1983 TAASP ANNUAL MEETING: PROGRAM NOTES

The program for the 1983 TAASP meetings in Baton Rouge features a keynote address by Sir Edmund Leach, an invited address by Roger Abrahams, the presidential address by Brian Sutton-Smith, a series of special "State of the Art" Symposia, a variety of volunteered papers, and a special Louisiana Carnival Session. The American Ethnological Society program with "Text, Play, and Story" theme plus the program of the Southern Anthropological Society will also be of interest to the TAASP members.

TAASP sessions are being scheduled in such a way that they do not conflict with the AES presentations. The SAS activities will also be open to TAASP registrants.

It is hoped that these meetings will be the biggest, most stimulating, and most productive in TAASP's nine year history.

But, this success depends on full participation. If you have not done so already, make plans to be there with us! If you wish to present a paper, send a 200 word abstract and your $15.00 registration fee by Nov. 1st, 1982 to:

Kendall Blanchard
P.O. Box 10, MTSU
Murfreesboro, TN 37132

SEE YOU AT BATON ROUGE FEBRUARY 11-14!!!!
CALL FOR PAPERS

RÉUNION DU MARDI GRAS

American Ethnological Society

Southern Anthropological Society

The Association for the Anthropological Study of Play

February 11-14
Prince Murat Inn
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

Conference Themes:  Text, Play, and Story: The Construction of Self and Society (AES)
Civilization and its Discontents: The Burden of Being Civilized (SAS)
State of the Art in Play Research (TAASP)

Symposia and individual papers should fit conference themes, but SAS will accept papers on other subjects. AES and SAS members should send an abstract of 100 words, registration card, and $15.00 registration fee (checks payable to Louisiana State University) by October 15 to:
Miles Richardson/Malcolm Webb
Department of Geography and Anthropology
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge LA 70803.

TAASP members should contact:
Kendall Blanchard
P.O. Box 10, Middle Tennessee State University
Murfreesboro TN 37132.

Papers for the SAS student paper competition should be sent with a covering letter by sponsoring faculty by November 1 to:
Joseph V. Guillote
Department of Anthropology and Geography
University of New Orleans
New Orleans LA 70148.

Mardi Gras is February 15 and chartered buses will take interested participants to New Orleans for a day of masking, parading, and people watching. Bus schedules and ticket prices will be announced in the preliminary program. Due to the high demand, plane reservations to Baton Rouge should be made well in advance of the meeting.
The RÉUNION DU MARDI GRAS, a joint meeting of SAS, AES, and TAASP, will be held from February 11-14 in Baton Rouge, LA. The program is being finalized and local arrangements are underway; now is the time to make your plans—about transportation, accommodations, preregistration for the conference, and the Mardi Gras trip to New Orleans.

I. TRANSPORTATION TO BATON ROUGE

by airplane: Delta, Republic, American airlines
by bus: Greyhound and Continental Trailways
no train service
by car: from the north, U.S. 61 from Natchez
        from the west, I-10 from Lafayette
        from the east, I-12 from Hammond
        from the southeast, I-10 from New Orleans

Limousine and cab service are available from the airport to the Prince Murat Hotel. Car travellers may follow this map to the hotel, located at 1480 Nicholson Drive, near Louisiana State University.

II. ACCOMMODATIONS

Two hundred and forty rooms have been set aside for the RÉUNION, but to secure one of these you must make your reservation by January 15. Write your letter to the following address:
The convention rate is $37 for singles, $43 for doubles, and $6 for each additional person in a room.

III. PREREGISTRATION

A preregistration form for the conference is attached. Please fill it out, include a check or money order for $15 made out to LSU, and mail the form and fee by January 15 to the following address:

Professor Miles Richardson
Department of Anthropology
Louisiana State University
Baton Rouge, LA 70803.

Please do not send cash.

IV. PROGRAM

Feb. 11--Registration and Wine and Cheese Party, 8:00 pm-11:00 pm
Feb. 12--Papers, Symposia, and Panel Discussions, all day
    Cajun Band, Dance, and Cash Bar, 8:00 pm
Feb. 13--Papers, Symposia, and Panel Discussions, all day
    Keynote Address, Cash Bar to follow, 4:30 pm
Feb. 14--Papers, Symposia, and Panel Discussions
    Mardi Gras Masquerade and Cash Bar (BRING YOUR COSTUME), 8:00 pm
Feb. 15--Mardi Gras trip to New Orleans, 6:00 am-11:00 pm

V. MARDI GRAS TRIP TO NEW ORLEANS

Four buses have been reserved for participants who wish to travel to New Orleans on February 15 for Mardi Gras. Reservations, which will be accepted on a first come, first served basis, must be made early; so please fill out the appropriate section of the attached form, add $15 more to your check or money order, and mail the form and fees by January 15 to the address noted above.

Since some buses will leave early to catch the morning parades and some will return late to catch the night parade, you should indicate your preference of departure and return times at the registration desk when you arrive in Baton Rouge. A Mardi Gras Survivors' Guide, which will be included in your registration packet, will provide information to help you choose among departure and return times.

Be sure to bring a costume, because everyone masks on Mardi Gras; a light sweater or jacket, in case the weather is chilly; comfortable walking shoes; and only light-weight portables, such as a wine skin, camera, or umbrella. To enjoy the Mardi Gras trip, you should probably make your return plane reservations for February 16 from Baton Rouge for two reasons: (1) the first bus to return to Baton Rouge will not arrive at the hotel until 5:00 or 6:00 pm, and (2) it would be difficult for you (with all your luggage) to see Mardi Gras, then get through the revelry to the New Orleans airport.

(See next page for Preregistration Form)
ARTICLE NOTE

Folklorist Roger Abrahams has written an interesting theoretical piece for the June 1982 issue of Motif, the International Newsletter of Research in Folklore and Literature. The article, entitled "Play and Games," is an attempt to develop a model for the analysis of play that escapes the limits of ethnocentrically biased interpretation, one that focuses on the real elements of play rather than its generalized forms. As he suggests:

How often...do we see sporting events described as rituals in folklore journals, when what is being discussed is certain elements shared by sports and rituals? But surely there is such a thing as a "pure" game of context and a "pure" ritual in the domain of experience. That is, when we go to a baseball game we know that we are at a game and not a ritual--though there may be certain actions taken within the game that are compulsory, if not obligatory as in ritual states (p. 1).

The basic elements of play are isolated by contrasting play events with both the real and everyday worlds and what Abrahams calls the "serious and especially the potentially transforming ritual" (p. 7). The distinction between different play events is ultimately made clear by addressing the following issues:

1) how they [the play or game events] are framed and named, what their announced rules, ends and means are, including 2) their vocabulary, syntax and conventions of moves... 3) the relative fixity of how they are composed, put together, played out; 4) the ways in which they are prepared for, both by participants and onlookers; and 5) the criteria used to judge their relative success (p. 7).

What emerges is a cultural approach to the analysis of play that treats play as play. The article is particularly timely in view of some general theoretical concerns that emerged at the TAASP meetings in London this past spring. Also, it is significant that the author, currently on the staff at Scripps College, is scheduled to deliver an invited address at the 1983 meetings in Baton Rouge.

Motif is published by the Department of English, The Ohio State University, 164 West 17th Avenue, Columbus, OH 43210.
The title of this paper, "TAASP - A Playful Narrative of an 8-Year Old," elicits an expectation of a story - and indeed this is a story about ourselves. The telling of our story was recently stimulated by our colleague, Edward Bruner, in his recent paper "Ethnography as Narrative," (1982), and from an earlier idea formulated from reading Clifford Geertz's classic piece, "Deep Play: Notes on a Balinese Cockfight" (1972). Geertz attests that the Balinese people are telling a story about themselves, that "the culture of a people is an ensemble of texts, themselves ensembles" (p. 29); "in the cockfight, then the Balinese forms and discovers his temperament and his society's temper at the same time" (p. 28); "societies, like lives, contain their own interpretations" (p. 29).

Contemporary texts, as the cockfight and TAASP, are not only sequential, but creative, generative, and even metaphysical in the Archetypal sense of "imaginary" (Urdang, 1968). In the views of Geertz (1972) and Victor Turner in his Dramas, Fields, and Metaphors (1974) these texts are at least symbolic and metaphoric, thus carrying the weight of cultural assignment. However, in words of Bruner (1982), "ethnographies - anthropologists' texts of people's cultures - . . . are guided by an implicit narrative structure, by a story we tell about the people we study" (p. 2). If, in fact, we are to examine TAASP as a playful text or narrative about ourselves, we need to look at the implicit structure of narrative which reconstructs the past, describes the present, and anticipates the future (Bruner, p. 6). But a true narrative really never ends, for the plot goes on even though the characters change. At the start we know that this author's selective attention, relating, and interpretation are autobiographically oriented, and therein lies the beginning of our playful narrative.

In the beginning. Hmm, What beginning? Whose beginning? Which beginning? Suffice it to say "our" beginning might refer to TAASP's historical Inaugural Meeting in London, Ontario, Canada, May 10-12, 1974, at which the following persons were present; how many do you remember? Margaree Bellows (SUNY, Brockport); Kendall Blanchard (Middle Tennessee State U., Murfreesboro); Evelyn Browne (U. New Hampshire, Durham); Alyce Cheska (U. Illinois, Urbana); Frank Clune (SUNY, Brockport); Judith Jensen (SUNY, Brockport); Anne Pittman (Arizona State U., Tempe); Arthur Rosenberg (Case Western Reserve U., Cleveland); Michael Salter (U. Windsor, Ontario, Canada); Uriel Simri (Wingate Institute, Netanya, Israel); Peggy Stanaland (Eastern Kentucky U., Richmond); Allan Tindall (SUNY, Buffalo); Dawn Margaret Toohey (Long Beach State U., California); Miklos Tottowy (Queen's College, New York); Phillips Stevens, Jr. (SUNY, Buffalo); Delbert Van Dalen (U. California, Berkeley); and David Voight (Albright College, Reading, Pennsylvania) (TAASP, 1974a).

Or might our beginning refer to the planning meeting of two physical educators, Michael Salter and Alyce Cheska on May 26, 1973, at the first conference on NASSH (North American Society of Sport History) at Ohio State University, Columbus, Ohio, when talk of this organization's potential in perspective, people and program was prominent in our conversation. Mike and I, building on my encouragement from an earlier symposium, talked of the need for some further formal collegial format to provide a meeting ground of scholars from many different disciplines to exchange ideas about their play research (Cheska, 1973c).

Another beginning might refer to the meeting organized, called and chaired by Alyce Cheska on April 14, 1973, in Minneapolis, Minnesota at the AAHPERD (American Association for Health, Physical Education, Recreation, and Dance) (Cheska, 1973a). The purpose of this meeting was to coordinate the expressed interest in play research of physical and recreation educators. This organizational meeting was held in response to earlier letters of inquiry sent by Alyce Cheska in late 1972 to some thirty-five persons
identified as publishing research within the general rubric of play. The program was attended by some forty persons. Six scholars presented their research; they were: Evelyne Browne; Eleanor Metheny (U. Southern California, Los Angeles); Denise Palmer (Southwestern U., Marshall, Minnesota and now in Australia); Joseph Royce (U. California, Berkeley); Peggy Stanaland; and John Schleppi (U. Dayton, Ohio). At that meeting I presented an organizational plan for the Cultural Anthropology of Play Reprint Society, an idea first proposed by Joseph Royce in a response letter of my earlier inquiry, and also distributed organizational guidelines (Cheska, 1973b). At this Minneapolis gathering on April 14, 1973, my play-filled dream of the beginning of an organization later to be called TAASP came true! A critical mass of interested scholars had been identified with a proposed plan to set in action.

These beginnings are really only short sentences in the story of play research. We have all read about earlier characters in our story, who called to their colleagues to join in the study of play. The American folklorist Paul Brewster in 1956 pleaded "The Importance of the Collecting and Study of Games" (1956). Indian ethnographer Padmanabachari in 1941 affirmed, "Play patterns are an integral part of all human culture wherever mankind is found and in whatever state of advancement the culture may be" (1941, p. 3). The Dutch historian Johann Huizinga wrote in 1939, "It was not my object to define the place of play among all the other manifestations of culture, but rather to ascertain how far culture itself bears the character of play" (1950, Foreword). In 1907, Chief W. H. Holmes of the Bureau of American Ethnology referring to ethnologist Stewart Culin's compendium Games of the North American Indians, stated, "This paper thus practically creates the science of games and for the first time gives this branch its proper place in the science of man" (1907, p. XL). British father of cultural anthropology, Edward B. Tylor, in his 1881 book Anthropology remarks, "Something has now to be said of games, for play is one of the arts of pleasure. It is doing for the sake of doing, not for what is done. One class of games is spontaneous everywhere, the sports in which children imitate the life they will afterwards have to act in earnest" (1970/1881, p. 174). We can even go back to the Greek historian Herodotus who in 350 B.C. wrote of the importance of playful activities of the Non-Grecian peoples he studied.

But let's begin in the modern context with the advent of scholarly gatherings on play (Salter, 1976). My incomplete record indicates a gradual increase in play conferences in the late 1960s and 1970s toward a virtual explosion today. Some of these conferences, in addition to TAASP's annual meetings, may have been attended by you. Anthropologist Edward Norbeck (Rice University, Houston, Texas) will remember the 1968 symposium on "Personality and Play" held at Duquesne University, Pittsburgh, because he was the keynote speaker. His paper was entitled "Human Play and its Cultural Expression" (1968). Some of us may have attended the December, 1973 AAA (American Anthropological Association) symposium on "The Anthropological Study of Human Play" held in New Orleans, Louisiana (AAA, 1973). There anthropologist Margaret Mead, as panel reactor, concluded that from any worthwhile scientific point of view, anthropologists have never really studied the subject (play). There are a few records here and there of high quality, but in general, these records do not tell you how play and games were functioning in the lives of the people (Mead, 1977, p. 222). Other participants at this symposium were biologist Marc Bekoff; anthropologist Suzanne Chevalier-Skolnikoff; ludiologist Stephen Miller - self-defined as one who studies and practices foolishness; anthropologist Victor Turner, and developmental psychologist Brian Sutton-Smith. The meeting's organizer and chair, Edward Norbeck, stressed, "The . . . goal of the symposium was to discuss: 1) the relevance of the study of human play to the understanding of man and culture, and 2) the relevance of anthropology to the study of human play" (1974, p. 1). At the 1974 AAA annual conference in Mexico City, November 19-24, several papers on play were presented. In addition, an evening meeting was called November 31st by William J. Mayer-Oakes (Texas Technological College, Lubbock) to discuss the interests of anthropologists in "sports anthropology" (AAA, 1974). At that meeting Allan Tindall and I enthusiastically explained our new organization called TAASP to persons present and passed out membership applications to them. Fortunately, among persons who responded to our invitation were Dr. Mayer-Oakes and future TAASP president, John Roberts (U. of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania). At the 1975 San Francisco AAA annual conference held December 2-6 there were two sessions on sport with five presenters each plus two other papers delivered in other sessions. Names some of you will recognize are Allan Tindall (U. California,
Berkeley); Phillips Stevens (SUNY, Buffalo); Kendall Blanchard, Karl Heider (U. South Carolina, Columbia); Carole Henderson (York U.); Susan Boyd Steere (U. Montana, Missoula); Joan Chandler (U. Massachusetts, Amherst); William Mayer-Oakes (Texas Technological U., Lubbock); Claire Farrer (U. Texas, Austin); Frank Manning (Memorial U., Saint Johns, Newfoundland, Canada); and Alyce Cheska (U. Illinois, Urbana) (AAA, 1975).

Now let's pick up the threads of our TAASP Inaugural meeting eight years ago, May 10, 1974. To head the twelve person Steering Committee we elected Michael Salter as Chair and Alyce Cheska as Secretary-Treasurer. The working committees sound familiar: Constitution, Membership, Nomination, Program, Time & Site, and Budget. At that time the annual dues were set at $10.00 for regular members, $5.00 for students, $20.00 for institutions, and $200.00 for life members. We decided that a Newsletter would be distributed to the membership three times a year; and we planned to publish our conference Proceedings and to consider a journal in the future. We started plans for a 1975 symposium with several sites offered: Windsor, Ontario; Richmond, Kentucky; and Reno, Nevada - you see we knew even then about a playful atmosphere (TAASP, 1974a)!

From that point on TAASP made remarkable strides as a focus, fulcrum, and filter for play scholars in varied academic disciplines, agencies, and professions. Our membership increased from that first London meeting of seventeen to 266 in 1981, including 45 members holding Fellow status. Our conference sites have dotted the continent: London, Ontario, Canada (1974, 1982); Detroit, Michigan (1975); San Diego, California (1976); Atlanta, Georgia (1977), South Bend, Indiana (1978); Henniker, New Hampshire (1979); Ann Arbor, Michigan (1980); Forth Worth, Texas (1981). Various organization with whom we have met jointly include: NASSH (North American Society for Sport History); AES (American Ethnological Society); Central States, Northeastern, Southern, and Southwest Anthropological Societies; SAA (Society for Applied Anthropology); and SCA (Society for California Archaeology). All but one of these organizations is anthropologically oriented.

One early mark of TAASP was our phenomenal fortune in obtaining scholars of stature as our annual conference keynote speakers. As I reviewed them I was proud they joined us and intrigued that most interpreted play as paradox or dilemma; maybe the unpredictable chameleon nature of play is tantalizingly elusive to us as theorists. Our first keynote address in 1975 was presented by anthropologist Edward Norbeck; in his paper he pointed out to us the gory legacy we owe to play theorist "Johann Huizinga and the Study of Play" (Norbeck, 1977). The practice of the annual keynote address was established. In 1976 developmental psychologist and current incoming TAASP President Brian Sutton-Smith challenged us with his paper "Play, Games, Sports . . . Socialization or Innovation?" (Sutton-Smith, 1976, 1977). In 1977 anthropologistpsychologist Gregory Bateson (U. California, Santa Cruz) graciously accepted our invitation, speaking on "Play and Paradigm" (Bateson, 1978). This was one of his last appearances before his death in 1980. (I still have the tapes of these three inspiring addresses.) In 1978 our own Past President, anthropologist John Roberts (U. of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania) presented his work, "Behavioral Space Analysis and Games of Physical Skill." Many of us remember in 1979 sociologist developmental psychologist Mihaly Csikszentmihaly (U. Chicago) surprised us by his provocative analysis, entitled "Some Paradoxes in the Definition of Play" (Csikszentmihaly, 1981). (Many of us expected an update on his flow theory.) Sociologist Norman Denzin (U. Illinois, Urbana) in 1980 offered a symbolic interactionist's view of the "Paradoxes of Play" (Denzin, 1982). We well remember anthropologist Victor Turner's (U. Virginia, Charlottesville) foray into "Play and Dreams: The Horn of a Dilemma" (Turner, in press). And, in 1982 we are honored with biologist Robert Fagen (U. Pennsylvania, Philadelphia) who led us into "The Perilous Magic of Animal Play."

We must not forget the pioneer woman scholar of children's games in United States who last April received TAASP's first Recognition Award. All of us remember this delightfully frank, vivacious educator/ethnographer, 82 year old Dorothy Howard, who claimed our hearts as she remarked, "If I have been a pioneer on play research--as Brian Sutton-Smith says--I wish I could have blazed a wider trail through the forests and over the mountains of academic arrogance, ignorance, and indifference for you who now struggle to till the soil, plant and harvest facts and knowledge, wisdom, and understanding for the purpose of nourishing and cherishing the young of our land" (1981, p. 7).

The TAASP Presidential Address's tenuous tradition began indirectly in April, 1976, when Allan Tindall submitted his position paper written for TAASP, "Questions About Physical Education, Skill and Life-Time Sports Participation," to UNESCO's first inter-
national conference of Ministers and Senior Officers Responsible for Physical Education and Sport for Youth. He suggested that the major difficulty of the terms sport and physical education and their place in education (Tindall, 1976). He proposed establishing operational meanings of the terms sports and physical education essential for exchange. In 1977 retiring President Michael Salter's address reviewed "TAASP - Past, Present, and Future." This was Mike's own narrative of our history (Salter, 1977).

In 1978 Past President Phillips Stevens challenged "Play and Work - A False Dichotomy" (Stevens, 1980). No address was given in 1979; however, with President John Roberts' 1980 paper, "Expressive Complementary in Games," the custom re-appeared (Roberts, 1982). We remember John Loy's 1981 presentation, "Science and Sport in Comparative Perspective: A Normative Analysis of Sociological Ambivalence," which brings us to today (Loy, 1982).

I examined the breadth and breath of our conference papers. From 8 in 1974 to 69 in 1981 we generated a total of 320 presentations with an average of 4.43 papers per member (TAASP: 1974c, 1975, 1976, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1980, 1981). That record is remarkable - it also means that most of us are immersed in research. My quick analysis of the content of our conference papers shows that the five most frequently presented subjects in descending order were: 1) ethnography (15%/N=49); 2) theory (13%/N=42); 3) ritual (7%/N=24); 4) sports (6.8%/N=22); and 5) child socialization (6.3%/N=20). These were followed by environmental factors and equipment (5%/N=17) and biography (4.1%/N=13). Other categories in descending order included ethnographic film, humor, speech play, fantasy, gambling, organizations/agencies, research methodology, toys, festivals, etc. The content areas presented by only two or one also are of importance, showing to what we are paying little attention. These included, clown, linguistic analysis, mass media, physiology of activity, poetry, art, course content, dance, prison, religion, and song.

A similar content analysis of 46 feature articles appearing in the TAASP Newsletter from 1974 to 1981 shows content frequency in descending order: 1) theory (17%/N=8); 2) ethnography, including games (15%/N=7); 3) ritual (9%/N=5); followed by two articles each of fantasy, folk tales, pre-history, ritual, sex differences, simulation (30%/N=14); and 4) thirteen articles of single category such as dance, gambling, toys (28%/N=13). Percentages were rounded off to the closest whole number. (TAASP, 1974-1981b).

The publication of our Proceedings through the excellent cooperation of Leisure Press, West Point, New York and its President, Dr. James Peterson, is a proud tradition of TAASP. As you recall, our annual proceedings series started with the 1975 conference papers edited by David F. Lancy and the late B. Allan Tindall (27 papers), entitled The Study of Play: Problems and Prospects (1976, 1977). The 1976 proceedings, Studies in the Anthropology of Play: Papers in Memory of B. Allan Tindall, were edited by Phillips Stevens, Jr. (24 papers) (1977). The 1977 proceedings entitled Play: Anthropological Perspectives (21 papers) was edited by Michael Salter (1978). The 1978 proceedings, Play and Culture (31 papers) edited by Helen B. Schwartzman (Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago) was published (1980); followed by 1979 proceedings, Play as Context, (26 papers) edited by Alyce Taylor Cheska (1981); and the 1980 proceedings just off the press is Paradoxes of Play (24 papers) edited by John B. Loy (1982) and finally in press is our 1981 proceedings, The World of Play, edited by Frank Manning (in press). We have developed a fine treasure chest of ethnography, theory, ritual, and sports, and child socialization, literature representing the current research in play in United States. No library of a serious scholar in play should be without the complete series of these seven matching volumes!

Our most important legacy has been left until the last, the vision and capabilities of our leadership. Because we are such an active, innovative organization, our leaders are young - oops, with a few gray-haired exceptions who are also young in vision. Our formal structure is loosely followed. Never let it be said that in the Cailloisian sense, we are more ludic than païdal! We seemingly have been more concerned with productive sharing of ideas than with implementation of service programs. Our major contributions in my estimation are: 1) the Annual Conferences as a place to share ideas; 2) the Newsletter with its quarterly collegial communication of ideas; 3) the Proceedings as an annual selective compilation of our member's research; and 4) the cross-discipline exchange and comraderie by phone, mail and face-to-face conversation.

We are living in exciting, changing times. TAASP's story has been one of creative people, stimulating ideas and organizational exuberance of the child which will in some
ways predict our future. We may in one sense remain always as an 8-year old enjoying the playful narrative. In another sense, we may grow in competence and stature to enhance the quality of our shared experience. For all the TAASP Presidents before me; Michael Salter, B. Allan Tindall, Phillips Stevens, Jr., Helen B. Schwartzman, John M. Roberts, and John W. Loy - and for those who come after, starting momentarily with Brian Sutton-Smith and then Kendall Blanchard - we each have in our own "beginning" tried to improve the TAASP story. But remember, TAASP is only 8-years old. Old enough to cognitively see relationships, but maybe not mature enough yet to move forward with a strong action program. We should ask ourselves what narrative we want the TAASP President to relate at our decade or score year's conference? Who will be the leaders? You sitting here - if you want to be! What new texts will be assembled? Truly TAASP's playful narrative will be written by each of us and contain our own interpretations.

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Norbeck, Edward

Norbeck, Edward

Norbeck, Edward

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Tindall, B. Allan

Turner, Victor

Turner, Victor

Tylor, Edward B.

Urdang, Lawrence
THE TAASP CHALLENGE, 1983

Kendall Blanchard, President-Elect

Professional organizations, like civilizations, go through various stages of development, from pre-formative and formative through fluorescent and classic eras. Seemingly, TAASP is on the threshold of its florescence as a significant interdisciplinary organization, a circumstance facilitated by the fact that play has come into its own in the academic community. Writers unabashedly suggest that the origin of language may be related to the play process, that language may be a form of play, that play is therapy, that play is a factor in personality development, that play is the virtual solution to the riddle of human nature. Yesterday an idea; tomorrow a paradigm.

I remember, just several years ago, using TAASP stationary in correspondence with academic colleagues and getting such reactions as "You're not serious, are you?" "Hey, that's cute." "Is that something like the National Procrastinator's Society?" or "TAASP, eh? If you're just trying to be funny, why not The Association for the Advancement of Silly Putty?" But, things have changed. Now, when I use the stationary in writing to colleagues outside the organization, they cut out the logo and paste it to their kid's motorcycle jacket. That's something!

Actually, TAASP has come a long way. It was born in a flurry of possibilities, has survived a series of identity crises, and is now on the edge of maturity. It is appropriate as we face this impending passage, that we be candid about the organization and its objectives. What follows is a list of issues and concerns that I feel must be addressed in 1983 if TAASP is to survive its success:

1. TAASP must increase its membership. Some important strides have been made in recent months, but we are far short of the 350 members that I think are essential to the continued viability of the organization.

2. The organization must refine its conceptualization of "anthropology" as an interdisciplinary umbrella capable of comprehending every imaginable approach to the study of play, sport, and games.

3. TAASP must cement ties with other professional organizations, encourage their participation in TAASP events, and explore all possible cooperative ventures.

4. TAASP should participate in professional meetings and conventions other than its own, sponsoring special programs, providing displays, and organizing symposia. TAASP should be identifying and coordinating the play interests in the various linguistics, folklore, sport, physical education, recreation, art, dance, humor, psychology, education, child development, history, and sociology as well as anthropology groups.

5. TAASP should be maximizing the potential of the Newsletter. The Newsletter has gone through several stages of development; it has seen both good times and bad. But, too often the Newsletter has been viewed as a thankless editorial job first, and an important scholarly medium, only second. TAASP has a responsibility to its membership to collect, and funnel information on current developments in the general area of play research: books, major articles, meetings, funding sources, research.... In order to fulfill this responsibility, the Newsletter editing job description must be expanded. I envision the following:

   a. An editorial board that assumes ultimate responsibility for the logistics of publishing a newsletter.

   b. An editor that is responsible for the collection of general information about play related events and organizational activities and handles the jobs of typing, printing, and mailing.

   c. A book review editor that solicits books from publishers and authors and farms them out to willing TAASP members for thorough review, and

   d. An "issues and comments" section in which topics germane to sport and play research are addressed by members of the organization with legitimate "axes to grind."

6. TAASP must continue to explore the possibility of publishing a professional journal (e.g., The Anthropology of Play). If the membership grows and the academic interest in play continues to expand, both a large enough market and sufficient supply of quality submissions would be available to support such a venture.

These are only one member's views on the problems that face TAASP in 1983. I would appreciate your comments directed to the newsletter editor, regarding concerns that you have and important directions you envision for the future of the organization. Whether or not you are inclined to write, I trust you will join us in Baton Rouge, prepared to grapple candidly with the issues.
BOOK REVIEWS

As is the case with the present newsletter, in future we will strive to obtain two independent reviews for books submitted. In this issue my thanks to Phil Stevens and Ken Blanchard for their reviews of BUZKASHI.....by Azoy.

BUZKASHI: Game and Power in Afghanistan.


by Phillips Stevens, Jr.
Department of Anthropology
State University of New York at Buffalo

Afghanistan is synonymous with political uncertainty. The formal, decorous protocol which governs interaction at the state level is a thin veneer; the history of internal socio-political organization is a violent one. Traditional Afghanistan, indeed, provides examples of what despairing political analysts used to call "ordered anarchies," but what social anthropologists have known as principles of complementary opposition. If there was any single way to the people, it was through the khans, personages who in various ways built up name, "name," or reputation. But neither a capitalist democratic nor, as the Soviets are discovering, a Marxist socialist mode of government can accommodate the ancient and seemingly paradoxical system of loyalty/rivalry, cooperation/opposition, upon which the authority of the khans was maintained. Traditional Afghanistan was not anarchical, there were mechanisms of control; but vital to political control was competition. But it was simultaneous competition at several different levels. "If you want to know what we're really like," an informant told the author before he had begun the fieldwork which led to this book, "go to a buzkashi game." The reader soon becomes aware of how deceptively simple this advice can be; the observer of buzkashi can get caught up in the action of the game itself and lose sight--or never be aware--of the operation of the larger system, as seems to have been the fate of the 50 or so Soviet soldiers who were slaughtered at each of two buzkashi games in northern villages in 1980. Whitney Azoy has attempted, in this short book, not to describe the system--indeed, he might readily admit, the whole system defies "description" in any ethnographic sense--but to elucidate the principles upon which interaction at the various levels of the system takes place, and to give some sense of prevailing sentiment and motivation of the people, from a perspective which cannot be gained through diplomatic channels in Kabul. He took on an enormously difficult task. An anthropologist who has conducted fieldwork in a system of exceedingly complex yet fragile and constantly shifting social networks can appreciate the pains-taking effort he must have expended. His affection for the people and for tradition is obvious in his presentation, and his personal involvement sometimes seems about to threaten his objectivity; and yet he is able to effect the detachment necessary to his aim. The result is a good, solid anthropological study--and one which, as we are all too aware, it might never be possible to do again.

The focus is buzkashi, the ancient game in which hundreds, even thousands of men on well-trained horses jostle violently for brief control of a mutilated calf carcass. F. G. Bailey, in his Stratagems and Spoils (Oxford, 1969), had advised that politics be viewed as a competitive game. Azoy turns Bailey's simile around; here, the game is viewed as politics. The game is a unique spectacle. "No other event [save some special Moslem occasions] gathers so many people together in traditional society" (p. 11), and from all quarters this heterogeneous nation. But a focus upon the game itself does not elucidate the political system. The subject of study must be the tooi, the entire celebration of which the game is symbol. The ostensible reason for a tooi is a male rite of passage, a circumcision or a marriage. But it involves a long period (sometimes years) of careful planning, control of a complex and sensitive human support system (the gaum), and access to wealth, most significantly in the form of debts owed to the sponsor which the debtors can repay (and thereby increase their own prestige) in the form of prizes. An anthropological parallel to the buzkashi tooi that comes most readily to mind is the potlatch of the Northwest Coast. A shrewd business sense coupled with sharp political acumen are requisite attributes of any would-be sponsor of a buzkashi tooi. The game can continue over many days; the tooi, from preparation through "aftermath," can occupy months. But through careful analysis of the tooi, the principles that govern the dynamics of traditional Afghan life are revealed.

Traditional buzkashi is of the tudabarai form; victors are those who can wrest the calf carcass "free and clear" of the surging...
mass of horsemen and, triumphantly alone, drop it outside. Many individual victories are thus gained, and the glory of the strongest and most skillful horsemen (chapandazan), and the khans for whom they ride, is thus enhanced. The relatively recent garajal form of the game, imposed by governmental and public agencies, approximates sport, with a demarcated field and a winning (and losing) team. The concept of "team" is strange to traditional participants. This is the form in which the game seems destined to continue, if it can, indeed, continue; but as garajal succeeds tudabarai, so too the traditional socio-political system apparently succumbs to the imposition of new authority from above.

Azoy deals competently, sensitively, and safely with the traditional system. Similar sensitivity, quite obviously, would be unsafe for a reporter of recent and current events; but his discussion is factual and his observations low-key, and one gets the feeling that he is fully aware of the implications, both for future research and for his traditional confidants, of incautious judgement or prediction. Yet we are left with the subtly-communicated awareness that traditional buzkashi, and the sense that tooi is life itself, live on in the spirit of the people. This is a fascinating study, representative of a careful job of fieldwork and good systematic analysis, and is surely destined to be regarded as exemplary.

I have, however, one observation, and a few small criticisms. On pp. 70 ff. Azoy describes two toois, the first having occurred before his arrival, and the second he witnessed himself. The first is described as truly grand and nearly flawless at every stage, and is remembered with shameless hyperbole; the second seemed doomed from the outset, was seriously flawed at nearly every stage and level, and is remembered as having merely happened. Taking due note of the author's emphasis on the complexity and frustrating unpredictability of traditional Afghan social interactions, and cautioned by Murphy's law, I am reluctant to believe that the first tooi was as flawless as it was remembered to be. I am tempted to speculate that these recollections from which Azoy compiles his description of the event demonstrate a quite natural process of the selectivity of human memory (and the very stuff of oral tradition). I would suggest that an extraordinary, even just a good, tooi can easily be transformed by the collective memory into a totally flawless one; and such glorification enhances the deserved prestige of sponsor and managers. It is pointless to remember little lapses, and no one would presume to smudge the glory of a khan by telling of this or that fight, insult, act of disloyalty, etc. And, certainly, the degree of exaggeration of remembered details is itself indicative of the status of the tooi. The researcher should be aware of the potential operation of such factors which can affect orally-transmitted accounts of past events.

As to criticisms: Azoy has drawn on play theory, and remarked on the "sense of perceived separateness from the serious stuff of day-to-day reality" (p. 8) experienced by chapandazan, but he does not pursue this. What is it like to play buzkashi? Tradition (which can work its way into legend by the process I have indicated above) is replete with accounts of serious wounds, mainings, even gory and painful deaths on the buzkashi field. What do the competitors feel, are they aware of why and for whom they are competing, as they compete? Or are they caught up in the "flow" experience, elucidated so well by Csikszentmihalyi as being central to play? And Azoy nowhere mentions catharsis as a function of buzkashi participation, but he quotes from a celebrated chapandaz his account of how, so eager was he to get into the game, he handed his new watch to the first man he met and told him to take care of it. He was a stranger to me, but I was in a hurry. They were already playing. I got right in the game. Afterwards I looked for the stranger, but he was gone. So was the watch, but it was a good buzkashi. (p.8) The play element is clearly there, the total absorption, hence it certainly has a cathartic component.

There are occasional lapses in style and awkwardness of grammatical construction, although care is taken to avoid jargon and to define terms. This latter effort, however, could have been greatly assisted by the inclusion of a glossary. Afghan terms usually are italicized and defined only once, and sometimes their definitions appear several pages after their introduction. Without an unusually sharp memory, even the very careful reader must interrupt his flow to turn to the index, to be referred back to the first instance of use of the term—and hope that it is also there defined. A glossary would have been easily compiled and extremely useful.

** ** **
Buzkashi. The word may sound like a highly seasoned Hungarian goulash, but it is not something one will find on a menu. Buzkashi is a physical, high competitive Afghani game in which men on horseback struggle to gain control of a dead calf. Like many other sports buz kashi is played in various ways and circumstances and has social dimensions that make the game more than just a game (for another recent description of buz kashi, see Balikci, 1978).

Azoy is interested principally in the social aspects of buz kashi, describing it as "commemoration, metaphor, and arena;" specifically, "commemoration of cultural heritage," "metaphor for unbridled competition," and "arena for political process" (p. 11). While the first two topics are addressed, albeit minimally, it is the third that dominates the volume. Buzkashi is an important political mechanism in Afghan society, and the struggle over the calf carcass is both an analogue and a factor in the quest for power. This is the book's essential theme.

Power in the loosely structured and highly fluid political institutions of northern Afghanistan is largely charismatic. The power of any khan is never secure, so that he must remain alert to the impressions he makes on his public. Political life is a complex and ambiguous, process of personal image grooming and impression management.

The complexity and ambiguity of the political process in Afghani society are brought into the buz kashi arena. A khan and his men have much at stake in a buz kashi game, and there are many considerations. Who is sponsoring and hosting the match (in the classic tool buz kashi, the toot-wala)? Who else has been invited? What about the audience, the cost for travel, the facilities? There are the strategies for victory, competition for prizes, display of power and wealth, and concerns about rules and order. But, most importantly, there is the struggle for prestige. The political machinations that surround the game rival, the social intricacies of Geertz's (1972) "Balinese Cockfight" in their complexity and seriousness.

It is the ambiguity of play that makes it particularly appropriate to a discussion about buz kashi and Afghani political life. Azoy is never clear as to what he means by "play," concluding only that it is ambiguous (p. 11). At the same time, he admits that the book is really not about play but about the social significance of that play. The "play element" is only background. Buzkashi as sport, play, or game remains secondary to its political definition.

Despite the author's de-emphasis of play as subject, the book is an important contribution to the anthropological study of sport and play. If nothing else, it reaffirms the potential of sport studies as means of interpreting and understanding culture process. Azoy's intermittent references to buz kashi as symbol (E.G., pp. 128-130), for example, are beautiful illustrations of that potential.

The book is fascinating reading, in the classic anthropological sense. It also has a variety of possible classroom applications (e.g., sport, play, symbolic anthropology, political anthropology).

If the book has problems, they are minor and do not detract from its value to the literature. Like all books these days, it is too expensive. Also, it seems to lack conclusiveness, as though there should be another chapter. However, this may be consistent with the author's frequent reference to game and politics in Afghanistan as ambiguous. Then there is the comment on the dust jacket: "Azoy has given us the first full-scale anthropology of a single game." I think not. In the first place, Buzkashi is not a detailed analysis of the game itself, by the author's own admission. Secondly, there have been other, more thorough anthropological treatments of specific games. Mooney's (1980) "Cherokee Ball Play" and Firth's (1931) "Dart Match in Tikopia" are only two of these. Nevertheless, I know from experience that in most cases the author is not to be blamed for dust jacket copy, so that this exaggerated appraisal of the book's significance should not be viewed as an indictment of its contents.

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Plans are well underway for the 10th annual TAASP meetings to be held in Clemson, South Carolina, March 28-31, 1984. TAASP will be meeting with the North American Society for the Sociology of Sport -- NASSS -- and in conjunction with the annual Clemson Conference on Sport and Society. Joe Arbeta, Clemson historian and director of the Clemson conference, and Barry McPherson (NASSS President) will be in Baton Rouge for the '83 meetings. At this time more final plans will be discussed with the TAASP council.

Objectives for the 1984 meeting include:

1. An overarching theme that ties together the interests of the various societies.
2. An attractive program facilitated by the pooling of financial resources.
3. A large, interdisciplinary, attendance; and
4. A dialogue among the several groups, and discussion of possible future cooperative efforts.

The program chair for the 1984 TAASP meetings has not yet been named. However, any program suggestions you might have can, and should, be directed to:

Kendall Blanchard
P.O. Box 10
MTSU
Murfreesboro, TN 37132

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TAASP TO SPONSOR PLAY SYMPOSIUM
1984 Pre-Olympic Scientific Congress

TAASP will sponsor a special symposium on play at the Pre-Olympic Congress, July 19-26, 1984, at the University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon.

The symposium theme will revolve about the anthropological study of play in its broadest interpretation. If you have appropriate research completed, in progress, or anticipated which you feel could be part of the symposium, contact Brian Sutton-Smith, TAASP President, Graduate School of Education, Department of Folklore, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA 19174.

The Scientific Congress is being sponsored by UNESCO and plans are underway to bring scholars from developing countries to the Congress. If you wish to submit the names of such worthy scholars, please send them to Brian.

In Africa some natives beat the ground with sticks and give off blood curdling yells; the anthropologists call this primitive behavior. In the United States we call it 'GOLF.'
VILLAGE TRAINING/SCHOOL TRAINING: COMMENTS ON THE MANUFACTURE OF TOYS IN THE PRESENT SOCIETY OF THE IVORY COAST.

Chantal Lombard
Paris, France

The young villagers of the Ivory Coast are accustomed to get together to play and make various objects necessary to their games and play. Toys are manufactured by strongly structured groups of children whose cultural traditions are alive and who are recognised as autonomous by the whole village; it is indeed a juvenile society which occupies a specific social space within the village community. This juvenile society is an institution whose aim is to welcome and teach groups of children.

The Baule children of the Ivory Coast gather in small groups of children of the same sex aged between 6 and 12, the older ones looking after the younger brothers. Such play groups are based on the principles of independence and responsibility, adults intervening only very seldom.

As from the age of 7, boys carve wooden objects when they are not busy helping in the fields.

The Baule children use green wood which they pick themselves in the bush; they have tools given to them by their parents such as: machete, chisel, gouge and knife. They use a piece of broken bottle for polishing and make a paint brush with a small stick and a cotton flower. Earlier on children made their own paints, but now they buy their paint ready-made at the market.

In most Baule villages, boys carve animals familiar to their environment: pangolin, rats, mice, poultry, birds, elephants, etc.

How do the boys learn these techniques? The Baule have two systems of apprenticeship: on the one hand, knowledge passed on to the child by the father or an adult; and on the other hand, knowledge passed on to a younger child by an older one.

The apprenticeship passed on by the parents is transmitted by educational toys or by example, the adult inviting the child to copy him. Among educational toys we find the rubber teat, the tricycle which the child pushes to learn to walk, and the hoe and the pounder which are lent to boys and girls alike to enable them to take part, at play level, in the adult activities. If at the beginning adults watch over children to teach them the proper gestures, they are soon left to themselves to learn and to correct themselves.

Children's crafts

Generally speaking, boys carve these animals for their own pleasure. In some villages linked to the railway, however, children have been able to set up workshops for the manufacture of toys which they then sell at the train stops. This children's commercial drive is based on artistic tradition.

The boys are their own providers within the framework of this craft. They get their wood from the bush, make designs which they like and which they decorate according to their own fantasy and then sell between 50 centimes and 2,50 F each. They keep the money so earned. Part of the earnings is spent on buying paint.

This craft illustrates the recent importance given by the Baule to making money. In the past wealth was collective and ostentatious: it consisted of possessions passed on by ancestors and was a sign or token of family unity. Individual members of the family did not possess any money of their own, money was exchanged at weddings in the name of someone and for someone. Individual ownership of money is a new phenomenon, one developed by women. Children also have the right and the desire to have savings. Within the family and from a very early age, they are responsible for one chicken for which they'll be given money.

Westernization also penetrates in an insidious fashion and offers prestigious external models making country and town people dream alike.

* Dr. Lombard is an anthropologist who did her thesis on children's toys as described in this article. She is currently on a Fulbright Exchange Scholarship in the USA studying at the University of Pennsylvania and elsewhere (BS-5).
Industrial toys of the young country people

An Ivory Coast village hidden in a clump of trees is not an enclosed environment, tracks link that village to others and every day lorries, coaches and taxis bring in town or country people.

In many villages, the original earthen huts have been substituted by a more robust type of dwellings with corrugated iron roofs.

Many are the connections with the town: country people go to town for a market, young people go and spend several months or even several years in town to find a better paying job. When there is no school in the village, young children are sent to stay with a relative living in town. Children who remain in the village witness these comings and goings and look with a keen interest at the various objects brought back by this town people; they touch the bicycle, the radio and the spectacles which are rare and glamorous objects; then they go and try, in their own way, to reproduce these magic objects.

In the villages, the boys' activities are regulated by the seasons. During the dry season and on days when they are not working in the fields, they hunt, pick wild berries and fruits or cut raffia which the people from the Ivory Coast call bamboo after the colonial fashion, and with which they make toys. The rachis from the raffia is a complete material: pegs are carved from its hard bark while the core can be cut in pieces of varying thickness; the flexibility and plasticity of this material lends itself to making curved shapes (bicycle handles or wheels with spokes). Raffia can be used in conjunction with other materials such as cardboard, wire and rubber; it can also be stained with chalk or paint.

For the manufacture of toys, children organise themselves in workshops, the designers use the help of trainees who carve the pegs. Manual craftsmanship is a component of the system of value of the Baule's culture; a chief might be proud of his large family and wide fields as well as of the beautiful loincloth he wove. Every single manual achievement is submitted to collective approbation; a child makes a car, plays with it in the house yard and then shows it in the small village lanes.

The actual act of making the toys constitutes a game itself. The maker finds his reward in the collective admiration granted to him by his people. This is the showing off function of the toy.

Children aged 10 - 12 won't play very long with the toys they make; they will give them to younger ones who will invent new games with these toys. These young manufacturers show great observational talent and remarkable craftsmanship; they discover the technological principles which make a bicycle work although their eyes cannot detect the mysteries of machines and engines. A Vespa, just like a transistor radio, will become a beautiful model but will not work. The child spontaneously acquires an experimental approach, he takes measurements, checks the compatibility of forms, but cannot discover all by himself the actual working of most technical objects.

Within the traditional culture, the child used to participate in the making of all the tools necessary within that culture; however, in our modern world that child witnesses the arrival of fundamentally new and glamorous objects of which he is a consumer and not a producer. He compensates his feeling of inferiority by producing himself the objects of his dreams.

The wire cars of the town children

In town, children use different techniques and materials. Primary school children have Thursdays and Sundays to play about in the house yard; the streets offer different sources of inspiration than a walk in the bush. The streets of Buake are the great favorites of the wire cars drivers.

Materials are collected in the streets around workshops; they need wire of various thicknesses and tire inner tubes. As tools they use pliers to cut the wire, scissors or a razor blade to cut the rubber, and a cylindrical box as a mould for the wheel. This technique of assembling wire cars creates a real problem for the researcher; how did this technique originating from colonization ever emerge? How was it propagated.

This manufacturing technique is very flexible; boys can change the forms (from the 2 CV to a dream or fiction car) they can add new components (lighting, seat upholstery) they can complement the basic principle.

Boys distribute the various tasks amongst themselves just like in a real production workshop; they often work for more than four hours to finish their car project.
These manufacturing games illustrate the importance of the car. A Mercédès is the car of a senior civil servant, is seen crossing the village streets in a cloud of dust and thus one knows the whereabouts of the "sous-préfet". The car is the very first objective of the young person who has just made it, it is a symbol of success. Children live their mechanical dreams by driving their fragile vehicles, they copy the driving gestures, turn the steering wheel and put their hands on the gears.

Thus the passage into modern life leads to the surrender of traditional values for those of a consumer society, transmitted by way of expensive and glamorous objects far beyond the means of most Baule people. The tragic spectacle of factual alienation is compensated for in the dream of the children's play.

Children's games and play just like their toys are the witnesses of a culture undergoing a radical change; children are very sensitive to the technical environment and expect their school to give them the means to produce these technical objects.

School impact

The school, a new and foreign institution, has come to overthrow the old and social architecture which the Baule village represents. Social relations are not the same any more, new values have taken the place of the old ones.

Transformation of social relations

At times the transformation of social relations created real disruptions. Indeed, the school environment, originating from the colonial settlement, created a complete change. The school master and his pupils constitute a separate group whose members speak a different language, organise their activities independently from the agricultural life, talk about "European affairs" with the help of books and in between walls. The school makes a selection and teaches an esoteric knowledge, creating values which drive the young people to leave the fields and go and work in offices. For the country people, adults and children alike, this image of the school represents treachery. Indeed within the vertical relations adults were an active, ingenious, securing model. The school deprives them of this very valorizing status in favour of the teacher. The teacher's model is that of the "white collar", the man whose knowledge is in his head and who only occasionally works in the field. The African teacher, of rural origin, knows that he must teach new matters at school otherwise he will lose his very "raison d'être", the traditional system having proved its efficiency. The teacher is felt to be an innovator and so he sees himself. The image of the teacher is stimulating for the child: the teacher tells him about new things, he introduces the child to the modern world showing him books and pictures and opening up for him the mysteries of the written words and of external communications.

Within the field of technology and of plastic expression, the basic educational school television programmes have enriched the Baule children. There is access to new materials and to new techniques, and introduction of subjects whose sources of inspiration are external to the village. The children used to experience these activities as an extraordinary moment of the week whereas they are now daily realities in the village. Indeed all plastic activities have always been considered somewhat exceptional in the colonial school, the teachers used to organise a school fête to present the various school activities to the parents and for this occasion the children made toys and sometimes prided themselves on reproducing a European object or an object decorated according to the European standards learned at school. Often too they made a beautiful toy according to the traditional standards of the village. In the school, the plastic activity is structured and thus different from the free activity of the village children.

Horizontal relations between pupils of the same form, are very different from those of children belonging to the same age group; the constitution and the actual working of a form are not based on the principles of co-operation and freedom. The children gather together at a given time, to do a precise task, assigned from outside by the teacher. Is there a feeling of competition and of co-operation as within the age groups? The answer is not a straightforward one. The teacher keeps the school competition going with the help of the system of marking and of passing exams, the successful outcome of which is a must to be able to pass on to the next form. Success in school is a scale of value for a given type of behaviour: the studious child is quite different from the dynamic leader of an age group. School competition exists, but it only deals with the intellectual qualities of the child while the age group demands moral, intellectual and physical qualities from the child. School activities are less varied than those of the age group and do not
help the complete development of the child. Within the school, co-operation is sometime
originated by the teacher who assigns certain tasks to a team; but co-operation is spone-
taneous within the minorities of the form - a group of girls or a group originating from
the same village. We have also often noted co-operation between members of the same
family with the older one helping the younger one during rest periods and outside the
school.

A group of pupils differs from the same age group that stays behind in the village,
children who go or went to school constituting a minority. This minority is envied;
these children have a knowledge which older people do not possess, and they are called to
different future than the one awaiting the young country children. Nevertheless school
children take part in the various activities of the children of their age, most of them
combining the two cultures. However their relations to the adults are different, they are
not so likely to accompany their parents, they are not so interested in working in the
fields or in nature, they can progressively pull away from the Baule culture. The Baule
culture was open to all alike, the school culture belongs to the teachers who progressi-
vely initiate the children into a new knowledge. The school gives the children an improved
status, the children becoming a promise of knowledge and change, although simultaneously
they become dependent on an institution which will lead them at the pace and on the path
it chooses.

Traditional cultural values disappear, making way for new values. The balance between
work and spare time, personal expression and participation in the community, are rejected.
The school children devote themselves to intellectual work external to the family group,
and lose their social weight as active agents of the community; their spare time occupa-
tions are defined in opposition to their school work, these occupations representing their
moments of freedom from the various tasks assigned at school.

By giving the teacher the position of leader, school pedagogy does not encourage very
much the types of behaviour which lead to personal discoveries. The teacher is there to
pass on to the children a knowledge which they would not otherwise discover. The informa-
tion comes from above, without the help of intermediary age groups who could adapt it and
illustrate it with personal experiences. In the Baule village, the school teacher acquires
a status that no chief ever had. Indeed he is respected and listened to without ever
having to prove his wisdom. Children easily accept this adult presence within their activ-
ities, they save themselves the trouble of finding their own occupations and of thinking
for themselves. To them, the teacher's knowledge appears to be "the knowledge of success"
and their families encourage them to digest this new and foreign knowledge. Traditional
education did not require a specific children's environment within which suitable specific
activities and standards were adapted; the school, on the other hand, it a conscious
attempt to create such a specific environment where adults design and plan a series of
behaviours for the children.

To this emptiness created around the African child, the school brings a conditioning
structure. The juvenile society, left to itself, had to invent its own activities and to
progress according to its own rhythm, but the teacher is in charge of his form to which
he assigns activities and rhythm.

Within the school environment, children learn to work, and to develop their intelligence
and their social life, they aim at an intellectual success which will give them a better
future and well-being. Knowledge acquired at school does not help the children's integra-
tion into the village culture, rather the opposite happens... this very knowledge keeps
them apart from their own families as they cannot communicate it to them. Adults have
acustomed themselves to looking upon this school knowledge as a knowledge totally exter-
nal to their own culture. We watched a children's game learnt from school television:
although this game had a Baule version, the parents, proud of their school-going children,
did not even think of teaching them the Baule version of the game.

The school, which came from outside, exists to prepare the children for a different
life. The status of a school child differs deeply from that of the non-school Baule child:
- The school children do not enjoy the independence of the young villagers who do not
attend school and are not masters of their own physical environment; they are materi-
ally dependent on their family. They are not integrated into the social network of
the age group or of the village life, they fail to see and to participate in this
village culture made of proverbs, rules of conduct, and cultural subtleties.
- The school children enjoy privileges; family's hopes rely on them; their domestic
tasks are lighter; their family gives them financial support.
- The school children versus the non-school children lose the happy integration into
the family circle and life but they gain the opportunity of unfolding to the ex-
ternal world and gain the ability to make their family benefit from external inno-
vations. They are respected and independent.

Far from killing all creativity, the school can stimulate and help to develop it. This
creative potential must be guided through the recognition of its quality as personal ex-
pression and by opening the door to new technology. Children come to school with their
toy cars, they should be able to leave school capable of fitting an engine in their toy
cars. If the school is to welcome the traditional know-how and to integrate scientific
knowledge, it must review its methods and objectives.

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PARADOXES OF PLAY TO BE REPRINTED
WITH CORRECTIONS

All contributors read two letters below!

October 11, 1982

Dear Editor:

I wish to record that I was mildly put off by Anna K. Nardo's letter to you which was
printed in the last issue of this newsletter. As editor of The Paradoxes of Play I can
readily attest that there was no one more upset than myself by the error-filled publi-
cation of the sixth annual TAASP proceedings. But, as I pointed out in a letter to every
contributor and in a long personal letter to Dr. Nardo, the reason for the errors in print
was an effort of "sabotage" by the printers rather than the fact that authors were not
sent galley proofs from the press. For example, some of the most blatant errors appeared
on the title page and in my "preface" and I can assure you that the galley proofs for
these parts of the manuscript were error free when submitted for final publica-
tion. Moreover, I would like to once again assure every author that I personally went over
the galley proofs of every article (save one) and corrected each against the original manu-
script of a respective author.

Needless to say, I was not keen to assume the burden of proof reading all manuscripts,
especially since the majority of authors failed to fully follow the APA guidelines set
forth. However, in past years both TAASP and Leisure Press have experienced grave diffi-
culties because authors did not return galley proofs in a reasonable time period. Thus,
in order to save both time and monies as well as to attempt to meet a belated publica-
tion deadline, I personally corrected all galley proofs within a five-day period.

Finally, I note that Miriam Lamb of Leisure Press and myself informed each contributor
to The Paradoxes of Play that in view of the many errors the volume would likely be re-
printed and authors were accordingly requested to submit discovered errors in their papers
to Leisure Press in order that they could be corrected in a revised edition. But as a
recent letter from Ms. Lamb (October 5th) makes evident, very few authors honored our
mutual request.
Dear Contributors to The Paradoxes of Play:

Because of time demands and lack of secretarial support, I cannot write each of you a personal letter. However, I want to once again express on behalf of myself and Leisure Press our mutual regret about the many errors which appeared in the publication of the sixth annual TAASP proceedings. More importantly, I want once again to urge each of you that has not already done so to carefully proofread your published paper (keeping in mind APA guidelines) and send a list of detected errors and required corrections to Ms. Miriam Lamb, Managing Editor, Leisure Press, P.O. Box 3, West Point, N.Y. 10996.

I have responded to a recent letter (Oct. 5, 1982) from Ms. Lamb indicating that Leisure Press is willing to reprint Paradoxes of Play if all contributors will submit their corrections. I have duly requested that Leisure Press issue a revised and hopefully error-free edition of The Paradoxes of Play.

Sincerely yours,
signed John W. Loy
John W. Loy, Editor, The Paradoxes of Play

* * * * * *

THE WORLD OF PLAY
Frank E. Manning, Editor

The selected proceedings of the seventh annual meeting of TAASP, edited by Frank Manning, will be available in the late fall of 1982 (so says Frank).... The contents of the volume are as follows:

Part One: Introduction
1. The Scholar as Clown: An Approach to Play
   Frank E. Manning

Part Two: Leisure and Culture
2. Pride and Fever: Two University Sport Promotion Themes
   Janet C. Harris
3. Heroes in Black and White: The Meaning of Racism in American Sport
   Dan C. Hilliard
4. Playing the Game in Mainstream America: Race Track and Casino Gambling
   Vicki Abt and James F. Smith
   Stephen Conn and Judith B. Marquez

Part Three: Risk, Rite, and Power
6. Classic Game, Classic People: Ball Games of the Lowland Maya
   Michael A. Salter
7. Anti-School Parodies as Speech Play and Social Protest
   Marilyn Jorgensen
8. Play Theory and Cruel Play of the Nineteenth Century
   Brian 'Blue' Sutton-Smith
9. Hamlet and the Tragedy of Ludic Revenge
   Phyllis Gorfain

Part Four: The Ludic Construction of Reality
10. Metaphor and Play Interaction in Young Children
    Michael Bamberg
11. "Mommy, Let me Play with my Friend:" the Mechanics and Products of Peer Play
    Nancy Budwig, Army Strange & Michael Bamberg
12. A Narrative on Play and Intimacy
    Diana Kelly-Pyne
13. Privileged Play: Joking Relationships between Parents and Children
    Kathleen F. Alford
   Linda A. Hughes

15. Child-Structured Play
   Helen B. Schwartzman

16. Play and Drama: the Horns of a Dilemma
   Victor Turner

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

Well done, Frank!!!!!
## Officers from 1974-1983

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<td>Anna K. Nardo(81-83)</td>
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(In conjunction with American Ethnological Society and Southern Anthropological Association annual meetings)
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  Baton Rouge, Louisiana

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