necks exerting pressure on the string. This caused the string to unwind rapidly and the sticks to be fired amongst their surrounding playmates. The children hit by the sticks were said to be struck by lightning" (Salter, 1968, p. 145).

Level 3. The actions are co-ordinated in turns through a cumulating series of actions and there is a common outcome.

In Moresby straits the game of tug ear is reported as follows:

"Children sit round in a circle and pile their hands one on top of another, with palms uppermost. The last child to place his handson the pile then strokes the next uppermost palm and chants, 'he scrapes the palm, a mushroom like the ear of a grasshopper.' He then withdraws hid hand, flips his lips, and takes hold of his neighbor's ear. This continues until everybody has hold of an ear in either hand whereupon everybody chants. 'My grandparent, what food shall we eat? Our yams we are eating.' Then with the words 'twist, twist,' they all begin twisting and pulling their neighbor's ears with the utmost vigor and the circle breaks up with shrieks of laughter" (Lansley, 1968, p. 89).
Another example is the western game of Consequences, in which each individual writes a part description of somebody on a piece of paper, which is then folded over and handed on, until there is a cumulating description of as many fictitious people as there are members of the group, and a final shared merriment of the absurd accounts.

Level 4. At Level 4 the actions of the players are co-ordinated as in a dramatic plot toward the downfall of some central person.

The central person, often treated with high respect, is in fact ultimately humiliated. In an early New Zealand game called the Golden Sword, the new boy was made King, seated on a throne, blindfolded, told he would knight all the others. Finally he was given the magic sword which he was to draw through his hands and lay on their shoulders. The sword had been soaked in the toilet. In the Queen of Sheba, a queen similarly announced was carefully crowned, brought to her throne and in great ceremony, she tumbled through her throne into a bucket of water beneath. There is report of a very similar type of game amongst the Gros Ventre Plains Indians. Here one of the children would be given a ritual role, decorated and be made a part of a ceremony with singing and dancing. At the end of the game, however, the child who had been coerced into the central role was taken and dumped into the water headmost (HRAP).

Discussion

The findings and orientations of this paper may be summarized in order of ascending theoreticality.

(1) First, it does seem useful to discuss ways of looking at play in terms of games of order and disorder. It makes sense out of the diffuse pastime category that previously did not make any sense. It enlarges the scope of game categorization so that previously anomalous phenomena like infant games can be included in the same general canon of group play activities defined as having an opposition between forces and a disequilibrating outcome. The disequilibrating of the outcome, however, is relatively more contrived and relatively less open-ended than in contest games. We can speak of disequilibrating in games of order/disorder, whereas we would speak of uncertain outcomes in games of contest. Those familiar with developmental structural thinking will not find this partial emergence of elements an overwhelming objection (Gardner, 1973).

This new category of order-disorder games, raises more explicitly the question of the ways in which players develop their ability to constitute the original contract of cooperation to agree with the rules, which agreement underlies all competitive games. The present example suggests that unison experience may be an important prerequisite for this agreement.

(2) While the HRAP survey was impossible in the proper sense, it did reveal that these types of games were widespread. In North America, examples were found amongst the Copper Eskimo, Tlingit, Zuni and Gros Ventre. In the Pacific, amongst the Trobriand and from other sources (Salter, 1967; Lansley, 1968), the Australian aborigine and other Melanesian Islands. In South America there were examples from the Yahgan, Jivar and Caingang, and in Africa from the Amhara.

(3) The organization of the games into four succeeding structural levels was derived from work with New Zealand and American materials.

These levels of play which have been described in more detail elsewhere (Sutton-Smith, 1959) are based on several structural features; with respect to interactions, there is across the four levels a shift from parallel role activity, through central person roles, co-operative roles, to scapegoating roles, each requiring the types of social competence developed on the previous level. In Western countries such a shift would occur between the ages of five and fifteen years. There is also a shift from the episodic to sumulative to climactic use of the temporal structure (Sutton-Smith, 1971). Basically the spatial structure stays the same, that is, a more or less enclosed or circle formation. Consistent with this, the actors are more often girls than boys. The actions, seem to feature a predominance of motor disorder at the first two levels, and a breakdown into aggression and hostility at the latter two levels, suggesting a socialization shift in children's perception of the critical elements in cultural order.
It is not improbable that other levels between these four may be found. While the implication is that younger children play the first levels and older children the latter, the cross-cultural data do not allow for an unequivocality with respect to the universal-ity of such chronological sequences. It must be viewed at this point simply as a hypothet-ical developmental structural system parallel to the others that have been constructed for the other classes of games described earlier (Sutton-Smith, 1971).

(4) A fourth general point must be that these games are only part of a more general dimension of order-disorder with many ramifications throughout society as the other papers in the symposium will attest. The games are crystallizations of this dialectic with particular appropriateness it seems to the development of the young.

(5) The overview of these games along with others seems to support the view that the character of games as anti-structure is rather complex. It is easier to support the view that the game is simply a model of the rest of the structure. That is, the game is society's analogue, not its inversion. The prior cross-cultural work with John M. Roberts supports the view that major cultural antitheses are encapsulated in games (Sutton-Smith & Roberts, 1972). Games of strategy exist in cultures where strategic thinking is impor-tant; games of chance exist where divinatory thinking is important. Games of physical skill exist where motor skills are critical in adult work roles. Of course the game is an abstraction from the larger system. In that sense it is certainly different. But that does not make it an inversion. What appears to be different in the game is not so much the overt structure of actions and reactions, but rather the access that players have to them. Role relationships within normative systems, for example, are usually asymmetrical. Person A is dominant and person B is subordinate, or A is nurturant and B is succorant and no change in that relationship is easily obtained. In the game, however, such inverse changes in role relationships are often possible. It is true that some sociological thinking has emphasized that play relationships reflect normal hierarchical relationships, but it may be argued that this is a condition only in very cohesive primary groups. Most playing permits a degree of role reversibility which is not found in other relational structures (Sutton-Smith, 1966). The alienation of which Simmel speaks which is said to be created by the normative system of relationships can be redressed in the games. Those who cannot win in relation to fathers, schoolteachers, or academic peers may well have moments of victory in their games of chase and even when they fail, such failures will be evanescent and not the basis for deep and lasting concern by others. Games give such leeway for mastery over success or failure. According to this argument then, what is inverted is not the social form or social structure, but the players' access to the parts. But clearly, this is an argument which while fitting for most games does not apply so well to those with which we are dealing here. In games of order and disorder, the disorderly aspects do not represent what is to be found in the surrounding cultural life. Histrionics, vertigo and provocations to impulsiveness are not of the normative order. Laughing at those who fall over, grimacing and leering, countering one's body, tugging each other's ears, and dunking players in the water, are reversals of the normative order, not its exemplification. These are genuine anti-structures in Turner's sense. From which we may conclude that games contain at least two orders of reversal, a more normative one which provides inverse access to roles, and this more specialized one in which social forms are abrogated.

(6) As a final point we must tackle the possible functions for such phenomena. My general point of view on play as enunciated elsewhere is that it is a response to some disequilibrating circumstances, and as well, an innovative source of variable responses (Sutton-Smith and Roberts, 1973). Most theorizing on this matter has taken account only of the former part of this paradigm. Thus the games are compensations, or they express the essential alienation of the player from the normative system, or they permit his feeling mastery with respect to that system. All of these views, along with the follow- ing by Turner, imply some sort of equilibrial dynamics. Thus Turner says: "Every opposition is overcome or transcended in a recovered unity, a unity that, moreover is reinforced by the very potencies that endanger it . . . putting at the service of the social order the very forces of disorder that inhere in man's mammalian constitution." (p. 93)
But what does this mean? It seems to me that this quote and the other interpretations subordinate the significance of anti-structure to being an auxiliary function of the larger structure. Whether you talk of "primary process" after Freud, "alienation" after Simmel or man's mammalian constitution after Turner, you are engaged in the basic work-play dualism that makes it difficult to think of the anti-structure except in a derogatory sense.

I would concede, of course, that this notion of anti-structure is a distinct improvement over the prior doctrine that play phenomena are too trivial to be in culture at all and are in fact merely an epiphenomenon or "projection" of real culture. It also improves on the contrary strict rehearsal doctrines which reduce the play to the strict service of other functions, as in the earlier doctrines of Karl Groos or the current work of game simulists. There is at least a real dialectic involved in the anti-structural notion. Two orders of reality are confronted, rather than one order merely replicated.

Still, it is my belief that while all these interpretations have relevance, they can perhaps be subsumed within a more comprehensive functional significance. If play is the learning of variability, a position for which we now have increasing experimental evidence, then we can perhaps say also that all these forms of inversion involve experimentation with variable repertoires. All involve the development of flexible competencies in role taking and the development of variable repertoires with respect to these roles. In these terms, Simmel's alienation would not be solely a reaction from normative commitments (though it could be that also), it would be the distancing necessary before one could envisage potential alternatives. In this view the anti-structural phenomena not only make tolerable the system as it exists, they keep its members in a more flexible state with respect to that system, and, therefore, with respect to possible change. Each system has different structural and anti-structural adaptive functions. The normative structure represents the working equilibrium, the anti-structure represents the latent system of potential alternatives from which novelty will arise when contingencies in the normative system require it. We might more correctly call this second system the proto-structural system because it is the precursor of innovative normative forms. It is the source of new culture.

Or at least this is particularly arguable of dreams, fantasies, play and art. Whether as we move along this continuum of concretization toward games, humor, and ritual there is a subtle change toward a more compensatory balance, I am not certain. The psychological analogue is that in the healthy individual the fantasies remain open for the envisagement of possibilities and their contents directly reflect the major current concerns of that individual. But in the severely conflicted individual, the fantasies serve the role of inversion or compensation, permitting the continuance of the stressed personality.

So perhaps the question of whether our inverted phenomena are of proto-structural or anti-structural significance, must depend upon the flexibility of the larger culture of which they are a part. In a culture stable with respect to the management of its abiding tensions, the inverted forms may be exactly as Turner has described them. While in changing cultures they may have more progressive significance. Thus we may be disorderly in games either because we have an overdose of order or because we have something to learn through being disorderly.

References


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