EDITORIAL

At the Annual Meeting we made our first foray into the epistemology of the play theorists by putting a group of our own notables on the stand to lead a general discussion. We live in an age when the philosophy of science has taken a subjectivist twist (or if you like, an hermeneutic one). Even Einstein is known to have attributed some of his thoughts to the play of his imagination.

So it seemed fitting that we should inquire of our "Own" how it was they stumbled into the play business. Now that play research is fast becoming a kind of orthodoxy it is most likely that motivations for such research will soon come to bear no special relationship to the subject-matter. We hoped we might rescue some wisdom from those who had been driven through the triviality barrier by special forces of a unique kind.

Tell us, we asked them, what was it that triggered your first research in play or games or sports? What was the special occurrence that allowed you to do this heretical thing? How did you sustain your motivation, given the non tenurable character of this pursuit. We reminded them, as Dutchie and Guilmette had told us, that you don't have to be playful to be into play, any more than you have to be funny to be into humor.
EDITORIAL continued

Though in both cases it might well be helpful.

The general discussion for which no one was prepared by forethought, and perhaps even handicapped by involvement, led to a number of suggestions, the most interesting of which was Anne Nardo's that everyone was acting like a marginal character; that the explanations offered were like those volunteered by liminal beings for their interstitial status.

For some, their theory of themselves resembled the theory of play as a kind of inversion. Thus "I am into play because it offers a relief from my otherwise over orderly existence." "I am into sport because of a personal history of motor incoordination." Unfortunately the latter of these suggestions was given with tongue and cheek, and was therefore only a playful version of play as inversion. As well as a mockery of psychological explanations, a fit on Freud if not on Geertz. For one, play was not only an inversion of order, a leaping disorder in the midst of an orderly bureaucratic work life (playing leap frog amongst the stacks); but especially tingued with that inversion of the sexes whereby, male plays female and female plays male. Are those of us then who are into play, into the opposite sex role more than our humdrum peers? Or is it just that to be into a flexible sphere of consideration is a kind of permissiveness at least which challenges more rigid personal macho boundaries?

Another kind of suggestion was that research in play because it was a marginal pursuit, allowed for marginal pleasures. By doing play, one was not fussed by one's more orthodox contemporaries. There was time for exploration, there was privacy and autonomy. The virtues of the subject-matter became the virtues of its pursuit. They become autonomous who only autonomy study; they become private by their pursuit of privacy. Always supposing these heralded values of play (by Singer, Erikson, etc.) are accepted by the pursuer as the nature of his or her subject-matter.

Which raises a good point. What would Singer or Erikson or Bruner or Lieberman or Garvey or Kirschenblat--Gimblett or Csikszentmihaly say if they had been with us that day? It is already too late to ask Corinne Hutt, because she died last year. She was perhaps the most persistent and wide ranging play researcher that we have had these past ten years, and we enter a note of regret in passing. Particularly as one of her last findings was that children don't learn through play, they learn through exploration. We are sure she enjoyed that. A player always enjoys the escape of play from such pursuit as is portrayed by the hounds of learning or of cognition. All the time cherishing the intuition, that more important kinds of both occur here more abundantly than anywhere else.

So there is a great deal of magic in this. Another kind of explanation followed the view that those who enjoyed most their own play replicated that magic in its research pursuit, the inversion of the inversion thesis.

The theories of the play theorist rival in their multiplicity the theories of play itself. This is a most variable domain.

(1) INTERVIEW with WILLIAM A CORSARO
Department of Sociology, Indiana University, Bloomington, Indiana, IN 47405.

QUESTION: Describe your current research in play.

ANSWER: I have been interested in early childhood socialization and developmental sociolinguistics for several years now. My dissertation work focused on adult-child interaction. In this research my aim was to demonstrate the importance of microsociolinguistic analysis for specifying how adults: (1) expose young children to social norms, and (2) make children aware of the importance of communicative skills and interpretive procedures in daily interactive events. Although this early work revealed a great deal about how "adults talk to young children," it was limited regarding our understanding of children's communicative skills. Therefore, I undertook an ethnographic study of peer interaction in a nursery school. This study resulted in several papers and a monograph now in preparation which address the importance of peer interaction and play in children's development of communicative skills and social knowledge. In addition, this work demonstrates the importance of peer culture in the socialization process. I have discovered that in play preschool children acquire both a sense of adult social structure and create and maintain a peer culture which is composed of elements which are distinct from the adult world.

The understanding of peer culture at any age demands careful ethnography and an "insider's view" of children's worlds. I feel that ethnographic research of peer culture at different ages in a range of social contexts is needed. Presently I am designing
INTERVIEW with CARSARO continued an ethnographic study to investigate peer interactive processes of pre-adolescent (9 to 11 year old) boys in recreation centers in an inner city area. The ethnographic work will be followed by a micro-sociolinguistic study of the performance of several of the children in the classroom. Contrastive analyses of these data will be useful in identifying features of peer culture and elements of the children's learning strategies in school and peer recreation settings. A major aim of the project is the development of hypotheses which will address the degree of fit between educational and community recreational environments in inner city areas. The results of the study may demonstrate how success or failure in school is related to preadolescents' attraction and commitment to peer culture and community activities. If such a relationship is identified we can begin to design programs to reconcile the incongruities between classroom and peer settings. Such programs could result in a situation where learning in peer, non-school settings becomes supportive of academic achievement in the classroom.

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"Preadolescents' Learning and Communicative Processes in Classroom and Peer, Non-School Settings." Research Proposal Submitted to the National Institute of Education.

(2) INTERVIEW with LYNN A. BARNETT, Ph.D.
University of Illinois, 91 Institute for Child Behavior and Development, 51 Gerty Drive, Champaign, Illinois 61820.

From an early age (graduate school) I began work on the motivations underlying children's playful behavior. My first four years were spent working with Mike Ellis on his arousal-seeking conceptualization of play. Five studies, 82 video-tapes, 500 polygraph recordings, 20000 data cards and 16 bottles of Empirin later, we were able to make some inconclusive statements about the manipulation of environmental uncertainty (operationally, novelty and complexity) and its effects on behavioral and physiological preschoolers' play styles and patterns. We remained convinced that an information processing perspective was a useful approach to adopt in explaining play yet the necessary arousal modulations which were hypothesized to initiate, sustain, and/or terminate a play bout had yet to be decisively demonstrated. I then decided to approach the problem from a different angle and set out to elaborate on Kathy Sylva's work (originally from Kohler and his chimps), clarify the relation between play and learning (exploration-specific vs. divergent, after Hutt) by contrasting Ellis and Reilly's theoretical models which posit specific exploration as a precedent or equivalent, respectively to early play. I became convinced that play somehow was related to enhanced/contrived to divergent thinking ability, i.e., some form of general problem solving; the study/dissertation was also inconclusive but a later replication showed some progress. I became infatuated with the possible play-divergent thinking link which then led me to Lieberman and the studies she conducted illustrating a correlational relationship. We've just completed a fairly large-scale replication and refinement with added controls for intelligence and experimenter effects and additional components looking at child-rearing factors as possible determinants of playfulness. Initial find-
INTERVIEW with BARNETT continued

ings were quite interesting in that intelli-
genous was found to confound the original
ported relationship between play and di-
vergent thinking; but more interesting yet,
(with intelligence controlled) the relation-
ship held only for females but was negative
for males. That is, we found evidence to
suggest that what is considered (and rein-
forced) as playful by teachers and parents
is different for boys and girls. Intelli-
genous and divergent thinking were strongly
positively related to perceptions of play-
fulness in girls but inversely so for boys.
This paper is currently under review and
follow-up research is under consideration.
A few other tangential research projects
are worth mentioning. One, conducted with
preschool children, attempted to test
psychoanalytic interpretations of play and
indeed we found strong evidence that play
serves as a form of anxiety-reduction, at
least with the age group tested (paper
under review). A second line of research
(also under review) investigated physical
parameters of the play environment as they
modulate frequency and duration of imagina-
tive play; results pointed to a variable
termed encapsulation (degree of cover) as
having a strong effect on make-believe
themes generated by children during their
play.

As some of these projects reach fruition,
I continue to actively pursue research that
will demonstrate an empirical relationship
between early play and cognitive ability.
Future directions include the chase for
answers to some of the questions which have
arisen from earlier unsuccessful attempts,
and more in-depth study of some of our more
recent findings, particularly stemming from
the play and divergent thinking hypotheses.

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(3) INTERVIEW with MAUREEN MANSELL
University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado
80302.

This is a bit late in the day for replying
to your "Request for Dialogue" in the TAASP
Spring, 1979 issue, but I'll send it anyway,
in case you care to use it sometime. My par-
ticular interest lies in the integrating
effects of play in adult experience - what
we can do through play and what play can do
for us. Specifically, I see play as having
creative, aesthetic, therapeutic and rhetorical
dimensions which, if we know our own personal
preferences and skills, can be drawn on at
times when we need them. In other words,
play provides access to those realms of
self-actualization, aesthetic awareness and
peak moments that make life worth living. To
this end it behooves us all, whether for
personal fulfillment or as professional
facilitators in communication, education,
counselling etc., to understand the dynamics
INTERVIEW with MANSELL continued
of play experience.

For example, at present I'm working with foreign students and emigrants who go through various kinds of disorientation and alienation when they take up residence here. Being able to recreate their particular brand of enjoyment or find dimensional equivalence cross-culturally can ease the complex business of adaptation. On a collective level, many of the co-national social gatherings represent shared play experience which can provide cultural continuity and affirm identity, in addition to allowing ritualistic enactment of the missing elements which lend meaning to everyday life in a strange country. Symbolic transfer of values occurs through music, dress, food and so on.

The possibilities seem endless - for the same integrating power of play can be channelled into any period of disruptive change, both intra- and inter-personally if we can identify and develop individual repertoires of flow producing activities. As Csikszentmihalyi says, it should be possible to build a sort of "play profile" of individual skills and then try to find challenging situations or create opportunities for creative action. My own particular endeavor along these lines is to find ways of tapping into early aesthetic (memorable, emotional and inspiring) experience, i.e. the roots of aesthetic awareness which arise in play of childhood. Knowing the triggers, or 'symbols of integration' should make it possible for a person to seek out similar configurations of form and design, which may be visual or experiential, and weave them into the adult play experience. And always, of course, how the activity or aesthetic value is defined depends entirely upon the subjective view of the participant - so what may be a moment of ecstasy for one person may mean purgatory for another.

Most of the enclosed article covers material already known to you I'm sure. However, the relationship between aesthetic modes of experience and play is set out for the students in creative drama so they can grasp the relevance of its philosophy and rationale for all ages. It is my hope that in giving attention to this aspect of C.D. a stronger acknowledgement of the positive functions of play in human development may be established. It is after all one of the few legitimate spots on the curriculum where we can have the satisfaction of playing around in the classroom!


EXPLANATION BY DE KOVEN: "TOYING AROUND"

Dear TAASPers,

I was hoping my absence from the last conference would be a point of empathy for those who know the merciless meanderings of the path of financial security. A week before my scheduled appearance, I was informed, with remarkable clarity, that it would be less than desirable for me to absent myself from my duties as game designer. And therein lay my first awakening to the discrepancies between my role as play advocate and my professional responsibilities to a commercial toy company.

Odd how I had thought that there would be complement rather than conflict, that my advocacy would be implemented by the opportunity I had been granted to earn money designing things of play. I had failed to accept, until that moment, the start reality that the game business is, in fact, one more business game.

I suffered from a rather academic naivete. It had not quite dawned on me that considerations for the higher and greater good could be so easily outweighed by thoughts of higher and greater profit. The issues facing me as a game designer were not the same as those facing me as a play advocate. As a game designer, I had to think in terms of what will sell and how it will look on TV and how cheaply it can be made. As a play advocate, I was plagued with considerations of how to provide children and families with alternatives, with games that would challenge the intellect and relate to the development of social and creative skills.

In truth, it was my description on the TAASP program that was the most telling. I had planned to conduct an experiential session on current play innovations. I was listed, not as Bernie De Koven, play advocate, author of the WELL-PLAYED GAME, former director of the Games Preserve, contributing editor to GAMES magazine, former co-director of the New Games Foundation, etc., etc. Rather, I was simply and humbly, Bernie De Koven, Ideal Toy.

Never, until seeing that description, had I seen my identity so clearly subsumed by my occupation. No blame. I, too, was impressed by my association with a multi-million-dollar-national corporation.

What was it like, you ask? It was like working in a factory. I had several layers of bossdom, each layer trying to predict and support or circumvent the desires of a higher layer. Frustration was rampant on all levels. The kinds of humor we resorted to was most closely approximated by the jokes convicts make while awaiting execution. My think-tank
DE KOVEN continued

was located in a dull, box-lined corridor, behind a locked door. The men (there were no women in the design group) were set up in temporary cubicles that had been used for the last 20 years — no doors, metal and glass walls, each room filled with oddments of toy and doll parts and things that booped and beeped. The assortment of personalities was extremely wide. Each man had a recognizable genius in mechanics or electronics or model making. Reputations varied. Some were considered untrustworthy, others robots, others in cahoots with "upstairs". Each had somehow managed to establish his own world and a set of inviolable survival strategies.

I didn't stay long enough to find out if I had any enemies. For the most part, people were kind to me, respecting both my gifts and my frustrations.

Most unnerving were the brainstorming sessions. Convened at the whim or one of our bosses, the men were called together to display their prowess at designing a toy or game on the spot, in response to some new and ugent marketing information. The meetings were most often plagued by a sense of desperation. Not only did we have to come up with some unique way to dress or undress a product so that it would look better on TV or be cheaper or closely resemble, but not imitate, some other astonishingly successful product; but also we were each on the line, there to demonstrate our worth to the company within the few minutes of our presentations. It was a testimony to the human spirit, the humor that we managed to manifest, the sobriety that we were able to maintain, and the fact that, despite the conditions, we were, from time to time, capable of passable brilliance.

It would be a mistake to infer, from my experiences at one toy company, that such is the lot of them all. However, there are some universal pressures which feed madness everywhere in the industry. For example, the economy is dictating the need for cheap games. This has occurred just shortly after most of the companies of the big game invested heavily in the sudden popularization of electronics. Milton-Bradley, for example, had introduced a wonderfully flexible quiz game, utilizing tape cartridges and four keyboards in most ingenious manner to produce an amazing assortment of entertaining and educational pastimes, only to find that the market wouldn't support the estimated cost of the product (in the neighborhood of $90). Parker Brothers' lead game (destined to receive maximum media exposure) is a wisely inexpens-

ive, totally unelectronic, unmechanical straightforward board game.

Most of the toy companies are geared towards the Christmas market. This means that a toy they've developed in 1980 will be shown to the buyers near the end of this year, to the smaller buyers during Toy Fair in February of 1981, and not sold to the public until the fall of 1981. The lead time required is paralyzing, especially in times of a highly erratic economy. The toy business is very much part of the entertainment industry. Thus, much of the marketing data is derived from analyses of the shifting popularity of television shows. Frequently, one company makes a better product but a more poorly-executed television campaign, and thus faces profound losses, and must work to develop yet another cosmetic which will make the game look better on television. How good a product looks on television is, in fact, the criterion for determining the viability of a game or toy on the market place. Thus, the value of a design is assessed in terms of how easy it will be, in less than 30 seconds, to make kids want it more than anything else in the world. Thus, a new product that sells is one whose innovative aspects are very much like the innovative aspects of something everyone already has and doesn't want anymore.

So, I have left Ideal Toy Company to pursue my career as a play advocate. I plan to continue designing games, but have set my lance free in the hopes that I might make some constructive stabs and, should the opportunity arise, I will not be loath to pursue it, but, fool that I have decided to remain, I plan to continue developing games that will allow me to maintain my self-respect as a game designer. I am most impressed by the marketability of this talent, though quite disillusioned by the madness of the marketplace. I am clearer now about the need for my play advocacy, and, frankly, delighted by my short and sweet success in the big world. I managed, in the half-year of my confinement, to prove to the real world that I am capable of designing innovative, unique, and highly merchandisable games. I've seen that this skill is valuable, and I hope to make it accessible to the myriads. At this moment, I'm most excited about the applications of my skill to education and human growth and development. I also find myself wanting to design games that can be made out of found materials or require no equipment at all. Ah, the need for balance. As I contemplate the applications of my bizarre genius to video games, simulations, electronic games, cooperative games, simulations, I find myself devising a most unmaterial approach to play innovation,
DE KOVEN continued
which I've recently dubbed "Minimal Theatre". Ensconced as I had become in the material world, I found increasing evidence of the significance of pretend play.

Minimal Theatre is my newest attempt at providing adults and families, teachers and therapists, and, yea, even thinktanks, with access to the powers of the shared fantasy. I've regressed further. My occupation with New Games, games in which players can change the rules, was a pre-occupation with the way we played when we were first introduced to the world of games. My current focus is on yet an earlier play form, before games, when we played with the imagination. My directions in the material and non-material worlds seem to be leading me to veritable scads of insights, and I hope, next conference, to be unemployed enough to be able to share them with you.

Yours, in the playerhood,
Bernie De Koven

REQUESTS

(I) FROM JOE LEVY, Faculty of Human Kinetics and Leisure Studies, University of Waterloo, Ontario, Canada N2L 3G1

"I am presently under contract to write a book entitled, "Research Methods In Recreation and Leisure Services" for John Wiley and Sons, New York.

In order to meet the needs of the neophyte researcher in our field, I would like to include a section in the book which documents a list of "Research Problems" identified by the leading professionals and academics in the field of recreation and leisure services.

It is in this regard that I am approaching you to consider submitting 10 "Research Problems" that you feel will need research attention over the next decade.

Please keep in mind that this text is intended to be an "introductory" exposure to the research process, and hence your "problems" should be within the scope of a beginning researcher.

Your contribution will be fully acknowledged in the text."

(II) FROM ELI M. BOWER, Division of Educational Psychology, School of Education, University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720.

As you know, we have been attempting to devise a method for measuring play style and play competence. I went to Turkey in 1975 and spent a year trying various methods with Turkish children and Turkish professional personnel and finally came up with a 30-piece play kit which is contained in an attaché case box. The 30 pieces are, as far as I can tell, culturally neutral and can be administered in almost any locality in the world. At present we have data from Iran, Turkey and the United States; however, we are hoping to get additional data from the Republic of China and Israel. I am enclosing a short summary of the procedures and a picture of the box for your information. I should like to invite members of TAASP who are interested in more definitive studies of play and who have a population of children of some cultural homogeneity to write me if they are interested in using the play box in accordance with standardized administrative procedures.

ELI M. BOWER: THE STRUCTURE AND STYLE OF CHILDREN'S PLAY: CROSS CULTURAL CONSIDERATIONS

I. Introduction

There seems to be growing agreement and evidence to support the following percepts and concepts:

Children of all human cultures play. Such play is spontaneous, serious and apparently necessary for growth.

Children of different cultures have somewhat similar play patterns.

Children of different cultures have somewhat different play patterns.

Every child is a unique and motivated player.

As one ascends the phylogenetic scale, play during sleep (dreams) and play during the waking state increase in time and complexity.

To a marked degree, cultural demands, values and goals are mediated by children through play.

All cultures utilize three Key Integrative Social Systems (KISS) in the cognitive, emotional, social development of children. Of the three (family, peer-play and formal schooling) only play is relatively child-controlled and child centered.

Childhood play experiences and styles have a marked impact on imaginative/creative abilities in the professional and personal lives of adults.

Under normal conditions children's play is relatively open to observation and description but rarely to experiment and measurement.

Peer play is the first social encounter experienced by a child outside the family. As such it offers the child his first social encounter with rules, affective give and take, expression and control of impulses, differen-
BOWE continued

iation of inner and outer reality, testing of self and competitive strivings with others.

Keeping and developing the "playing child" in the adult pays off in the mental health and creativity of a culture.

Experimental studies of the play of children in different cultures can identify structural and style similarities and differences within and between cultures.

Experimental studies of the play of children in different cultures may identify mediating play mechanisms utilized by subjects in adapting to cultural prescriptions.

II. Method

A standardized pan-cultural "Play Box" was created and tried out during a Fulbright year (1976-77) at Bogazici University, Istanbul, Turkey. The box is the size of an attaché case and contains 30 attractive, interesting and ambiguous wooden pieces. Some look like people, animals, trees, houses, roads, and vehicles. The rest are red, green, black and natural wood blocks.

Children selected to play will be healthy, normal 3-5 year olds who are enrolled in a pre-school program. The "Play" administrator will in each case be a female, age 18-30 who has worked in the program for at least a month. There will be two administrations of the Play Box for each child approximately a week apart. Such administrations will take place in locations close to the pre-school program but in a separate alcove or room.

When the child is seated before the "Play Box" the Play administrator speaks to the child as follows:

"In this box are some things you can play with. When I open the box you can take out the things and play with them in any way you wish. While you are playing or when you finish I would like you to tell me a story about your playing. Do you understand? OK now, are you ready?"

In addition to the responses to the Play Box, data will be collected on the child's family background, developmental history, social class and ratings by pre-school personnel.

III. Data To Be Collected

a. Initial response to Play Box, i.e., location and relationship of pieces at 30, 90, 150, and 210 seconds.

b. Duration of play.

c. Total number of words used divided by time (Verbalization Index).

d. First five (or less) pieces used in order.

e. Total number of pieces used.

f. Rating of play response on an integrative (pieces related to fragmentation (pieces unrelated) dimension.

g. Rating of verbalizations on a hostile ↔ neutral ↔ warm dimension.

h. Space relationships, i.e. total area of employment of pieces charted on a grid; distance of furthest objects; highest elevation of construction.

i. Human ratio - numbers of people used in play (including blocks) divided by total number used.

j. Animal ratio - number of animals used (including blocks) divided by total used.

k. Number of transitive or action verbs used divided by total words used (action index).

l. Variety of discrete objects appearing in verbalization (scope index).

m. Affective tone of narrative or story.

When the child has indicated that he has finished playing, the play administrator puts the pieces back in the open box and says to the child:

"Before you go I'd like to play a little game with you. Look at the wooden things in the box and tell me:

1. Which one of the pieces do you like the best?
2. Which one do you like the least?
3. Which one is most fun?
4. Which is the prettiest?
5. Which one are you afraid of?

etc.

These data and others will be coded, punched and subjected to appropriate statistical analyses. In addition protocols of each child's total play response plus background information (with cultural clues systematically extirpated) will be given to competent judges from different culture backgrounds to be rated on dimensions of creativity, aggression, cognitive styles, emotional development, object relationship, etc.

Major Hypotheses

1. Marked intra and intercultural differences in play behavior and style of children will be evident.

2. Despite these differences, common play structures will emerge.

3. Children of "middle class" families irrespective of culture will show similar structural play patterns.

4. Degree and quality of imaginative constructions in play will vary with cultural and family factors.

5. Cultures which subscribe to achieved adult status roles (as compared to ascribed status roles) will produce more complex, inte-
BOWER continued
grative and action related play styles in
children.
6. Children of rural environments and low-
er socio-economic urban environments will
show less structured, integrative, and
concept related play.
7. In all cultures significant relation-
ships will be found between specific play
styles and aggression or hostility.
8. Children producing high play perform-
ances in integration, concept production,
and verbalization will be rated as competent,
creative learners in the first few grades
of school.
9. Children rated as creative and inven-
tive in their pre-school will show signifi-
cant differences in play behavior from other
children including those identified as bright
and competent.
10. Follow-up of children through adoles-
cence and adulthood will confirm centrality
of play behavior as a predictor of selective
aspects of adult functioning.

Conclusion:
This study requires a high degree of qual-
ity and experimental controls. Each cultur-
ally different play site will require a
principal investigator knowledgeable and
experienced in such research. At present
there are four who have been contacted and
have agreed to participate. These are:
Professor Ayse Ilgaz-Carden, Boğaziçi Univer-
sity, Istanbul, Turkey; Professor Kathryn
Noori, University of Isfahan, Isfahan, Iran;
Professor Dina Feitelson, University of
Haifa, Haifa, Israel and myself, University
of California, Berkeley. Other possible
participants have been contacted in Kuwait
and Pakistan. In addition to Middle East
cultures, far east, African, and Australian
samples will be included.

In all instances principal investigators
will be encouraged to seek support for the
study from local and national resources and
to publish their results within their own
country. All data will be collected at UC
Berkeley and final results will credit all
principal investigators. In all instances
where cross cultural comparisons are indi-
cated, care will be taken to avoid value
based or culturally biased comparisons.

ARTICLE

Role Play and Peer Culture
William A. Corsaro
Department of Sociology
Indiana University, Bloomington

In my work on peer interaction in a nursery school I found that role play is important
for children's development and use of social knowledge about the adult world (Corsaro,
1979). However, I also found that role play was a central part of peer culture in the
nursery school. In role play in the nursery school there were numerous examples where struc-
tural features of the adult world (i.e., family role alignments and routines, occupational
routines, etc.) were used by the children as general frames in which play themes were de-
veloped and enacted. However, the children would often spontaneously alter the play themes
in ways which would bend but not radically distort the general frame.

An excellent example of this phenomenon is what I have termed "animal family" role play.
In this type of play the children pretended to be animals and assigned family roles (usually
mother and baby). This form of play contained many of the same features of human family
role play such as enacting family routines (fixing meals, shopping, cleaning, etc.) and an
emphasis on authority and discipline. There were, however, important differences between
human and animal family role play as the following example demonstrates.

Animal Family Role Play
Anita (A) and Brian (B) had been playing for about 15
minutes before videotaping began. Both children were
"night lions" with Anita playing the mother and Brian
the baby. The ground floor of a climbing house served
as a home base for the night lions. Brian had just
returned to the house when taping began, and he was
"screching" loudly to get Anita's attention. I
(researcher, R) was sitting on the floor of the house with a microphone. Three other children (Antoinette, Ant; Donna, D; and Mark, M) were playing near or in the playhouse when Brian returned. These children were not directly a part of the animal family play.

**Transcription**

(1) A-B: You can go over ( ).
(2) B-A: Noo!
(3) A-B: Then watch the program.
(4) A-B: Watch the program!
(5) B-A: I am.

(6) B: Da-da-da-da!
(7) A-B: Watch the television.

(8) R-A: He--the television?

(9) A-R: Yeah.
(10) B: Da-da-da-da!
(11) B-A: It's over.
(12) A-B: Oh, well, that was a short one.
(13) B-A: Didn't you like it?
(14) A-B: Yes, but the television is on channel 5 ( ), ok?
(15) B-A: Ok.
(16) A-B: No-oo! In the important days of America (Sangas). Sangas? What are Sangas? There just a piece of bread. That's all they are.

(17) A-B: Now the news is over. Do you wanna watch Lassie?
(18) B-A: Yeah, How long does it take?
(19) A-B: Um-ah. A hundred minutes. Um-ah, three hundred minutes.
(20) B-A: Ok.
(21) A-B: There.
(22) A: Here I am. Ok, now let's fix dinner.

(23) B: This is an old--

(24) A-R: Here's your dinner.
(25) R-A: Thanks. //
(26) // These are arrows. Ok, there. Those are arrows.
(27) B-A: Ok.
(28) Ant-R: Bam!

**Description**

B is screeching loudly.

Screeches again.

B still screeches.

B now sits on tire in house and looks straight ahead, pretending to watch TV.

Screeches again as he watches.

A shouts at B from other side of house near R. A is pretending to cook a meal.

R wanted to make sure B was pretending to watch TV.

Continues screeching.

Referring to TV program.

A pretends to clean pretend TV.

"It" refers to the program.

B begins screeching again.

Pretends to turn off TV.

Pretends to turn on TV.

A moves to other end of house near R and another girl, D. Ant and M are also playing near the house. Seems to be referring to TV program, but is cut-off by A.

Hands plate to R.

Takes plate from B.

Picks up something.

Ant enters house and knocks R's plate out of his hand and then runs off as A moves toward her.
(29) R-A: She spilled my dinner.
(30) A-Ant: Don't!
(31) B-A: I'm gonna throw 'em at him.
(32) M: And this is orange juice.
(33) Ant-R: Where's your food?
Wa-wa!
(34) A-R: That's skabetti. And
night lions don't eat
with their hands!
(35) R: Oh.
(36) A-R: Yeah, they eat with their
mouths.
(37) R-B: Hey. Stop it.
(38) R-A: Tell him to stop. Tell
him to stop.
(39) M-R: Here's some orange juice.
(40) B-R: Ok. Then.
(41) A-B: Baby! Baby!
(42) R-B: That's enough
(43) R-M: Ok, I already got some.
(44) A-B: Baby, stop it!
(45) B: Wa-wa! Wa-wa!
(46) A: Now get some orange juice.
Now I need jelly.
(47) A-R: Here's some--Oh, this
is hot.
(48) B-A: Who are you talking to?
Mommy?
(49) A-R: Now eat that jelly.
(50) B-A: Can I have one bite?
I wanna get it.
(51) B-A: Mommy, I'm going some-
where.
(52) A-B: Ok.

Ant has now moved to outside of house. B throws arrows (small pebbles) at R.
M has entered house and stands near R and points to a small can. Ant now moves back in house near R and M. R pretends to eat food by taking sand from plate and pretending to eat it. Skabetti seems to be a variant of spaghetti. Volume increases during reprimand about how night lions eat. R now bends head near plate and pretends to eat food.
B now comes over and pushes R's plate from his hands and hits R.

M tries to hand can to R, but R can not take it because B is still hitting him. B now stops hitting and begins licking R. R laughs at this. A now spanks B and tries to get him away from R. B is laughing as A pulls him off R and pushes him gently to the ground. M now pushes orange juice can toward R who declines the offer. A continues spanking B. B pretends to cry and then throws more pebbles (arrows) at R. A immediately gives him another spank for his mischief. A stops spanking B and begins working with dishes again. Ant and M have now moved out of house. A gives plate to R while Ant and M return and play with B near sliding pole in house.

B lifts spoon from plate and pretends to eat. B gets on broomstick horse and gets ready to leave. B now rides off on horse.

This sequence of interaction is typical of all observed instances of animal family role play, and it differs from human family role play in several aspects. First, the children were more aggressive and mobile. Animal family role play always occurred outdoors, and, as was the case in this example, the climbing bars or house served as a home base with the children moving throughout the entire outside yard area. This pattern of movement contrasts sharply with human family role play which was almost always confined to the playhouse area with little movement to or from other locations during an interactive episode. In animal families there was also a great deal of "screaming" and "growling" (mock aggression) among the family members and at children playing nearby. In this particular episode both Anita and Brian "growled" and "scratched" at other children later in the episode.
during their excursions from the home base.

A second difference in the children's enactment of animal and human families was the nature of the relationship between superordinates (mother, father, etc.) and subordinates (baby, pets, etc.). In both human and animal families superordinates spent a great deal of time supervising and disciplining subordinates. However, in animal families the discipline was more physical but less restrictive than in human family role play. The mother night lion (Anita) first verbally reprimands her baby (Brian) (lines 1-7) then spans him for further misbehavior (41, 42). Although the spanking is playful, there is actual physical contact which contrasts with human family role play where subordinates were frequently verbally reprimanded and threatened but rarely punished physically even in a playful manner. On the other hand, animal babies were granted much more freedom to move away from the home or den and play for lengthy periods of time without supervision. In example 3.6 the baby lion (Brian) informs (rather than asks) his mother about his leave-taking and the mother shows no resistance (51-52). In this episode the baby (Brian) was off at play for several minutes before being joined by the mother in another area of the school. They both then returned to the climbing house, but Brian left again shortly thereafter. In human family role play babies had much less freedom of movement and were often not allowed to leave their cribs or beds let alone the house. (c.f., Corsaro, 1979).

A third difference between animal and human family role play is related to the overall nature or structure of the activity. Human family role play was characterized by a series of routines (cleaning, shopping, cooking, etc.) which were proposed and then enacted by family members. Animal family role play, on the other hand, was less structured with family routines interspersed over long periods of unrelated activities which often involved interaction with other children who did not have precisely defined roles in the animal families. Brian (baby night lion) was joined by Mark (who had earlier been in the house but was not part of the family) and they rode broomstick horses until Brian returned to the climbing house. Meanwhile the mother night lion (Anita) also left the house and went riding her broomstick horse with Donna who had observed but not participated in the family role play.

In specifying differences between the children's human and animal family role play my point is not simply that children are learning and using knowledge about human and animal family structure and behavior. Clearly, this is true; animals are aggressive and the young of many species have more freedom of movement than human infants. As the example demonstrates, however, animal family role play is a transformation of human family role play with some elements intact (authority relations, discipline scripts, cooking, and TV viewing), some elements added (more aggressiveness and physical discipline, and less supervision of subordinates), and some elements intertwined (food eaten from plates but without utensils or one's hand).

My point here is that role play involves more than learning specific social knowledge; it also involves learning about the relationship between context and behavior. As Bateson (1956) argues, when the child plays a role he not only learns something about the specific social position but "(he also) learns that there is such a thing as role." According to Bateson the child "acquires a new view, partly flexible and partly rigid" and learns "the fact of stylistic flexibility and the fact that choice of style or role is related to the frame or context of behavior" (Bateson, 1956 as quoted in Schwartzman, 1978:129). The child's mutual recognition of the "transformative power" of play is an important element of peer culture. In this sense animal family role play is "playing at" human family role play which in turn is "playing at" the adult model. This shared knowledge is part of peer culture because it is used by the children to mutually construct a play context which transforms human family role play so that it includes personally valued behaviors like mobility and aggressiveness while at the same time preserving many of the family texts and structures (i.e., authority relations, discipline scripts, and cleaning, cooking, and watching TV routines). As a result in animal family role play the children are mobile and aggressive but still rely on shared social knowledge of human families which is essential for the organization and maintenance of peer interaction.

These data show how the children transform role play based on specific adult models to role play with several interwoven frames or themes and less rigid boundaries. As a result behaviors and activities the children regard as important (physical aggressiveness, mobility, etc.) become part of peer interactive events. In this sense, role play is not only important for the children's development and use of social knowledge, but is also a part of peer culture.

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BOOK REVIEWS


The two sides to be chosen by children are the folk play of immigrant children in the streets or the organized play of the Playground Movement. The author Goodman has already chosen sides. He is playing for Marx and he is a good team player. In his terms the Playground movement is an example of the capitalist colonization of immigrant children for the virtues of industriousness, obedience and co-operation. The story to be told is a lively one, and as the book is the first of its kind, it is well worth the while of the historian of children's play. There is much truth in it. What is omitted is the fight internal to the "capitalists" themselves between those who would allow the continuance of total exploitation, who would permit the one out of five children dying of typhoid, the hundreds killed sleeping in the streets by night as they were run over by fire engines, the fifty a day unnamed babies taken to potter's field versus those who felt that somewhat better conditions might prevail. It all boils down to the question of whether children were dangerous to the streets (holding up the traffic) or the streets were dangerous to the children (killing them). Goodman chooses the former, with a romanticism that is a useful corrective to traditional views, but still insufficient alone. The time period is 1890 to 1914.


This is a cross cultural play sampler which I found most worthwhile and perhaps even a kind of textbook for TAASP (after Helen Schwartzman's Transformations). Despite the title nearly all the articles attempt to show how various kinds of play turn out to be highly functional in the cultures in which they are found. Although an important early point was that prior to city cultures most gathering and hunting people probably spent about a third of their time at playful kinds of activity. By our standards they led a relatively easy life.

There are sections on child play, adult play, and word play. I was particularly impressed by the David Riches article on gambling amongst the Eskimo, demonstrating how the balance of strategy and chance in such games neatly mirrors the context of play. On the hunt, chance elements are dominant. In the settlement strategic and more personally assertive elements come to the fore, each in turn reflecting the sex competition or co-operation required of the playing group. This is an article that grows naturally out of the work of Glassford and Roberts, though neither is mentioned. There is an interesting piece also on Afghan Buzkashi, probably the last, unless we get Russo Buzkashi.


Gardner uses a wide intelligence in discussing the development of children's drawings and this makes his work probably the best on the subject. With Arnheim, Golomb and Goodnow in this field that is no mean achievement. One major question throughout is whether children's drawings are art. By and large Gardner says no, because he requires more meta consciousness than most children can show until seven years or so. This leaves open the possibility that spontaneous drawings are play, but he doesn't develop this idea.

BOOKS MENTIONED

(1) PLAY AND EDUCATION: THE BASIC TOOL FOR EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION by Otto Weininger. Favourably reviewed on practical grounds by TAASP member James Johnson in Contemporary Psychology 1979, 24, 933. (Publisher: Charles C. Thomas $12.75)

(2) PLAYFAIR everybody's guide to non-competitive play, by Matt Weinstein and Joel Goodman. Impact Publishers, PO Box 1094, San Luis Obispo, Calif. 93406.

BOOKS MENTIONED continued

(4) HANDBOOK OF SOCIAL SCIENCE OF SPORT
Editors Gunther Luschen and George Sage.
Stipes Publishing Company, PO Box 526,
Champaign, Ill. 61820.

JOURNALS RECEIVED

Journal of Sport History. This journal began
in 1974. We would like more information
about it.

Newsletter: Anthropology of Work. Number 1,
March 1980. Editors Greaves and Turner,
Social Sciences, University of Texas, San
Antonio, TX 78285. All they need are four
15 cent stamps.

InSport Newsletter from Notre Dame, Ind.
46556. Largely sport history.

60 Park Road, Dartford, Kent.

NOTICES

1. Second International Seminar on Compara-
tive Physical Education and Sport. Dal-
housie University, Halifax, Nova Scotia,
Sept. 23-28, 1980. Details from John C.
Pooley, School of Physical Education,
Canada, BS 315.

2. First Annual North American Society -
The Sociology of Sport Conference. Denver,
Oct. 16-19, 1980. Contact: A. Yiannakis,
University of Connecticut, Storrs, CT.
06268.

3. First ICHPER Europe Congress - Social
Aspects of Physical Education and Sport.
Contact: Wingate, P.O., Israel 42902.

4. First Regional ICSS Symposium. Career
Patterns and Career Contingencies in
Sport. University British Columbia, Van-
couver. May 28-June 2, 1981. Contact:
Alan Ingham, University of Washington,
Seattle, Wash. 98195.

5. ICHPER Congress - "Ecological factors
affecting physical activity in children"
Manila, July, 1981. Contact: Jan Borms,
Vrije University, (P.Ed.) Brussel,
Pleinlaan 2, 1050 Brussel, Belgium.

6. ICSS Symposium - "Physical Culture and
Sport and the Manner of Life" West
Germany, Aug. 18-21, 1981.

7. Fifth International Conference on Sport
Psychology, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada,
Aug. 26-31, 1981. Contact: Box 9-1981,
Station Terminal, Ottawa K1G 4A8.

8. Commonwealth and International Conference
on Sport, Physical Education, Recreation
and Dance. Brisbane, Australia, Sept.
23-27, 1982. Contact: A. Coles, Univer-
sity of Queensland, Australia 4067.

(For most of these announcements we are in-
debted to the Bulletin of the International
Committee for Sociology of Sport.)

9. National Recreation Research Agenda Pro-
ject. --out of the U.S. Dept. of the
Interior. Contact person Shirley D.
Patterson, D.C. 20240. A large program
of research on the leisure needs of the
USA.

Paul Mussen, will have a section on child
play, edited by Greta Fein (Merrill
Palmer), Kenneth Rubin (University of
Waterloo), and Brian Vandenberg (Uni-
versity of Missouri). If you want to be
made available to psychologists, send
these persons your work.

11. From Australia Greg Watson writes that
the University of Western Australia has
a new masters degree in leisure studies
focussing on the social psychology of
play.

12. 1980 Symposium on Leisure Research call
Contact NRSPA, 1601 North Kent St.,
Arlington, VA 22209.

CONTROVERSY: DOES SPORT LEAD OR DOES IT
FOLLOW SOCIETY. PEARSON V. LOY

Kent Pearson of the University of Queens-
land in an article "Cultural Interpretation
in Sport: The Outside World and Pictures
inside Heads" states: Loy asks the question
which he is unable to provide an answer -
"What large and important social concerns
does sport centre upon?" (Loy, 1978:77). He
considers sport achieves legitimization as a
social institution in so far as it fulfills
two main functions.

"Sport fulfills the first and characteris-
tically instrumental cultural
function by mirroring the hegemony
of the American success ideology;
and .... sport fulfills the second
and characteristically expressive
cultural function by providing a
medium and a context for ecstatic
experience in everyday life." (Loy,
1978:79).

Pearson then argues that: the value judge-
ment that sport is not a primary institution
is surely contentious. Making it overlooks
PEARSON V. LOY continued

the significance of a large body of literature on the key role of 'play' in individual development, in social processes and in the generation of culture. It also overlooks much historical detail on the institutionalization of modern sport. When modern 'sport' first emerged and became institutionalized in 19th Century English society it was associated with an ideology very different from the sport Loy is describing. How it has changed and why it has changed are crucial questions Loy does not address, but by suggesting sport is a secondary institution receiving its legitimation because it mirrors American success ideology and provides for ecstatic experience, he implies sport has followed rather than contributed to any shift in ideology. In contrast to this view it can be claimed that, at the very least, sport values have changed as an interdependent part of an overall cultural pattern which has, as a whole, been changing through social processes. Acknowledging this, it probably makes as much sense to claim sport as a master institution which in the public eye, is used to legitimate other institutional sectors (e.g. Politicians using sport to legitimate aspects of the political arena).

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ATTENTION: 1980 TAASP PARTICIPANTS

All individuals who presented volunteered papers at the recent TAASP conference in Ann Arbor, Michigan are encouraged to submit their papers for consideration for publication in the annual TAASP proceedings. Those individuals who wish to have their papers reviewed for possible publication are requested to mail four copies of their TAASP presentation by June 1, 1980 to John W. Loy, 210A Freer Gymnasium, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois 61801. Papers will be evaluated by an editorial board during the summer months and final decisions will be made in early September when the publication contract with Leisure Press has been finalized. Papers may be submitted in the style in which they were originally written. However, papers selected for publication will have to be edited and re-typed to conform to standard length and format to be established for the 1980 proceedings. Information on length and format will be forwarded to the authors when final publication decisions are made in September.