THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF PLAY

NEWSLETTER

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The Strategy Issue

SPECIAL NOTICE

The Proceedings for the 1978 TAASP Conference held at Notre Dame will be edited by Helen Schwartzman, President of TAASP. All paper presenters are urged to submit their final versions as soon as possible to Helen, at The Institute for Juvenile Research, 1140 South Paulsiha St., Chicago, Illinois, 60612.

Contents

Editorial
Philip Townshend: Games of Strategy: a new look at correlates

Research Briefs about Frank Manning, Don Handelman, Elizabeth Mathias, Diana Shmuley, Kenneth Rubin, Carolyn Cook, R. Smulders, Renson et al.

Book Notes About: Eric Dunning and Kenneth Sheard, Terry Orlick, Bill & Dolores Michaelis, Barbara Babcock

World Notes From: Schlomo Ariel (Israel), Roland Renson (Belgium)

The Play of Girls by Linda Hughes and Christine E. Robinson

Bibliographies and Collections by Annette Rosentai, Renson & Van Reusel, Notre Dame, University of Waterloo, Flemish Folk Game Gile

Notices by Members
Cognate Organizations by Michael Salter

Note: Next Issue, Volume 5, Number 1, will contain a response by Professor John M. Roberts, to the important critique by Philip Townshend which appears in this number.

Important Notice

This is your last TAASP Newsletter as a 1977-78 TAASP member.

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EDITORIAL

This issue features an exciting challenge by Philip Townshend of Cambridge England, to the empirical basis of the game studies by Roberts, Arth, Bush, Kendon, Sutton-Smith et al. As these game studies have been considered amongst the most stable findings in the HRAF domain, there has to be considerable puzzlement over Townshend's results. This maybe indeed a critical event in the contrast which can be made between the older cross-cultural technique of anthropological research and the newer more context sensitive ethnographic alternative. In the next issue we will include a response by Professor John M. Roberts of the University of Pittsburgh.

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This was just one of the many brilliant papers presented at the 4th Annual TAASP conference. What has become remarkable about TAASP is that it now attracts a variegated assortment of scholars from history, literature, psychology, sociology, folklore, physical education, sport sociology, library science, sociolinguistics, psychiatry and, of course, anthropology. It has become a society for the systematic study of play (TASSP); for the scientific study of play (TASSP) -- a home for the ludic fringe!

One detects throughout the conference (summarized in our prior issue), a striking difference between papers where the concerns are with the grammar of play and the players' socialization into those grammars (as in Renick, Ariel, Beran, Watson, Roberts, Salter), and as in the articles in this issue on the play of girls; and those papers where play's variable and reversible function as a form of communication are stressed (as in Handelman, Schwartzman (J), Lavenda, Leary & Adams). The rise of these latter meta ludic theories in contradistinction to earlier "straight" ludic theories, finds current parallel in almost every other scholarly discipline.

At the same time it probably parallels our increasingly variable Western self-conceptualization. When John Schwartzman says:

"The 'playful" aspects of play connecting incongruent and novel aspects of the social context, never before linked, implicitly question the inevitability and appropriateness of the social order and by this, alternatives become possible."

(TAASP, 1978 p 18)

He both indicates this shift towards more subtle understandings of play in culture as well as raises the possibility that we may as creatures of our own diversification overcomplicate the more routine nature of much that still passes for play.

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I would like to call the readers attention to the numerous research briefs, notes and notices as well as bibliographies which have been contributed to this issue. Our policy is to stay as interesting and as informative on the matters of play research as is possible. In this we are increasingly helped by materials that are received from you, the reader.

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In addition I would like to point out that Alyce Cheska in addition to her many other duties as secretary-treasurer, has now taken over the final stage of manuscript typing and printing for which I am most grateful.

B.S-S.
Games of Strategy: A New Look at Correlates

Philip Townshend

Paper presented at Annual TAASP Conference
University of Notre Dame
South Bend, Indiana
March 23, 1978

In this paper I want to re-examine some of the cross-cultural conclusions reached by Roberts, Arth and Bush in their pioneering article "Games in Culture" in the 1959 volume of American Anthropologist,1 and by Roberts, Sutton-Smith and Kendon in a later paper on "Strategy in Games and Folktales" in the 1963 volume of the Journal of Social Psychology.2 In particular I wish to discuss the suggestion in the earlier article that (I quote) "since games of strategy simulate social systems, those systems should be complex enough to generate such needs for expression. Simple societies should not possess games of strategy and should resist borrowing them", and the implication (p 601) that pastoralists tend not to have games of strategy. In discussing these points I shall lean on my own and others' research into Mankala games and shall cite African material for the most part.

There is evidence for only two widespread types of game of strategy in black Africa prior to colonisation. One, called Mankala by anthropologists but known by innumerable local names such as Wari, Adjì, Okwè, Bao, Solo, Chuba etc., is played with uniform pebbles or seeds, most commonly on two or four rows of holes dug in the ground or hollowed out of a wooden board, the object being to capture most of the stones on the board. The other, which I refer to by its Hausa name "dara", bears a vague resemblance to checkers.

Within Africa "dara" is confined mainly to Islamic parts in or bordering on the desert, whereas Mankala has been reported in one or other of a variety of forms from at least 300 peoples in almost every part of black Africa.3 Those who do not play the game are apparently concentrated mainly in South Africa and the Equatorial Forest, and include, aside from negroid and bushman hunters-and-gatherers, occasional Central Bantu peoples of varying degrees of political complexity and the southernmost of the highly organised South-Eastern Bantu (Zulu, Sotho, Tswana etc.). Those who do play are equally disparate, including fishing, agricultural and pastoral peoples of various racial, cultural and linguistic stocks and of every form of socio-political organisation from the very simple (e.g. Hottentot, Fang, Baya, Turkana, Lugbara and Nuer) to highly-organised kingdoms. Thus the distribution of Mankala, in Africa at least, follows geographical rather than cultural considerations.

It cannot even be argued that the more intricate forms of Mankala are typical of more complex societies possessing games of strategy. Basically the same game is played by the segmentary, stateless Lugbara, by the monarchical Kuba and in most of the chiefly societies of Angola, Zambia and Zimbabwe. A mathematically much more complex form, moreover, is common to the centralised, hierarchical Rwanda and Ganda and to the acephalous Karamojong, Nuer, Hottentot etc. Thus within Africa not only games of strategy, but more precisely Mankala, and more precisely still individual forms of Mankala, cut right across the most usual classifications of societies.

As for pastoralists, far from their tending not to have games of strategy, they appear to be among the most avid of Mankala players: Hottentot, Maasai, Samburu, Rendile, Nuer, Dinka, Karamojong, Somali, Bega, Baggara Arabs, in short, almost all the pastoral peoples of Southern Sudan, Ethiopia and East Africa indulge, while "dara" or Mankala or both are played by many pastoral groups of the Sahel. What is more, Mankala in East Africa and parts of Asia clearly has a longstanding intimate and conscious association with the pastoral mode of life in its very terminology: the pieces are called 'cows', certain moves are referred to as 'having a cow calve' etc. and some peoples conceive of their game explicitly as a symbolic representation of cattle-raiding.

If then we find the same game in Africa in societies with widely diverging degrees of socio-political complexity this is a serious blow to the games-of-strategy / cultural-complexity correlation as formulated. It would suggest moreover that games of strategy do not necessarily "simulate social systems" (though the "expressive model characteristics" of games may apply to a more personal level of interaction), and that almost any socio-political system is "complex enough to generate such needs for expression". Competition and plotting would indeed by a
danger to the survival of rudimentary hunters-and-gatherers such as Bushmen (and these haveno games of strategy), but what other society does not offer scope for strategy? In acephalous societies strategy may intervene in the manipulation of oracles, in decisions as to whether or not to accuse someone of witchcraft, to settle a dispute by feud rather than by compensation, to contribute to a distant relative's bridewealth, to secede from one's father's household, etc. Even at the level of reasonable expectation, therefore, I find the suggested incompatibility of games of strategy with 'simple' societies unconvincing.

My submission is that diffusion or copying of games, in Africa at least, has proceeded without regard to the structure of the societies concerned. It may happen in a number of ways -- through inter-group kin, bondsman or joking relations for example. Once implanted a game may become modified to accord with local values, as cricket has been in Samoa and the Trobriand Islands or chess in Bornu; alternatively the society itself may be influenced by values implicit in the game or by social processes set in motion by its being played. Where, for instance, Mankala was only played on the chief's board by those acknowledging his authority, this authority will be weakened by any tendency to popularise possession of boards. Conversely, in acephalous societies where holes in the ground are used a process of social differentiation could be initiated or intensified by one enterprising individual acquiring a wooden board and regularly playing host to his fellow aficionados of the game. How a game may corrode established values can be perceived from Pauwel's account of football in Rwanda. Introduced in missionary schools, the game acquired popularity among young people who began neglecting the tasks imposed by their elders; local chiefs who sponsored a team were aroused to public manifestations of enthusiasm or anger with referees that quite went against the grain of the age-old Tutsi norm of reserved aloofness, and must have diminished these chiefs' prestige in the eyes of their people. Thus games may play their part in the subversion of established cultural values, and may indeed be used to this end by oppressed or minority elements in a society.

To argue, as has been done for other cultural elements, that the occurrence of games of strategy in unexpected places is due to acculturation, with the implication that these cases are therefore exceptional or do not count, would be to make a fetish of tradition. Acculturation is not a new process inaugurated by European colonisation; there have been other migrations, conquests and colonisations all along the continuum of history, and what we are pleased to refer to as 'tradition' in any society is often no more than an acculturation or distillate of previous acculturations, a constantly changing, not a static force. Western games may move further and faster than those spread by any previous cultural movement, but I see no reason to suppose that the nature and mechanics of their impact are inherently different from those of previous importations. Football and checkers will end up wedged in the new traditional configuration they have helped to form. We should therefore not cream off recently imported games from those that were there before, though we may justifiably argue that it is yet too early to evaluate their contribution and their fate. Indeed, we might learn a lot from examining recent trends, such as the inroads made on the popularity of games of strategy like Mankala by games relying on elements of chance, such as ludo, cards etc.

My main criticism of the cross-cultural studies of games published so far is that they proceed from a static, synchronic view of both society and games. They make no allowance for the differing stages of mutual accommodation between society and games reached at the time of the various ethnographic investigations they utilise and ignore the historical possibility that some 'complex' societies possessing games of strategy may not have been complex when they obtained them. By over-emphasising the expressive-model aspect of games, i.e. games as simulation, they detract from the role of games in the stimulation of social change. In short, they treat games as peripheral manifestations, not as cogs in the social process, as active ingredients of society.

If, then, we reject the static games-of-strategy / cultural complexity correlation, how are we to account for the tables and statistics used by Roberts and associates to suggest it?

Firstly I would cite the unreliability
of the ethnographic data on which they are based, whether directly, or indirectly through the various compendia of such data (Cross Cultural Survey files etc.). An examination of column 35 ('Types of Games') in Murdock's Ethnographic Atlas Summary in the light of collected data on games available to me reveals false entries for 20% of the African societies listed.

Roberts, Arth & Bush list for instance the Kababish of Sudan as lacking any games -- yet an article by Davies in the 1925 volume of Sudan Notes & Records describes games of both chance and strategy played by these people. The discrepancy arises presumably from the fact that our data-compendia rely primarily on monographs, whereas games have long since been relegated to obscure articles, if thought worthy of interest at all.

Secondly there is the question of sampling. Both for the 1959 and 1963 articles the authors attribute their admitted inability to produce a random sample or anything approaching one to considerations of data availability. Their sample distribution is indeed extremely lopsided. In the 1959 table showing societal complexity, for example, more than half the societies in the most complex category are African, although African societies number less than 1 in 4 of the total sample, and not one 'simple' society is taken from Africa. The fact that, broadly speaking, interest in 'simple' African societies bore fruit after the heyday of the general ethnographic monograph may explain why their games are poorly documented, but in no way mitigates the statistical distortion that inevitably results from such samples. Any correlation indicated at world-wide level must arouse suspicion if consistent geographical deviations are encapsulated in the global findings.

Thirdly the authors' classification and ranking of societies in terms of 'complexity' is problematical. In the 1963 article the authors hover disconcertingly between 'political integration' and 'cultural complexity'. The former is ill-defined, which had already led in "Games in Culture" to the bizarre inclusion of the Maasai in the 'complex' category; the latter is a measure of community size, metal technology, agricultural development, jurisdictional levels, etc., a concept somewhat on the lines of Freeman & Winch's 'societal complexity' as expounded in the 1957 volume of the American Journal of Sociology. Since Roberts, Sutton-Smith & Kendon mention this article with apparent approval, it is, I think, instructive to compare the ratings of some societies common to the samples used in these various attempts at classification. Freeman & Winch use six criteria to determine their degree of complexity, namely: punishment, government, education, religion, economy and literacy. Of their 4 most complex non-literate societies (i.e. with 5 out of 5 complex ratings) 2 are classed by the 1963 authors at their second-lowest of 7 degrees of political integration. The Kababish have only 2 out of 5 complex ratings (for religion and economy), while Roberts, Arth & Bush attribute to them high political integration and social classes. The Thonga and Chagga also have 2 out of 5 complex ratings, and the Azande only one -- none of them for government -- yet all are ranked in the 1963 article at the 6th out of 7 upward-graded levels of political integration. The point for the moment is not to decide which ratings are correct, but to focus attention on the high degree of doubt and possible error surrounding ratings of comparatively well-documented variables, even before any attempt has been made at correlation with others.

Fourthly I wish to comment on the authors' statistical treatment of their data, but first it will be useful to summarise diagrammatically all the correlations claimed in the two papers:

```
  obedience training
    in infancy

  cultural
complexity

  games of
strategy

  obedience themes
    in folktales

  strategy in
folktales
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It will be seen that several correlations (the dotted lines) are not explicitly stated, though they might be expected to be valid in the context of the 'constellation of relationships' proposed. To try these I applied Spearman tests to the authors' data. For the correlation between obedience training in infancy and obedience themes in folktales -- the most likely one on the face of it -- I obtained a low negative value (-.26). Between strategy in tales and obedience themes
in tales the association was positive but weak (.2), disappointing in view of the authors' correlation of obedience themes in tales and the existence of games of strategy. The other attempted correlations proved to be even weaker. In view of these results and of the highly unsatisfactory samples on which they are based I suggest these statistical exercises add little weight to the proposed associations.

My last comment concerns our competence at present to undertake the cross-cultural study of games. Our data are scant and often crude. All too frequently our sources make no allusion to intratribe variation, to differentiation in patterns of games-play according to age or generation, sex, caste, or social class, to frequency or intensity of play, to its social context, or even to its status (games may be approved, disapproved but tolerated, or actively suppressed). In view of all this I submit that our conceptual tools are not yet adequate to answer the hitherto most basic cross-cultural question: Does game X exist in society Y? For instance, does cock-fighting exist in England? What we desperately need is more sophisticated information on games collected by, if not specialists, at least anthropographers who have been sensitised to our requirements and who have been persuaded that games are not trivial; this information will then allow us to ask more sophisticated questions about games, make more fruitful comparisons, construct more profitable typologies, models, etc.

My own view is that by proceeding to world-wide cross-cultural study at this stage we are trying to run before we can walk. Not only will we not get far, but we risk setting out on a false track leading to a dead end. I believe that the most illuminating insights will result from more limited comparative studies which keep some variables such as ecology, general culture area, etc., constant. We might study local intra-tribal variations in games, differences in play between neighboring similar societies, or games similarities between widely differing societies; we might attempt to treat as pieces of one jigsaw puzzle the various crumbs from the anthropologist's table: games, tales, riddles, dances, music, beer-drinking, joking and so on, but in one society at a time.

The genesis of this paper was my dismay at repeatedly coming across references to the correlations "shown" or "established" in the articles I have been scrutinising, where-as the authors of "Games in Culture" only claimed to have "suggested" these as a spur to further research. For all the doubts I have expressed concerning Professor Roberts and his associates, conclusions to them belongs the distinction of having regenerated interest in games along other than purely folkloristic lines. Surely we owe them more than an uncritical acceptance of their pioneering hypotheses?

Notes and References:


3. A comprehensive bibliography of Mankala would be longer than this paper. The main 'multiple' sources are:

Murray, H J R: Board and Table Games other than Chess, Oxford, 1952, pp 158-225.


Driedger W: The Game of Bao or Mankala in East Africa, Mila (Nairobi) III (1972) 1, pp 7-20.


6. Meek C K: Chess in Bornu, Nigeria, 
   Man XXXIV (1934), no. 48.
   Harris P G: Chess in Bornu (letter),
   Man XXXIX (1939), no. 32.

7. Pauwels M: Jeux et Divertissements au
   Rwanda, Annali Lateranensi XXIV
   (1960), pp 254-255.

8. Murdock G P: Ethnographic Atlas, a
   Summary, Ethnology VI (1967) 2.

9. Davies R: Some Arab Games and Puzzles,
   Sudan Notes & Records VIII (1925),
   pp 140-144.

10. Freeman L C & Winch R F: Societal Com-
    plexity: an Empirical Test of a
    Typology of Societies, American
    Journal of Sociology LXII (1957),
    pp 461-466.

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Limit within or beyond which
Mankala seems not to have
penetrated

- Mankala
- "dara"
- others

Games of Strategy in Africa
RESEARCH BRIEFS

(1) Frank E. Manning in "Salvation of a drunk" (American Ethnologist, 1977, 4, 397-412) -- deals with the interrelationships between play and ritual in a pentecostal Bermudan group. Treating both as liminal (Turner) he demonstrates the oscillation within the one religious service between comedy and seriousness, between religion and commonsense, as the members exorcise the devil in terms of the drunk's vomiting, and at the same time wipe it up and carry him home. Let us believe and let us make believe (Handelman) are not always distinct. Handclapping, repetitive singing and a spirit of spontaneity, open endedness and possession redner the service a play event in Caillois' sense of ilinx. There is clapping for God and cheers for the Holy Ghost. What we have is a joyful and playful inversion of the members' importance as a lower class economic unit; (as in Turner's work. Victor Turner: The Forest of Symbols Cornell University Press 1967). What is added is the inversions within the liminal area as play proceeds to ritual, and what begins as entertainment and light hearted contrast to ordinary life, takes in turn its own possession and the ritual becomes a more deliberate effort to transcent this world with another. Play, in this context of explanation, seems to be a liminal area between two worlds of high seriousness, the former common sense and the latter completely liminoid belief.

The importance for students of play is once again to bring our attention to the interrelationships of the play upon which we focus, and how it serves, subserves and is served by, other functions. It probably never stands alone although we have a habit of studying it that way.


In this paper Handelman provides the theoretical underpinning for the previous paper by Manning. Handelman finds that play and ritual have the following in common:
1. a reduction of social types
2. the use of symbolic types
3. the alterations of means-ends relationships
4. everyone present defines the situation in the same way
5. the normal social self is superfluous
6. each is a framed domain
7. each has metamessages of liminality
8. each has internal meta messages about the ordering (inversion) of social reality.

But they are distinct in the following ways:

RITUAL:
1. getting into the ritual is a complex passage
2. it has a resilient frame
3. it defines the moral community
4. it has metamessages of sanctity, morality and truth
5. it is expressive for the social order
6. it comments on society only within a narrow range
7. it comments on the totality of social structures in time and space.

PLAY:
1. passage into play is easy
2. there is a weak frame
3. play accentuates the plasticity of ideaation
4. there are internal metamessages of doubt, amorality and falsity
5. it is expressive of the social order
6. it comments on a wide band of social events
7. it comments on immediate ongoing fragments of social reality.

(3) In a Ph.D. thesis "From Folklore to Mass Culture" (U. Penn. 1974), which has just come to our attention we find one of the few examples of games being used to trace the social history of a group, in this case a Philadelphia immigrant Italian group. The transition is one in which games are played in a tightly knit group and serve as support for the members, to a situation where the games played are national games, and the group members look outwards towards the larger culture. It is a shift from games of verbal duelling (strategy), verbal guessing (strategy and chance) to games of chance (numbers and bingo). It is a shift from a situation in which local and small group leadership is strong and where obedience and envy are powerful, to a more anonymous situation in which the individual has little control over large scale impersonal forces. The shift is probably manageable within the conflict enculturation theory of games and does serve to heighten earlier descriptions of the obedience-envy complex that seems to be a part of strategy playing. Perhaps very tight systems of hierarchical interrelationships are especially important as the social structure to be
expressed in games of strategy. The thesis by Elizabeth Mathias, Assistant Professor at St. Johns University, Jamaica, New York. It is to be published by the University of Chicago Press.

(4) In Origins and Concomitants of Imaginative Play in Young Children (1977) A Ph.D. Thesis from Witwaters and, University, South Africa, Diana Shmukkeer gives further support to data showing interrelationships between mother’s imaginativeness and the child’s creativity. (Other sources for these relationships were listed in a bibliography in TAASP, Volume 3 #2.) One concomitant of the child’s imaginative play was having a mother who told stories, and kept up the story line when she played with her child.

(5) For those interested in this general area of early child development through play, we call attention to a continuing series of publications by Kenneth H. Rubin, of the Psychology Department at the University of Waterloo, Ontario Canada. His studies involve a reanalysis of the findings of Parten and Piaget, and in addition a revival of interest in such ecological issues as the social and functional consequences of particular kinds of play materials. See, for example, "The social and cognitive value of preschool toys and activities." Canadian Journal of Behavioral Science. 9 (4), 1977, 382-383.

(6) H. Smulders in a 1977 paper available from the Sports Institute of the University of Leuven, Tervuurse, Belgium, investigates the "Structural and Functional Aspects of Physical Culture in Nuba Society." Various interrelationships between social status, kinds of games, hair and use of body decoration are noted. The author is reluctant to give priority to any one of these elements over the others in a group where manliness and aesthetic values coincide.


(8) Renson, Beunen, Ostyn, Simons, Swalus and Gerven have provided us with the following summary of their study on the physical fitness of 12 to 19 year old boys in Belgium. This study is carried out by the Physical Education Program at the University of Leuven.

In the Leuven-Louvain Boys’ Growth Study, the physical fitness of secondary school boys was studied in relationships with nine social variables. The evaluation of the independent variable physical fitness, consisted of: 1) nineteen somatometric measurements, determination of skeletal age and somatotype; 2) eight motor ability tests and a one minute step test; 3) a survey of the sports participation of the subjects.

By means of a questionnaire the nine following social determinants were operationalized as independent variables:
1) educational status of the father;
2) educational status of the mother;
3) socioprofessional status of the father;
4) degree of urbanization of the dwelling area;
5) family size;
6) birth order;
7) school type (humanities vs. technical);
8) school corporation (state vs. free schools);
9) language group (french vs. dutch).

The boys in this study formed a mixed longitudinal sample of ± 21000 subjects, representative for the Belgian secondary school population. They were tested at one year intervals over a period of six years (from grade seven to grade twelve). After previously studying the interrelationship between the somatic, motoric and behavioral variables on the one hand, and the sociographic links between the independent social variables on the other hand, the differentiation of the boys’ physical fitness was analyzed in function of the social variables. Analysis of variance techniques, T and F tests as well as correlation coefficient and chi square tests were used to determine the significance of the differences between boys from various social backgrounds. Growth curves were constructed to study the social differentiation patterns in a developmental perspective. The results of these analyses can be summarized as follows:
1) Socioprofessional status of the father differentiates the physical fitness of boys to a higher degree than the father’s educational status, the mother’s educational
status plays a less determining role;
2) The degree of urbanization of the dwelling area presents significant relationships with several physical fitness variables;
3) Family size provokes the strongest differentiation both in somatic and motoric aspects and appears to be a more determining factor than birth order;
4) The physical fitness differences related to school type and school corporation, can be explained in the light of the different socio-educational and geographic backgrounds of the boys enrolled in these differing school systems;
5) Even when the social differences between boys from the different language groups are partialled out, some striking differences in motor ability still persist between both groups;
6) Somatic factors show the strongest social differentiation during the puberty period (from thirteen to sixteen years);
7) Social differences in motor factors seem to increase with age;
8) The different sports participated, are clearly stratified according to the educational and socioprofessional background as well as to the sociogeographic origin of the boys studied.

(2) Terry Orlick: The Co-operative Sports and Games Book; Every Kid can Win; Winning through Co-operation; The Co-operative Sports and Games Book.

These books published variously be Nelson Hall, and Pantheon are a part of the New Games Movement as their titles indicate. Unfortunately we have only the advertising blurb so cannot say more about them. Orlick is a Professor of Sports Psychology at the University of Ottawa, Ontario, Canada.

(3) Bill and Dolores Michaelis "Noncompetitive Activities and Play" (Learning Handbooks, 530 University Avenue, Berkeley, California 94301). This is a book combining the new interest in more collaborative play (as in #2 above) with an insight into movement and imaginative behavior. The authors state: "Every play books seems to have a research justification of the purpose of play; there's still a lot of belief in the primacy of the puritan ethic .... But this book professes quite the opposite. It attempts to create smiles in an educational setting... we emphasize the joy of movement and ask the children to co-operate with their classmates in the solution of movement problems."


This book the outcome of several symposia held by the American Anthropological Association, is essential reading for those interested in the kinds of matters dealt with in the articles by Manning and Handelman reviewed above. It is probable that expressive behavior including play, cannot be conceptualized adequately except in terms of negation. Negation and creativity are intrinsically linked, and this is a first class and top priority statement of these issues in anthropological, literary and historical perspective.

WORLD NOTES

(1) SCHLOMO ARIEL (ISRAEL)

The Grammar of Play

The Study Center of Children's Activities at Oranim, School of Education of the Kibbutz Movement, Israel, has conducted since 1975 a
research project designed to describe structural rules underlying the play activities of kindergarten children of various ethnic and linguistic communities. The purpose of the project is to provide the basis for a child oriented and activity oriented curriculum for pre-school education. So far we have concentrated on the following areas of activity: Social interaction (rules of participation, possession, leadership, territory, conflicts and verbal and non-verbal communication), make-believe play (a semiotic analysis of the form and meaning of symbolic expression) and blockbuilding (the structure of the visual message). Data have been collected through extensive naturalistic observations and a variety of methods have been employed, adapted from linguistics, semiotics, ethology, cognitive psychology etc. We are keen to communicate with colleagues wherever they are.

Oranim
Post Kirtyat Tivon, Israel.

(2) ROLAND RENSON (BELGIUM)

Mr. Theodore J. J. LEYENAAR, Conservator of the Latin American section of the RIAKSMUSEUM VOOR VOLKENKUNDE in LEIDEN (Holland) has traced some of the last surviving RUBBER BALLGAME players in N.W. Mexico. After several field expeditions in the Sinaloa area, he succeeded to get together two complete teams of ULAMA players and to register and film the game. ULAMA is a direct descendant of the old Aztec and Maya ballgame, often wrongly referred to as TLACHTLI (See Theodore STERN, 1948).

Another most interesting contribution to the ancient Maya Rubber Ballgame has been published by archaeologist Nicholas M. HELLMUTH in: F.L.A.A.R. Progress Reports, Vol. I, No. 1 (1975) and is entitled "Pre-Columbian Ballgame Archaeology and Architecture".

ARTICLE

THE PLAY OF GIRLS

Introduction

We publish below an abstract of a recent thesis by Linda A Hughes and then some excerpts from a study by Christine E Robinson.

From our own earlier work entitled "Sixty Years of Historical Change in the Game Preferences of American Children" as well as the already visible effects of Title IX, we know that important changes have occurred in the game playing of girls throughout this century. Their play has become increasingly active. At the same time, however, both sexes have become increasingly preoccupied with symbolic forms of play. The largest selling category of toys today is that of games and puzzles, and the percentage of the total market which this category occupies has accelerated since the 1920's. Both boys and girls are more into symbolic play (which used to be a female form predominantly) than ever before. So great changes are apparently occurring.

Strangely, however, every time anyone studies children's play currently, the traditional sex stereotypes in one form or another are still very much present. In the present two abstracts from larger works, some insight into the nature of these differences are presented. The anthropology of the play of girls continues to be a puzzle. We have dealt with it in detail in a chapter in a forthcoming volume Women in Context. Edited by Claire B. Kopp & Marth Kirkpatrick (Plenum Publishing Corp.)

THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF CHILDREN'S Lore IN COOPERSTOWN, NEW YORK

Linda Hughes


This study surveyed the childlore repertoires of sixth-graders in one rural Upstate New York town, and then explored relationships between children's participation in various sports and games, and the broader social context of their lives. In addition to the field collection methods of folklorists, basic ethnographic techniques were used to explore children's perceptions of the social structure of their community and of their peer groups, and statistical analyses of questionnaire data were used to look for relationships between children's reported game and sports involvement and other aspects of their lives.

Another important aspect of this research was to extend the scope of collection beyond
ARTICLE (Continued)

items of childlore alone to include other non-game activities and behaviors which reflect children's more general use of their time and the space around them. Children were not only asked what games and sports they played, what stories and jokes they told, but also how much time they spent doing homework, chores or caring for younger brothers or sisters, what they did with their peers, parents and siblings, and what organized youth and sports activities they participated in. These childlife items were viewed along with items of childlore as aspects of the same basic process—of growing up in a particular social environment—and it was hypothesized that both would vary systematically with variations in children's positions within the social structure of the community.

Method

A sixth-grade classroom of 28 children were extensively observed and photographed at play in their classroom and on the school playground over a period of 3 1/2 months. At the same time, 20 of these children were extensively interviewed concerning games, sports and oral traditions, as well as their perceptions of their community and peer groups and a variety of other activities they engaged in at home, in school and in their community. Based on these interviews and observations a questionnaire was constructed consisting of basic demographic information, a list of 40 games and sports, 21 organized sports and youth groups (including a variety of lessons) available in the community, and 22 other activities identified by children in interviews (the childlife items). Children were asked to rate their involvement in each of these childlore and childlife activities. This questionnaire was administered to all sixth-grade children in the same school, a total of 83 children including the 28 children in the original target classroom.

Children's responses to the questionnaire were factor analyzed to identify patterns of childlore and childlife items. Mutivariate analyses of variance were then employed to explore relationships between these patterns and three demographic variables children had identified in interviews as exerting a pervasive influence on their lives: their sex, their fathers' occupations, and their places of residence (in or out-of-town).

Results

Of the three independent variables tested, sex exerted the strongest influence on children's responses to the questionnaire. Boys reported high levels of participation in organized youth and sports games (i.e., intramural sports, Little League and Boy Scouts), in formal team sports (baseball, basketball, soccer, football, etc.), and in fishing and hunting. In contrast, girls from middle income families did more homework and chores in the home, and cared for younger brothers and sisters more than boys from similar homes. No strong patterns of game involvement or participation in organized community activities emerged for girls.

Interviews and observations supported these results. In contrast to the large number and variety of activities available to boys in the community there were relatively few for girls, and girls quickly became bored with those that were available. Girls had almost no models of sports involvement while boys had many. Girls' repertoire of games and lore were also very weak in comparison to boys' repertoires. Finally, girls' emphasis on small group activities, and more specifically on the quality of their social relationships with a small group of friends, contrasted sharply with boys' strong emphasis on team sports and other activities involving physical skill and competition as their basis of interaction with peers.

Father occupation also proved to have a highly significant influence on children's lives. The questionnaire analysis revealed that children from professional families (those families where the father's occupation required a college education such as doctors, lawyers or teachers) belonged to the country club, dated, took lessons and participated in all sports involving individual (as opposed to team) competition significantly more often than children from non-professional families (families where the father's occupation did not require a college education, i.e., sales clerks or machinists).

Observations and interviews indicated that children clearly differentiated between
their peers from professional versus non-professional families. They used father occupation to label their social groups (i.e., the "doctors' kids" and the "farmers' kids"), and in a broad sense these groups did conform to the socioeconomic stratification of their community. The "doctors' kids", or children from professional families were most clearly differentiated by children in interviews and in the questionnaire analysis. The "doctors' kids" was the only social group composed of both boys and girls and their game repertoire included many more boy-girl games than the repertoires of other children (these children also dated earlier than other children and dated only children from the same social group). Their repertoire of oral traditions also tended to be much more extensive than other children's, probably because of greater family mobility and access to summer camps. They played games, told jokes and stories that were not known by other children, and these did not generally enter into local tradition. Children's social groups varied, therefore, largely along lines which reflected the broader socioeconomic structure of the community, and these variations were accompanied by differences in children's responses to a wide range of childlore and childlife items tapped by the questionnaire.

Finally, children from non-professional families who lived in town were more likely than their out-of-town counterparts to utilize the facilities and activities available to children in the community and to participate in activities with their peers. Interviews and observations indicated that out-of-town children had fewer playmates available to them and as a result may play more solitary and small group games than in-town children, and they may more often play with children whose ages and interests are very different than their own. From a developmental perspective this isolation at a time when peer groups are assuming a central role in children's lives may have far-reaching effects. Assuming that team sports are an important socializing medium for boys and that small, very close social groups serve a similarly important function for girls, out-of-town children may have a far more difficult time than in-town children utilizing these channels to full acceptance among their peers (and in their community). This was supported by the fact that children who lived outside of town were often stereotyped as less intelligent and socially acceptable than children who lived in town.

Discussion

A major task of childhood is to sort out the adult world and master the types of skills necessary to fare successfully in that world. Many who have researched children's play and games have assumed that since they are such an important part of children's lives they probably play an important role in this socialization process. The major findings in this study lend themselves particularly well to this type of analysis.

Viewed from this perspective, boys' striking preferences for competitive sports and greater participation in organized team sports point to the socialization of boys for work outside of the home where organizational abilities, leadership skills, competitiveness, cooperation and mediation are essential skills. In contrast, girls' focus on the quality of their relationships with a small number of close friends, on helping around the house and on assuming a nurturant role with younger children, point to the development of skills which are most appropriate to the roles of wife and mother -- social and emotional skills, housekeeping and nurturant skills.

Differences between children from professional versus non-professional families can be similarly interpreted. Particularly for the boys, experiences of cooperation and interdependence provided by team sports may be extended in individual sports to a high degree of self-reliance and internal competition, skills perhaps best suited for those who will function as relatively independent professionals like their fathers rather than as "one of the boys." These children not only date earlier than other children, but they apparently receive very explicit messages about who to date and this exclusiveness is further reinforced (again institutionally) in country club membership where children presumably learn who to associate with and establish valuable contacts for the future.

The relative isolation of out-of-town children makes participation in all-important peer activities very difficult, and this may delay the development or expression of age-
and sex-appropriate skills and interests, all of which may reinforce the negative stereotype already attached to them. Certainly, these factors must also carry strong messages to children concerning their relative status in their community.

The importance of family socioeconomic status to children's social groups, the relative rigidity of these groups, and variations in the interests and activities of children in different social groups all point to very important lessons children are learning about the social context of the adult world. They learn early to associate with children of roughly the same social and economic background, and they learn their relative importance in the social structure of the community. They learn both through the informal sanctions of their peers and through the more formal channels of organized activities for youth in the community, what types of behaviors and activities are appropriate to their status. These broader social forces appear to affect all aspects of children's lives, the traditional (in a folkloristic sense) as well as the non-traditional.

SEX-TYPED BEHAVIOR IN CHILDREN'S SPONTANEOUS PLAY (EXCERPTS)
Christine Robinson

Three boys raced toward me with two girls in close pursuit. The boys stopped, wheeled around and lunged at the girls. The girls fled in mock terror to the other end of the playground. They huddled together, giggling, anticipating the boys' possible retaliation. Meanwhile, another boy explained, "This school is weird. Usually the boys chase the girls, but here, the girls chase the boys." (Sixth grade, Redwood City, CA 2/19/77)

Contrary to this boy's opinion, there is nothing unusual about his school. In fact, it is more common for girls to chase boys than the reverse. Is this a sign of changing sex role behavior? Are girls becoming more aggressive on the playground? On the surface, maybe, but closer observation reveals that girls still act out traditional feminine roles in their play.

Male and female roles are clearly marked in many traditional rule-governed games (Sutton-Smith & Rosenberg 1960, 1961, 1963). The label "boys' game" or "girls' game" follows many activities through generations of players; for example, marbles is a boys' game; jacks, a girls' game. Boys' games are traditionally aggressive and competitive; girls games are passive and accommodating. Boys and girls play differently, even when they participate in the same game.

These "boys' games" and "girls' games" seem to perpetuate outdated sex role behavior, but the following data show that sex-specific play styles are evident in most play forms. On every playground, children choose between highly structured games and spontaneous play. Adults often ignore children's spontaneous play because it appears chaotic when compared to highly structured games. Careful observation of these spontaneous games, though, reveals a basic structure, characteristic of each type of spontaneous play. For this reason, I will refer to the children's spontaneous games as self-structured, to distinguish them from highly structured rule-governed games.

The most common form of self-structured play is the self-structured chase game. Self-structured chase games can be described on a continuum from simple dashes across a playground to more complex, fantasy-based interactions between large groups of children. Most children play these games, but they do not all play in the same way. Distinct boys and girls' chase styles exist, even in the simplest chase games. Basically, boys' chase style is aggressive and physical, and girls' style is passive and teasing. A simple chase between girls will be quite different than one between boys, and when boys and girls play together, they combine the most powerful elements of their respective styles. The disorder and chaos created in large boy/girl self-structured chase games gives girls a rare opportunity to transcend the restraints traditionally inhibiting girls in their play.

The data in this paper was collected on the playground of T. A. Brown Elementary School in Austin, Texas during the Spring of 1974. The Southwest Educational Development Laboratory of Austin, Texas asked a group of fieldworkers to collect unelicited playgroup behavior for use in its Children's Folklore Project. The T. A. Brown Elementary School was chosen by the Laboratory because of its
mix of Anglo, Black and Chicano students. The students at T. A. Brown School live in its surrounding neighborhood, with the exception of most of the Black children, who are bused from St. John's, a Black, mi-rural area in Austin. Each field-worker chose a general area of concentration; I chose the play of second and third grade Anglo girls.

The Laboratory requested observation of play, rather than elicitation of games. Both the field-workers and the Laboratory expected to find many traditional and formal games. We thought the girls would play jump rope, ring plays, four square, and jacks; with the boys playing kickball, dodge ball, and tag. We did see some of these games, especially when the children saw our tape recorders, or when teachers suggested traditional games. Most play, though, appeared random and often chaotic. For many children, recess was a time to chase, tease and wrestle. Notes from my second day of observation illustrate an early impression of a second grade afternoon recess:

After greeting the teacher we split up and watched the play. I tried to watch the play of several small groups of children. The boys grabbed each other and wrestled. They ran and chased each other. Almost all of their games involved grabbing and tumbling. (Second grade, 2/15/74)

The second and third graders both left about half of their play area unused. They rarely ventured away from the school buildings and seemed to like close proximity with other groups of children. Play groups were divided primarily into boys' groups and girls' groups. Boys' play groups were mixed ethnically, but Anglo girls and Black girls rarely played together.

The children's self-structured chase games take many forms. All forms are built on the basic elements of chase and elude, but there are many variations on this basic structure. Games vary when the number of players changes, and when play space is vacant or occupied. Another variable is the presence of safety zones, a defined area where a chasee can take refuge from a chaser.

Boys' self-structured chase games require a great expenditure of physical energy. They are a test of boys' physical strength and consist of competition in running, wrestling, and tackling. The following are examples of boys' self-structured chase games. The first has only three players; the second, twelve to fifteen players:

1. Three second grade boys, two Chicanos and one Anglo, were engaged in a chase game based on fighting or wrestling. They were playing in an area occupied by a group of kindergarten children. The chaser would catch the chasee from the back, and usually try to knock him down by pushing his knees forward. When the chasee fell, he was immediately pinned to the ground. Soon the victim was up and another boy was captured and knocked to the ground. The three boys switched roles throughout the game and never tried to escape from the chaser. They enjoyed the capture more than the chase. (Second grade, 2/15/74)

2. A large group of boys ran past me in a pack. They were pursuing one boy who had control of a kick ball. He was grabbed by several boys after being caught, but was not knocked down. Another boy captured the ball, and the chase resumed with the pack chasing the boy with the ball. (Third grade, 3/12/74)

These examples illustrate the importance of physical strength in boys' self-structured chase games. The emphasis in small chase games is on the capture; in the large games, it is on the chase. In the small games, the players create a mock fight in which they attempt to "cremate" (to use a players' word) each other. The large games resemble kick ball, a formal game with some elements of a chase game, but as self-structured chase games, they have no pre-established rules or winners.

Four elements characterize the boys' self-structured chase games. First, aggression is a key component. The boys claim to kill, cremate and destroy each other. A non-aggressive participant has no place in these games. Second, there is a great deal of physical contact. Bodies are pressed together during the capture. The players separate only during the chase. Third, boys enjoy freedom of movement in their chase
games. No safety zones are established so the chaser is always free to pursue his victim. Fourth, no roles are permanent. The roles of chaser and chasee are constantly fluctuating. No player has the power to dictate the flow of the game; i.e., one boy cannot tell another to keep a role permanently.

These elements of boys' chase games stand in contrast to the girls' style of play. The girls have a teasing, halting style of chasing. Physical strength is not a key element. In small games (those involving two or three players), the chasee teases the chaser; prolonged running chases are not found. In large games, girls assume fantasy roles such as witch, fairy and slave. A dominant player establishes the roles and sets the flow of the game, in contrast to the free flow of boys chase games. Girls' small-scale chase games find the players keeping their respective roles throughout the game (i.e., the chaser and chasee never exchange roles), while in large-scale games, roles are exchanged after a chasee is captured by the chaser. In contrast with large-scale boys games, however, role changes in large-scale girls games are relatively structured, with changes permitted only after capture. The following are examples of girls' small-scale and large-scale games:

1. One girl made a mock lunge at another. The chasee ran a few feet and stopped, taunting the chaser to try to catch her. The chaser responded with another lunge, and the other player again ran only a few feet. This continued for several minutes; the girls moved farther away from the school building. Suddenly, the chasee ran several yards to hide behind a woman and child standing near the edge of the playground. The players ducked and circled around the woman, laughing as they played. They eventually worked their way back to the building, darting and teasing. Finally, the chasee sat down near a group of girls and refused to continue playing. (Third grade, 3/19/74)

2. Several boys briefly joined a girls' chase but soon lost interest, leaving a group of 8-10 girls under their shelter (a piece of play equipment resembling a lean-to). This shelter served as a safety zone when witches or monsters attacked. Karen assumed the role of witch and, with a friend, captured another girl, pinning her to a tree. She announced, "She's tied 'till the wicked witches come." Karen then yelled to a girl across the playground, "Alright Connie, Witchie-poo, get her." Connie left her game and became a witch. A small girl tapped one witch and the prisoner on the shoulder, saying, "I'm a fairy, bing." Karen sloughed this off saying, "Oh, that's what you think." With Connie as wicked witch, Karen and her friend became protectors of the other players. Karen yelled, "My children, my children, come here!" They took the girls under the shelter. Connie announced, "I'll get you, you little rats!" Karen: "No you won't; No you won't." The game became chaotic as girls enacted scenes from the film, "Wizard of Oz" (the film had appeared on television that week). Brief chases between two and three girls ensued. Several boys invaded the safety zone, but by this time the play group had splintered into many small, disconnected groups. (Third grade, 2/28/74)

Girls retain the same teasing, halting chase style in both the large and small self-structured chase games. Large-scale games differ only in the girls' more pronounced use of fantasy roles. Unlike boys, girls do not stress physical strength and endurance in their chase games. There is little physical aggression in girls' chase games. Girls create fantasy roles which release aggression symbolically rather than physically; i.e., a girl may become a witch (traditionally a symbol of aggression), but she will avoid physically aggressive acts. The chaser in the small games uses a teasing style of play but avoids physical aggression.

Girls' self-structured chase games are characterized by five basic elements. First, all chases are short and halting. The object is to tease, not to overpower the opponent. There is little or no wrestling. Second, roles are often permanent. In the small games, one girl remains the chaser and the other chasee; in the large games, there is more flexibility, but witches are usually permanent, and the victims only change roles.
when captured. Permanent roles are often maintained through giving authority to one girl to direct the movement of the game. Third, a safety zone must be respected. A safety zone can be a person, such as the mother in the first example, or a stationary object, such as the lean-to shelter in the witch game. The fourth and fifth elements are most frequently found in the large games. They are the use of fantasy roles, and the underlying desire of the players to eventually involve boys as participants. The aggressive fantasy roles serve to attract boys who are otherwise disinterested in girls' games.

(We omit here the middle ten pages of this article which goes into the literature and background research to explain these differences. Robinson concludes as follows:)

There are three possible explanations for why girls initiate these particular games of disorder. First, boys and girls are generally forced into sex-typed play styles. The girls' style is relatively restrictive; girls are encouraged to "be nice" even when they play. Their play is often closely connected to non-play situations, such as playing house or playing school. Girls' conventional play permits little room for impulsive or aggressive behavior. Only in the self-structured games are girls free to abandon these restrictions and act as they please. They find the disorder in the boy/girl self-structured chase games unusual and compelling.

Secondly, girls are in limbo in their play choice. By the age of eight or nine, they are no longer satisfied with immature games, such as jump rope, but are not preparing for adult sports, as are boys at that age. Boys are also in a transition period but are offered an alternative to their earlier play styles. The girls' play world is disjointed, with little promise for a satisfying future play role.

Thirdly, girls are not satisfied with the traditional feminine sex role, and they are presented with few alternatives to it. In a sense, their image of themselves as women is in disorder. They want respect and status, but there are few models to emulate.

The sex roles ascribed to boys and girls above may seem outdated in light of the changing role of women. It would be too speculative at this point to relate changes in the status of women to the play of third grade girls. Girls' play will change as the status of women changes. Playground activities will reflect the increasing interest in women's professional sports. Girls' participation in organized sports such as Little League will affect their status on the playground. These changes will be superficial, though, unless children also learn different sex role behavior. Boys are, at present, encouraged to play aggressively and competitively, while girls are encouraged to be accommodating and thoughtful in their play. Both boys and girls must learn to be accommodating and competitive to function successfully as adults. Children are now using self-structured chase games to experiment with disorder and the challenges of a changing society. If the role of women in the adult society continues to change dramatically, girls must necessarily utilize self-structured play to develop the skills relevant to a new status.

BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND COLLECTIONS

(1) ROSENTIEL

Annette Rosentiel has a 3000 item inventory of annotated material on education and anthropology which includes material on play and games. It is 650 pages and is from Garland Publishing Co., 345 Madison Avenue, NY 10022.

(2) R. RENSON AND B. VAN REUSEL contribute the following European TOY BIBLIOGRAPHY

(Anon.), Children's Toys of yesterday. "The Studio" (numéro special), (1932). 
(Anon.), L'enfant et le jouet, instrument d'éducation, Premier congrès international du jouet, Brussels, 1958.
BAL, W., La fabrication des balles à jouer à Ham sur Heuze, dans "Enquêtes du Musée de la vie Wallonne", 1953. 
BIBLIOGRAPHIES & COLLECTIONS (Continued)

CLARETIE, L., Les jouets, histoire et fabrication, Paris, s.d.
HAASE, E., Physik des Spielzeugs, Leipzig, 1921.
HERCIK, E., Folktoys, Les jouets populaires, Prague, 1951.
HETZER, Hildegard, Spiel und Spielzeug fur jedes Alter, Munchen, Don Bosco, s.d.
REIBLE, K., Die Deutsche Spielwarenindustrie. Ihre Entwicklung und ihr gegenwartiger Stand, Giessen, 1925.
ROSENHAUPT, K., Die Nurnberg-Fuertier Metallspielwarenindustrie in geschichtlicher und Sozial politischer Beleuchtung, Stuttgart, 1907.

(3) INTERNATIONAL SPORTS AND GAMES RESEARCH COLLECTION

This collection established at Notre Dame in 1966 in its Memorial Library is apparently an excellent source for the history of games. Serious researchers from anywhere in the world are invited, free of charge, to use the facilities. There are over a million entries, the major focus being sports.

(4) SPORTS AND LEISURE RESOURCE CENTRE FOR SPECIAL POPULATIONS

(Dept. of Recreation University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada) A very fine collection of abstracts is being compiled covering all those intersects of play and special education that have been so much neglected in the past. Over the years we have had the experience all over the world of people asking for help with play with special sub groups. Joe Levy and documentalist Janet E. Smith are putting together an excellent collection which we strongly recommend. The topics are as follows:

Bibliographies Available

1. Administration
2. Adventure Playgrounds, Creative Playgrounds, Playgrounds
3. Architectural Barriers
4. Learning Disabilities
5. Infant, Child Adolescent
6. Mental Retardation & (Child, Adolescent, Young Adult or Infant)
7. Mental Retardation & (Adults, Middle Aged or Seniors)
7a. Mental Retardation
8. Modality
9. Physically Handicapped
10. Programs & (Camp, Community Schools, Schools, Hospital, Institution, Nursing Home, Residence)
11. Programs & (Facilities, Funding, Equipment and Technical Aids)
12. Programs & (Agriculture, Day Camp, Day Care, Drop In, Farm Training, Home Making)
14. Resources, Bibliographies, Directories
15. Seniors
16. Evaluation and Research
17. Personality Disorders
18. Play or Play Therapy
19. Programs for the Mentally Retarded
20. Programs for the Physically Disabled
21. Socially Disadvantaged
23. Programs for Senior Citizens

(5) THEORETICAL BACKGROUND AND PRACTICAL APPLICATIONS OF THE FLEMISH FOLK GAMES FILE by R. Renson & H. Smulders

The Flemish Folk Games File (F.F.G.F.) had its start in 1973 as a project of the Sociocultural Kinanthropology Research Unit of the Physical Education Institute of the University of Leuven. It consists of both an historical and anthropological survey of
the folk games scene in Flanders (the Dutch speaking part of Belgium). The aims of this project are threefold:
1) to involve the students actively in the problematics and methodology of the cultural study of games;
2) to study the sociocultural functions of games in society, both in their historical evolution (cultural change) and in their actual appearance (factors which affect the survival and the diffusion of folk games);
3) to study the possibilities of some practical applications of traditional games, both for individual development (learning through play) and for cultural development (community life and recreation).

Up until now (April 1978) 800 dossiers have been compiled, covering registrations of folk games in 420 different Flemish communities. These materials are collected mainly by the students in their local communities, according to a guideline which has been set up previously to guarantee minimal standardization in the collection and the procession of the research data. Special emphasis is given to the participant observation technique: learning about games through observation and active play participation. From these available materials, a documentation retrieval system, diffusion maps and a game typology have been constructed. Some of the practical applications of the F.F.G.F. have consisted of:
1) an action to preserve or reintroduce traditional children's games on the school playgrounds as alternative devices for structural learning (motor and cognitive development);
2) a folk games exhibition, which attracted about 3000 visitors;
3) an experimental "game archaeology workshop", in which vanishing games were reconstructed and tested for their recreational and educational values;
4) the organization of a folk games festival, which served as a model for similar manifestations throughout the country;
5) counseling and providing documentation, for a community life development project: the Villages' Year Action in Belgium.
Furthermore, eight licentiate these have already resulted from the F.F.G.F. materials; six more are in preparation as well as one doctoral thesis. A film was made on old bowling games and on the game of closh in the province of Limburg. Finally, three articles dealing with methodological aspects of the F.F.G.F. have appeared in scientific journals. The cross-cultural validity of some of the F.F.G.F. findings are also under study.

NOTICES TO AND BY MEMBERS

(1) The University of Windsor Sports Institute for Research/Change Agent Research (SIR/CAR) has just completed two major research studies:

1. The Role of Interschool Sports in the Secondary Schools of Ontario, for the Ontario Ministry of Education.
2. "Studies of Television and Youth Sports: Laboratory/Field Research on the Effects of Pro-Social and Anti-Social T.V. Models on Children/Youth and Sport/Athletics" for the Ontario Royal Commission on Violence in the Communications Industry.

SIR/CAR is interested in exchanging abstracts and/or research report results with TAASP members conducting research in related areas.

SIR/CAR is currently initiating a study on the interface of school sport and amateur athletics on a comparative Canadian-American basis. TAASP members interested in joining this task force should indicate their interest by writing directly to Dr. Dick Moriarty, Director of SIR/CAR, c/o Faculty of Human Kinetics, University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario, Canada.

Note: Copies of the complete reports on The Role of Interschool Sports in the Secondary Schools of Ontario (Focus on SWOSSA and OFSAA) and Studies of Television and Youth Sports can be obtained from either the Queen's Printer, Ministry of Printing, Queen's Park, Toronto, Ontario; or the Ontario Government Bookstore, 800 Bay Street, Toronto, Ontario, under the specific titles and at the prices listed below:

NOTICES TO AND BY MEMBERS (Continued)


In conjunction with the University of Windsor SIR/CAR study on The Role of Interschool Sports in the Secondary Schools of Ontario, which was conducted on a grant from the Ontario Ministry of Education, the theses listed below were completed:


TAASP members interested in exchanging information (abstracts, reprints, theses, instruments, etc.) on related studies are asked to initiate the exchange by sending them along to the Sports Institute for Research/Change Agent Research (SIR/CAR), c/o Faculty of Human Kinetics, University of Windsor, Windsor, Ontario, Canada, Attention: Dr. Dick Moriarty, Director of SIR/CAR.

(2) I am looking for field recordings from the Appalachian region of the United States of children singing Afro-American game songs. If you have such an archive of field tapes, are they available for duplication? Also, do you have any information as to where I can get tapes of English games. I would appreciate your time and consideration of this request. Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

Caroline Davis
3121 Maple Street
Santa Cruz, CA 95060
February 14, 1978

(3) JAY BECKWITH author of "Build Your Own Playground" Houghton Mifflin, 1976, is interested in being put in touch with others of similar focus. He is a designer of playgrounds and has created 176 play environments over the past 13 years. His designs are distributed by Big Toys of Tacoma, Washington. The questionnaire on the following two pages, if you are interested, should be returned to Jay Beckwith, 4 Elizabeth Lane, Menlo Park, California 94025.

(4) Quest Magazine Number 30, will feature articles on play, games, and sports in literature as well as the interdependence of sport and myth. Editor is Roberta J. Park, Department of Physical Education, Hearst Gym, Berkeley, U. of California, 94720.

(5) Childhood City Newsletter Number 10, Winter, 1977, (33 West 42, CUNY, NY 10036) is a special issue on environmental education with an urban focus. It is of considerable practical value with contributions from many specialists on their kinds of programs.

Cognate Organizations
compiled by Michael Salter

These organizations have all indicated their willingness to carry information on TAASP in their publications.

1. Journal of Canadian Studies
Mrs. Margaret Pearce
Secretary (continued on page 23)
Are you involved with...Designing play environments? Research on play behavior or environments? Writing on play behavior or environments?

Briefly describe your work, specifically:

In the list of organizations below, place a check mark next to those of which you are already aware. Put an arrow at the group you would select as an umbrella organization. Please add any professional organization to which you are a member and which has been significantly helpful in your work.

- American Adventure Playground Association
- American Alliance of Health, Physical Education and Recreation
- The Association for the Anthropological Study of Play
- Environmental Design Research Association/Childhood City
- International Playground Association
- Other

Would you be willing to travel to a national convention, if you could meet with others working in this field?

Would you support a quarterly newsletter?

Would an extensive bibliography on play and environments be valuable to you?

Would you be willing to share your bibliography with others?

Would a central source for books, films, and slides be of value to you?

Would more information about others working in this field be valuable?

Would you be willing to send us a summary resume?

Are you interested in giving input into the Consumer Product Safety Commission on performance and standards for play equipment?
Are you interested in accident statistics: (a) Out of an academic or philosophical concern? (b) for research reasons? (c) for design considerations?

Are insurance questions important to you?

Would you be interested in participating in a one hour film for educational television?

Would you be interested in information on grant sources for research or experimental environments?

Would you support lobbying efforts for more federal funds for play?

Do you feel that individuals who design play environments and/or structures should have some form of professional credentials, if these credentials were performance related and not necessarily academic?

Are you looking for environments in which you may research play behavior?

Are you looking for sites with research capabilities where you could design experimental environments?

Rate your interest in play by numbering in rank order the list below:
1. physical education
2. social/interactive
3. sensory motor
4. philosophical/academic
5. developmental
6. design

Do you sense a pattern of increased interest in the subject of play over the last two years?

What do you consider to be the main obstacle that is preventing you from doing the kind of work you are really interested in?
2. Journal of the Canadian Association for Health, Physical Education and Recreation
   Mr. William Hallett
   Executive Director
   C.A.H.P.E.R.
   333 River Road
   Vanier City, Ontario K1L 8B9

3. Behaviour Today
   The Editor
   Behaviour Today
   2315 Broadway
   New York, NY 10024

4. Anthropologica
   The Editor
   Anthropologica
   The Canadian Research for Anthropology
   223 Main Street
   Ottawa, Ontario K1S 1C4

5. HISPA (International Association for the History of Physical Education and Sports) BULLETIN
   Professor Arnd Kruger
   Pedagogische Hochschule Berlin
   1 Berlin 46, Malteserstr. 74-100
   West Germany

   Professor Benjamin Lowe
   Director
   Recreational Studies
   Governor's State University
   Park Forest, S. IL 60466

7. Journal of Health, Physical Education and Recreation
   Ms. Nancy Rosenberg
   Director of Periodicals
   JOHPER
   1201 16th Street N.W.
   Washington, DC 20036

8. Update
   Ms. Marjorie Blaufarb
   Editor - Update
   JOHPER
   1201 16th Street N.W.
   Washington, DC 20036

   Daniel D. Whitney
   Anthropology Newsletter
   Dept. of Anthropology
   San Diego State University
   San Diego, CA 92182

10. North American Society for Sport History
    Ronald A. Smith
    276 Recreation Building
    The Pennsylvania State University
    Pennsylvania Park, PA 16802

11. Newsletter - History of Sport & Physical Activity of CAHPER
    Editor
    School of Physical Education
    Dalhousie University
    Halifax, Nova Scotia

12. Council on Anthropology and Education Quarterly
    Charles Harrington
    Editor
    Dept. of Anthropology
    Teachers College
    Columbia University
    New York, NY

    Deward E. Walker, Jr.
    Editor
    Institute of Behavioural Science
    University of Colorado
    Boulder, CO 80302

    Andrzej Wohl, Akademia Wychowania Fizycznego
    01-813 Warszawa, ul. Marymoncka 34, Poland

15. ARENA: The Institute for Sport and Social Analysis
    Dr. Richard E. Lapchick
    Executive Director
    Virginia Wesleyan College
    Wesleyan Drive
    Norfolk, VA 23502

16. Childhood City Newsletter
    Editor
    Environmental Psychology Program
    Graduate School
    City University of New York
    33 W. 42
    New York, NY 10036

17. The American Folklore Newsletter
    John O. West, Editor
    The University of Texas at El Paso
    El Paso, TX 79968

These organizations have all indicated their willingness to carry information on TAASP in their publications.