THE ASSOCIATION FOR THE ANTHROPOLOGICAL STUDY OF PLAY
NEWSLETTER
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6th Annual TAASP Conference will be held April 9-12, 1980, U. of Michigan, Ann Arbor. Plan ahead!

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EDITORIAL

The Fifth Annual Conference extended the avairy of our concerns even beyond the birds with which we had thought we were familiar. Arriving almost concurrently with the conference was the new book by Helen Schwartzman, TRANSFORMATIONS - THE ANTHROPOLOGY OF CHILDREN'S PLAY (N.Y.: Plenum Press, 1978) -- and it is indeed a bird of rare plumage. It is as near as we are going to get most probably to a bible for our particular movement, TAASP. I know for one, that it was the book I would always have liked to have written. It is in the first place a systematic review of the resources, history and theory of this field. It covers ethnographic reports, evolutionary studies, diffusionism, functional analyses, culture and personality, communication studies, structural and cognitive studies, ecology, ethology, and experimental work. Most importantly it is lucidly written with the kind of illustrative material most useful for student understanding. Unfortunately, it is highly priced in the upper 20's. However, Helen informs us that, if you are using more than 10 copies for a class, that by writing to Mr. Kirk Jensen, the Plenum Publishing Corpora-
tion, 227 West 17th Street, New York, N.Y. 10011, a special arrangement can be made.

In the second place this is a book with its own theoretical stance. Although Helen herself is one of our more lucid acquaintances, she inveighs against too much lucidity in this area. She says: RESEARCHERS WHO HAVE A COMPUL-
SION FOR ORGANIZATION, PREDICTABILITY, AND
EXACTING DEFINITIONS AND METHODOLOGIES PRODUCE
ONLY ILLUSORY THEORIES AND EXPLANATIONS WHICH
DISTORT PLAY AND FOOL ONLY RESEARCHERS (p 329) ON THE OTHER HAND INVESTIGATORS WHO ARE MORE TOLERANT OF DISORGANIZATION, UNPREDICTABILITY, AND LOOSE AND FUZZY DEFINITIONS AND METHODOLOGIES ARE MORE LIKELY TO PRODUCE THEORIES THAT ALLUDE TO PLAY (AND THIS IS THE BEST WE WILL EVER DO) AND HELP TO ELUCIDATE THE NATURE OF FOOLISHNESS.

Fortunately Helen doesn't follow her own recommendations in writing the book. It is well organized, somewhat exacting (though with a gentle touch), and not unpredictable. She defines play in the following way and we leave it to the reader to decide whether she has practised her own epichrasis. She says: "Play is an orientation or framing and defining context that players adopt toward something (an object, a person, a role, an activity, an event, etc.), which produces a text characterized by allusion (not distortion or illusion), transformation (not preservation), and purported imitation of the object, person, role, etc." (p 330)

Now is that fuzzy or is that fuzzy! Either way it is all very exciting and has led us to pose some further questions to Helen which she has answered in her responsive way in the following dialogue.

Following that Dialogue, we asked Jeff Danksy if he thought that play was really productive of thought, a point of view now being questioned by Corinne Hutt and some of her students. (See her coming article in PLAY AND LEARNING, Gardner Press. Ed. BS-S)

And following that and the scintillation these recent years of the ritual-play theorists we asked (warily) what is it all about, and Michael Salter has kindly told us.

GREGORY BATESON ON PLAY AND WORK

Phillips Stevens, Jr.

I have received a number of thoughtful responses to my 1978 Presidential Address, "Play and Work: A False Dichotomy?" which was published in the TAASP Newsletter, vol. 5, no. 2, and which will appear in the 1978 Proceedings under Helen Schwartzman's editorship. I am grateful to all who took the time to share their thoughts on an issue that is absolutely central to our field of study. I have advised the authors of some of those responses to submit them separately to the Newsletter, and I hope they will do so.

One response which I felt should be shared...
feel "flow" in their paid activities, etc. We then pretend that the result of the poll or the definition provided by the dictionary is a component of our epistemology when it is really only a piece of theirs. We feel that we should take our epistemology from "them."

e. Your piece about work/play dichotomy plunges right into the middle of this mess and is therefore an important piece. It makes me uneasy because I feel that you pull your punches. Is "play" a native concept which you are investigating? Or is it an anthropological concept, part of a system of interlocking notions onto which we (anthropologists) are trying to map the diverse phenomena of human (and animal) life?

f. Long ago, I entitled a talk to a Macy Conference, "The Message 'This is Play'," using this structure of quotes within quotes to deal with this dilemma.

g. If you want it both ways -- that "play" is both an anthropological and a native category, then you have to have the courage to spell that out. Alternately you have to spell out the claim that as anthropologist you expect to transcend the native concepts.

h. Let me chew some of my own pill: I personally expect first to transcend the native concepts and I expect that later, at a much more abstract level, I shall discover that I am human too. The final synthesis will perhaps look something like this: that "Yes, it is so that my scientific premises are very different from the premises of any existing culture. But premises are premises, and it is inevitably so that certain relations between premises will necessarily obtain universally. To cite the extreme case is possible -- for human thought to have empathy with biological evolution because both are stochastic processes occurring within cybernetic systems. A fortiori it must be possible to create a network of paradigms within which both the premises of Cambridge, England and of Bali shall be subsumed and also (especially) the processes of change of premises in both places.

The compensatory humility will be in the discovery that both (anthropologists and real people) exemplify the same eternal verities of mental and social process.

i. To return to "play," I assert that Huizinga's definition of "play" is a red herring, swimming tail first and muddying the water. Perhaps a pedantic and ruthless critique will be useful.

Summing up the formal (1) characteristics of play we (2) might call it a free (3) activity (4) standing quite consciously (5) outside "ordinary" (6) life as being not (7) serious but at the same time absorbing the player intensely and utterly. It is an activity (8) connected with no material (9) interest, and no profit (10) can be gained by it. It proceeds within its own proper (11) boundaries (12) of time and space according to fixed rules (13) and in an orderly manner.

(1) and (2) are a fine beginning. We, anthropologists, are doing the summing up and it is to be in terms of our formal characteristics. "Free" (3), "conscious" (4), "no material" (9) and "profit" (10) are not anthropological formalisms but stereotypes of WASP culture. (3) "free." I don't know really what that word denotes in this context.

(4) "activity." An activity. There's the rub. "Act," "action," "class of acts," "class of actions," "class of activities," "way of organizing relations between acts," "category of actions created by a specific way of native discrimination among actions," etc. etc. In all definitions, the crucial step is choice of the prime substantive for the predicate. This will determine the logical typing of our definand. "Crime," "play," "exploration," cannot be acts or activities because they do not follow the ordinary rules of reinforcement characteristic of acts. If you punish crime, you get better criminals, etc. Many examples of play are precisely shaped around contexts of negative reinforcement. The essence of the play is avoidance of the reinforcement. What is needed for the definition is a formal summation of the nature of context.

(5) "conscious." Presumably this refers to native consciousness. Let us expand it to "the natives evidently have use of the information that 'this is play'." What about hazing, where the initiates have one sort of information and the novice another? And more seriously, what about primary process? It is characteristic of dream that the dream itself contains no recursive negatives and no labels of logical typing. Play surely has relation to fantasy, exploration, humor, etc.

(6) "ordinary" means WASP.

(9) "material interest." Does play exist only among organisms whose categories separate the "material" from something else? --
Gregory Bateson (cont'd)

"spiritual," "aesthetic," "medical," "social," or what?

(11) "proper boundaries of time and space." Again we bump against the need for a definition of context. Are we talking about the limits of a set or category, which are surely not spatial or temporal? Or about the boundaries of an action? And in either case, are the boundaries proper to the defind or are they imposed by other (unmentioned) items on the other side of the boundary? Or by anthropologists? Or natives?

Returning to your paper, and what I call "pulled punches," my complaint is that you criticize bits and pieces of e.g. the Huizinga definition (as indeed I have done above), but I wish you had been much more radical. The question is not "Is the definition good or useful?" But "Is it a definition?" Is it the sort of thing that we try to produce when we try to define something?

And please, I am not really attacking you or even Huizinga. I am attacking the conventional slop of anthropological thinking and the reasons for the lack of anthropological theory. Forgive me if I use you as a stick to beat the dog with.

Good luck,
Gregory.

P.S. A definition of greetings would be nice to have.

Schwartzman (cont'd)
relationships to each other (and the day care center context—the location of the study—as a whole). This is what I mean when I say that in this study I am portraying "the texts in context and the context in the texts." But there are many other contexts (psychological, familial, neighborhood, the larger society) that could be used—and have been in the past—for interpretations. I chose the children's relationships as a context for interpretation because it had been so largely ignored in the past. As I see it, there are other researchers as well as I who are moving in the direction of intergrating text and context. Catherine Garvey's (e.g., 1977) studies stand out in this regard and there are interesting investigations being conducted by researchers with a sociolinguistic orientation (see Corsaro and Tomlinson in press). Most of these studies have been inspired and influenced in one way or another by the work of Gregory Bateson in the early 1950's who underlined the importance of pursuing integrated studies of play texts and contexts (see 1955, 1956).

Sutton-Smith: You neatly show how the "psychic unity" view, which underlies much of early folklore studies, still appears in Piaget and other writings (a "survival" of its own, perhaps). But, when Singer and other researchers argue for the relativity of imagination and suggest that this is not a universal feature of children's behavior you balk. Are you suggesting that there is a "psychic unity" for imagination? And if you are, is there a psychic unity for play and not for games? Also, what about Margaret Mead and the Manus children? Do you think that the great changes in the imagination of the Manus that she noted (compare Growing Up in New Guinea with New Lives for Old) were produced by her or were the real thing; if so, what price Singer then?

Schwartzman: I'm not suggesting that all children everywhere are innately imaginative (à la psychic—or should we say imaginative—unity) and you are right to mention Mead's study of Manus children (first described as very pragmatic and realistic children, but on a return visit Mead observed the appearance of imaginative play) to illustrate the existence of differences in children's imaginative play behavior. But it should be noted that neither Mead nor the Manus set up a formal training program to produce this effect. The important thing about Mead's study is that it was based on observations of the children's behavior in natural contexts (in their families, with their friends, in their homes, community, etc.).
In addition, this study was made by a researcher who had lived with the Manus for one year. My problem with the recent studies by psychologists, educators, and others of so-called "disadvantaged" children's play is that they have been conducted in contexts that may not be familiar to the children (a day care center, school, laboratory, mobile laboratory, etc.), and they are almost always conducted by and/or in the presence of strangers (either the adult researcher and possibly also strange other children). As William Labov (see 1972) and others have demonstrated these contexts may greatly influence a child's behavior and can be expected to inhibit their speech (Labov's research definitely shows this) and their play. Joan Freiburg has recognized this in her studies of children's play. She suggests that:

Lower-class children should perhaps be observed away from school, in which authority figures may be inhibitory. Use of para-professionals from the community may be essential in determining whether differences in verbal and cognitive style mask abilities among lower-class children when observed by middle-class persons (1973:136).

I believe that we must give all children the benefit of the doubt before we proclaim (or "find") them to be "imaginatively disadvantaged". We may be inventing "problems" (i.e., "play deprivation") for them (as was done also in the case of "language deprivation" studies) which do not really exist because they are artifacts of the investigators' inappropriate research design and methods. And, these children have enough real problems without researchers creating more for them. Children in many non-Western (and non-middle-class) cultures have been found to be extremely imaginative and ingenious in their creation of play objects, activities and situations (several examples of this are discussed in TRANSFORMATIONS). The speech play of these children should also not be overlooked as an arena for the expression of imagination as this is a highly valued behavior in many societies and these values and skills must be learned and performed by children as well.

My primary interest is in encouraging researchers to not jump to the conclusion that "disadvantaged" (read: non-middle-class) or non-Western children do not play imaginatively or have imaginative powers or skills just because they do not play/imagine the way that middle-class children do. What we need to do is to specifically explore these children's play (using ethnographic and not experimental methods) in contexts that are familiar to them, and over a prolonged period of time. Until investigators have done this I believe it is premature to develop training programs to teach children to play imaginatively when they may already have this ability but may be expressing it in different ways and in different contexts.

Sutton-Smith: But what is the harm of teaching children other ways to play?

Schwartzman: Probably there is no harm for all children to learn alternate ways of playing, but we cannot overlook the fact that in creating formal training programs we are also teaching the teachers something as well (as Labov has pointed out in his critique of language training programs for Black English speakers). What we are teaching them is that a certain group or groups of children are non-imaginative, non-creative, etc., etc. With all that we now know about the effects of labeling on young children's behavior and school and other performance, do we really want to create more labels and therefore more problems for these children to overcome. I'm not sure that the disadvantages of these programs are worth the possibleadvantages.

Sutton-Smith: You do not agree with the Singer that many children's games have gone and the new TV world makes for different children, but this world must have some impact on children's lives. What is it in your terms?

Schwartzman: My point here is that adults frequently invoke a "good old days" kind of logic in evaluating children's behavior and particularly their play. We remember how it was when we were kids, what we played and how; then we compare this with the behavior of children today and they almost always come out lacking in some valued quality (e.g., imagination, innovation, spontaneity, etc.). This tendency appears in the literature on children's play at least as early as William Wells Newell's lament that:

The vine of oral tradition, of popular poetry, which for a thousand years has twined and bloomed on English soil... is perishing at the roots; its prouder branches have long since been blasted, and children's song, its humble but longest flowering offshoot, will soon have shared their fate (1883:1).

But Iona and Peter Opie's (1959, 1969) monumental collections of the lore and language and street games of children excellently
Schwartzman (cont'd)

portray how Newell's worries (at least for British children) were unfounded.

Jerome and Dorothy Singer and other researchers have expressed concern especially about the fate of imaginative play (particularly with the onslaught of TV and the passivity and "sedantism" which it encourages) for American children. I believe that many of these worries are valid, and specifically the concern for TV's passive meta-communicative message. In fact, I feel that it is more important to worry about this message than the specific program messages, e.g., sex vs. violence vs. sugarcoated cereals. It is very important to investigate how or if this passivity is transferred to other behaviors including play, but we don't know the answers yet. The Singers' studies in this area are crucial because they are attempting to investigate this issue. I guess what I'm saying is that while I agree that our "new TV world" produces different children, I'm not sure what all the differences are and I'm not convinced yet that difference necessarily means less-imaginative, less-playful, less-active children. In my opinion the Opies have offered the best statement on this issue.

It seems to be presumed that children today (unlike those in the past) have few diversions of their own, that they are incapable of self-organization, have become addicted to spectator amusements, and will languish if left to their own resources. It is felt that the enlightened adult is one who thinks up ideas for them, provides them with "play materials", and devotes time to playing with them...possibly because it is more difficult to find out about, let alone understand, we largely ignore the child-to-child complex, scarcely realizing that however much children may need looking after they are also people going about their own business within their own society, and are fully capable of occupying themselves under the jurisdiction of their own code (1969:v).

Sutton-Smith: Your criticism of games (justified because of the bias of male anthropologists) is couched as a very decisive difference between play and games. Does there have to be that difference? Aren't you taking a historical bias and converting it into a definitional rigidity, just the thing that you yourself criticize?

Schwartzman: Yes and no. (How's that for decisive?) Yes, I do believe that there is a very decisive difference between play and games. Play (in my terms as well as many others) is a mode, attitude or orientation that can be adopted toward any behavior activity, situation or object. Games are activities (that frequently involve the manipulation of objects) that can be approached playfully or seriously (although I don't really like this contrast either), but games are activities not modes. Mihalyi Csikszentmihalyi's studies demonstrate this quality of play nicely. Now, just because it is possible to play at games this should not lead us to confuse games with play (they are really two different kinds of things, or logical types, to use Bateson's terms). Play is characterized by ambiguity, paradox, spontaneity and novelty and too much of any one of these features can spoil a game for all participants. Now this may seem like definitional rigidity, but what I'm really trying to say is that in order to understand play we may have to separate it clearly from games, and we should re-evaluate our studies keeping these issues in mind.

Of course, it is very possible that my orientation represents a female bias. But I'm only asking for equal time (equal rights?) for the development of non-game (male bias?) oriented studies. I think that this issue really underlines the importance the "theory behind the theory" kind of discussions that we had at the meetings (TAASP) in Henniker. What we discover when such an analysis is undertaken is that all of our definitional and theoretical attempts are influenced by implicit models of play that researchers operate with in the development of their studies. One person may define play as proceeding "within its own proper boundaries of time and space according to fixed rules and in an orderly manner" (a portion of Huizinga's famous and widely-quoted definition, 1938:13), but he (note: male bias) is operating with an implicit model of play as a game or sports activity. Another researcher, let's say she (i.e., me) may define play as an orientation or framing context that players adopt toward something (another person, a role, an activity, an object, etc.), which produces a text characterized by allusion (and paradox), transformation, and purported imitation of the person, role, activity, object, etc. But note that I am operating with a model of play as pretense or make-believe. Other researchers may use models of play based on the manipulation of objects and I'm sure there are many other implicit models in use as well.
It is probably not possible to avoid using such models in the formulation of definitions and investigations. The really important thing is that we acknowledge their existence. What I'm suggesting is that in order to correct for the predominance of the game or sport model I think that it's time for other models to be explored. I'm personally bored with the game model as it appears in the literature on play, and as it happens (sex bias again?) I'm bored by most games. Perhaps all I'm really saying is that researchers are people too and when we pretend that we approach our studies with a tabula rasa mentality (e.g., no prior expectations, preconceived notions, cultural biases, personal likes and dislikes, etc., etc.) we are only demonstrating the influence of play (in this case make-believe) in the research process. If make-believe is this powerful (and I believe that it is) then perhaps it will prove to be a more compelling model for use in our studies. Let's see what happens.

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DIALOGUE WITH JEFF DANSEY, (Eastern Michigan University, Ypsilanti, Department of Psychology) Jeff replies to our query on whether the "play" produced in experimental studies is enduring.

Temporary and Enduring Influences of Play on Children's Creative Thinking

Numerous studies have established a relationship between playful activity and aspects of creative functioning (e.g., see Lieberman, 1977). However, those experimental studies which show that play increases ideational fluency have measured fluency immediately after the termination of play (e.g., Dansky, 1978). Here I will briefly summarize two recent studies which indicate that play can have both temporary and enduring influences on ideational fluency.

In one study modeled after Dansky and Silverman's (1973, 1975) paradigm, 90 preschoolers were given opportunities to engage in free-play, imitation or problem solving for ten minutes. Half of the subjects in these three groups were randomly assigned to an immediate post-test condition and half to a delayed post-test condition. As in previous studies, when an alternate uses test was given immediately after the play, imitation and problem solving sessions, the play subjects gave significantly (p<.01) more uses and more unusual uses for objects than subjects in either control condition. The subjects in the delay condition were simply given a 2-minute backward digit span task immediately following play, imitation or problem solving. Backward digit span was chosen because the task requires cognitive activity which is clearly not playful. The delay subjects were then given the alternate uses test immediately after backward digit span. Interestingly, interposing a simple two minute backward digit span task between the experimental intervention and post-testing resulted in no significant differences between play and control subjects. Thus, the often reported impact of play on associative fluency would seem to be truly ephemeral; the effect was completely eliminated by just two minutes of non-playful activity.

The findings of a second study to be described here constitute only a portion of the
Dansey (cont'd)

data from a rather extensive study of the effects of play on various adaptive func-
tions; however, these findings suggest a rather different interpretation of the above
stated findings than might otherwise be the case. Briefly, 36 non-players (i.e., pre-
schoolers who do not display dramatic, make-
believe activity during daily free-play
sessions) were randomly assigned to one of
three treatment conditions: sociodramatic play
training (similar to Smilansky, 1968), explora-
tion training, or social problem solving
training. This intervention continued for
three weeks. (Further methodological details
are available from the author.) Beginning a
full week after the termination of sociodra-
matic play training and the two control
treatments, subjects were individually
assessed on various dimensions (one of which
was ideational fluency). These measures con-
verged to show that sociodramatic play
training not only resulted in significant
increases in spontaneous sociodramatic play,
but that sociodramatic play resulted in a
significant increase in the children's
ability to organize and integrate information
in a flexible and imaginative manner.
Returning specifically to ideational fluency,
the play trained children scored significa-
tantly (p<.01) higher on an alternate uses
test than control subjects one full week after
the termination of dramatic play training.
Although post-testing was conducted only one
week after the termination of training, it
should be noted that the play-trained sub-
jects continued to display sociodramatic
activity during free-play time throughout
the rest of the year. It seems that once it
has been catalyzed, sociodramatic play is an
intrinsic rewarding activity which pro-
vides preschoolers with a medium for organi-
zizing their diverse experiences.

The first study reported here suggests
that make-believe can engender a cognitive-
affection set which, so long as the set is
not interrupted, tends to enhance associativ-
e fluency. The second study indicates that
repeatedly engaging in make-believe can have
more enduring influence on this aspect of
creative functioning. If make-believe may be
considered a prototypic example of the "as
if" exercise of voluntary control systems
which Sutton-Smith (1972) suggests charac-
terizes play, then it seems that the repeated
exercise of these voluntary control systems
can have an enduring impact on children's
adaptive flexibility, as in the case of their
ability to produce large numbers of ideas
when called upon in an alternate uses task.

Dansey (cont'd)
The fact that dramatic play training gener-
ally serves as a catalyst for spontaneous
dramatic play further increases the like-
lihood that play training will have a durable
influence on children's behavior.

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DIALOGUE WITH MICHAEL SALTER (University of
Windsor, Windsor, Ontario, Canada, Faculty of
Human Kinetics)

Question to Michael Salter by us: What is it
you are saying about the differences between
play, games and ritual in your various arti-
cles? His personal response follows:

So, you are trying to get a handle on my
work. Kindly advise me if you are successful,
so that in the future I can better handle
queries of this type!! Seriously: the rest of
this may be slightly garbled, as I am thinking
out aloud and off the cuff - something that I
am not particularly good at. Further, I am not
even sure it is what you asked for; however
if there is anything in here that you can use,
then please do so in whatever way you see fit.

1. I believe that play/games (or activi-
ties that we have hitherto been classifying
as play/games) have served, and still serve,
functional purposes in all societies. These
functions obviously differ in both nature and
degree from society to society depending up
the economic needs, the political framework,
the familial structure of the society, and a
whole host of other variables. In general,
Salter (cont'd)

however, I would suggest that as we move from nomadic hunting and gathering societies, through semi-sedentary agrarian based societies, to our contemporary Euro-North American urban-industrial society, there is either (or both) (a) a decrease in the number of functions that play activities fulfill and/or (b) the functions change. Quite honestly, I am not quite sure where I stand on this one at this point in time. On one hand, I see a whole host of play activities being employed as inculcative devices by the native Australian child, we find that the school has taken over his education and that play is perhaps no longer as important in preparing him for manhood in terms of his future role as a protector/provider. Thus, play in this society is perhaps more recreative in nature, and any learning that occurs is in the form of socialization. (And I do differentiate between the terms enculturation and socialization.) Thus, to put this in some form of continuum,

Nomadic hunters Urban-industrial
and gatherers society

Play - a mechanism of Play - a mechanism of
enculturation socialization

extremely func-

higl

tiona
tive

Of course, let us not forget that while play activities may be employed for a specific purpose (or purposes), they may also be enjoyed purely as play activity.

2. Now, here comes the crunch. Until now we have been classifying a whole host of things under the general rubrics of 'play' or 'games'. I know that I am not telling you anything new, but I do think we had better start emphasizing this point. I believe that what we are looking at is multidimensional and cannot be viewed from any one perspective or indeed, by employing any one set of criteria. To illustrate, let me refer to that extremely embryonic model that I threw on the board at Notre Dame TAAP Annual Conference, 1978 (see below). In this I suggest that there are a number of elements that must be present if an activity is to be categorized as a pure play form. I have identified four of these play elements, but am quite prepared to concede that there are probably a number of others. The point here, however, is that as we move through the varying ludic frames, some of these play elements disappear and are replaced by an increasing emphasis on victory until such time as victory becomes all-important; that is, the sole purpose of the activity is to win and the end justifies the means. At this point I suggest that we have moved into something that I have tentatively labelled as a 'terminal contest'. At first glance we may mistakenly be tempted to label this as a form of play; however, as we look more closely we will realize that all the play elements are absent. Now, I recognize that this is an ideal-type model, but would suggest that activities such as the gladiatorial games of Imperial Rome, the Super Bowl,
Salter (cont'd)

the Stanley Cup, and so on, are of this type, when viewed through the eyes of the participants. (And here we enter another dimension which I will come back to in a minute.) It is possible, however, to move back and forth through these frames during the course of an individual activity. For example, a team winning the Super Bowl by a considerable margin at the end of the third period may revert to a more playful frame at the beginning of the fourth period. If the fortunes of the game were suddenly to swing in favour of their opponents, we would very quickly see the same team jump-shift out of a play frame back into the realm of the terminal contest. On a more personal level: I took up skydiving this fall in the company of Jim Duthie (silly fellows, you say - probably!). While there is no doubt that the activity is serious, it would be classified by many as a sport, and there are some of the elements of play. Again, I refer you to my play/game paradigm. Brian, I can assure you that on your first jump there is absolutely no way that this activity can be classified as play or anything remotely connected with play, again from the viewpoint of the participant. Your sole concern is to do everything correctly and get down in one piece - that is, you will do all in your power to achieve victory. However, as one becomes more experienced, the activity takes on more and more of a playful nature, so that one shifts from the terminal contest frame through to an athletic or sporting frame.

Confusing? Well, to add sawdust to the sand, let me come back to the other dimension that I mentioned earlier. This is the dimension of the participant-observer-spectator. And this is where we are making many of our mistakes in classifying ludic activities, for we are doing so through the eyes of the observer, rather than recognizing that we can view an activity through a number of different eyes. To illustrate - the gladiator in the Coliseum undoubtedly viewed the activity in which he was engaged in quite a different way from the Roman citizen in the stands, who in turn probably saw the activity in a different light from the sponsors of the games who, after all, were staging them for a specific purpose. (Who knows what the lions thought?) Likewise, an experienced free-faller will most likely view his favourite leisure-time activity in quite a different way than the poor clod who is doing a static-line jump for the first time. The uninitiated observer on the ground will view the activity in still another way. My point here is that while the structure of the activity remains unchanged, the activity shifts through the various frames of our paradigm, depending upon the person doing the viewing.

Thus, ritual activities, inculcative activities, and so on, while possessing the same structure may fall into a different frame on our continuum depending on whose eyes are viewing the activity.

Brian, as I look back over this, I doubt that I have said anything that you are not already aware of and what I have said, I don't know that I have said very well. Nevertheless, do with it what you will. Incidentally, Jim Duthie and I are trying to work up a paper on parachuting using some of Csikszentmihalyi's ideas.

Cordially yours,
Michael A. Salter, Ph.D.
Associate Professor
Univ. of Windsor,
Ontario, N9B 3P4
Canada

OPEN REQUEST FOR DIALOGUE

The foregoing dialogues with, and questions to, various of our members active in the field, should convince you of the value of immediate personal word in the Newsletter. It will take me some time to get around to asking all of you. In lieu of that, I address the following letter to all TAASP members.

Dear Member:

What a Newsletter thrives upon is personal stuff about the current research direction of its members. So I am sending out this request to our membership (and others), to write me a paragraph or two on where you are heading in your work, what you hope to achieve, where the field should go and so forth. It can be impersonal or personal, and should not be more than a page or so and should include a bibliography as well as your own address so that people can get to your works. This side of an obituary there may never again be such an overview of your work! How about it? Don't hesitate to make it an overview looking back as well as forward - if that makes more sense to you. Be opinionated if you wish.

Best wishes and much encouragement.

Sincerely yours,
Brian Sutton-Smith, Editor
TAASP Newsletter
Professor of Education & Folklore
An Appreciation (cont'd)

steadfastly worked hard, often at personal expense, for TAASP.

In the interests of brevity and to avoid embarrassing these two ladies by prolonged adulations, I shall not try to enumerate their contributions to our growth and development. Further, the list of their activities is so long that to attempt to run through it would inevitably leave some omissions. For those of you who might wish to know just what these two giants have done, I refer you to our archives, including back issues of the Newsletter, and to the membership rolls of the past five years.

Their records of achievement stand for themselves. As I bow out of the Executive Council, I wish all the officers, and the entire membership, all the best. Keep us going. I am convinced now, more than ever, that the world needs us. (That last statement should be construed to mean that the world needs more play, as well as more students of play!) But my most heartfelt best wishes, and my fondest gratitude, go to Alyce Cheska and Elinor Nickerson. Thank God for people like the two of you.

Publications Received & Noted (not reviewed)

(1) UNICEF NEWS "CHILDREN AT PLAY" Issue 95, 1978 #1 A series of general (non-research) articles contrasting play in various parts of the world in particular Africa, India, Brazil, USA. Good pictures, very suitable for parents, introductory education, recreation, etc. Available 65 E Livingston, German Village, Columbus, Ohio 43215.

(2) FOUR NEW FILMS ON PLAY AND CULTURAL CONTINUITY by Sara Arnaud and Nancy Curry available from Campus Film Distributors, 2 Overhill Road, Scarsdale, NY 10583. Shows at play: Appalachian Children, Mexican American Children, Southern Black Children, Montana Indian Children. For teacher training, parents, etc.

(3) PLAY BEHAVIOR by Joseph Levy, University of Waterloo, Wiley and Sons (1978). Reviews the theories and presents useful ways to think about them in methodological terms. Has good study suggestions, useful in undergraduate classes. Presents the author's own work on achievement motivation and play. Larger review to come.

will review at a later date.


(6) HELPING AGGRESSIVE AND PASSIVE PRESCHOOLERS THROUGH PLAY by Charles H. Wolfgang, 1977, ($3.95) Charles Merrill Publisher, Columbus, Ohio 43216. An important very practical little book in this area where there is as yet little with which to work.

(7) SOCIAL RESPONSIVENESS IN INFANTS. Edited by S. Trotter and E.B. Thoman. Johnson and Johnson Pediatric Roundtable Number 2 (1979). Has a chapter on "Rhythms of Maternal Behavior During Play" by Daniel Stern. Pocketbook can be gotten from J&J Baby Products Company, P.O. Box 836, Somerville, New Jersey 08876 (for One Dollar).


(9) FAIR PLAY by Peter McIntosh. Ethics in Sport and Education (1978). Heinemann, London (8.50 pds). A philosopher and an historian's argument with himself and us about what it all is worth. Excellent account.

(10) LEARNING NON AGGRESSION. Ashley Montagu, Oxford U. Press (1978). This is a cross cultural account of kinds of child training and play in non violent societies. Most relevant to TAASP concerns.

(11) DEVELOPMENTAL GYMNASTICS by Garland O'Quinn, Austin: University of Texas Press ($12.95). A big folder, beautiful pictures and how to do it, from Turning Over Forward to Springboard with Tumbling Table.

(12) EVOLUTION OF PLAY BEHAVIOR. Edited Dietlind Muller-Schwarze Academic Press, 1978 ($32). This is a book of readings heavily weighted with the good ones on animals (Dolhinow, Poirier, Baldwin, Eible-Eibesfeldt, Welker, Poole, Gentry, Loizos, Lorenz, Schaller, Bekoff, etc).

(13) SPORTS, GAMES AND PLAY. Social and Psychological Viewpoints. Edited by Kenneth Goldstein and Lawrence Erlbaum, Hillsdale, New Jersey. Distributed by Wiley. This seems to be a first rate compilation with articles by Singer, Roberts, Hearst & Wierzbicki, Tutko, Ogilvie, etc. It is heavily weighted on the side of Sports, including analyses of Chess, Snooker, the personality of athletes, the fans, football and aggression.

(14) TAASP PROCEEDING VOLUMES. All TAASP members should consider the value of using one or more of the (soon to be) four volumes of Proceedings as texts in the courses that they teach. The books are relevant for a number of different courses: history of play, history of sport, children's play, theory and method in the study of play, cross-cultural studies of childhood and play, cross-cultural studies of games and sports, etc. Leisure Press offers a 40% reduction in price for orders of ten or more copies of the books. All members should also be sure to encourage their libraries to order the volumes.

TAASP has been very fortunate to be able to publish (with the considerable help and investment of Leisure Press) four excellent Proceedings volumes. If we wish to continue this practice in the future we must support Leisure Press now.

The four volumes are:


PLAY: ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES (edited by Michael Salter), 1977 TAASP Proceedings


For ordering these TAASP Proceedings, see information on last page of this Newsletter.

(15) The Journal of Leisure Research, Leisure Sciences, and Recreation Research Review are cooperating in compiling an international list of reviewers for articles, research projects, and books. If you are interested, complete form provided on next page.
REVIEWERS SHEET

Leisure, Recreation, and Related Topics

The Journal of Leisure Research, Leisure Sciences, and Recreation Research are cooperating in compiling an international list of reviewers for articles, research projects, and books. We want our list to include persons who have done, are presently doing, or anticipate doing research on any of the topics listed below. We encourage you to complete this form and also to reproduce it for distribution to others in your organization.

NAME: _____________________________ OFFICE PHONE: ( ) ____________ Area __________________________

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Check all those areas in which you would be willing to review articles or papers for the journals listed above at least once a year.

☐ Recreation administration ☐ Recreation planning and design
☐ Recreation and leisure curricula ☐ Leisure policy
☐ Geography of leisure ☐ Psychology of leisure
☐ Recreation economics ☐ Sociology of leisure
☐ History/Philosophy of leisure ☐ Theory of leisure
☐ Leisure and Culture ☐ Therapeutic recreation
☐ Methodology ☐ Urban recreation
☐ Outdoor recreation ☐ Environmental and recreation aesthetics
☐ Park management

Write in two areas from the above list in which you would be willing to review books at least once every 4 years:

(1) __________________________ (2) __________________________

PLEASE REPRODUCE THIS AND CIRCULATE IT AMONG COLLEAGUES IN YOUR DEPARTMENT, AGENCY, OR ORGANIZATION.

RETURN TO: Rabel J. Burdge
Institute for Environmental Studies
University of Illinois
408 S. Goodwin Avenue
Urbana, Illinois 61801
USA

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CONFERENCES


(2) SEVENTH COMMONWEALTH AND INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON SPORT, PHYSICAL EDUCATION, RECREATION AND DANCE. Will take place in Brisbane, Australia, September 23-27, 1982. Details from Dr. Allan Coles, Dept. of Human Movement Studies, University of Queensland, St. Lucia, QLD 4067. Australia.

(3) INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS IN PHYSICAL EDUCATION "THE SKILLFULNESS IN MOVEMENT: THEORY AND APPLICATION". University of Quebec, Three Rivers, June 26-30.


(5) SYMPOSIUM ON LEISURE RESEARCH - CALL FOR PAPERS. New Orleans, La., October 27-29, 1979. Those wishing to present research papers should submit a 1-2 page abstract by content area. For information, contact Lynn Barnett, Chairperson, U. of Illinois, 56 Institute for Child Behavior and Development, 51 Gerty Drive, Champaign, Illinois 61820.


(7) CHILDREN'S ROYS AND THE SERIOUS BUSINESS OF LIFE at the Robert Hull Fleming Museum, University of Vermont, Burlington, Vermont on May 12, 1979. Includes speakers, C. Geertz, B. Sutton-Smith, etc.

Conferences (cont'd)

(8) THE HISTORY OF SPORT AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN THE PACIFIC REGION. INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE, NOVEMBER, 1978. Two papers seemed relevant to TAASP. Thus:

THE EVOLUTION OF PHYSICAL TRAINING AND SPORT IN OCEANIA

G.S. Parsonson
University of Otago

The earliest settlers in the Pacific were atoll dwellers, semi-migratory fishermen, who pa-sed much of their time on the reef or in their canoes. They were thus slight in build, under-developed physically, from lack of general exercise. Their immediate successors were on the whole larger, stouter, more muscular, party as a result of regular residence ashore, partly of the development of agriculture. The subsequent struggle for scarce resources and fierce competition between the tribes for prestige led to frequent warfare and hence to often violent physical exercise, e.g. the haka of the Maori, the nature of which was very largely determined by the shape and size of the weapons employed (the patu amongst the Maori, heavy clubs amongst the Tongans - and the tactics and strategy of the opposing forces. In the 18-19th centuries with the general decline in warfare in central Polynesia in particular, war exercises gave place to amusements of various kinds, kite-flying, swimming, surfing, canoe-racing, archery contests, wrestling and boxing, and a whole range of imported gambling games, notably cock-fighting in Tahiti (Arab), a stick-dice (Pomo Indian) and Konane (Go) in Hawaii (Moorish via Mexico, about 1574). At the same time, notably in Tahiti and Hawaii, the chiefly lines took to over-eating and debauchery on a grand scale (cf. the arło society of Tahiti) and lost much of their former robust good-health, a tendency which was only partly checked by the adoption of more sober habits on the adoption of Christianity.

CULTURAL VALUES AND SURFING HISTORY

Kent Pearson, Ph.D.
Department of Human Movement Studies
University of Queensland

Australia and New Zealand together form a major centre in the development of 20th century world surfing. Late in the 19th century and early this century a hard-fought battle for the right to swim on Australian beaches was waged by enthusiasts wishing to surf.
Conferences (cont'd)

According to the standards of the time, surf bathing was considered morally hazardous as it involved such risks as seeing members of the opposite sex in scanty bathing attire. Laws banning bathing during daylight hours were passed in a number of places. As these legal prohibitions were challenged and surf bathing gained in popularity, local governments moved to ensure public decency was maintained by legislating to control the standard of bathing attire and (frequently) established surf bathing areas for males and females. Segregated bathing and heavy clothing combined to contribute to numerous drowning fatalities presenting local authorities (with jurisdiction over beach areas) with a new social problem. Many of the early rebel surf bathers were skilled pool swimmers who were also familiar with Royal Life Saving rescue methods. Groups of these persons - who had initially 'come together' to fight for the right to surf - were able to legitimate their activity by turning attention to matters of surf rescue. They also developed a new competitive sport. The great paradox in the history of Australian and New Zealand surfing is that the legitimation effected by the early (rebel) surf bathers was so successful they paved the way for a highly conformist 'establishment' sport and rescue organization. This organization developed in accord with broader Australian and New Zealand social institutions and provides a classical illustration of the way sport organizations become progressively institutionalized. This organization monopolized surfing in both Australia and New Zealand from the end of the first decade of this century until the late 1950s when a surfing revolution occurred and this resulted - in the 1960s - in surf life saving being overtaken in popularity by another pattern of surfing.

The development of surf life saving and its implicit ideology is examined in the context of broader societal values and is contrasted with modern patterns of board riding and contemporary youth values. Three themes, the evolution and use of the surf board, changes in bathing costume styles, and the place of women in surf life saving, facilitate the examination. A number of predictions about the future development of Australian and New Zealand surfing are made on the basis of evident trends.

* * * * * * * * * * *

EXHIBITS

(1) BRUEGEL REVISITED: RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE FLEMISH FOLK GAMES FILE

by Roland Renson & Herman Smulders
Institute of Physical Education
Katholic University, Leuven, Belgium

The establishment of the Flemish Folk Games File (F.F.G.F.) started 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 792 dossiers have been compiled, covering registrations of folk games in about 400 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. This typology is illustrated by a collection of slides. Each type of games is first analysed in the works of Pieter Bruegel (1525-1569) and then its evolution and actual state of survival is further illustrated by slides of present day "gamesters".

(2) FRENCH TOY AND GAME EXHIBIT

as described for us by Roland Renson
Katholic University, Leuven, Belgium
Exhibits (cont'd)

LEARNING THROUGH PLAY: AN EXHIBITION OF CHILDREN'S GAMES AND TOYS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD

Games have all too often been looked upon as a kind of luxury, as a source of enjoyment and not as an essential part of children's development. But recent studies have shown that idle amusement enters very little into play and that, for a child, games are a way of observing, understanding and learning. Toys give children the chance to sharpen their wits and take some exercise.

Encouraging games is therefore a way of encouraging their development: this is the main idea behind the exhibition organised by UNESCO in association with the Bernard van Leer Foundation. This exhibition of "Children's Games and Toys Throughout the World," a prelude to the United Nations International Year of the Child in 1979, was held November 21-28, 1978 at Unesco House, Place de Fontenoy, Paris, France and was open to the public from 30 November to 8 December, 1978.

Nine hundred toys chosen from the 3,000 sent in from 56 countries and representing the cultures of five continents are on display in the Hall of Ceremonies and the Entrance Hall at Unesco. Most of these toys, intended for children under the age of twelve, have been made either by the children themselves or by parents, teachers or local craftsmen, using simple tools and local or waste materials. Next to an Italian dragon made out of egg-boxes, with ping-pong balls for eyes, you can see clothespeg racing-cars from Denmark, wire aeroplanes from the Ivory Coast, feather animals from Brazil, bamboo trucks from Sierra Leone. The Unesco exhibition shows that all kinds of simple, everyday objects are sufficient to spark off a child's imagination: banana fibres can be turned into bicycles, tin-cans or bottle-tops into cars and wagons or cigarette-boxes into boats.

The exhibition was arranged not according to country, but around three main topics. The first of these concerns the psychological importance of games in the development of the child's personality and is illustrated by a series of objects which vary according to the age and sex of the children in four different types of society. This section also includes dolls from all over the world, a circus with animals of all sizes, acrobats, masks, marionettes and an extraordinary Irish clown.

Exhibits (cont'd)

The second topic presented games in relation to the community: games and music, with a varied display of instruments, including guitars from Guatemala, decorated gourd rattles from Nigeria and a type of bamboo organ from Indonesia; games and folklore, with maquettes depicting folk tales from different countries; games and art, showing a series of "hyperrealistic" reproductions of fruit made by Indian children and from Italy a magnificent horse made of wood and cardboard covered with bright coloured fabric. A number of unusual assemblages by French children include a strange tea-set and an astonishing totem pole. Another group of objects called "Vagueux Vert" (Vagueley Green) were originally part of a 30-metre long structure exhibited in January, 1978 at the Paris Museum of Modern Art. The title "Vagueuly Green" was coined by one of the children who took part in the making of this huge construction composed of all kinds of discarded and waste materials.

The third topic dealt with the relationship between games and education, showing sorts of puzzles and games like checkers, chess, go, shah or others of the awle type, which stimulate mathematical reasoning and memorizing of figures. This section also brought out the importance of the technological element in certain toys and games - for instance the use of batteries, wires and light-bulbs to produce more complicated toys - a cat that meows, an automatic game of battleships, games of skill where clumsy movements start a light flashing.

The one idea which was central to the whole exhibition was a constant wish to avoid departing from cultural traditions and yet to be modern. Children when they play, adapt to the world around them, yet still remain part of a culture whose roots are deep in the past.

Audio-visual techniques were also used in the exhibition: video programmes were shown on five television sets; tape-recordings and slides illustrated a number of games and the settings in which they are played. There were also several hundred photos and drawings from far-off countries like Barbados, Ivory Coast and Sri Lanka, describing the different stages in the preparation and production of toys from natural materials.

Collecting all the toys, games, objects and documents for the exhibition was no easy task. The National Commissions of each
Exhibits (cont'd)

participating country spent a year encouraging local communities to collect samples from families or set up workshops in schools and education centres. Children, parents, teachers and craftsmen all helped to produce these games and toys, some of which had already been on exhibit before being sent to Paris.

To enable other towns in other countries to benefit from this unique collection, Unesco is making a special effort to find ways of organizing travelling exhibitions based on the Paris one, during the International Year of the Child.

In the Declaration of the Rights of the Child, adopted unanimously by the United States General Assembly in 1959, the right to play and recreation appears among the fundamental rights of the child, along with the right to health, security and education. "For children", wrote Montaigne, "playing is a very serious matter", and indeed learning to play is also playing at learning - and learning to live, a fact which has been admirably demonstrated in the Unesco exhibition.

(3) HISTORY OF EDUCATION TOYS. Exhibit at the Robert Hull Fleming Museum, University of Vermont, Burlington. There is a catalogue including articles by Wishy, Weber, and McClintock on various aspects of toys. Organizers are Karen Hewitt and Louise Roomet. The exhibit will travel to various parts of the country.

Requests (cont'd)

if not sooner.

All the best,
David F. Lancy
Principal Research Officer
Dept. of Education
Box 2051, Konedobu
Papua New Guinea

October 13, 1978-

Dear Professor Sutton-Smith:

I am researching into imaginative play, and in particular, imaginary companions. I have been looking at different aspects of the home background that are related to these. As part of this research, I am interested in cross-cultural studies, and while I have been able to find some discussion about imaginative play in different cultures, I have not been able to find out any thing about imaginary companions. Are they purely a Western phenomenon, or do you know of any societies where children have them? I would be most grateful if you could let me know about this, or let me have any references in this area.

Yours sincerely,
Janet Seed
Dept. of Psychology
The University
Manchester, M13 9PL
England
c/o Prof. John Cohen

COURSE OUTLINE BY ANDREW MIRACLE
Assistant Professor of Anthropology
Texas Christian University
Fort Worth, Texas 76129

Anthropology 3633: Anthropology and Sports
(3 semester hours)

The course explores the relationship between social science and the study of sports and other play forms. The first half of the course examines games and play in cross-cultural contexts. The second half of the course focuses on American sports and recreation. (There are no prerequisites.)

My purpose in teaching the course is two-fold. First, I view the course as an effective means of teaching undergraduates basic anthropological concepts in a context appealing to those who may not have had any previous exposure to anthropology or any other social science. Secondly, the course serves the special needs of those students who are professionally-oriented toward a career in recreation or coaching.
Course Outline (cont'd)

Course Outline

I. Anthropological Perspectives on Play
   A. Introduction: The Study of Play and Games - Some Basic Anthropological Concepts
   B. The Nature of Sports
   C. Sport and Culture
   D. Cross-Cultural Variations in Play Forms
   E. Sport and Socialization: Sex Roles
   F. Sport and Socialization: Ethnic Groups
   G. Sports, Games and Social Functions
   H. Sports and Social Change

II. Anthropological Perspectives on North American Sports
   A. Sports in America: Introduction and Overview
   B. The Team and Small Group Theory
   C. Games and Sports at School
   D. Interscholastic Sports
   E. Collegiate Sports
   F. Sports, Work and Recreation
   G. Professional Sports

The course format is about evenly balanced between lectures and discussions. Course requirements include two projects. Everyone is required to do a short observational study about half-way through the semester. The subject is of the student's choosing and may focus on any aspect of play or sport behavior. The final project may be either an observational study or a library research paper. Students present brief oral descriptions and summaries to the class. Additional course requirements include a midterm and a final, as well as a field trip (e.g., a Creek stomping and stickball game or a professional sports event such as a wrestling match or a hockey game). The purpose of the field trip is to provide a common experience for classroom analysis and discussion before students attempt their own individual projects.

I use several films during the semester primarily for demonstrating cross-cultural play and sports activities. Films from the Yanamamo and !Kung series are especially useful for this (e.g., Yanamamo "Arrow Game" and !Kung "Melon Tossing"). Contrasts of values can be explored through the Yanamamo and !Kung "Tug-of-War" films. The film on Japanese ceremonial archery, "Kyudo," also can be useful in this regard. "Trobriand Cricket" is an excellent ethnographic film for demonstrating the relationships of culture, sport, and culture change. There are films available without charge from various foreign embassies on sports (e.g., Russia, Japan, Finland and Czechoslovakia) but the usefulness of these is limited. There are many other films on various topics which might be appropriate, some of which I have previewed but not yet had occasion to use.

The greatest difficulty I have had with the course has been finding textbooks that satisfied my particular needs. I have taught the course twice, using three books each semester. In my search for the right combination I have now used a total of five different books and plan to use all new ones next time. I need an anthropologically oriented text and reader that are appropriate for use at a sophomore/junior level. There are several sociological texts but these generally under-emphasize cross-cultural concerns. There are several good readers, but unfortunately these are usually more appropriate for graduate students or those upperclassmen with extensive background preparation in the social sciences than for the undergraduates who typically take my course.

It would be most beneficial for me if a regular section devoted to film and textbook reviews could be established in the newsletter. As more and more courses are established in this subject area an increasing number of us could benefit directly from such information exchange.

ARTICLES

(1) PLAYFORMS IN THE CALENDAR OF A NEW GUINEA PEOPLE by Sacha Josephides, Department of Anthropology Student, London School of Economics, University of London, England

The new year in Boroi, a village on the north coast of Papua New Guinea, could be said to start around May, the beginning of the dry season. New gardens are made at this time and yams are planted. After the yams are planted, women start playing cat's cradles. Just as the string goes in every direction to produce different figures, so will the vines of the yams wind and multiply to produce large, study yams.

In the middle of the dry season virirong, short bamboo flutes, are occasionally heard. These flutes are played at the time of gamei, a north westerly (?) wind, when their sound carries for miles. Only men play these flutes and some say it is a form of love magic. When a woman hears the sweet sound of the virirong she will rush to the man playing it.
Presented at National Recreation and Parks Administration Research Session, October 14-16, 1978, Miami, Florida

Research on leisure has tended to focus on leisure behavior. Although leisure behavior is of practical interest, research on leisure attitudes should not be neglected. This paper will briefly outline the value of dealing with leisure attitudes and describe a new scale to measure affective attitudes toward leisure.

Leisure is commonly defined by the "person on the street" in terms of activities or blocks of time. However, Neulinger's (e.g., 1974) psychological definition of leisure in terms of perceived freedom and intrinsic motivation has now been widely accepted by scholars. This definition of leisure is in the Platonic tradition of leisure as a state of mind. More generally this type of definition of leisure emphasizes the subjective perceptions of the individual. What may be leisure for one person may not be for others. For instance, family camping or playing with your children may be considered either a necessary chore or true leisure.

If subjective perceptions are central or important to the definition of leisure then measuring leisure attitudes assumes first importance. Attitudes have traditionally been defined in psychology as composed of affective cognitive and behavioral components. However, we often focus on feelings when studying attitudes - the affective aspect. When studying the subjective side of leisure cognitive aspects of attitudes are also of interest. These are the beliefs we have about leisure. In measuring the full range of leisure attitudes, many different approaches can be taken. We should eventually accumulate information about all aspects of leisure attitudes including beliefs and stereotypes, expectations, satisfactions, and general affect. For instance, in an article due out soon (Crandall, in press), I have discussed the value of measuring satisfaction with different types of leisure. Much of the focus of that article is on the importance of social interaction as a leisure activity. However, it also attempts to show how measuring satisfaction with leisure could provide new insight into the meaning of leisure to the individual.

We need to develop more insight into all types of leisure attitudes. For different purposes, the particular aspect of leisure attitudes which should be measured will vary.
Articles (cont'd)

Understanding people's definitions of leisure would lead to a different measurement approach than an interest in leisure counseling or service delivery. The best known leisure attitude research is Neulinger's (1974) "Study of Leisure" form. This is a group of 150 items measuring various aspects of attitudes toward leisure. Neulinger and others have abstracted five factorial dimensions from this form encompassing 28 of the items. These dimensions have been named affinity for leisure, society's role in leisure planning, self-definition through leisure, amount of perceived leisure, and amount of work or vacation desired. These five dimensions have been obtained several times by different researchers using different populations. However, it has never been clear what these dimensions were intended to be used for once they were identified. Nor is it clear just how important these dimensions are. What factors one obtains in this sort of factor analysis depends on the original item pool.

In this case at least two other dimensions were identified by Neulinger but abandoned because there were not enough items. Further research adding new items and establishing the content validity of an item pool would be useful. In addition, it would be important to specify what the purpose is in identifying leisure attitude factors and to explore how they can be used to increase our understanding of leisure. Some new research utilizing a large pool of items measuring attitudes toward leisure by Beard and Ragheb at Florida State is being discussed for the first time at this meeting. Their form seems to include several attitude factors different from those obtained by Neulinger, including some on why leisure is liked. It will be interesting to see how this new form is developed, how it compares to Neulinger's form, and how it can be used to add to our understanding of leisure attitudes.

The next most common research on leisure attitudes measures people's affective reactions to leisure in general. That is, how much people like to dislike leisure. At least one of Neulinger's factors is related to this concept and it also appears to be represented in Beard and Ragheb's form. The earliest and best known scale in this area was developed by Burdge. He found that farmers scored lower on their attitudes toward leisure than urbanites. He also found a negative relationship between age and leisure affect. That is, older people liked leisure less. This finding conforms to speculations by social commentators that leisure may be increasing in importance for younger generations, just as work may be decreasing in importance. Yoesting and Burdge (1976) have provided a review and summary of the uses of various forms of the Burdge scale. Unfortunately, they conclude that the reliability and validity of the scale have deteriorated over time; they suggest that new methods of measuring leisure orientation are needed.

We have now collected considerable data in constructing such a new scale to measure the positivity of attitudes toward leisure. In developing a new "leisure ethic" scale we were able to build on past scales both in choosing items and in testing validation. Unlike past scales, the positivity of attitudes toward leisure was kept independent of work attitudes because no items contrasted leisure with work. Responses to versions of this scale have now been collected from over 1,000 people: students in four states, a community quota sample, recreation professionals, heroin addicts. After several data reductions, a ten item scale was developed with the following characteristics:

Internal consistency: Item total test correlations from .24 to .60. Cronbach's alpha of .76.

Test-retest reliability: Over time periods of 1, 2, 4, and 5 weeks for different groups test-retest correlations were .82, .59, .80, .87, and .85. In addition, the mean value of the scale did not change significantly for any of these groups.

Content validity: The type of items was kept deliberately diverse to capture a broad content even when we know this would reduce the internal consistency of the scale. Items were selected from all available sources. The 10 in the final scale include leisure as enjoyable, relaxation, spontaneity, lack of guilt, amount of leisure, and playfulness. A factor analysis showed three subfactors in the scale.

Predictive validity: As expected, age correlated significantly negatively with the scale. A version of the scale showed that those who grew up in urban areas had higher scores than those from other areas. People with more positive leisure attitudes also preferred less hours in the workday. A version of the scale significantly predicted wilderness approval, knowledge, use, and desire to visit wilderness independently of, and better than, scales of wilderness knowledge and approval.
Articles (cont'd)

The scale predicted criterion groups differences with leisure studies majors scoring much higher than business majors. The scale also correlated positively with a roommate’s independent appraisal of a subject’s leisure ethic.

Construct validity: In a first class on leisure over one semester the average attitude became more positive by about 10%. Because of the small group, this is not quite significant. Since, the intent of the class was academic rather than counseling and the students felt quite positively about leisure at the start, these results suggest that the scale will be able to monitor leisure attitude change in counseling or trend analyses.

Convergent validity: The scale correlated .54 with and with the Burdge scale, .50 with the appropriate Neulinger subscale, and .55 with satisfaction with leisure.

Discriminant validity: The scale correlated near zero with the Neulinger factor "society's role in leisure planning."

In summary, this scale shows good preliminary evidence of reliability, validity and utility. It should be useful in leisure counseling as both an initial indicator of problem areas and a measure of change. The scale should also be useful to measure trends over time and subgroup differences. We have provided preliminary information about the scale to many people. The scale is currently being used by several people and further evidence should become available. Existing evidence is presented in Slivken’s (1978) master’s thesis and we are currently preparing a detailed paper for submission to journals. A copy of the scale is included here and we encourage further testing and use of it by anyone interested in leisure attitudes.

The examples of leisure attitude research described here are an attempt to show some of the uses of leisure attitude measurement. Different attitudes about leisure are capable of predicting behaviors of interest to the leisure field. The value of measuring leisure attitudes is limited only by the imagination of the researchers and practitioners. If we want to understand the role of leisure in people’s lives, much more attention to leisure attitudes is warranted.

References

TO: Those interested in the leisure ethic scale
FROM: Rick Crandall, Texas Christian University

We are now recommending the 10 item version of the scale enclosed in the NRPA paper. The direction of scoring is obvious. For all items except #5; completely agree is 4, moderately agree 3, moderately disagree 2, and completely disagree 1. For item 5, scoring is reversed. The total score is the sum of the 10 items. If there are missing answers, you can use an average score by dividing the total score by the number of items answered. In this case scores will range from 1.00 to 4.00. If some one leaves several items blank their score is questionable.

If time is no problem, the 19 item version of the scale (enclosed) can be used. We recommend that you score it both ways and test which items are best for your usage. Items, 1,2,4,6, 8,10,12,13,14,16,1,4,19 should receive one point for "complete disagreement," 2 points for "moderate disagreement," 3 points for "moderate agreement," and 4 points for "complete agreement." Items 3,5,7,9,11,15,18 are scored in reverse, i.e., 4 points for "complete disagreement," and 1 point for "complete agreement."

There is no charge for the scale and we do not try to control your use of it. We hope you will use the scale in research contexts, leisure counseling, or anywhere that people's positivity toward leisure is an issue. More data on its reliability and validity will be released as available. Please keep us informed about how you've used the LES and what the results were, and we will then be able to serve as a clearing house to send our new information as it becomes available.
Leisure Attitude Scale

This scale measures your attitudes toward leisure. By this we mean how you feel about your leisure, your recreation, or the things you do in your free time. Please answer as quickly and accurately as possible by indicating whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

1. My leisure is my most enjoyable time. 
   __________ : __________ : __________ : __________

2. I admire a person who knows how to relax. 
   __________ : __________ : __________ : __________

3. I like to do things on the spur of the moment. 
   __________ : __________ : __________ : __________

4. I would like to lead a life of complete leisure. 
   __________ : __________ : __________ : __________

5. Most people spend too much time enjoying themselves today. 
   __________ : __________ : __________ : __________

6. I don't feel guilty about enjoying myself. 
   __________ : __________ : __________ : __________

7. People should seek as much leisure as possible in their lives. 
   __________ : __________ : __________ : __________

8. I'd like to have at least two months vacation a year. 
   __________ : __________ : __________ : __________

9. Leisure is great. 
   __________ : __________ : __________ : __________

10. It is good for adults to be playful. 
    __________ : __________ : __________ : __________
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<th>Statement</th>
<th>Completely Agree</th>
<th>Moderately Agree</th>
<th>Moderately Disagree</th>
<th>Completely Disagree</th>
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<td>1. My leisure is my most enjoyable time.</td>
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<td>2. I admire a person who knows how to relax.</td>
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<td>3. The thought of retirement scares me.</td>
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<td>4. I like to do things on the spur of the moment.</td>
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<td>5. I often feel guilty when I am having a good time.</td>
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<td>6. I like my leisure.</td>
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<td>7. It is bad for adults to be playful.</td>
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<td>10. I don't feel guilty about enjoying myself.</td>
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<td>11. I don't know how to relax.</td>
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<td>12. People should seek as much leisure as possible in their lives.</td>
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<td>13. I'd like to have at least two months vacation a year.</td>
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<td>14. Leisure makes me feel good.</td>
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<td>15. I do not express myself through my leisure.</td>
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<td>16. Leisure is great.</td>
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<td>17. It is good for adults to be playful.</td>
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<td>18. I should not overindulge in leisure.</td>
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<td>9. One should feel a sense of pride in one's leisure activities.</td>
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**SUMMER WORKSHOPS: UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, PHILADELPHIA**

**EDUCATION 559 - PLAY AND GAMES**
Professor Brian Sutton-Smith

July 9-13, 1979 (Room D9/10, Graduate School of Education, M-F, 9-12; 1-4)

Texts: How to Play with Your Children (Sutton-Smith), The Well Played Game (De Koven), Child's Play (Herron & Sutton-Smith), Play and Learning (Sutton-Smith).

The five day workshop is an investigation of your own play life and play history and the two books: How to Play and the Well Played Game are a part of that study. The group visits the Game Preserve, an activity game museum about 30 miles outside of Philadelphia for a one day game practicum and picnic. In addition, the student is given a familiarity with the major theoretical and research approaches to play from the Communicational, Structural, Modulational and Ego Psychological points of view. Each student does a research paper involving an empirical study of a group of players but this is not due until late in the Fall.

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The FOLLOWING ADVERTISEMENT FROM PAPERBACK BOOKS might be useful to some of our readers:

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