Abstracts are coming in for the Fifth Annual Meeting to be held between March 28-31, 1979 at New England College in Henniker, New Hampshire. TAASP will be meeting jointly with the Northeastern Anthropological Association for these meetings. The NEAA specializes in holding small-scale meetings that encourage lively discussions and debates and TAASP meetings are also characterized by these qualities. This tradition is sure to be continued in Henniker.

Anyone wishing to submit a paper or organize a symposium for these meetings should write to: Dr. Helen B. Schwartzman, Institute for Juvenile Research, 1730 West Taylor Street, Chicago, Illinois 60612. The deadline for these submissions is January 5, 1979 and abstracts for individual papers should be 250 words or less. A special session of ethnographic films on play and games is planned for these meetings. Anyone with suggestions or plans for other special sessions should write to Helen Schwartzman.

See you in Henniker!

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EDITORIAL

In Volume 4 Number 4 we published Don Handelman's distinctions between play and ritual. They were very exciting and "beyond" Turner. But at TAASP, 1978 Charles Adams gave a paper on the Basotho of South Africa which made their games qualify for Handelman's ritual. So once again we are shot down. Unless we make his distinctions, functional and not structural. That is making believe and making belief are ways of functioning that might be found in any guise: ritual, play, games, etc.
OFFICERS

President: Helen B. Schwartzman, Institute for Juvenile Research, 1735 West Taylor Street, Chicago, Illinois 60612

President-Elect: John M. Roberts, Department of Anthropology, University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania 15260

Past President: Phillips Stevens, Jr., Department of Anthropology, SUNY, Buffalo, Spaulding 5, Ellicott Complex, Buffalo, New York 14261

*Secretary-Treasurer: Alyce Taylor Cheska, Department of Physical Education, Freer 113, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois 61801

*Membership Secretary: Elinor B. Nickerson, P.O. Box 297, Alamo, California 94507

*Newsletter Editor: Brian Sutton-Smith, Graduate School of Education, University of Pennsylvania, 3700 Walnut, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania 19174

MEMBERS-AT-LARGE:

Terms expiring 1979:

Claire R. Farrer, Department of Anthropology, 109 Davenport Hall, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois 61801

John W. Loy, Faculty of Human Kinetics and Leisure Studies, University of Waterloo, Waterloo, Ontario N2L 3G1, Canada

Edward Norbeck, Department of Anthropology, Rice University, Houston, Texas 77001

Terms expiring 1980:

Susan Boyd, 4064 Union Bay Circle, Seattle, Washington 98105

Mary R. Duncan, Department of Recreation, San Diego State University, San Diego, California 92182

Don Handelman, Department of Sociology/Anthropology, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jerusalem, Israel

ELECTION SLATE for 1979-80

MEMBERS SEE BALLOT ATTACHED - VOTE!!!

This year we have one outstanding candidate for office of President-Elect, and the Nominations Committee is sure that TAASP members will agree with its recommendaton of John W. Loy for this office. This year we also have an excellent slate of candidates for the three Member-at-large positions to be elected.

Directions for Voting: Mark the separate ballot enclosed. Do not sign the ballot. In the lower left portion of the front of the envelope, write "TAASP Ballot" and return it, not later than January 15, 1979, to: Dr. Helen 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.

ELECTION SLATE for 1979-80 (Cont'd p.2)


MEMBER-AT-LARGE (two year term): Shall officially represent TAASSP at functions other than those of the Association. Shall actively publicize the activities of, and solicit membership for, TAASSP. From time to time sit on ad hoc committees, or otherwise perform special duties, within his/her capabilities, as requested by the President. Three Members-at-Large are to be chosen.

CANDIDATES FOR MEMBER-AT-LARGE:


ELECTION SLATE for 1979-80 (Cont'd col. 1)


MEMBERS - PLEASE FILL IN YOUR BALLOT - DETACH AND RETURN TO:

Dr. Helen Schwartzman
Institute for Juvenile Research
1730 West Taylor Street
Chicago, Illinois 60612

THANK YOU!!!!!
NOTICES

1. AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SPORT PSYCHOLOGY -- NEW PUBLICATION PLANNED

For several years now members of North American Society of Psychology of Sport and Physical Activity (NASPSPA), Canadian Society for the Psychomotor Learning and Sports Psychology (CSPLSP), and other societies concerned with the development of sport psychology, have indicated a need for a new journal of sport psychology. As you know, most of the sport psychology literature is either contained in proceedings or dispersed throughout a whole host of journals that treat sport psychology only incidentally. Equally disappointing has been the failure of the International Journal of Sport Psychology (published in Italy) to maintain a high academic standard. It is within this current context that I am pleased to announce that Rainer Martens, University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign, and I have worked out the technical details necessary to initiate a new quarterly journal called the American Journal of Sport Psychology. Rainer Martens will be responsible for the business end of the journal and I will be the editor. This journal will publish theoretical papers, state of the art and synoptic reviews, position papers, and original research reports of either a basic or applied nature that are concerned with motivation, situation variables, individual differences, and factors in skilled performance, provided that the focus is on physical activity in a sport-related context. This includes studies from experimental learning, social psychology, child development, sociology, and anthropology that examine psychological variables influencing motor behavior or participation in sport as it influences psychological variables. The journal will also publish a digest of recent publications in sport psychology, book reviews, and a research notes and commentary section devoted to publications, criticism, replies, or shorter papers presenting new and stimulating ideas.

Our plans are to publish the first issue in March 1979. We are in a position to give away 2,000 free copies of this issue to hopefully stimulate individual ($16.00) and institutional ($30.00) annual subscriptions. Thus far, we have been very pleased with the enthusiastic support we have received in getting this journal off the ground.

I would also like to take this opportunity to request that you keep this journal in mind when you have a sport psychology paper you would like to publish. We will get a flyer out announcing the journal, but in the meantime please spread the word to your friends. For the first issue papers should be submitted to me (in triplicate) by December 1, 1978.

Daniel M. Landers, Editor
American Journal of Sport Psychology
Pennsylvania State University
102 Sports Research Building
University, Park, PA 16802

2. THE CHILDREN'S FOLKLORE SOCIETY

This society, handcrafted through its first year by Tom Burns, University of Pennsylvania, now has a properly elected committee and its own first Newsletter. Those who are interested in its future should write to any or all of the following:

Dr. Gary Fine, about subscriptions, American Folklore Society Program for next year. He is acting treasurer. (Sociology Dept. Univ. Wisconsin).

Dr. Jean MacLaughlin, about bibliography for future newsletters (English Dept. Ohio State Univ.).

Dr. Libby Tucker, about contacts with other disciplines and general correspondence (At SUNY at Binghamton. English Dept.).

Dr. Sylvia Grider, about organization and general information (Folklore Dept. Univ. Texas, at Austin).

The first Newsletter has the addresses of members (approx. 40), the courses they teach, their children's folklore bibliographies; available archives.

3. THE CHILDREN'S LITERATURE ASSOCIATION

A newsletter is coming out of Villanova University, PA 19085. Care of Dr. M. P. Esmonde, English Department.

This group spends a considerable portion of its time discussing play and fantasy in literature, hence has important relevance to TAASP.

4. REVIEW OF SPORT AND LEISURE

Vol. 3 #1 Benjamin Lowe (Ed.) Governors State Univ., Ill.

This issue has analyses of lifetime distributions of work and leisure. Several articles are on female athletes, one on racial segr-
NOTICES (Continued)

5. WORKSHOP LIBRARY ON WORLD HUMOUR

The Workshop Library on World Humour is interested in establishing multi-cultural centers for the study, testing, and application of constructive uses of humor. For information write to: Workshop Library on World Humour, P.O. Box 23334, Washington, D.C. 20024.

6. 8th INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS FOR THE HISTORY OF SPORT AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION

HISPA's 8th International Congress will be held June 4-9, 1979, at Uppsala, Sweden. The Congress' theme will be: Swedish Gymnastics (Ling's Gymnastics) - Its Contribution to the Development of Physical Education in Various Countries. The preliminary application for participation should reach the Organizing Committee no later than October 15, 1978; the final, binding application accompanied with the congress fee should be sent no later than March 31, 1979.

The International Association, HISPA; the Swedish Society for the History of Sport, and the University of Uppsala are cooperating to host the event.

Congress fees: HISPA member-800; non-members-900; accompanying guests-750 Swedish crowns.

Correspondence address: 8th International HISPA Congress; c/o RESO Kongress-tjanst, S-105 24, Stockholm Sweden

7. TAASP EUROPEAN NEWS FLASH - Roland Renson

During the 7th International HISPA Congress which took place in Paris, March 28-April 2, 1978, about 60 papers were presented. Of interest to scholars of play in history and anthropology are the following papers with accompanying abstracts:

A. HABASHI (U.S.A.) - "The Eighteenth Dynasty of Ancient Egypt: A Period of Sport's Spectacle"

In order to understand sport during the 18th Dynasty, it was necessary to explore the mood of Egypt before and during that period and to examine the interplay of other forces and factors - social, economic, political, military, educational, and philosophical. The 18th Dynasty was an age of glory and progress during which Egypt opened its doors to people from abroad and also had access to travel to far away lands. It was a time when Egypt reached beyond the traditional boundaries and borders, building a great empire. It was an age of military superiority and prosperity which altogether left their impact and influence on the state of sport.

New sporting equipment and innovation in the use of old equipment became notices on the Egyptian scene. Sporting skills were advanced and refined. People, especially pharaohs, were known for their outstanding achievements in sports, never surpassed before. The Egyptian's attitude toward sport and love for the challenge of athletic competition were expressed in the pride they took in recording their sport achievements and in decorating their sporting equipment.

The 19th Dynasty indeed could be called a period of sport's spectacle.

M. Ben Larbi (Tunisia) - "Cultures Dominees et Pratiques corporelles. L'exemple Maghrebin Colonial et Post-colonial" ("Dominated Cultures and Physical Activities. The Example of the Magrabin Culture in Colonial and Post Colonial Times").

The erosion, not to say disappearance of the Magrabin traditional bodily practices is less related to the adoption of new modes of bodily technologies than to a domination process on the political, economical and cultural scene.

Only when one starts from an analysis of the mechanisms of the colonial domination, one can understand the effects of the cultural alienation the dominated societies have undergone. As social practices and as elements of the Magrabin culture, these bodily practices are going to alienate themselves before disappearing.

This socio-historical study, based on some previous research, aims at bringing into light the disqualification process of the social practices and cultures called "primitive."

They insert themselves into a decolonisation process which revises the occident's cultural monism. (English summary)
NOTICES (Continued)

7. TAASP European News Flash - 1978 HISPA Congress Abstracts (continued)

Maxwell Howell (USA) - "Evidence of Physical Activities in the Heraclion Museum, Crete."

The paper is concerned with the evidence of sports, games and play in the Heraclion Museum, housed in Heraclion, Crete. The total collection is the largest Cretan collection in the world, but for a complete analysis of the Cretan civilization, it must be supplemented by other museums on the island of Crete such as at Hierapetra, Rethymno, Khania and Ag, Kikloasa, and other world-famous museums such as in Berlin, London, Oxford, Rome, New York, and Boston, which house Cretan collections.

The authors have visited the major archaeological sites on the island of Crete and the Heraclion collection leads one to the conclusion that there is a considerable amount of evidence of play, games and sport in the Heraclion Museum. The archaeological evidence shows that there was boating, that children's toys such as dolls and models were utilized, that ball games were practiced, that playing, running, boxing, wrestling, dancing, acrobatics, game boards, archery, knucklebones, chariotry, fishing, swimming, horse riding and horse racing were practiced, and there is evidence of oil flasks and prizes used in athletic situations.

Bernard Mergen (USA) - "Industrial Recreation, 1900-1930: Opiate of the American Worker."

Several historians have argued recently that the rise of organized athletics helped significantly to divert the attention of workers from poor working conditions and made it harder to organize unions. Beginning in the late 19th century several companies sponsored recreation programs for their workers in an attempt to raise their morale and control their behavior. By using union and management publications, I will offer an alternative hypothesis that industrial recreation was not only an instrument of worker control, but was part of a larger shift in American values, a shift from a work to a leisure ethic.

Roland Renson (Belgium) - "Theories concerning l'origine des exercices physiques: science fiction du passé?" ("Theories About the Origin of Physical Exercises: Science Fiction of the Past?")

The present paper gives a short survey of the major theories about the origin of physical exercises. Ethological theories, inferring principles for human behavior from certain observations of animal behavior, relate to origin of physical exercises to the play instinct, the impulse for nonspecific movements, and control of intra-specific aggression and training for survival. Other views on the origin of physical exercises are denoted by the author as "ideological." Two opposite views are held: on the one hand, sports and physical education are thought to originate from cult (the 'Olympic' view); on the other hand, there is the Marxist thesis that physical exercises stem from the labor process. In addition to these ethological and ideological theories, explanations of the origin of physical exercises often refer to anthropological and ethnological data. Indeed, such data show that universal man is, also, a universal homo ludens (man, the player) and the player. Some interpretations by certain authors, which place physical exercises of some peoples in a unilinear evolutionist framework, are contested. Constructing a theory on primitive physical exercises does not prove to be a simple task, since often - due to the lack of hard facts - one slips into the domain of science fiction. (English summary)

Michael A. Salter (Canada) - "Games, Goods, and Gods: An Analysis of Iroquoian Gambling."

Historically, the North American Indian has been depicted as a compulsive, shifty gambler - a spendthrift. This view was fostered by early Caucasian authors imbued with the puritan ethos and largely ignorant of aboriginal world-views and their concomitant social practices. This study focused on the northern members of the Iroquoian Linguistic Family; specifically the tribes of the Huron Confederacy and the Six Nations -- natives whose scientific descendants now occupy reserves near Cornwall, Belleville, London, and Brantford in Ontario and Saint Agathe, Loretteville, and Montreal in Quebec.

Two hypotheses were presented in the paper; first, that in traditional Iroquoian society, the gambling associated with social
NOTICES (Continued)

7. TAASP European News Flash - 1978 HISPA Congress Abstracts (Continued)

games functioned as an important mechanism in the distribution of economic resources within, and between communities; and second, that the gambling associated with ritualistic games was quasi-religious in nature and played a major role in ensuring the success of the ceremony. Eleven different games were investigated; notably, wrestling, footracing and archery contests, football, hoop and pole, snow-sneak and lacrosse, and the straw, moccasin, hand-dice and bowl games. Gambling, real and symbolic, was an integral part of all these ludic activities when they were contested in social and sacred environments. The first hypothesis was examined by employing Sahlin's (1972:185-230) economic model of primitive exchange. The second was tested by utilizing Frazer's (1955:55-175) concept of homoeopathic magic (based on the Law of Similarity), and Norbeck's (1961:64-49) propitiatory category of nonmagical supernaturalistic behaviour. The analysis demonstrated: 1. that social gambling served to redistribute economic goods and services throughout each confederacy. This process brought about reasonable intra- and inter-village parity—a function particularly important in preventing critical inequities of material items during periods of economic stress; and 2. that the gambling associated with fertility and mortuary rituals was symbolic in nature and designed to appease the presiding supernatural entity. Further, when games were employed as agents of environmental change and for medicinal purposes, the accompanying wagers acted as a catalyst to increase the level of competition. On the basis of "like produces like", the intense struggle portrayed in the contest was believed to be duplicated by the object of the ceremony's raison d'être -- the sun-bleached crops or the ailing patient. In all instances, ritualistic gambling served to ensure that the desired outcome of the ceremony was realized.


Trudy Schmidt (Switzerland) - "Les Jeux d'enfants et Leur Sens Profond" (Children's Games and Their Deeper Meaning)

At the Historical and Art Museum of Vienna there is a picture by the Flemish painter Pieter Bruegel, the Elder, representing about 80 different games played by children. The game a child indulges in informs us of the stage of development that has been reached and also discloses the sources of joy to which the youngster feels attracted as a result of his natural inclination or the influence of his surroundings.

Children's games reflect the entire development of mankind and its history. Obsolete working functions, religious customs, acts of worship of pagan gods and demons, ceremonies of courting and wedding, harvest customs, funeral ceremonies and a good many other rituals are manifested in games. As in fairy tales, but in an active manner, a age-old inheritance of culture is thus absorbed and expressed.

H. Smulders (Belgium) - "Structural-functional Aspects of Physical Culture in Nuba Society."

This paper discusses some of the structural-functional aspects of physical culture in the southeastern Nuba society. The age-organization of this tribal society is used as a key to understand other cultural and social phenomena. The interrelationship between wrestling, hair-style and the use of colours in body-decoration has been studied. It is noted, for example, that these three cultural aspects follow a parallel age-schedule, and that social status and promotion in the Southeastern Nuba society, are obtained and expressed through these factors.

BOOK NOTES

It has finally become clear to us that we do not do Book Reviews. A one man operation and a fast moving newsletter does not have time for that. But we do pass on information that new books have arrived, etc.

Recently we sent out a letter of invitation
BOOK NOTES (Continued)

to some 20-30 publishers to send us their latest works on play so that we could inform our members. To date the haul is not great, but for what it is worth, here it is.

BEACON PRESS (Boston)

(1) A copy in paper at 4.95 of HOMO LUDENS by Johan Huizinga. In case you didn't have one, you might be delighted as we were to find it is so easily available.

They also sent us more questionably:

(2) TEACHING HUMAN BEINGS: 101 SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES FOR THE CLASSROOM by Jeffrey Schrank. This is definitely in our domain. It is an example of what V. Turner would call anti-structure, a necessary antithesis and counterbalance to the over-world, though it is anti-structure to classrooms rather than to culture as such. Classrooms tend to be rather narrow and to allow for such an antithesis.

(3) THE SEED CATALOG and A GUIDE TO TEACHING/LEARNING MATERIALS. Both books are strong on non-violence, so perhaps they should be considered a part of the new collaborative game movement full or many excellent curriculum ideas and resources for teachers.

INFANT DEVELOPMENT GUIDE

We have received a copy of this new work. It has been some five years in the planning at fantastic expense. It is a vastly superior book with thousands of photographs on what to do in the baby's first year. Almost a fifth of the space is given over to playing with the baby and how to do it.

For professionals it is $7,95 from Johnson and Johnson Baby Products Company, 220 Centennial Avenue, Piscataway, NJ 08854.

NEW BOOK ANNOUNCEMENTS


It is the book of the conference which included the following participants discussing their research and the meaning of play: Thomas R. Schultz (McGill), Michael Lewis (Educational Testing S.), Robert McCall (Boys Town), Roberta Collard (Univ. Mass.), Greta Fein (Merrill Palmer), Hildy Ross (Waterloo), Catherine Garvey (John Hopkins), Howard Gardner (Harvard), Michael Ellis (Dalhousie), Corinne Hutt (Keele), Jerome & Dorothy Singer (Yale), Barbara Kirschenblatt-Gimblett (Univ. Penn.), Helen Schwartzman (Juvenile Inst.), Mihalyi Csikszentmihalyi (Univ. Chicago).

TRANSFORMATION: THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF CHILDREN'S PLAY


RESEARCH BRIEFS

Dimension of Play and Television Viewing: A Factor Analytic Study by Jerome L. Singer and Dorothy G. Singer Yale University

One hundred and forty children, three and four years of age were observed during free play in nursery school over a year's time on eight separate occasions by trained observers who recorded their behavior during ten minute intervals and subsequently scored this behavior on a variety of dimensions. At the same time, parents at home kept two week running logs four times during the year of the children's TV viewing content and patterns.

Factor analyses indicated considerable consistency in structural patterns of play throughout the year. Three major dimensions of play emerged from such factor analyses: One was a factor which might be labeled General Playfulness and which included high loadings for Imaginativeness of Play, Positive Emotionality, Cooperation with Peers, Number of Words Spoken and the Number of Utterances and negative loadings for Sadness or Fearfulness. The second factor reflected primarily high loadings for the TV viewing variables such as Number of Hours Viewed Weekly, Viewing of Action Shows or Cartoons, etc., and also had high loadings for behavioral observations of Aggression and Anger. The third factor reflected Social Cooperation, measures of Inner Imagination such as Occurrence of Imaginary Playmates and Rorschach Inkblot Human Movement Responses as well as high negative loadings for Aggression and Anger. At the second order level, Factor 1 correlated positively with each of the other factors suggesting it was indeed a general factor, while Factors 2 and 3 correlated negatively, thus supporting the original theoreti-
RESEARCH BRIEFS (Continued)

cal hypothesis that high TV viewing and aggressive behavior might be inversely related to imaginative development in the child and to more socially cooperative behavior during play. More extensive analyses of the roles of imaginary playmates in relation to overt play behavior and aggression or of the linkage between TV viewing and aggression will be presented separately.

A TEACHERS HANDBOOK FOR THE STUDY OF FOLK GAMES
by Marilyn Gustafson
California State University
Sacramento

Why Should Teachers Be Interested in Observing Children's Play?

Researchers have described play as "the first business of childhood," "the forerunner of adult competence," and as "practice for problem-solving and creativity." Children themselves would also affirm that play is important. Just ask any group of school children which subjects they like the best, and there will almost always be one child in the group who cannot resist the temptation to answer that his favorite "subjects" are recess and lunch. The child knows, of course, that recess and lunch are not formal school subjects, and this knowledge is undoubtedly part of the fun of giving such an answer.

Although the young child probably senses that academic achievement and competence are values which will play an increasingly important part in his life, other aspects of school outside of the formal learning situation are of vital importance to him. The learning of physical skills such as running, jumping, climbing, throwing, and catching are of immense relevance to the child of this age. Competency in social skills is also a major concern of children, as is evidenced by their pre-occupation with different problems relating to friendships: Who will play with me? Why won't my friend play with me any more? Can we (or should we) still be friends if he or she won't do what I tell her to? These physical and social skills are usually learned outside of the formal academic setting: on the playground, in the halls, or at the lunch table.

People who study children's play are beginning to discover the serious implications of play in the areas of childhood growth and development, and to describe it as "serious business"—an observation which most children seem to intuitively sense in their own way. Because play is of such importance to children, adults who are interested in the welfare of children should also be interested in their play.

Introduction to the Study of Play:

The child's love of play, which often seems quite overwhelming to adults, may be partially explained by the idea that when a child is playing he is "on his own ground" and is in "his own time." While at play, the child is free from many of the constraints of adult requirements and judgments. Children can learn skills by manipulating the environment, follow where their curiosity leads, and learn to deal with feelings, problems, and personal relationships in the "safe" environment of play. As such, play is a "non-serious" form of behavior, meaning that the activity is not done "for real." This non-serious aspect involves a kind of playfulness, although it also has important implications involving learned behavior and competency. The playfulness aspect is illustrated by the example of two children who seem to be treating each other too roughly, or who might appear to be fighting. Concerned adults will often inquire as to what the children are doing, or request them to stop playing so roughly. But when the children answer, "It's OK, we're only playing," the adult is usually reassured that what they are doing is all right, that they are not seriously intending to hurt each other, but are only exhibiting a little too much playfulness. The children know the difference between "play" and "for real" and are able to distinguish between the two. This "safe" or non-serious aspect of play refers to the conditions of play which permit activities to be done for themselves, for the sense of pleasure derived from the experience.

The implications of playfulness involving learned behavior and competency have recently been explored by researchers. It is believed that when an activity is done "for itself," as is the case in the play situation, much of the anxiety regarding the outcome of the experience is removed for the child, and he is better able to function. Play seems to reduce or neutralize any excessive pressure which may be due to the need to achieve. One function of play, from this point of view, is to make possible "the playful practice of subroutines of behavior that later come together in useful problem solving. What appears to be at stake is the chance to assemble and reassemble sequences of behavior that lead to skilled action."1- The freedom of the play experience seems to generate in the player a feeling of helpfulness and trust in his own abilities, and the lack of anxiety and tension frees him to utilize to the fullest his learning capabilities.
The vital role of play in the context of the learning experience cannot be over-emphasized, especially due to the fact that play has had such a long history of being either disregarded or openly discouraged by adults. It is partially through the use of play that the young child is able to build competencies in many important areas of social, physical, and intellectual development. The learning of these valuable skills is accomplished in a setting which is free from the severe penalties of failure which might otherwise be due to.

From the social viewpoint, play can help the child to master and to overcome emotional experiences of an overwhelming nature. Children sometimes accomplish these ends in simulation or role-playing situations such as playing doll house, school, or cops and robbers. Important feelings are given expression and past events which have had a great impact on the child are often re-enacted in this form of play, thus further influencing the social aspect of the child's life. Playing at games also allows for a full range of emotional experiences and expressions. Some examples would be fear of losing or of being captured; anger at being "put out" in a game of baseball, or losing in some other way; sadness at not being chosen for a certain role, or not being picked to be on the same team as the rest of your friends; and also the joy of winning or of doing a task well which is required in a specific game. Through playing games a child can learn to control and to deal with a wide variety of emotions that are common to the human experience.

The same games can also be vehicles for the development of physical skills which are of major importance to the young child. This valuable aspect of play and of games may be seen in the earliest sensori-motor activities of infants in their exploration of the physical environment, and even into the more advanced stages of the older child's fascination with competitive games with rules. Games of physical skill such as baseball, basketball, soccer, or jump-rope require many hours of practice and concentrated effort on the part of the young person who is developing such competencies. It is through these games, more than any other kind, that the important quality of self-reliance is learned.

Intellectual development is also closely related to play. It is through play activities that the individual is able to make sense out of his world and to integrate his perceptions of the world into meaningful relationships. For example, problem-solving skills are examples of important intellectual processes which may be learned through play. Games of strategy such as chess, checkers, dominoes, and marbles are especially well-suited to the experiencing of problem-solving situations and methods.

The activities and experiences of play are very important to the growth and the well-being of children. Infants begin life with exploratory forms of play, and as the child grows older his play becomes more social in nature. By preschool age in our culture the child invents symbolic games, often involving imitation and imagination. Eventually children develop more sociability in their games, and they play in larger groups with the incorporation of specific rules into the games. But all of these different kinds of play activities serve the common purpose of helping the child to define and make sense out of the complex world in which he lives, and to enable him to acquire the varying degrees of skill which will help him to meet the many demands of his changing environment. The importance of children's play and the study of it was well summarized by Jerome Bruner when he said,

We have come a long way since Piaget's brilliant observation that play helps the child assimilate experience to his personal scheme of the world... We now know that play is serious business, indeed, the principal business of childhood. It is the vehicle of improvisation and combination, the first carrier of rules systems through which a world of cultural restraint replaces the operation of childish impulse.

Factors which Influence Contemporary Children's Play:

It is becoming increasingly difficult to find children playing many of the folk games which are listed in the game catalogues compiled by folklorists such as the Opies, Brewster, or Gomme. Also, many of the games which are described as being popular with children in the game research of fifteen or twenty years ago are either rarely played or are completely unheard of by today's children. Many traditional games such as Steal the Bacon, Red Rover, Blindman's Buff, Drop the Handkerchief, or London Bridge are seldomly played in spontaneous situations. These games may be observed more often in organized group settings such as scouts, birthday parties, or church-related activities where adults who are familiar with the games will sometimes introduce them to the children for that specific occasion. Traditional games are easily adapted to organized activities such as parties, church, or scout meetings because there is usually a large
enough group of children assembled to assure
enough players being present for such games.
However, contemporary children are not often
observed playing these traditional games by
themselves (without adult sponsorship) in
their free time at home or on the school
playground. It is much more common to see
suburban children either playing games such
as chase or tag which require few players and
little formal organization, or to see them
playing the contemporary, formally competi-
tive games such as football, baseball, basketball,
or soccer which are encouraged by the
schools and many parents.

Space is an important factor in the deter-
mination of what games children are likely to
play. For example, jump-roping used to be a
favorite winter-time activity for English
girls of the Nineteenth Century. It was
highly recommended by authorities on child
rearing practices as an excellent form of
exercise for rainy days when children could
not play outside in the fresh air. Evidently
the English homes of that era commonly had
large rooms, called "halls," which could be
used for activities such as jump-roping which
require large amounts of space free of fur-
niture or other obstructions. Contemporary
American homes usually do not have such a
large or convenient play area available for
this kind of activity, and so jump-roping
tends to be done in the warmer months of the
year and out of doors. Space is the limiting
factor in this instance. Space also limits
the play of traditional folk games of long-
distance chase, such as Hare and Hounds,
which require large open areas. In the pack
game of Hare and Hounds, the "hares" are
given several minutes of lead time to set
off running on a secret, pre-planned course
of several blocks. Scraps of white paper are
dropped along the course of the chase as
cues representing the "scent" of the hares,
and are searched for by the hounds who are
in pursuit. The chase would ideally take the
two groups in and out of front and back
yards, into vacant lots, and around a block
or two. As can be imagined, it would be very
difficult for today's children living in the
suburbs to play such a game because of the
more restricted play areas available to them.
Most homes now have fencing and fairly small,
landscaped yards which must not be damaged.
Many streets are too busy or dangerous to
make suitable play areas for small children.
Children who live in apartment complexes are
even more limited in their play space.

There also seems to be a tendency for
children to play in smaller groups than in
the past. Several factors may account for
this: smaller family size, watching TV during
after-school hours, and the participation of
many children in formal after-school activities
such as scouts, the YMCA programs, dance or
music lessons. Children do not seem to be
interested in playing in large, informally
organized (spontaneous) play groups. In addi-
tion, many commercially-available games or
playthings which are purchased for children
tend to be ones which can be utilized by either
a child playing alone, or by a small group of
children, usually not exceeding four or five
in number. Board games such as Monopoly or
Candyland which can be manufactured at a con-
siderable profit to the company involved are
well suited to a few children playing quietly
in a limited space in which no vigorous activ-
ity is desirable. It would be difficult for a
toy manufacturer to think of a way of making a
profit from large group games such as London
Bridge, the Farmer in the Dell, or King of the
Mountain. Consequently, children are not ex-
posed via the advertising media to knowledge
of such games. Also, the status involved in
having a new, purchased game is probably a
factor in the preference of children and parents
for commercially manufactured games over the
older and more traditional folk games. Other
entertainments for children living in an af-
fluent society would include the largely non-
group activities such as going to the movies,
ice-skating or roller skating or skateboarding,
miniature golfing, and swimming. The tendency
in children's play seems to be away from large
group lay and toward activities which can be
played by a smaller number of children, or
activities in which individual children have
the opportunity to develop specific physical
skills.

When traditional games of childlore are
played, they are often found at "in between"
times when waiting must occur, and when no
other formally organized activity has been
planned (often because the period of time in-
volved is too short for adults to be concerned
with). Children sometimes take advantage of
small blocks of time such as the ten-minute
recess, the period of time spent waiting for
the school bus, or the minutes spent waiting
for the dance teacher or group leader to ap-
pear. They then engage in some of the more
traditional children's folk activities such as
handclapping accompanied by verses, verbal play
with jokes, songs, or riddles, and games which
may be quickly organized such as cartoon or TV
tag, red light—green light, Marco Polo, or
Simon Says. These activities are passed on
from child to child, usually without the help
and often even without the knowledge of par-
ents, teachers, or other adults.

The role of sex-specific play behaviors is
one last factor which should be mentioned.
Contemporary girls seem to be engaging in
more of the active, rougher sports than did
the girls of the previous generation. Forms
of play such as basketball, baseball, and
soccer now seem to be much more acceptable
for girls than they were in the past. The
rigid lines dividing boys' active play from
the more passive play of girls seem to be
disappearing and giving way to the dictates
of individual preference.

Definitions:

What is Play? There are many different and
complex definitions of play, but for the pur-
poses of this paper it will be most useful
and appropriate to describe play as an enjoy-
able form of diversion, a "fun" sort of step-
ning out of the normal time-space constraints
of everyday life into another world of illu-
sion. Play may take many forms: In its sim-
plest form it may be the pleasurable experi-
ences and sensations gained from pitting one's
body against some force outside of one's self.
Play may also involve simulation, a pretending
or imaginative form of diversion often associ-
ated with role-playing and fantasy. Another
form of play, which will be the focus of this
paper, is that of game-playing.

Games are play activities which involve
opposition or competition between one or more
individuals or groups. The playing of a game
usually involves a struggle for power or
resources by the opposing sides or adversaries.
Procedures governing the game's activities
(i.e., the struggle for power or resources)
are found in the rules of the game. Also, games
usually involve repeatable patterns and an
outcome of some sort, such as winning, losing,
or tying.

The following is a list of some important
definitions. The games are described according
to the activities and roles involved in the
activity itself:

Atomistic Games—There are no teams, and
there is no central person organization.

Central Person Games—In this kind of game
one central player plays in opposition to the
rest of the group. Only two roles exist: 1) that
of the person who is the center of action
and who exerts varying degrees of influence
on the flow of activity in the game, and 2) the
group member or adversary role. In central
person games the "It" player is usually chosen
by some arbitrary method such as a "counting-
out" procedure, or by the last child to call
out "Not it!". Central person games are further
subdivided into two categories, that of high
power and low power "It" roles. Games with
high power "It" roles allow the central player
to control various aspects of the game's
activity—such as whom to chase, when to run,
the power to start and stop the action, or the
giving of orders to others. In order to off-
set the greater power given to the "It" person
in the high power role, the other team members
or adversaries must either possess superior
physical skills as required by the game, or
they must work together to form a strategy
with which to outwit the high power central
person. The high power role has the effect of
providing support and protection for the un-
skilled player. In low power central person
games the "It" player is not given great power,
and he must use his own skill to fight off the
challenge of the other players. The group is
in this situation at an advantage over the
low power central person, who must be particu-
larly skillful in order to meet the challenge
of the combined efforts of the other players.
Older children, especially in the nine to
twelve year-old age group have traditionally
favored low power central person games because
of their physical maturity and adeptness, while
as the high power roles tend to be more favored
by younger, less skilled players in the six
to nine year-old category.

Chase Games—Chase games are ones in which
children run after each other and try to tag
or capture one or more of the players. There
are two types of chase games: 1) central person,
and 2) team. In the central person chase games
one person is in a competitive relationship with
all of the other players. The central person
chases and attempts to tag or capture the other
players.

Pack Games—Pack games are team chasing games.
Two teams are involved in a competitive rela-
tionship in which one team chases the other,
or the two teams chase each other at the same
time. Formal games which may be listed as pack
games are team running games such as French
and English, Prisoner's Base, Hares and Hounds,
and King's Peg. Informal game playing involving
packs would be illustrated by games such as
cops and robbers or cowboys and Indians. These
informal pack games usually involve two roughly
equal groups of children playing out a drama
of conflict of some sort, but they may also be
very simple running and chasing activities with
little imagery involved.

Scrimmage Games—These are running games
which involve the moving of an object from one
boundary to another boundary which is usually
opposite in position. Examples of scrimmage
RESEARCH BRIEFS (Continued)
games are Steal the Bacon, Basketball, Football, and Soccer.

..e Observation Method of Data Collection Tasks I and II:
The observation method is particularly well-suited to the purpose of forming impressions about children's play behavior. First-hand observation enables one to discover the manner in which grouping of children occurs and how interaction takes place within the context of the game. Such information usually could not be obtained by asking children these questions through other methods such as interview or survey. This on-hand observation of the actual play is thus very important to the understanding of how a game is actually played, and implications concerning game action and its effect on the players. For example, it is often difficult to envision the playing of a specific game merely from a child's oral description: actually seeing what is occurring gives one a more accurate and complete picture of the activity and the players. The drawback to the observation method of collecting information, is of course, that the presence of the observer may cause the players to change their behavior, a possibility which should be kept in mind by the observer.

Rationale - Take I - The purpose of this first task is to gain an overall impression of the play setting. Aspects of the physical environment such as asphalt, grass, extremes of weather, amount of play space available, etc. should be taken into consideration and noted for future reference. Aspects of group size and composition should also be noted as they enable one to gain specific impressions about the atmosphere in which the play activities are occurring.

Rationale - Task II - The purpose of the second task is to move from general impressions of the clustering of children to more specific observations involving the structure of the games which are being played spontaneously. Specific observations concerning the sex and age of the players in relation to the roles inherent in the games are intended to be a means of understanding the behavior of the group and of the individuals within the group through patterns that may emerge. The ultimate purpose is to enable the observer to utilize the information about play preferences, roles, and the effects of different kinds of games upon individual personalities. Comparison of a child's behavior and achievement or skill level in the classroom with his play group behavior and skills would help the observer to identify individual strengths and weaknesses and might also serve as an aid in helping the child to overcome any existing difficulties.

Task I - General Unfocused Observations DATA Sheet

1. Give a general description of the play area. Where do different types of activities take place? Is an activity area restricted to players of one sex or age grouping? Do physical barriers such as walls, fences, etc. determine the boundaries of specific activity areas?
2. Note the approximate number of clusters or groups utilizing the play area. Is there adequate space available, or does it seem overcrowded? What is the range in size of the groups—smallest, largest, average size, etc.
3. Watch one or two groups of children who are engaging in a spontaneous (unsupervised) play activity. Observe them for 5 or 10 minutes. What is the composition of the individual group by age, sex, and ethnic background. Briefly describe the group's play activities which you have observed.

INTERPRETATION OF DATA QUESTIONS-Task I
1. Do children of the same age tend to group together?
2. Do children of the same sex tend to play together?
3. Is there any difference in behavior when play involves younger and older children together? How are younger children treated by the older ones?
4. When a play group consists of only one sex, are there any noticeable differences in behavior or activity than when both sexes are represented in a grouping?
5. Does the size of the group seem to have any relationship to the activities or behaviors of group members?

Task II - Focused Observations DATA Sheet

1. Observe one group playing a central person game. Briefly describe the activity. Focus in on the role of "it." Is the "it" role one of high or low power? Identify the central person in the "it" role and those in the role of adversary. Note approximate age, level of skills possessed by players in the different roles.
RESEARCH BRIEF (Continued)

2. Chase Games: Observe one group participating in a game of chase. Describe the activity and the group composition. Note name and rules of game, if applicable.

3. Pack Games: Observe one group participating in a pack game. Note group composition. Record name of game and rules if there are any.

4. Peripheral children: Observe a child for 5 or 10 minutes who is staying to himself and is not a part of the activity of any group. What is he doing? Are any attempts at interaction made, either by the peripheral child or by others? What happens when these attempts are made? Could the child integrate into the group if he wanted to?

5. Transient players differ from peripheral players in that they travel from one group to another, never staying very long. If you can find any such children observe one for several minutes in order to discover what kind of interaction is taking place.

Spontaneous Play Groups:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Activity Observed</th>
<th>Distribution of Power in Game</th>
<th>Age and Sex of Players</th>
<th>Description of Game Activity, Rules, or Other Comments</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Central Person:</td>
<td>Males: High Power</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Low Power</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Teams (equal)</td>
<td>Females:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Atomistic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(none)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Task II - Interpretation of Data Questions

1. When observing the central person games was it possible to infer how any of the players felt about their respective roles? Was either a high power or a low power "it" role more desirable?

2. For the chase games, was it possible to discover how the children felt about the activity as evidenced by specific words or actions?

3. If you were able to identify any peripheral or transient players, compare their free time behavior with that of the classroom.

Task III - The Interview Method of Data Collection:

The interview method is especially well-suited to obtaining in-depth information about children's favorite games because of the opportunity to question the child about important aspects of the games and how he feels about the game itself. Use of the observation method would not allow for the possibility of questioning or of gaining insight through such dialogue.

Rationale - Task II - The purpose of this task is to become familiar with the contemporary games which children most enjoy playing. Collection and sharing of game descriptions should serve to provide the teacher or other adult with a wide and varied knowledge of games to have ready for use when the need arises. Accompanying information concerning who plays the game and how the children actually feel about the dynamics of the game are intended to give insights into the appropriateness of the game for children of different ages and of differing abilities in terms of the specific skills which the game requires.

Task III - In-Depth Study of a Game

Introduction - For the third task, the goal of which is an in-depth study of a single game, the comprehensive method of game analysis developed by Brian Sutton-Smith will be utilized. This systematic approach to the analysis of a single game involves the identification of five major game features, which will be summarized here in order to facilitate use of the questionnaire accompanying this task:

1) The game challenge: A statement of game purpose, of game-contained goals of the players. Competitive game challenges include eight categories: chase, hunt, rescue, capture, seduction, attack, race, and harassment.

2) Player participation: a) Actor/counteractor roles such as chaser and chasee. b) Organization of the players as a group -- pairs, teams, central person and adversaries, etc. c) Role-clothings such as animal or other names applied to players, symbolic cries or calls utilized by the players, etc.

3) Performances: The nature of the performances demanded in order to resolve the game challenge. Includes skills such as running, tagging, calling, dodging, etc. Also involved is the type of control that players have over the action of the game.

4) Spatial scene: This is the terrain upon which the game action takes place, the game's external limits or boundaries and internal differentiations such as goals or safety zones.

5) Temporal structure: The internal time span of the game (beginning, ending, etc.) and the external time variable (when the game is played).
play will not have a detrimental effect on any of the individuals involved. An important work which should be read in connection with this third task is "The Relationship of the Power of the It Role to Experience in the It Role," by Paul V. Gump and Brian Sutton-Smith.

Another aspect of the game structure is that of group size: games of low sociability or high sociability have definite implications involving the personality of the child who participates in them. High sociability games require a child to keep track of the roles being played by many more individuals than do low sociability games. Some children may prefer the challenge of high sociability games, whereas others may feel more comfortable in the smaller groups common to games of low sociability. It also seems that joining in the playing of a game with a large group of children might be a beneficial and pleasurable experience for the child who has problems when it comes to getting involved with other kinds of group activities—if the demands of the game are not too great for the child and the group is not too large. The adult in charge should be aware of this aspect of group size as it is related to the specific personalities of the players, especially in extreme cases such as that of shyness.

One last feature of game structure which should be mentioned is that of its internal time span. There should be a clear correspondence between the time factor involved in the playing of the game and the attention span and physical capabilities of the age of child involved. Younger children tire easier and also often cannot tolerate long periods of time spent waiting to have a turn at play. In addition, some games can be played and fully enjoyed in a shorter span of time than others. The length of time necessary to play the game should be taken into consideration when limited amounts of time are available.

Here are a few questions to consider before teaching a new game to a group of children:

1. If the game is a central person game, is the "It" role one of high or low power, and is this role appropriate for the age and skill level of the children involved?
2. Are the specific skills required for playing the game appropriate for the age of child who will be participating in it?
3. Is this a high sociability (relatively large numbers of children, often team games) or a low sociability (very few children, usually one to three) game, and is the game appropriate for the individual children who will be playing it?

These are some of the factors which should be taken into consideration when thinking about
a game and trying to decide whether or not to use it in a specific situation with specific children. It is hoped that this kind of analysis will lead to successful game-playing experiences which will enrich the lives of the children who play them as well as the teacher or adult who encourages the play.

NOTES
2. Ibid., p. 83.

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PLAY AND WORK: A FALSE DICHOTOMY

by

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I am going to say little to you today that has not been said elsewhere before. Indeed, my remarks are stimulated in part by Helen Schwartzman's panel on work and play at last year's meeting, and by her own presentation on that panel (Schwartzman 1977). But I think that the way I want to put some of this stuff together is new. In any case, I want to share with you some thoughts that have been increasingly on my mind since the formation of our Association five years ago.

What I want to say is this: in our efforts to categorize behaviors which we think fall within, or beyond, the headings of "play" and "play-forms," and especially in our painstaking, even religious, efforts to distinguish conceptually between what is "play" and what is "work," we have gotten ourselves into a rut. And it is a rut whose bottom threatens to wear deeper and deeper from our backing and filling in it.

Elsewhere (Stevens 1976:139) I echoed the sentiments of several others in arguing that we cannot discuss a phenomenon, such as play, unless we first establish a consensually-agreed-upon working definition of what it is we think we are talking about. But I am not now prepared to add yet another refinement to the welter of definitions of play. Rather, I hope to at least begin to bring some clarity to waters that are now pretty muddy.

Let us for a moment go back to the man who, it might be said, started it all. In formulating his now classic definition of play, Johan Huizinga concluded,

Summing up the formal characteristics of play we might call it a free activity standing quite consciously outside "ordinary"
RESEARCH BRIEFS (Continued)

life as being "not serious," but at the same time absorbing the player intensely and utterly. It is an activity connected with no material interest, and no profit can be gained by it. It proceeds within its own proper boundaries of time and space according to fixed rules and in an orderly manner... (1950:13).

This is the pivotal definition, and, paradoxically, the one which has gotten us into the trouble we are now in. The key words and phrases which most social scientists have selected from it are: "not serious," "no material interest," "no profit," and "according to fixed rules." I have tried to deal with the "rules" problem elsewhere (Stevens 1977), but that and the other attributes have formed the bases for many assumptions about play which are now accepted as "givens." For example, it is Huizinga's "not serious," "separate," and "unproductive" assumptions about play which prompted sociologists such as Harry Edwards (1973) to construct a continuum of forms, beginning with play at one extreme, ranging through recreation, contest or match, to sports or athletics at the other pole. Taking some issue with Edwards, Allen Sack (1977) uses Huizinga's definition in his efforts to show that sport can be viewed as both play and work, but that professional sport is not play at all. And most recently, another sport sociologist, in this case writing about women's professional golf, states what has now become the "given" in the extreme: For professional golfers, as for all professional athletes, sport participation is not play but work. That is, it is serious and consequential" (Theberge 1977:2).

The problems and seriousness and productivity have been dealt with by some, notably Csikszentmihalyi (1974, 1975a, 1975b, 1976, 1978), Csikszentmihalyi and Bennett (1971), and Miller (1973). I shall return to these discussions shortly. It is the apparently forgotten attribute in Huizinga's definition of play, that of "absorbing the player intensely and utterly," that I want to deal with first. It has been the ignorance of this aspect of play -- the experiential aspect -- that has brought us to where we are today.

Where most of us are today is mired in the assumption of a sharp demarcation, a dichotomy, between the two poles of "play" and "work." I think this is not only a false dichotomy but one which, if its dimensions are not revealed, may stand in the way of meaningful advances in several aspects of our field of study. But its dimensions can be revealed, I suggest, by integrating some concepts and observations which are now readily available to us.

The "Flow" Experience

For several years Mihalyi Csikszentmihalyi and his colleagues at the University of Chicago have been investigating the interrelationships between rewards and motivation, and he has concluded that overemphasis on extrinsic rewards has obscured the significance of intrinsic rewards in the motivation of people's performances. A great many activities, he found, are performed largely for the enjoyment the performances of them affords. In many instances, most significantly for our discussion in cases of persons whose activities are extrinsically rewarded by the payment of a salary, either a salary that is fixed or that is dependent on the outcome of the performance, the actors felt that the receiving of the salary was an end quite apart from the performance of the act itself. Moreover, several professional artists said that they would feel unfulfilled if they could not immerse themselves in their performance, regardless of the possibility that they might be rewarded without having performed at all. This immersion in one's performance Csikszentmihalyi has called "flow." Anyone, he claims, can achieve this state, if certain requirements are met by the activity one is engaged in:

1. The activity should be structured so that the actor can increase or decrease the level of challenges he is facing, in order to match exactly his skills with the requirements for action.

2. It should be easy to isolate the activity, at least at the perceptual level, from other stimuli, external or internal, which might interfere with involvement in it.

3. There should be clear criteria for performance; one should be able to evaluate how well or how poorly one is doing at any time.

4. The activity should provide concrete feedback to the actor, so that he can tell how well he is meeting the criteria of performance.

5. The activity ought to have a broad range of challenges, and possibly several qualitatively different ranges of challenges, so that the actor may obtain increasingly complex information about different aspects of himself (1975b, 1978) and he concludes, "An activity that has these characteristics is bound to be intrinsically rewarding" (1978:13).

In summarizing the "flow" experience, he says,

When a person is involved in doing a thing which has the characteristics outlined
above, he or she will experience a contraction of the perceptual field, a heightened concentration on the task at hand, a feeling of control leading to elation and finally to a loss of self-awareness which sometimes results in a feeling of transcendence, or a merging with the activity and the environment. This experience we called flow, and it seems to be the subjective experiential counterpart of what happens to the organism when it is involved in an activity which is structured in a way that approximates the model described above (1978:13; my emphases).

I have observed elsewhere (Stevens 1977) that play deprivation is demonstrably detrimental to the neuro-physiological and social development of the organism; Csikszentmihalyi (1974) has suggested that an absence of the flow experience in one's day-to-day activities can contribute to fatigue, boredom, depression, and perhaps, the implication runs, to a host of psychodynamically regressive—perhaps neurotic or worse—behavior patterns as well.

After investigating the experiences of performers in highly skilled activities, ranging from mountain climbing to neurosurgery to conducting a symphony orchestra, Csikszentmihalyi turned his attention to less "glamorous" activities, such as those performed on the production line or in the machine shop. In a letter to me dated February 28, 1978, he wrote:

My own work has gone on in the direction of studying flow in everyday life. You might be interested in knowing that when we interviewed a cross-section of 100 working people in Chicago, and read to them descriptions of the flow experience taken from the book [Beyond Boredom and Anxiety, 1975] (and originally given by climbers, chess masters, etc.) asking them if they ever felt like that, and if so when, 26 percent described work experiences as being most similar to flow. So much for the dichotomy of play and work. This is part of the experiential dimension of human activity, be it "play" or "work," to which our methodology, directed by a bind in our thinking, has not accommodated itself. What Csikszentmihalyi has labeled "flow" seems to me to be precisely that experience to which Huizinga was referring in his observation regarding the "intense and utter absorption" of the player in his play. We have concentrated on the other aspects of Huizinga's definition, and have bound ourselves up with problems of seriousness, material gain, and rules—all of them looked at from an external perspective, from an analytical framework which we have constructed from a distance and slapped onto the action from a distance—and we have ignored the fundamental dimension of what the performance of the act does for the actor himself.

I indicated earlier that these researchers have also taken account of the problems of "seriousness" and "productivity" as measures of whether an act is play or not. A useful perspective is offered by Stephen Miller, paralleling Csikszentmihalyi's "flow" concept:

...play is activity, motor or imaginative, in which the center of interest is process rather than goal. There are goals in play, but these are of less importance in themselves than as embodiments of the processes involved in attaining them (1973:97; my emphases).

The player aims to keep the process, the flow experience, going. This is his goal, and he is "serious" about achieving it. The ending, the scoring of the touchdown, the achieving the summit of the mountain, the final strains of Bach's St. Matthew Passion, all bring the flow experience to an end—often, according to some people interviewed by Csikszentmihalyi, an anti-climactic end. It is the performance itself, the act of creation rather than the thing created, that is the goal being sought in flow. As Csikszentmihalyi (1976:9) puts it, "It is playfulness that counts, not play itself" (emphasis original).

Paradigms and Levels

All right, we may now say, we recognize the flow state, we have all experienced it at one time or another, and we know what we're talking about. But how do we get up there, and be analytical about it at the same time? Of what use is the concept as an analytical tool? Unfortunately, Csikszentmihalyi doesn't tell us. We can't do much with reported information. We don't know how it begins, what it is like at its most intense, how it ends. We don't know its parameters. And this will surely be the major problem in any attempt to utilize his concept by the social sciences. How do we measure flow? How do we know what's going on when a person is in the "flow state?" I would like to see Csikszentmihalyi delve into this considerably deeper. Perhaps—no humor intended—implant electrodes in the brain. All social scientists—hopefuly especially anthropologists—have learned to seek beyond the level of "folk explanation" for an act. In any case, perhaps one way of conceptualizing the "flow"
state is through the notion of paradigm.

Since Kuhn's (1970) introduction of the concept of paradigm it has rapidly become a household word within the scientific community, although the realms of meaning to which it has been applied have varied. Kuhn defined it in terms of the totality of discoveries in a particular area of scientific endeavor, a body of knowledge which has become systematically integrated to the extent that it provides a model, or set of guidelines, for a particular school, or tradition, of scientific research. It is the transition from one paradigm to another, stimulated "by a growing sense... often restricted to a narrow subdivision of the scientific community, that an existing paradigm has ceased to function adequately in the exploration of an aspect of nature to which that paradigm itself had previously led the way" (1970:92) that constitutes a scientific revolution, and which characterizes the development of scientific thought.

In his extremely valuable Keynote Address to the Association in 1977, Gregory Bateson took off from Kuhn to apply the concept of paradigm, and paradigmatic shift, within the framework of cognitive and logical type levels, characterized by "the 'jump' from a learning of this order to a learning of that order" (1977:10). For Bateson a paradigm is a model for behavior. I see it as corresponding quite closely to Wallace's (1970) concept of "maze-way," and "paradigmatic shift" as corresponding to "maze-way resynthesis." It is an integrated system. But it is only one of a hierarchy, or taxonomy, of potential models for behavior. And an understanding of the system at one level does not automatically give one the credentials for an understanding of it--indeed, even for a recognition of its existence--at another level. Kuhn had made precisely the same point.

Although I did not use the term, it might well have been used to give some flesh to my discussion of the "overt" and "covert" levels of "rules" of cultural behavior, especially play behavior, in the 1976 Proceedings of the Association (Stevens 1977). There I argued that those who denied the existence of "rules" in play, hence denied that structured games and sports, in which there are winners and losers, contained a play element, were speaking of only one level of rules. They were failing to recognize a deeper dimension of "covert" rules that govern all cultural, indeed biological, behavior. I could have used the concept of paradigm quite profitably in that discussion. In so doing, I would have argued that when Edwards, Sack, Theberge, and others go to such pains to argue that sport, especially professional sport, is quite a different thing from play, they are arguing from a popular paradigm which observes the structure of an event from a bird's eye view. They are speaking from the paradigm of the description of the play-form, or the play-act. But they are presenting their arguments as if they had transcended that paradigmatic level and entered into another, that of the play experience.

There are these two levels of investigation and analysis. The description of the one requires one set of tools. But the transcendence into the other requires more than just the setting aside of that set of tools; it requires a shift, sometimes quite a drastic shift, in one's perceptual, and hence methodological, orientation. Without recognizing that these two levels exist—that is, the play form and the play experience—the two are easily confused, and one can feel comfortable assuming that he knows the one from the perspective of the other. This is not to say that these two levels are sharply demarcated, mutually exclusive. Of course they are not. They may, if the proper behavioral/environmental balance is achieved, share a common denominator; and that common ground, that particular piece that can be analyzed in a way that successfully reconciles the two, is to be found in the concepts of "playfulness," the "play experience," or what Csikszentmihalyi has called "flow."

**Conclusion**

Much of our investigation into what constitutes "play" has been bound by a false conceptual dichotomy which, I submit, has resulted from our having failed to take heed of Bateson's (1977) warnings against mixing logical type levels, of confusing members of classes with the classes themselves. John Schwartzman talked about this in his presentation earlier in these Meetings. What we have been doing has been to confuse the play act with the experiencing of that act.

Csikszentmihalyi and his colleagues have defined the "flow" state as that achieved "when a person is in optimal interaction with his environment," that is, when his manipulative skills and the environment have reached a balance such that neither is in command of the other; they are in harmony, and the player's responses become reflexive. He has then experienced a paradigmatic shift—a shift from trying, from the exploratory, from the worry that results from doubt in one's capabilities, to the flow state, or the flow paradigm. In
that state the player responds automatically to pressures from his now limited environment, in order to keep the flow state going.

Having thus identified the flow state, Csikszentmihalyi has little trouble in finding evidence that it is experienced not only during "work" activities that might be labeled as boring or humdrum, but also during activities that might require a great expenditure of energy, e.g. mountain-climbing, cross-country skiing; activities that are productive of high levels of anxiety, such as front-line warfare; even anti-social activities that are labeled "criminal" at best, e.g. cat burglary, and "monstrous" or "unconscionable" at worst, e.g. human torture. In each of these cases the actor, the "player," can effect a paradigmatic shift into the flow state. And by labeling this activity, according to the conventional paradigm, as "work," we are in a rut. We are taking the behavior for the experiencing of that behavior.

I am eager to stand corrected, but I fear that a similar sort of "rut" problem is currently bogging down the discipline of Physical Education, in which something called "play phenomenon" is pursued by a marginal few, and is regarded by most as an interesting, but exotic--indeed, perhaps Quixotic--thing. Just peruse the programs of annual meetings of any number of associations of physical educators.

We should be able to accept, now, that the actor, the player, can make a paradigmatic shift, from a level of structure to a level of experience, or from a level of perception of extrinsic rewards to a level of performing solely for transitory intrinsic rewards, and back again. He can tell us where he's been, but he probably won't unless we ask. And we will not ask if we cannot recognize the existence of that other level. Once we begin to ask about that level, however, we have already begun the necessary paradigmatic shift in our approaches to and methods of scientific analysis.

Csikszentmihalyi has observed recently, "...play has rarely been studied for its own sake, as a behavioral phenomenon with unique characteristics of its own, independently of what it reveals about philogenetic, social, affective, or cognitive adaptation. Play has been used as a means for studying other behaviors, but rarely has it been the direct focus of attention."

In recent years, this state of affairs has been undergoing some change. It now seems that perhaps paly is a more important source for understanding behavior than it had been held to be. In fact it is possible that the study of play will lead to what Kuhn (1970) has called a paradigmatic shift in science... (1976:5).

Let us hope he is right. But more than hoping, let us direct our energies to making sure he is right.

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