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ARAB CHILDREN'S PLAY AS A REFLECTION
OF SOCIAL INTERACTION PATTERNS
OF THEIR CULTURE

by

Lorraine Mary Khouri

A Dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School at
The University of North Carolina at Greensboro
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Doctor of Education

Greensboro
1976

Approved by

[Signature]
Dissertation Advisor
This dissertation has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of the Graduate School at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

Dissertation Advisor

Committee Members

Date of Acceptance by Committee
The purpose of this study was to investigate social interaction patterns of an Arab culture as reflected by play of the children in the country of Syria. It was hypothesized that the games and play activities of the Arab children would reflect social interaction patterns of their culture, and that the games and play activities could be identified and designated with regard to interaction patterns. It was also hypothesized that social interaction patterns of the Arab culture could be described and categorized. Further, there would be differentiations as to who participated in varied games and play activities. For this study, the investigator was concerned primarily with the social interaction patterns of cooperation and competition.

The research technique utilized for this descriptive study was that of participant and non-participant observation. The data were collected throughout a six week-period during the summer months of May and June, 1975 in Damascus, Syria. Children between the approximate ages of five and twelve were the subjects for the study. In addition to the children, Arab people living in Damascus were observed and informally interviewed to gain insights and knowledges regarding their culture.
In preparation for the study the investigator prepared a taxonomy to be used in analyzing and classifying games and social interaction patterns of the culture. For each of the 108 games and play activities recorded, the following elements were described: name of activity, equipment needed, number of players (including sex and age), rules governing action, results, strategy, where the game was played, and frequency of observation. Later, each activity was classified as one of physical skill, strategy, chance, rhythm, mimicry, aggression or other. Finally, the play activity or game was categorized as to elements of competition, cooperation, or neither.

Social interaction patterns of the Syrian culture were organized according to guidelines suggested by Mead et al. For the purposes of this analysis, they were arranged in four sections: (1) the study of economics, (2) the social organization and social structure, (3) the view of life, and (4) the educational process. The data collected on the games and play activities and social interaction patterns were analyzed and compared.

Within the limits and design of this study, it was concluded that the games and play activities of Arab children reflected social interaction patterns of their culture. Competitive patterns which tended to prevail within their culture were also prevalent in the games the children chose to play. Behavior exhibited by the children during play contributed to a strong atmosphere of competition within the games and play
activities.

The social interaction patterns that were described showed that interaction among family members tended to be cooperative with some competitive practices, particularly among siblings. Outside of family life the interaction patterns tended to be strongly competitive.

Finally, in differentiating among the participants of various games and play activities, there were slight differences. A little more than half the activities recorded were of boys and girls playing together. Of the remaining games, males played a slightly higher percentage of the competitive games and the games of physical skill and mimicry. Females, on the other hand, chose a few more games of strategy and rhythm.
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Sincere appreciation is extended to Dr. Celeste Ulrich, chairman of the dissertation committee, for her assistance and guidance, and to the professors who served on my committee.

I am particularly indebted to my aunt and uncle, Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Saad, and to their family and friends, for their hospitality, generosity and assistance during my stay in Damascus. I am also indebted to the children in the neighborhood where I lived in Damascus who, through interviews and demonstrations, helped me to gain additional information about their games.

My thanks are extended especially to Buff Wang for being the second coder and tabulating the games as well as for assisting in other parts of the study, and to Dolores Bogard for her editorial assistance.

To my mother, who accompanied me to Syria and offered continuous support, and to friends who encouraged and assisted me throughout the course of this study, I am grateful.
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Games and play activities form an integral part of all cultures. They represent basic values of the society in which they are found and seem to fulfill an important function for the learning and maintenance of behavior patterns. The belief that games and play activities reflect the cultural environment in which they are found is supported by the literature. It has been stated by Devereux, "that children's games and play activities represent miniature and playful models of a wide variety of cultural and social activities and concerns" (19:52). Inferences have been made that values, ideals, social structure, social relations and even the character of a culture may be deduced from an examination of the play forms which predominate within it (25, 50).

Studying the play of children as it reflects the social interaction patterns of the culture is one approach in attempting to understand another culture. It is reasonable to assume that if games and play activities do reflect the culture in which they are found, then the social interaction patterns of the culture should produce some impact on the types of games the children play.
A review of the studies dealing specifically with play forms as they reflect the cooperative and competitive patterns of a culture reveals that this area has not been a major dimension of research study. The few studies completed in this area include: Glassford (25) with the Canadian Eskimos, Eifermann (21), and Shapira and Madsens (62) with Kibbutz children of Israel, and Nelson and Kagan (49) comparing Mexican and American Children.

Inasmuch as there are so few studies regarding the cultural reflection in children's play, additional studies should be a contribution to knowledge in this area. The effect of cultural influences through the study of children's games and play activities may contribute to a better understanding of the culture. Because of her Syrian background, this investigator selected the Arab country of Syria in which to conduct such a study.

This study is concerned with the games that Syrian children, ages five through twelve, play of their own accord when they are free to play what they want to play. The social interaction patterns of their culture are assumed to have influenced the choice of games made by the children.

Statement of Purpose

The purpose of the study was to investigate social interaction patterns of an Arab culture as reflected by play of the children in the country of Syria.
Statement of the Problem

The specific problem investigated was the relationship of the games and play activities of children in Syria to social interaction patterns manifested in an Arab culture.

Hypotheses

The following hypotheses were made:

1. The games and play activities of the Arab children reflect social interaction patterns of their culture.
2. Games and play activities can be identified and can be designated with regard to interaction patterns.
3. Social interaction patterns in the Arab culture can be described and categorized.
4. There will be differentiations as to who participates in varied games and play activities.

Research Site

This study was conducted during May and June of 1975 in Damascus, Syria. Syria, an Arab state in the Middle East, lies in the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea and shares a coastline with Lebanon, Israel, and Turkey. It has been an independent, self-governing country since 1946. Before that time it had been dominated by many different forces, each of which had a different influence on its cultural development and educational system.

Damascus, the capital of Syria, is famous as the oldest continually inhabited city in the world. Located in the
southwestern part of the country, it is surrounded by mountains and divided by several rivers flowing through the city. The long summer from May to mid-October is hot and dry with temperatures above 100 degrees. Rain falls only during the cold winter months of December to March.

There is a large rural immigration into Damascus making the city very heavily populated. There are over 1,500,000 people living in Damascus, 85 percent of whom are Moslems, 12 percent Christians and the remaining 3 percent are of other religious persuasion.

Subjects

Children between the approximate ages of five and twelve served as subjects for this study. For most of the six-week period of observation the Syrian children were relatively free from school and other responsibilities. They spent most of their time playing out-of-doors. Daily visits were made by the investigator to the different parks and neighborhoods throughout the city for observation of children playing in the streets, neighborhood alleys, parks, vacant lots, and along entry ways and on staircases of their homes. Approximately two to three hundred children were watched during the observation period. Throughout the first four weeks of observation new activities were noted daily. The last two weeks produced no activities which had not been
recorded previously.

Social interaction patterns of the Syrian people were observed in the family unit, in the business atmosphere, on television, and in the streets.

**Design of the Study**

This descriptive study utilized the following research techniques: (1) non-participant observation, (2) participant observation, (3) informal interviews about play with a selected sample of children, and (4) informal interviews with adults for additional information about the culture.

**Scope and Limitations of the Study**

This study was confined to the geographic area of Damascus, Syria. Children observed ranged in age from five through twelve years. Data were gathered in a limited amount of time and during one season when the weather was pleasant enough for people to be out-of-doors. The investigator's inability to read and write Arabic and to understand different Arabic dialects was a minor limitation.

Several assumptions were made:

1. That children would be free to play out-of-doors during the duration of the study.

2. That informal structured games of children between the ages of five and twelve years would be least affected by Western influences, and thus would maintain some of the ethnic qualities which might be lost with games played by
older children.

3. That an interpreter would be available, if necessary.

4. That the background of the investigator with regard to Syrian ancestry and professional physical education training would create a sensitive and astute observation ability.

**Definition of Terms**

**Culture** was defined as "the total shared, learned behavior of the members of the group or society or period being studied" (46:11).

**Arab** was defined as any one who speaks Arabic as his or her own language, lives in an Arab country, feels as an Arab, and identifies with Arab problems.

**Play and Games:** The traits which are commonly selected by other researchers as characterizing play, and which were selected for this study, include: play is voluntary participation and a freeness accompanied by a feeling of joy; it is limited in that it begins and ends; it has a quality of make-believe and it has rules that are freely accepted. **Games** were defined as "recreational activities characterized by organized play, competition, two or more sides, criteria for determining the winner, agreed upon rules" (60:597).

**Social Interaction Patterns** were defined as behavior of people whose interrelated roles are worked out in conjunction with one another. Interaction of the individuals follows the
patterns provided by the culture. The processes of interaction concerned with this study were cooperation and competition.

**Competition** was defined as "the act of seeking or endeavoring to gain what another is endeavoring to gain at the same time" (46:8).

**Cooperation** was defined as "...the act of working together to one end" (46:8).

**Organization of the Remaining Chapters**

The remaining chapters are organized in the following manner: Chapter II contains a review of literature deemed pertinent to this study; Chapter III includes the procedures used to conduct the study; Chapter IV presents the analysis and discussion of data; Chapter V consists of the summary and conclusions; Appendix A contains sample forms used for data gathering, for the tabulation of social interaction patterns, and for the tabulation of games and play activities; Appendix B presents tabulations of the data gathered; Appendix C consists of a description of the games and play activities.
CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

Literature pertinent to this study shows that play activities and games are not regarded merely as pastime activities but as an important influence on the formation of individual and social character. With the help of games "members of a society learn about and 'play at' the workings of their society" (1:182).

Very few studies have been published relating specifically to games as they reflect the social interaction patterns of the Arab culture. Consequently, the review of literature must be generally rather than specifically related to this study.

The review is organized into three sections: play activities and games as a reflection of the culture in which they are found; social interaction patterns; and the Arab culture.

Play Activities and Games as a Reflection of the Culture

The first part of this section relates to play as a reflection of the culture in general. It is followed by an examination of studies dealing specifically with play and games in primitive or simple cultures, and then a review of the work dealing with games in modern or complex cultures.
Schiller, one of the first philosophers to give recognition to the importance of the historical significance of play in cultural development, is cited by Glassford as suggesting that "it might be possible to deduce the character of various cultures from an understanding of the games and playforms which predominate within it" (25:70). Huizinga (32) expanded this concept by analyzing the cultural limits of play and demonstrating its importance in the development of civilization. Since then, a number of scholars (6, 17, 32, 37, 42, 45, 59, 60, 65) have contributed significantly to the cultural understanding of games and play. Their findings support the belief that "the nature of games reflects, or is shaped by the cultural environment in which they are found" (25:70).

Several anthropologists and psychologists have examined the relationship of games and play activities to child-rearing practices. Roberts and Sutton-Smith, who have provided a large and significant body of evidence on games, conducted one of the most encompassing studies relating to this subject. In order to systematically investigate the relationship between games and culture they utilized a classification system for identifying games. Games were categorized on the basis of outcome and included:

(1) games of physical skill, in which the outcome is determined by the player's motor activity; (2) games of strategy, in which the outcome is determined by rational choices among possible courses of action; and (3) games of chance, in
which the outcome is determined by guesses or by some uncontrolled artifact such as a die or a wheel. (59:166)

The classification of physical skill is subdivided according to characteristics present in the game. Where only the defining attribute of physical skill is present the games are of pure physical skill; where rational decisions also influence the outcome, the games are of physical skill and strategy. Fencing and football fall into this category. A game such as musical chairs falls into yet another category where chance is an added factor to physical skill. Where all three factors are present, there are games of physical skill, strategy and chance. Games of strategy, where physical skill is lacking, are subdivided into games of pure strategy (chess), and games of strategy and chance (bridge). Games of chance must have no attributes of physical skill or strategy and, therefore, cannot be subdivided (4).

The study conducted by Roberts and Sutton-Smith on child training and game involvement was designed to determine if variations in the distribution of games among cultures throughout the world, and in game playing of American children and adults, were related to variations in child training. A list of child-training ratings for 111 societies was used. Boys and girls were rated for child-training procedures with respect to responsibility, obedience, and achievement. The rating provided information on the degree of rewards received
for behaving in a particular way (59).

The findings of Roberts and Sutton-Smith showed that obedience training was associated with a culture stressing games of strategy, responsibility training with games of chance, and achievement training with games of physical skill (4, 59). Further, it was noted that games of physical skill tend to predominate in societies which stress achievement and success as important life goals. Games of strategy which simulate war and combat were found mostly in societies with complicated social and political structures, and finally, games of chance were found to reflect a society's religious practices and beliefs (4).

Roger Caillois (6), a French sociologist, constructed a four-fold classification of games based upon game description and game behavior. His classification included games of agon (competition), alea (chance), mimicry (pretense), and ilinx (vertigo). In addition, Caillois described the behavior of the player in terms of paidia or ludus. Paidia represents non-regulated and informal forms of a given classification. The formal, rule-bound, institutionalized aspects of a specific game is represented by ludus.

In studying the games of English children, Opie and Opie (52) identified, described and classified more than 2,500 games. They recorded games of children in England, about six through twelve years of age, who were playing in the streets and playgrounds. The categories in their classifi-
cation system included: (1) chasing games, (2) catching games, (3) seeking games, (4) hunting games, (5) racing games, (6) duelling games, (7) exerting games, (8) daring games, (9) guessing games, (10) acting games, and (11) pretending games. The investigators considered that the preliminaries to a game, from the child's point of view, were as important as the game itself, and therefore, included another section in their classification called "starting a game." Much of the fun, and much of the learning as well, occurred during these ritualized but self-organized preliminaries (52).

Opie and Opie concentrated on games that required no equipment, that were played spontaneously without adult leadership and that were passed along by the children for generations without ever having the rules written down (52).

Games in Primitive or Simple Cultures

Examples of the interrelationship of games to simple cultures are found in studies of the Maoris (65), the Fijians (64), the Samoans (20), and the Canadian Eskimos (25). The games studied tended to reflect basic social organization and behavior patterns existing within each culture.

The development of physical abilities is an important aspect in the education of these primitive people. In many cases, learning to work is accomplished through learning to play, and certain cultural values and attitudes are transmitted through games, dancing, and athletic contests.
Children are taught to swim at an early age not only for self-protection but also for pleasure and for their vocational pursuit as adult fishermen. Customs and rituals at festivals commemorating births, deaths, marriages, and social events also include games.

Through reviewing the literature on the New Zealand Maoris, Stumpf and Cozens (65) found that games are utilized in a deliberate attempt at adjustment to environment and for training in social activities and practical endeavor through which the child becomes a useful and responsible member of a community. The Maoris recognized the value of games and sports for training in self-confidence and self-control, and also as opportunity for cultivating physical skills, resourcefulness, self-reliance, adaptability and initiative. Cozens and Stumpf maintained that games, for the Maoris, are a means of promoting tribal loyalty and solidarity, and an outlet for healthy competitive urges in an otherwise cooperatively organized social structure.

Dunlap's (20) historical study of the Samoan culture was undertaken to determine the manner in which games and other vigorous recreational activities entered into the total Samoan culture of the early 19th century, and to discover changes which were brought about in Samoan activities through culture contact. She found that, except for a few changes, the force of culture contact to which the Samoans were subjected made little difference in their vigorous
recreational life; and although new games were introduced into the Samoan culture by foreign missionaries, such games were soon modified to take on the traditional play customs of the Samoans.

By a review of ethnographical reports Glassford demonstrated how the games of the traditional Canadian Eskimo "tended to reflect the maximum cooperative patterns of organization which tended to prevail within their culture" (25:81).

Games in Modern or Complex Cultures

Norbeck (50) presented a paper entitled "Human Play and Its Cultural Expression" at the Institute of Man Symposium on Personality and Play. He discussed the play preference of the Japanese and commented on the activities found in Japan as they relate to the customs and values. Of particular importance in the Japanese culture is the avoidance of physical contact with others while in public. Baseball and skiing are preferred over football because they maintain physical and social distance. Achievement and hard work are of extreme importance in Japan. The desire to perfect one's performance in any competitive activity is demonstrated by the amount of time and effort devoted to practice. Rules and order are found in play which reflect other activities in the Japanese life.

Seagoe (61), in studying Japanese children's play, found a consistent emphasis on informal social games which, she felt, might be the key to understanding much of the
Japanese culture.

Much as Japanese play reflects the cultural values of order and social distance, play observed in America tends to reflect such values as achievement, health and fitness, organization, and the democratic process. In American games, effort is made to equalize teams. According to Ulrich:

Play can foster any sort of organizational understandings that are relevant to the situation, but in the United States play has a tendency to be democratic, both as a reflection of the culture and as a guide to the culture. (72:108)

Comparing the types of games played in simple cultures, to those played in more complex cultures, Roberts and Sutton-Smith (66) concluded that cultures where only games of physical skill are found are relatively simple cultures where there is need for an emphasis on self-reliance as in hunting and fishing. Across a wide range of cultural complexity, games of chance as well as games of physical skill are found. At a higher level of complexity, Roberts and Sutton-Smith found cultures possessing games of strategy. Where all three types of games are found the cultures are reportedly the most complex.

From the level of a simple or primitive culture to a more complex or modern culture, games and play activities are socializing agents, serve as cultural transmitters and are an expression of attitudes inherent in the culture.
Kupferer stated,

The degree to which play is elaborated in any given society is contingent upon the complexity of the human society in which it is found, and moreover, to the belief of that society. So that, play is related to the economic system, the structure of the family, the religion and the values of that society. (38)

Social Interaction Patterns

By definition, society implies an interrelatedness of people. The entire social process involves values which have been fostered by the culture. Actions are directed toward the attainment of these values. When individuals or groups hold reciprocal expectations concerning one another's behavior then a social relationship exists, and people tend to act in a relatively patterned way (39).

Recognized patterns of social processes include cooperation, competition, conflict, accommodation and assimilation. Social interactions are "classified according to the number of people involved, the degree of intimacy between individuals, and the nature or the pattern of the process" (72:95).

Inasmuch as cooperation and competition are the major interaction processes relevant to the present study, only literature directly related to those subjects was reviewed. The concepts of cooperation and competition have been used to refer to a wide variety of situations. As used in this review, they refer to behavior directed toward the same goal by at least two individuals.
In the cooperative situation the movement of one member of a group toward the goal will to some extent facilitate the movement of others toward the goal; in the competitive situation the movement of one member toward the goal will to some extent impede the movement of other members toward the goal. (18:130)

It has been noted by Deutsch (18) that there are probably very few, if any, life situations which are purely cooperative or competitive; rather, most situations of everyday life involve both processes. Cooperative behavior is generally considered more appropriate in certain group settings than in others. The closer the relationship, as in a family and a play group, the greater the chance for cooperation. As social distance increases, such as in the economic world, the greater the chance for competition (5).

There are several subtypes of competition; absolute, where only one person can be the winner; relative, where several winners are possible; and personal and impersonal. In personal competition competitors are in face-to-face contention, while in impersonal competition the individuals or groups do not face each other. Other competitions are matters of degree where no one expects to attain all the rewards, but effort is made to secure as much as possible or more than anyone else (16).

Cooperation, too, takes several forms. The most obvious form consists of behavior which results in loyalty to a common cause. Antagonistic cooperation occurs when individuals must organize basic opposing interests for the purpose of arriving at a settlement. In the case of mutual dependence
of two or more persons, cooperation may result. It is often necessary that members of a group must cooperate in order to compete against another group, or the groups must cooperate in order to compete against each other. Finally, cooperation may result when there is a superior and it is the only way to attain desired goals (16, 72). According to Cuber,

No society is entirely co-operative or entirely competitive. Differences are matters of degree. Thus, we may say that both co-operation and competition are sub-cultural forms of interpersonal and inter-group interaction. (16:614)

A comprehensive inquiry on competition and cooperation was written a number of years ago by May and Doob (43). They set forth four questions to serve as a framework for guiding concepts in describing and understanding all forms of competitive and cooperative behavior in any situation and in any culture.

First, why do individuals compete or cooperate? Second, for what things do they compete or cooperate? Third, with what persons do they cooperate at all, or compete rather than cooperate, or cooperate rather than compete? Fourth, in what manner do they compete or cooperate? (43:7)

To assist researchers in finding answers for these questions, May and Doob have set forth the following guidelines which are applicable to most investigations.

1. The culture of which the competing or cooperating individuals are a part should be specified. For a knowledge of the culture gives the observer some insight into the goals, persons, rules, and performance of the situation....

2. The personality of the investigator himself should be specified. If the social form of behavior is being investigated, then it is clear that it is the outside observer who perceives what is taking
Place and that his own perception is at least partially a function of his personality....

3. The life history of the participants should be specified....

4. The interpretations of the competitor's or cooperator's own experience or his introspections should be specified.... (43:173-4)

Guidelines three and four have been regarded by the authors as somewhat idealistic, since more often than not it is not possible to obtain much data.

Margaret Mead (46) and a group of collaborators studied cooperation and competition among primitive peoples of thirteen cultures. Their work was an attempt to assemble material about primitive societies in anticipation of research in the field of more complex societies. Sources of information included old published material, as well as more recent material; studies prepared by field workers; consultation with ethnologists who were working in these cultures; and unpublished materials collected over a long period of time. The analyses and conclusions were drawn from the material as a result of guiding questions prepared at the beginning of the research. These guidelines included questions pertinent to the subjects of economics, social organization, political structure, social structure, view of life, and the educational process. After analyzing the data, Mead found that it was possible to classify each of the cultures in terms of its major emphasis, as cooperative, competitive, or individualistic. It was noted that no society is exclusively competitive or exclusively cooperative, and
the very existence of highly competitive groups implies cooperation within the groups.

The literature includes a few studies dealing with cooperation and/or competition and games. A study by Eiffermann (21) on cooperativeness and eqalitarianism in Kibbutz children's games was conducted to determine whether the particular mode of life in the Kibbutzim expressed itself in the children's play and distinguished the Kibbutz children from those in other areas of Israel. The unsupervised play of children, six through fourteen years of age from two Kibbutz and two-rural area schools, were observed over a two year period. Local teachers, with a local coordinator, recorded the play activities of the children during a ten-minute recess period. The name of the game, number of participants, and sex were recorded. A detailed description of each game was obtained through interviews and demonstrations following the initial observation.

An elaborate classification of games was used according to the "number of parties (competitiveness), type of grouping (cooperativeness vs competiveness) and symmetry (egalitarianism)" (21:580). Results of the study showed that children's games in the Kibbutzim tend to reflect the values of cooperation and egalitarianism prevalent in the surrounding adult communities. Competition is present in the games of the Kibbutzim children, but cooperative behavior is predominant within competing play groups.
The findings of Eiffermann are supported by the work of Shapira and Madsen who studied the cooperative and competitive behavior of Kibbutz and urban children in Israel. Forty children from the Kibbutz and forty children from the city of Mt. Carmel participated in the study. Experiments were conducted with the Madsen Cooperation Board.

This board is 18 inches square with an eyelet fastened to each of the four corners. Strings strung through each eyelet are connected to a metal weight which serves as a holder for a ball-point pen filler. A sheet of paper is placed on the board for each trial, thus recording the movement of the pen as Ss pull their strings. Because the string passes through the eyelets, any individual child can pull the pen only toward himself. In order to draw a line through the circles, the children must work together. (62:611)

Four children from the group worked together. In the first experiment rewards were given to each child in the group every time a line was drawn over the four circles. In the second experiment each child had his own circle and each time a line was drawn across one of the circles the child whose name was on the circle got the prize.

For the first experiment there were no significant differences between city and Kibbutz groups; however, when individual rewards were given out the city children changed their tactics. They became more competitive and continued to behave competitively even when they learned these procedures did not pay off for any of them. The Kibbutz children continued to work cooperatively to the extent that they tried different tactics to ensure that each person received
an equal number of rewards. Shapira and Madsen concluded that when cooperative behavior was adaptive, children of the Kibbutz were generally able to cooperate successfully for maximum performance, whereas urban children were usually not able to do so. (62:617)

Nelson and Kagan (49) cited a study conducted by Miller and Thomas supporting the theory that rural children were more cooperative in conflict of interest situations that require mutual assistance than were urban children. Using the Madsen Cooperation Board, Miller and Thomas "found that the Blood Indians of the Blackfoot Nation in Alberta cooperate more adaptively than urban Canadian children" (49:90). The investigators indicated that the traditional life style of the Blackfoot Indians in terms of sharing, housekeeping, and child-rearing practices teaches the children to adapt more readily to cooperative situations.

The nature of cooperative and competitive differences between urban Anglo-American and rural Mexican children was analyzed by Madsen and Kagan (49). Several experimental tasks were designed by the researchers. One experiment consisted of a circle-matrix board similar to a checker-board the object of which was to move a marker from the center to a goal on the opposite side of the board. A toy was given to the child opposite the side where the marker reached. Twenty moves were allowed for each trial. If the children cooperated the goal could be reached in three moves; however, if they competed they could use up all twenty moves without reaching the goal. In this situation younger children
cooperated more readily than did the older children. Cultural differences were apparent in that the Mexican children cooperated in more cases than did the American children.

In the second experiment, a toy was given to one child while the second child was to move a marker on a board in such a way as to let the first child keep the toy or to take it away. The child with the toy was allowed a counter move to defend his property. Anglo-American children defended their possessions and displayed greater competitive behavior, never submitting to having their toys taken away. Rural Mexican children submitted to having their toys taken away if it meant conflict would be avoided. Explaining the behavior of the two groups of children, Madsen and Kagan felt that the rewards received from mothers for failure or success were significant. Mexican mothers tended to reinforce and reward children whether they failed or succeeded, whereas American children were rewarded only when they succeeded. Such differences probably reflect environmental and experiential differences within the two countries.

Glassford (25) examined the organization of games and adaptive strategies of the Canadian Eskimo as described in ethnographical reports. He classified the games based on goals and strategies and organized them as competitive, cooperative, recreative or individual self-testing. The adaptive strategies were categorized as cooperative or competitive. After reviewing ethnographical reports and
completing field work in the Canadian Arctic, Glassford compiled a list of over seventy game forms. He concluded that there was evidence to indicate that the games of the Canadian Eskimo tended to reflect the cooperative patterns of organization prevalent within their culture.

**Arab Culture**

Societies and their cultures are unique. Numerous scholars have struggled to answer the question, what is an Arab? In pre-Islamic times the term "Arab" referred to the people who inhabited the Arabian peninsula and the Syrian desert. The definition recently suggested by Jabra as cited by Patai, stated that an Arab is "anyone who speaks Arabic as his own language and consequently feels as an Arab" (53:13). In addition, Gibbs included "an identification with Arab problems" (56).

Because of the abundance of material on the total Arab culture, the investigator reviewed literature primarily related to the geographic locale of the study.

The culture of a country is often reflected in its educational system. The educational system of Syria reflects the general social and political environment of that country. Six years of elementary school is compulsory for every child. This program is intended to provide both a complete basic education for those who will end their schooling at that level (usually at twelve years of age), and a preparatory education for those who will continue in school. There is
respect for knowledge, education, and learning in Syria, so the child, particularly the male child, is encouraged to continue beyond the elementary level (57, 73).

There is a strong Arab nationalism and unity "based on a common Arab homeland, language, culture, and history, and undefined common Arab concerns and interests" (53:206). These commonalities give Arabs the feeling that they are one people and in the not too distant future they will become one in actuality (53).

"The entire culture of the country (like the culture of the Middle East as a whole) is so permeated with family loyalty and influence that the terms 'familism' and 'kinship culture' have justly been applied to it" (54:384). The individual is a product of the family and is molded into an obedient member of the family group. As a result of child-rearing practices, the children learn a subordination to the parents (particularly to the father and grandfather) and often, to older siblings. The interest of the family comes first. One's place in society is determined first by the membership in the family, and then by the family in society (9, 11, 53, 63).

The traits of courage, loyalty, honor or self-respect, generosity, and hospitality are highly regarded by all Arabs. Although these characteristics are universal, there are expectations of significantly different behavior between the sexes. The female Arab is expected to behave in a more sup-
pliant manner than the male who is expected to exhibit greater courage (2, 48, 53).

Syrians have always been noted for their verbosity. The Arabic language is an extremely complex language with an extensive vocabulary. Patai (53) offered the term "rhetoricism" to denote the exceptionally high value Arabs put on language. This rhetoricism, in turn, is prone to exaggeration, overassertion and repetition. Explaining the relationship of the Arabs to language, Atiyah said, "It is a characteristic of the Arab mind to be swayed more by words than by ideas, and more by ideas than by facts" (3:96). Philip Hitti supported this theme:

No people in the world has such enthusiastic admiration for literary expression and is so moved by the word, spoken or written, as the Arabs. Hardly any language seems capable of exercising over the minds of its users such irresistible influence as Arabic. Modern audiences in Baghdad, Damascus and Cairo can be stirred to the highest degree by the recital of poems only vaguely comprehended, and by the delivery of orations in the classical tongue, only partially understood. The rhythm, the rhyme, the music, produce on them the effect of what they call 'lawful magic'. (29:21)

Bargaining is another indication of the enjoyment of language. It is a part of everyday life, for much time is spent haggling over the amount to be paid for an exchange of goods or services. "The Syrian interest in bargaining reflects a more general value placed on conversation itself as a major source of entertainment" (73:90).

While a great deal of time is spent in conversational exploits, the concept of time is not a very important
concern to an Arab. The feeling of punctuality, or a
vigorous time schedule, does not exist in the traditional
culture.

Extremes in emotion are observed between self-control
and uncontrolled outbursts of emotionalism. In the Arab
view, these outbursts are quite common and even expected to
happen because no person is supposed to be able to maintain
incessant, uninterrupted control over oneself (53).

Because of an accepted variability in self-control, the
resolution of conflicts of any nature is resolved by a medi­
ator. Patai stated that,

In every conflict those involved tend to feel that
their honor is at stake, and that to give in even
as little as an inch, would diminish their self-
respect and dignity. Even to take the first step
toward ending a conflict would be regarded as a
sign of weakness which, in turn, would greatly
damage one's honor. (53:228)

The function of the mediator is to separate two warring
sides, thus forcing them to stop fighting without having
either side feel that it is exhibiting a weakness or defeat.
The role of a mediator is a very important one and, therefore,
assigned to specially chosen members of the community (53).

Very little material can be found in the literature
dealing with games and play activities of the Arab child.
According to Copeland (11), organized games are enjoyed among
the young school children, although they prefer games in
which they can participate as individuals. Al-Hamđani and
Abu-Laban (1) studied the game involvement and sex-role
socialization in Arab children. Their study was conducted during the summer in a small, predominantly lower-class neighborhood in the city of Baghdad, the capital of Iraq. Children between the ages of six and thirteen served as the subjects. Approximately 200 boys and girls were observed playing out of doors during the month-long period of observation. Toward the end of the field work, informal interviews were conducted with about one fourth of the children to assure a more complete listing of the games in which children participated. Six categories were used to classify the 120 games identified. These included: (1) games of physical skill, (2) games of strategy, (3) games of chance, (4) games of rhythm, (5) games of mimicry, and (6) games of aggression.

The greatest number of games observed by Al-Hamdani and Abu-Laban were those of physical skill (47%) followed by rhythmic activities (27%). Games of strategy, chance, mimicry and aggression were about equal in number accounting for less than 30 percent of the recorded games. Games of physical skill were preferred by boys while girls tended to play games of rhythm. The number of games in which boys played alone was considerably larger than the number for girls (60 compared to 37), and games played by boys and girls together were not very common numbering only 23 out of 120.

In conclusion, it was reported that game playing among lower-class Arab boys and girls of Baghdad tended to reflect traditional sex-role standards. According to Al-Hamdani and
Abu-Laban, one of the characteristic features of the traditional Arab is the rigid separation between the male and female roles. The young female is expected to stay close to adult authority while young males are given freedom to engage in various games at a considerable distance from home. The female learns, at a very early age, that she is responsible for helping around the house and has less time to devote to playing games. The authors felt that this may account for the finding in their study that boys played almost twice as many different games as girls.

**Summary**

Although the literature dealing with the relationship of play and games to the social interaction patterns of a culture is limited there is increasing awareness from those who have studied the subject that it is a worthwhile field of study. Investigations in this area include research in primitive or simple cultures as well as in modern or more complex cultures. All studies indicated that play reflected a society's cultural values.

Play utilizes the social interaction patterns of cooperation and competition. Such patterns refer to behavior directed toward the same goal by at least two individuals. In competition, one person is endeavoring to gain the reward or goal that another person is endeavoring to gain at the same time. In cooperation, two or more individuals are working together for a common goal. In cultures studied
where the emphasis is placed on cooperative behavior the

No studies have been found dealing specifically with the

Arab children's games and play activities as they reflect the

social interaction patterns of their culture. A study by

Al-Hamdani and Abu-Laban on game involvement and sex-role

socialization in Arab children of Baghdad showed that the

traditional sex-role standards of their culture were re-

flected in the games played by the children.

Much has been written on the values and traits of the

Arab people. Roles and statuses are clearly defined, par-

ticularly within the kinship structure. Male superiority is

a component of Arab life which exerts considerable influ-

cence on the social order and personal relationships in gener-

al. For all Arabs, duty to the family and kinsmen over-

rides most other obligations. One of the most frequently

quoted proverbs about the Arab traits of family cohesion and

hierarchic loyalties is: "I and my brothers against my
cousin, I and my cousins against the stranger. (or 'against
the world')" (53:21).

Language is much more than a medium for oral communi-
cation among the Arabs. The sound and use of words provides

great emotional satisfaction to the speaker as well as to the

listener. Exaggeration, repetition, and emotionalism are

often displayed in the Arabic language. The flare-up of

temper is condoned and readily forgiven by society.
Ideal Arab virtues include honor and self-respect. Honor requires that one should be loyal and fulfill a pledge regardless of the consequences and sacrifices that have to be made. Honor also involves maintaining proper relationship between the sexes with the man of honor responsible for the honor of the women in the family. Additional virtues regarded highly by an Arab are those of generosity and hospitality.
CHAPTER III

PROCEDURE

The purpose of this study was to investigate social interaction patterns of a culture as reflected by play of the children of that culture. The study was conducted in the summer of 1975 in Damascus, Syria. Children between the ages of five and twelve served as subjects for the study. In addition to the children, adults were observed and interviewed to gain insights and knowledges regarding their culture.

Interviews were conducted with education administrators, members of Women's Union, with a member of the Ministry of Education, physical education instructors, supervisors of teachers, and elementary school teachers. The investigator received permission to enter certain schools escorted by supervisors and teachers. Visitations were made to private as well as government schools throughout the city. Some observations were also made of children playing in the school yard during recess.

The researcher arrived in Damascus in the middle of May just as the children were taking their final examinations in school. There were just three remaining days of school before the summer holidays, and therefore, opportunities to watch children playing in the school program were limited.
As a result, only games and play activities observed outside the school were included in the study. Notations were made of the activities of children who were playing child-directed games without adult supervision.

Living with a Syrian family during the investigation provided the opportunity to observe and participate in social interaction patterns of the culture.

Classification and Description of Games and Play Activities

Considerable similarity exists in the main categories of the various classification of games that have been used in research. Caillois (6), and Roberts et al. (60), for example, distinguish among games of physical skill, games of strategy and games of chance. While only those three types of games are included in the scheme of Roberts et al., Caillois included categories of mimicry (pretense) and ilinx (vertigo). It should also be noted that Caillois combined games of skill and strategy under one general category referred to as agon, and called games of chance, alea.

The classification used in this study was the one used by Al-Hamdani and Abu-Laban (1) in their study on game involvement and sex-role socialization in Arab children. They combined the classification of Roberts et al. and Caillois and then developed two other categories. The following were included in the six categories:
(1) games of physical skill, in which the predominant attribute is the players' motor activities; (2) games of strategy, in which the predominant attribute is rational choice from among alternative courses of action; (3) games of chance, in which the predominant attribute is lack of control over outcome; (4) games of rhythm, in which the predominant attribute is collective control over a person's acts; (5) games of mimicry, in which the predominant attribute is modeling or role-playing; and (6) games of aggression, in which the predominant attribute is physical or verbal violence. (1:185)

These types of games are regarded as mutually exclusive categories; however, they do overlap to some degree. The predominant attribute of each game was taken as a guiding principle for the classification of single games. A very small number (12 out of 120) of the games studied by Al-Hamdani and Abu-Laban fell under the category of "other," suggesting that the six-category classification was relatively complete.

Game theorists (4) identify four elements of play. The first three are part of a game and the fourth is not part of a game but something players bring to a game. These elements include: (1) number of players, (2) rules governing action, (3) results, and (4) strategies.

An analysis of the four elements of play formed the basis from which the predominant attribute of each type of game and play activity was categorized as cooperative (the act of working together to one end) or competitive (the act of seeking or endeavoring to gain what another is endeavoring to gain at the same time).
Each time an activity was observed it was noted and then recorded as to whether it was seen (1) every day; (2) often, frequently or numerous repetitions; (3) several times, more than two times but fewer than many; and (4) once or twice. Table 1 illustrates the notation system used in this study. A copy of the data-gathering card and a sample of the tabulation sheet for games and play activities can be found in Appendix A.

Guidelines for Observing Social Interaction Patterns of the Culture

The participant-observation technique has been offered as one of the best techniques on which to base pre-arranged observational and structured interview categories (24). Caution is suggested to the observer, however, that with the passage of time and development of new status within the society, one's perspective is constantly changing. Establishing categories into which directly observed actions can be classified should be done with care. If the categories are too structured it increases the possibility that the observer will not record or observe actions which have not been categorized ahead of time.

In the study by Mead et al., the investigators were guided by a common but loose frame of reference. Mead felt that it was "more desirable to follow the emphasis in the diverse materials rather than to constrict the material to fit a given mold" (46:preface).
### TABLE 1

**NOTATION SYSTEM**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Elements of Games and Play Activities</th>
<th>Classification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. No. of players—include sex, age.</td>
<td>1. Physical Skill</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Rules governing action</td>
<td>2. Strategy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Results</td>
<td>3. Chance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Strategy</td>
<td>4. Rhythm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Name of the game</td>
<td>5. Mimicry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Equipment needed</td>
<td>6. Aggression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7. Other</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Cooperative or Competitive**

1. **Competition:** The act of seeking or endeavoring to gain what another is endeavoring to gain at the same time.

2. **Cooperation:** The act of working together to one end.

**Frequency of Observation**

1. Almost every day

2. Often--frequently, numerous repetitions, many times.

3. Several times--more than two but fewer than many

4. Once or twice
The guidelines for observing the social interaction patterns for this study were taken from those suggested by Mead. The many questions included by Mead are too numerous to include; however, a few are mentioned to give the reader an idea of what the investigator looked for during the observations.

1. In the study of **economics**: What are the group habits? What considerations are used to evoke trade—bargaining? What are the actual economic conditions? Distinguish between individual activities performed in groups and group effort for one end.

2. In the study of **social organization**: Kinship system: What is the defined status of members of the family? Are certain fixed relationships selected as cooperative or competitive? Is kinship structure set up so individuals behave in contrasting and specific ways toward different relatives? For example, does one cooperate with everyone called relative? Does the society insist upon the relationship which is structurally most competitive being characterized by superficially cooperative behavior?

3. In the study of **social structure**: Does one set of interests and loyalties compete with other interests or loyalties in the individual or is he permitted an integrated social life? Note characteristic behavior in age, sex, and functioning of clans. Is an intra-group cooperation stressed with inter-group competition used as an end?
4. In working out the view of life: What are the aims of (a) social existence, (b) individual existence? (c) Are they identified or placed in opposition? How are the ends of the individual phrased? Is there only one course honored? For what does the individual strive? (power, skill, security, peace, honor?) What means are used to accomplish these ends? (skills, intelligence, energy, manipulation of other people through leading, dominating inspiring) Are people conceived of as competing in order to cooperate or cooperating in order to compete? What is the pace of life? Is competition limited to one period of life? Is every field of life included in the competitive scheme, or a cooperative scheme? Do people compete for a spouse, distinctions, or for increasing status?

5. In studying the educational process:

Relationship of siblings to each other, to parents. What kind of discipline is given the child? Rewards? What kind of play is encouraged and which kind disapproved? Compare the habits which the adults enforce in children by the encouragement of some and the suppression of others, the habits which the children's world enforces, and the habits which are displayed in adult life.

A tabulation was compiled of the data gathered. The notation included the elements of play activities and games, classification, type (cooperative or competitive), and frequency of observation. The social interaction patterns of
the culture were organized according to the guidelines outlined by Mead and then analyzed as to cooperative and competitive patterns. Finally, in order to determine how the games and play activities of Arab children reflected social interaction patterns of their culture, the data collected were analyzed and compared. A copy of the data-gathering card and form for tabulating social interaction patterns can be found in Appendix A.
CHAPTER XIV

ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION OF DATA

Data for this study were collected in Damascus, Syria in the summer of 1975. Children, five through twelve years of age, served as subjects for the study. For information regarding social interaction patterns of their culture children and adults were observed and interviewed. The investigator was a non-participant observer of the children's games and play activities and a participant observer of the social interaction patterns of the culture.

Social Interaction Patterns

The social interaction patterns of the Syrian culture were organized according to guidelines suggested by Margaret Mead (46). For the purposes of this analysis they were arranged in four sections: (1) the study of economics, (2) the social organization and social structure, (3) the view of life, and (4) the educational process.

The Study of Economics

By Western standards the economic level of Damascus, Syria appeared to be low. Informal interviews with a government worker and other citizens revealed that the major portion of government spending was allocated to military defense rather than to domestic issues. The influx of villagers to
the city in recent years has made it difficult to keep up with the building of adequate housing and roads.

Bargaining was observed to be part of everyday life and for some, a form of entertainment. In bargaining, each person apparently tried to demonstrate shrewdness, wit, facility with language and, in some cases, dramatic ability. Haggling was always included in the daily shopping for fruits and vegetables purchased from vendors along the streets. After the price was agreed upon, the customer tried to select the best items from the cart in order to prevent the vendor taking over the selection and thus getting rid of a few inferior pieces of fruits and vegetables. To a tourist or stranger passing by, the raised voices heard in bargaining could have been interpreted as signs of anger and disgust when, in reality, such tones were merely part of the procedure for buying and selling.

To buy brocades, leather goods, mosaic boxes, jewelry, brassware, sandals and other traditional native items people went to the "souk" or Hamidiyah area. The old narrow streets of tightly clustered shops were covered by corrugated iron roofs. Shops which contained like goods were found in the same vicinity, so if one wished to buy a pair of sandals one needed to go to only one section to make the purchase. Teeming crowds of people wove their way through streets and frequented the shops. Young boys were seen among the masses following and begging people to buy the small items
they were selling, and shop owners stood outside their shops urging people to enter by announcing that they had many more nice things inside.

Bargaining in the **souk** was also expected. The seller named an exhorbitant figure; the buyer suggested an equally ridiculous low price and gradually the buyer and seller reached a price midway satisfactory to both. Another routine was for the customer to go into one store, ask the price, offer half the asking price, bargain for a short time and then leave that store to go on to the next. The procedure was repeated in several shops until the customer was satisfied that he knew of the lowest price that could be paid for the item. While many women were seen shopping, men were considered to be more skillful at bargaining and buying. In the newer sections of Damascus, stores could be found where fixed prices existed, but bargaining was still the most popular method of shopping by the majority of people.

Merchants were in competition with each other but, at the same time, they seemed to assist each other through the lending and borrowing of merchandise. This was the practice especially among gold jewelers where a shop owner could always find or produce what the customer wanted in a few minutes even if it was not available in his own shop. In the small jewelry stores a leisurely atmosphere prevailed. Turkish coffee, tea or a cold drink was served while the prospective buyer conversed with the shopkeeper. Service personnel were available
in all business establishments and offices to purchase, prepare and serve the drinks.

Merchandise was not customarily returned even if the buyer was not satisfied with the workmanship of the item. It was felt that once a price was agreed upon and the commodity was taken home, it was no longer the responsibility of the merchant.

In buying any item, a Syrian went first to a relative, next to a neighbor or friend, then to a member of the same faith, and last to a stranger or someone with whom no connection had been made.

Taxi drivers appeared to cause near accidents in trying to find a customer but, at the same time, they refused to drive to the place a customer wished to go. If conditions were crowded, the driver might have felt he deserved more money while the customer argued against paying for something which was beyond his or her control. There were no meters in the cars so fares were often predicated on the conditions along the way.

Children from poor families, particularly male children, worked with an employed parent and tended to go into the same occupation when they became adults. In situations where the parent was hired for the job it might also have meant that the children's services were available for a menial sum. In less needy families the children were not expected to work until after they had finished their education.
Men dominated government work, administrative positions, medicine, law, engineering and manual labor jobs. Only men were seen as peddlers or vendors, merchants, taxi drivers and custom workers.

Recently it has become acceptable for women to work outside the home. An educated woman was most often seen as a teacher, supervisor of teachers, secretary, office worker and, occasionally, as a television news broadcaster. When a woman married, it was customary for her to stop working and to stay at home. Nevertheless, there were some married women who did return to work once their children were old enough to be in school. During an interview with members of the Women's Union, women were reported to be slowly moving into such occupations as doctors, lawyers, and engineers. Despite such a disposition toward modernity, many of the ascribed sex roles seem to have persisted throughout the centuries.

In middle-class families, a woman may have worked as a dressmaker in her own home while the man had his own occupation outside the home. A good seamstress was in great demand because ready-made clothes were very expensive for the average family. Usually female relatives and friends gathered in the dressmaker's home and helped with the sewing while they visited.

Servants were used to do many of the jobs for which mechanical equipment is used in the Western world. Even in lower-middle-class families, a cleaning woman would come to
help clean at least once a week, while the middle-or upper-
class families had several servants and maids living in the 
house or coming to the house daily.

Syrians felt that investing in gold jewelry or hiding 
money in the homes was safer than putting it in the bank. It 
was not a secure feeling to know that the government might 
take money from the banks, if it were needed, forcing the 
individual citizen to bear the loss. The interest rates were 
not high enough to encourage an investor to take a chance or 
to make up for the fact that upon death 50 percent of an 
individual's bank account automatically went to the government 
while the remaining 50 percent was divided among the heirs.

In the Study of the Social Organization 
and Social Structure

It is difficult to report the social organization and 
structure of the Syrian culture without recognition that this 
society appears to be in transition from traditional to modern, 
moving to Western values and patterns of living. In view of 
the Arab family structure, family loyalties in all classes 
remain very strong.

Patai (53) has suggested that the Arab culture can still 
be termed a "kinship culture" and characterized by familism 
as it has been in the past. At all levels in the society, 
including thoroughly Westernized upper-class urban families, 
the claim of kinship is undiminished.

Informal interviews revealed that duty to family and 
kinsman overrode most other obligations, and supporting or
helping a relative in need was as much a moral duty as supporting one's own children. Assistance within families was given quickly and reciprocity expected just as fast.

Observation showed an obvious group cohesiveness among relatives for all special occasions. If there were a death in the family, the immediate family was never left alone for the first week and throughout the forty-day mourning period.

Marriages between parallel cousins was once an expected and common practice. While such marriages were still reported, the occurrence was far less. In situations where the couple was related marriages between cousins served to bring families closer together both socially and emotionally. For the most part, marriages were still arranged by a friend or relative although more young women were refusing arranged marriages.

Because of the extreme awareness of religious differences (Moslem and Christian), much attention was focused on the relationships between religious groups. Intermarriages between Christians and Moslems seem to have increased since the investigator's last visit to Syria in the 1960's but, through conversation, it was learned that the number is yet limited. The older generation claimed that such marriages were frowned upon because most of them end in divorce. If a Christian married a Moslem, the Christian must convert to the Islamic faith and sign a written agreement to practice Islam. A Christian considered it sinful for a man to have more than
one wife at the same time while the Koran allows four wives for each Moslem man. There was very little evidence, however, that polygamy is still practiced in Syria today.

Christian families appeared smaller than Moslem families, although large families were the stated ideal in both religions. Since men were defined as the source of family strength it was desirable to have many male children. An observed example of the importance of a male child in the family was noted in the change of status of the parents upon birth of the child. The father would be referred to as "Abu (father of) name of son", and the mother as "Im (mother of) name of son.", whereas, before a male is born the parents were addressed by their own first names.

A female child would be loved in the family, but the feeling that she will some day marry and owe her loyalty to her husband's family would pervade her development. Her children could never hold the same place in her father's home as her brother's children.

Family structure, in Syria, is extended, patrilineal, patrilocal, patriarchal, and endogamous. The male is the superior figure while the woman is seen as compassionate and serves the male.

Infants were loved, played with and given a great deal of attention by the adults as well as by the older children in the family. Older siblings were not only expected to help with the care of their younger sisters and brothers, but also, to include them in their play activities during the
day. A strong sibling attachment was formed at an early age while, at the same time, a competitiveness and rivalry developed. It appeared that rivalry was used by parents deliberately and regularly to spur children to improvement and greater responsibility. According to Patai (53), mothers intentionally provoked a jealous reaction from the children in order to make the children behave. For example, if a child refused to do something the mother wanted him to do, she would point out that a brother or sister could do it and then want to know why he couldn't. The closer in age the keener the competitive spirit.

The sense of competition extended into the school years. Encouraging a child to study was accomplished by a comparison with a sibling, such as saying: "You must study to be as clever as your brother," or "You must study if you want to be the most clever in the family." Young people were under great pressure from home and from their own sense of obligation and ambition to succeed.

People of the same faith tended to group together, living in the same areas of the city. The old sections of the city seemed to have originated on an ethno-religious basis and appeared to have preserved their homogeneity as far as inhabitants are concerned. In the newer sections, however, apartment houses inhabited by middle and upper-class families were not divided by religion to the same degree as the dwellings in the old quarters of Damascus. Within a ten-year
period, from 1965 to 1975, residential cohesiveness seemed to have changed. With the penetration of westernization and modernization the separateness and socio-economic self-reliance of the old quarter are giving way to a greater interdependence of the various sections and their inhabitants.

**In Working Out the View of Life**

Syrian nationalism and loyalty was observable in many aspects of life in Damascus. In government schools time was spent with the children instilling a sense of homogeneity of Syrian ancestry and love of country. This same sense of national pride was conveyed through music and programs on radio, television and in the newspapers. Syrians feel that nationalism is essential for the preservation of their country.

Every young man was expected to go into the service for a certain period of time, depending on the national need. School girls fifteen through eighteen years of age went through a required para-military training in their schools. These teenagers learned drill, discipline, nursing and some weapons handling. They did not serve in combat, but they did contribute to Syrian homefront preparedness. Military uniforms were worn all day during the training period.

In addition to national loyalty, a sense of family loyalty, generosity, hospitality and honor were values instilled in a Syrian at an early age. An individual's honor was closely associated with family honor, for it was felt that
a dishonorable act was reflected on the family name.

All conversation with a neighbor, friend, relative, casual acquaintance on the phone, in the street, in a home, started and ended with an invitation to visit and to have a cup of coffee. Visitations seemed to be a very important part of life in Syria, especially among the women. Since the main meal of the day was served in the afternoon, followed usually by a nap, it was not at all unusual for visitors to arrive early in the morning or in the late afternoon. No matter what the time or the duration of the visit, there was a customary protocol followed in serving the guests something to drink and eat.

It has been suggested that the emphasis on hospitality and on other formalized behavior was, at least in part, a technique for controlling the general distrust and hostility which is characteristic of Syrians (53). An atmosphere of distrust prevailed in many aspects of life in Damascus. The buying of daily foods was an example. It was important to watch the peddler as he selected goods for your purchase because it was expected that he would try to insert some poor quality items.

Individual distance or space among the Syrians did not appear to be a necessity. In recent years there has been such an influx of villagers into Damascus that the streets have become crowded with people walking arm-in-arm, bumping into each other, and generally in very close contact. Families
were large and houses were relatively small. Individuals were accustomed to being with other people all the time and they seemed to enjoy it. It was unusual to see a person walking alone or eating alone in a restaurant.

Automobiles, too, were in abundance. Roads were being built to try to accommodate the traffic but, for the most part, the roads of Damascus were not made for the many automobiles that occupy them today. Drivers were impatient and became annoyed because they had to share the road with pedestrians, bicycles, donkeys, goats, peddlers with pushcarts, and with other automobiles. Pedestrians became annoyed because they were unable to cross the street easily because of all the automobiles. It seemed that drivers blew their horns constantly as they drove in and around anything or anybody who happened to be on the road. If it was possible for drivers to maneuver the automobile to get into a space better or faster than anyone else, they felt they were entitled to be there.

Waiting in line was not expected in driving nor in any other part of daily life. Shopkeepers or people in business establishments did not seem to be concerned if they were frequently interrupted in their paper work or when they were speaking with someone else. In government offices particularly, the person in charge allowed the interruptions, but at the same time, became impatient and often responded with curtness and a raised voice. This response was an expected
part of the interaction process.

People expected that the transaction of business would take time and probably several visits to the same office before the transaction would be accomplished. The treatment received in a business association was enhanced if one had a connection or mutual acquaintance, no matter how distant. Special treatment may also have been received with the exchange of "baksheesh" or petty graft for a variety of services. Obtaining a passport could take weeks, but a few pounds might speed up the process. The same applied to government contracts, obtaining a telephone, renting an apartment, clearing goods from customs or obtaining the best cuts of meat. It was a way of life in Damascus and many people would be lost without it. Graft is not immoral; it is a social custom.

In most situations people appeared quite casual about promptness. Precise time was not a concern and being late for an appointment was a fairly common phenomenon. A meeting set for nine in the morning found the person in authority appearing anywhere from nine to ten thirty. "Buqra" (tomorrow) may have meant the next day or the day after, even the next week or sometime in the near future. The tendency was to leave things undone unless there was a compelling and immediate reason for finishing the work. Buqra was a perfectly acceptable standard of temporal interaction.

A favorite pastime for men was playing backgammon and smoking the "ulgle" or water pipe in the coffee houses. One
water pipe was shared by several men each of whom brought his own mouthpiece. Backgammon was played for hours and could be described as a game of war when played by the men in the coffee houses. Entertainment for the entire family included evening walks, movies, and evening television or sitting and visiting.

The relationship of a human being to nature was one of complete powerlessness. It was apparent that man could not control or influence nature, nor his own destiny directly. God's will was supreme, and all happenings depended on Him. Conversations among Syrians was often interspersed with such phrases as "Bismallah" (in the name of God), and "In Allah Rad" (if God wills). Misfortune or unhappinesses were often bearable because of the belief that it was "Min Allah" (from God or from the will of God).

In Studying the Educational Process

At a very early age, children learned that they were responsible for younger brothers and sisters, not only during play, but in all daily experiences. The older child was often blamed for the mischievous acts of the younger sibling who was supposed to be watched and taught by the older one. Authority was designated to the children in the family according to birth order. This pattern was maintained until adulthood at which time authority and decision making was the responsibility of the oldest male. From childhood, females were taught to serve the needs of the male while the male
was taught to protect his sisters from physical harm or insult. Siblings frequently argued among each other, but this did not occur in the presence of their parents. Because brothers and sisters were supposed to love each other, arguing and fighting was not tolerated or permitted when it was witnessed by an adult.

It was apparent that a child knew to respond immediately to the call of an adult even if it meant a bothersom interruption. Although obedience, giving correct responses, and being polite to adults was expected it was usually rewarded by verbal recognition.

To be clever was one of the most important attributes a person could possess, and to be clever one had to be educated and have a command of languages. The Government examinations, used to determine future education, were taken at the end of the sixth, ninth and twelfth grades and were very important hurdles for the children in Damascus. It was obvious that exams were considered difficult, serious, and extremely important, so concentrated effort and support was given the students by the entire family and by friends during examination time.

Children were taught to be self sufficient at a very early age. They were open, free, and not at all shy with each other or with strangers on the street. In fact, they enjoyed the opportunity to show off their skills. Their openness was also observed in their enjoyment of running
freely anywhere in the out-of-doors. Children of all ages were seen playing, in large or small groups without adult supervision or direction. Wherever a group of children gathered there were moments of arguing that were boisterous, but not bitter. In some cases disagreement was over trying to decide what to play, whose turn it was, and whether or not a player had been tagged. It was observed, in many instances, that a child would not admit to being hit by a ball or tagged by another player or stepping on an out-of-bounds line unless the act was observed and pointed out by several players. One witness was not enough because it became one person's word against another person's word. Children were anxious to play and to test their skills. In games where one had to wait a turn the order was very often lost and the player who got there first was next.

Children played hard and with determination, for it was important to win and to be more skillful than anyone else. Winning was so important that cheating was common, causing a certain amount of distrust among the children during play.

Rules of the games were easily adapted to the situation. For example, in the heat of the day when a game was played in the cramped area of an entry way so as to be out of the sun, dimensions were made smaller; when very young children played with the older ones, accommodations were made; any size ball was adequate for a soccer game; and, if manufactured equipment was not available, equipment which was improvised or home-
made sufficed. Many different games were played by young children in a short period of time. They tired quickly of any kind of activity that did not involve running and chasing skills. Up through twelve years of age girls and boys played together or alone in the streets and parks. At the age of thirteen, girls were no longer expected to be seen running in the streets, but rather were expected to stay at home to prepare themselves for the proper role of an adult female in the society. On the other hand, boys up to the age of sixteen or seventeen were still playing out-of-doors.

Analysis of Social Interaction Patterns
Few situations were purely cooperative or competitive, but involved both processes. Classification was determined on the basis of the major emphasis. The social interaction patterns of cooperation and competition referred to behavior directed toward the same goal by at least two individuals. In competition, one person was endeavoring to gain the reward or goal that another person was endeavoring to gain at the same time. In cooperation, two or more individuals were working together for a common goal.

In the Study of Economics
A. Cooperative:
1. Within the strong competitive existence of merchants, especially jewelry, there existed a
reciprocal cooperation evidenced in the lending and borrowing of merchandise to meet the customer's demands. This appeared to be one instance where merchants cooperated in order to compete.

2. The law stated that street vendors with push-carts should be moving along the streets. Nevertheless, there were areas in the city where a large number of peddlers congregated and waited for people to come to them. For the most part, police did not bother these sections. However, peddlers were always alert to the possibility of having to move should the police arrive on the scene.

B. Competitive:

1. The entire process of buying and selling was highly competitive. The merchant was not only in competition with rival merchants, but because of the bargaining process, was in competition with his customers. People had to bargain for just about everything they bought and, therefore, were always competing with the shopkeeper or vendor.

2. Taxi drivers were aggressive and competitive. First, they competed among each other for the passenger, and then in order to survive among all the other cars, they operated the motor
vehicle in competition with every other driver and person on the road.

In the Study of Social Organization and Social Structure

A. Cooperative:

1. One of the characteristic features of the Syrian culture was the strong loyalty to the kinship unit. Cooperation was seen in many parts of family life where roles were clearly defined and followed. The limited space in living quarters forced a cooperative, sharing existence. Strong group cohesiveness extended beyond the immediate family to relatives. It was felt keenly that support was shown by group presence at special occasions along with cooperative endeavors in the work that was necessary.

A cooperative and helpful atmosphere was also prevalent within the residential areas with individuals who showed concern and interest for the well-being of neighbors and friends.

B. Competitive:

1. There appeared to be a conflict in children because family unity was emphasized on the one hand, and at the same time competitiveness
and sibling rivalry were instilled by the parents. The closer in age; two siblings were, the stronger the competitive drive. In some cases, the rivalry was considered an essential incentive to the process of growing up.

In Working Out the View of Life

A. Cooperative:

1. National pride among Syrians served to provide a cooperative feeling with regard to the interest of the country. There appeared to be a fear that unless all citizens united to protect their homeland it would be lost to their enemies who were attempting to take it from them. To serve one's country was an honor and an obligation. Mandatory military service was each male citizen's contribution to the cooperative goals of the country.

B. Competitive:

1. The general distrust that permeated life outside the family unit provoked a keen sense of competition among Syrians. The thought that someone may get the better of you spurred an alertness in daily dealings. There was continual attention to whom to contact for favors, or how a job could be accomplished faster than going through the normal process.
2. The crowded conditions of Damascus gave the appearance that in order to survive, one had to be assertive to accomplish anything. The daily exercise of crossing the street without being hit by a moving vehicle was not a simple feat in some areas of the city. Assertiveness was also an asset in the transaction of business. Such assertiveness assured that other people did not interrupt or push ahead.

In the Study of the Educational Process

A. Cooperative:

1. In the family educational process there was a cooperative attitude in the responsibility of boys and girls for their younger siblings. Acknowledging that responsibility provided for children of different ages the opportunity to play together.

2. During school examinations at the end of the year the entire family helped in any way and gave support to the young person who had to study for the exams.

B. Competitive:

1. Education in the schools was highly competitive. The child was constantly reminded how important it was to be well behaved, clever,
skilled and to achieve. Government examinations at the end of the sixth, ninth, and twelfth grades put extreme pressure on the children, and also, put each child in competition with every other child of the same grade in the country.

2. Being physically skilled was important to a Syrian child. Most often children played with and against others, but on occasion a child played alone in a self-testing situation.

**Summary**

Cooperative patterns were clearly seen in almost every aspect of family life in a Syrian household. Each individual with his or her assigned role contributed to the smooth operation of daily life. Children helped with chores, worked to earn money if necessary, and assisted in the care of younger siblings. Women were responsible for the household tasks of cooking, cleaning and child rearing. Men were the principal money earners and were responsible for the well-being of the entire family. Second only to family loyalty was national loyalty and interest in working together to maintain the integrity of the country.

Cooperative patterns were viewed most often within the family unit, but competitive patterns also existed, particularly among siblings. The rivalry instilled in the children was done in an attempt to encourage each child to be well-
behaved, to achieve, to be skillful, to want to learn, and to be self-sufficient. It was felt that these skills were necessary for survival in the world outside the family where interactions were of keen competition.

As life moved away from the family, competition became more intense. It permeated the life of all Syrians in Damascus in daily shopping, waiting for a turn anywhere, boarding a bus, in studying, while driving, in playing games among adults as well as among the children, and in the entire business world.

Analysis of Play Activities and Games

A total of 108 games and play activities of children were identified during the six-week period of study. Each game was given a name and then tabulated as to frequency of observation, classification, type (cooperative or competitive), sex and age of participants, and where the activity was observed. The tabulation of data collected on play activities and games can be found in Appendix B. A short description of the games and play activities can be found in Appendix C.

There was a high degree of agreement (94%) between the investigator and another qualified coder in tabulating the games and play activities. The second coder was a physical education instructor and a student of anthropology who had lived, taught, and travelled in the Middle East for eleven years. Using a written description of each game and the criteria established by the investigator for classifying and determining
the type of activity, she independently tabulated the games and play activities on the list.

It is interesting to note that equipment used for the games and play activities was very simple. For hopscotch type activities, a stone dug up from the sidewalk and a piece of chalk were all that were needed. For kicking skills, any size ball was satisfactory and when a ball was not available, children kicked stones, bottle caps or cans. Rules and regulations were easily adapted to the situation. When a game was played in limited space, the dimensions were altered, or when the number of participants changed, which was frequent, accommodations were made. Soccer, the most popular game among the boys, was played in the alleys, streets, parks and vacant lots with any size ball and with any available objects for goal posts. Very few children wore special clothing but played in the clothes and footwear they happened to have on that day.

Table 2 shows the percentage distribution of the different activities observed by classification. It is clear that the most predominant games and play activities among the subjects were those involving physical skill (69%). Next to games of physical skill, play activities involving rhythms were most numerous (9%) followed by games of mimicry (6%), strategy (6%), and finally aggression (3%). While no games of chance and only six games of strategy were recorded, it should be noted that elements of chance and strategy were present in some
TABLE 2
Percentage Distribution of Games/Play Activities by Classification and Sex

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Co-Sexual</th>
<th>Percentage of Total # of Games</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical Skill</td>
<td>15 (20%)</td>
<td>22 (30%)</td>
<td>37 (50%)</td>
<td>74 (69%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategy</td>
<td>2 (33%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4 (67%)</td>
<td>6 (6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chance</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhythm</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>9 (90%)</td>
<td>10 (9%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mimicry</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2 (29%)</td>
<td>5 (71%)</td>
<td>7 (6%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggression</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (33%)</td>
<td>2 (67%)</td>
<td>3 (3%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>3 (38%)</td>
<td>1 (12%)</td>
<td>4 (50%)</td>
<td>8 (7%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N) (%)</td>
<td>21 (19%)</td>
<td>26 (25%)</td>
<td>61 (56%)</td>
<td>108 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
games listed in other categories, particularly games of physical skill such as soccer, dodge ball, and hopscotch blindfolded. Aggressive behavior was present in many games of physical skill, but in only three activities was aggression the predominant element.

The reason that no games of chance were noted may be because these types of games are quite often of a gambling variety where the individual has no control over the outcome. As it was explained by one source, gambling by children was frowned upon by parents so the children were not apt to play these games where they might be seen by adults.

The four categories of rhythm, strategy, mimicry and aggression subsumed only 24 percent of the recorded games and play activities while games of physical skill comprised 69 percent, and activities listed as other included 7 percent.

Table 2 also shows the percentage distribution of different games by sex of the participants. Of the seventy-four games classified as physical skill 20 percent were played by girls, 30 percent were played by boys alone and the greatest number (50%) were played among boys and girls together. Other games played by females alone included one third of the games of strategy, only one tenth of the games of rhythm and 38 percent of the games classified as "other." A small number of the games of mimicry and aggression were played by boys alone (29%). Whereas boys playing games of mimicry alone tended to reflect male roles of policeman, taxi driver and soldiers,
when they played with the girls the traditional male-female roles were not as pronounced.

It is significant to note that almost three times as many games were played co-sexually than by females alone or males alone. Many of the activities classified as "other" tended to be games Caillois (6) would have identified as vertigo, such as playing on the swings, slides and spinning with a partner. There might have been merit in including a classification of vertigo to accommodate these activities which were popular among the youngest children.

Table 3 reviews the games and play activities by classification and cooperative or competitive elements. Competition appeared to be a major component of games of physical skill and strategy, with all games of strategy being competitive and 80 percent of the games of physical skill involving competition. Elements of cooperation were found most often in games of rhythm and mimicry. Although relatively few games were classified as aggressive, the majority of those involved competition. A not surprising finding was that the majority of games of physical skill were competitive as were games of aggression. Clearly, children played more than twice as many games of competition (68%) as cooperation (28%). It is interesting to note that games of cooperation tended to be less active than competitive games.

Although it was expected that all games and play activities would be either cooperative or competitive there were five
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Type of Activity</th>
<th>Competitive</th>
<th>Cooperative</th>
<th>Neither</th>
<th>Total # of games by class.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical Skill</td>
<td></td>
<td>59 (80%)</td>
<td>13 (18%)</td>
<td>2 (2%)</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategy</td>
<td></td>
<td>6 (100%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chance</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhythm</td>
<td></td>
<td>3 (30%)</td>
<td>7 (70%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mimicry</td>
<td></td>
<td>1 (14%)</td>
<td>6 (86%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggression</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (7%)</td>
<td>1 (33%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td></td>
<td>2 (25%)</td>
<td>3 (37.5%)</td>
<td>3 (37.5%)</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (N) (%)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>73 (68%)</td>
<td>30 (28%)</td>
<td>5 (4%)</td>
<td>108 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
which the investigator found could not be listed as either. As a result a category of "neither" was included where they were recorded. Such activities included playing with pinwheels, going down a slide, bathing, tumbling and riding a skateboard.

Table 4 shows the distribution of games and play activities recorded by type and sex. Of the seventy-three games of competition, 21 percent were played by females, 26 percent by males and 53 percent in a co-sexual group. Boys tended to play a few more games of competition than did girls, but the majority of the competitive type games were played by boys and girls together. In looking at the division of the games of cooperation a larger number was played co-sexually (63%) while those played by either of the two sexes were more evenly divided with the females playing a slightly larger percentage (20%) than the males (17%).

Table 5 illustrates the percentage distribution of games and play activities by classification and frequency of observation. Frequency of observation was established on a continuum of one through four with (1) being games seen every day, (2) being games seen often or numerous times, (3) seen several times or more than twice but not many times, and (4) seen just once or twice. Of the seventy-four games of physical skill the largest percentage (41%) were games seen several times during the period of observation. It is interesting to note that games of physical skill were the only ones seen
### TABLE 4

**Percentage Distribution of Games/Play Activities by Sex and Type**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Co-Sexual</th>
<th>Percentage of Games by Type</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Frequency of Observation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Competitive</td>
<td>15 (21%)</td>
<td>19 (26%)</td>
<td>39 (53%)</td>
<td>73 (68%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooperative</td>
<td>6 (20%)</td>
<td>5 (17%)</td>
<td>19 (63%)</td>
<td>30 (28%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2 (40%)</td>
<td>3 (60%)</td>
<td>5 (4%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total (N) (%)</td>
<td>21 (19%)</td>
<td>26 (25%)</td>
<td>61 (56%)</td>
<td>108 (100%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## TABLE 5

Percentage Distribution of Games/Play Activities by Classification and Frequency of Observation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>1 every day</th>
<th>2 often</th>
<th>3 several times</th>
<th>4 once or twice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Physical Skill</td>
<td>9 (12%)</td>
<td>14 (19%)</td>
<td>30 (41%)</td>
<td>21 (28%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategy</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3 (50%)</td>
<td>3 (50%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chance</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhythm</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (10%)</td>
<td>2 (20%)</td>
<td>7 (70%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mimicry</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4 (57%)</td>
<td>3 (43%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aggression</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2 (67%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (33%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>2 (25%)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3 (37.5%)</td>
<td>3 (37.5%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total (N) (%) 11 (10%) 17 (16%) 42 (39%) 38 (35%)
every day. Games seen more than once or twice totalled 72 percent. One game of rhythm and two of aggression were recurrent and were seen often. The rest of the games of strategy, rhythm, mimicry, aggression and others were viewed infrequently, or once or twice during the observation period.

Table 6 illustrates that children repeated games of competition more often than their games of cooperation. More than half the cooperative games were seen only once or twice. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that competitive type games were preferred over cooperative ones. Games of physical skill which had a high component of competition were those games most often repeated. This may be a reflection of the cultural pattern which sanctioned being the best.

**Summary and Discussion**

Games of physical skill were by far the most popular games among Syrian children. More than twice as many games of physical skill were noted than all other categories combined and they were repeated more often than any other games. Examples of these games include soccer and kicking games, tag, hide-and-seek, jump rope activities, hopscotch, and bicycle riding.

While there were no games listed where the predominant element was chance, there were several activities where chance played a large part in the outcome. Many such activities were those when the player was blindfolded. These activities were categorized under games of strategy because the player had to
### TABLE 6

Percentage Distribution of Games/Play Activities by Type and Frequency of Observation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency of Observation</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>1 every day</th>
<th>2 often</th>
<th>3 several times</th>
<th>4 once or twice</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Competitive</td>
<td>8 (11%)</td>
<td>12 (16%)</td>
<td>31 (42%)</td>
<td>22 (30%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cooperative</td>
<td>2 (7%)</td>
<td>4 (13%)</td>
<td>8 (27%)</td>
<td>16 (53%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Neither</td>
<td>1 (20%)</td>
<td>1 (20%)</td>
<td>3 (60%)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total (N) (%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>11 (10%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>17 (16%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>42 (39%)</strong></td>
<td><strong>38 (35%)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
make a choice from alternate courses of action.

Following games of physical skill, play activities involving rhythm were most numerous. Rhythmic activities in the younger groups involved clapping, singing and rhythmically hitting a tin can so individuals could dance to the accompaniment. Children enjoyed singing. It seemed that when it was too hot to be active outdoors they enjoyed the comradery of sitting and singing on the steps of the stairwell.

More than twice as many games of competition were played than games of cooperation. This was not a surprising observation since 80 percent of all games of physical skill which were the most popular, were competitive. Finally, the games of competition were repeated more frequently than cooperative games.

As Deutsch (18) pointed out there are very few, if any, life situations which are purely cooperative or competitive, but rather most situations of everyday life involve both processes. This factor was apparent in studying the social interaction patterns of the Syrian culture and was also true in the study of the children's games. Many of the games of physical skill and strategy contained some elements of cooperation but a far greater number of games was categorized as competitive.

Although it was expected that each activity could be identified as either cooperative or competitive there were five that did not fit in either place. In cases where a child
was playing alone, going down a slide, bathing, riding a skateboard, tumbling or playing with a pinwheel it was necessary to categorize such games as "neither."

Deutsch (18) also pointed out that cooperative behavior is considered more appropriate in certain groups than in others and the closer the relationship the greater the chance for cooperation. As the individual moved away from the family unit, as in the business world and in education, competitive behavior increased.

Most games and play activities observed tended to reflect social interaction patterns and prepare children for existence outside the family. Games of competition numbered more than two thirds of the total 108 activities recorded, while those of cooperation encompassed less than one third. Cooperative type games were most often found among young children in role-playing activities such as house, hospital, and trains. They were also seen in rhythmic activities.

Syrian children preferred to play games where the predominant attribute is the player's motor skill in which one relies on self-effort to accomplish the task. At an early age children were encouraged to be skillful in all areas of life. High value was placed on cleverness and skills which were considered necessary for success in education, and adult life. If one accepts Roberts and Sutton-Smith's (59) suggestion that games of physical skill were chosen most often by children who were rewarded for achievement, it could be assumed that high value would be placed on achievement in the Syrian culture.
In contrast to Roberts and Sutton-Smith (59) who concluded that boys were more apt to choose games of physical skills and girls games of strategy and chance, games of physical skill were chosen by both sexes. Games of strategy accounted for only 6 percent of all activities and were not numerous among either sex. This finding may be due in part to the method of classifying games. Specifically, games of physical skill and games of strategy were exclusive categories and yet, it was obvious that strategy was present in many games of physical skill.

While the classification of games chosen by both sexes was the same, it was possible to identify the games and play activities which were the favorites for each sex. Boys could be seen playing soccer or soccer skills every day in all parts of the city. Older boys were seen pitching small boxes of chiclets which, along with soccer, appeared to be one of their favorite pastimes. Tag games and hide-and-seek were most popular among the younger boys. Girls enjoyed hopscotch and jump-rope activities most frequently, along with riding their bicycles and various tag games.

The fact that children organized their own play with no adult interference can be partially attributed to the responsibility placed on a child at an early age. It was not unusual to see a child of three or four walking home with a loaf of bread from the bakery or a five-year-old in charge of watching a sibling of two or three years.
Of equal significance to the types of games children played was their behavior during play. Such behavior tended to mirror behavior seen in their everyday life. Children argued constantly. In some cases, verbal assault became a game and almost a necessary ingredient to winning. Winning was so important that cheating was a common phenomenon. Because it was common there was ever an atmosphere of general distrust among the participants. For example, when boys played the game of pitching chiclets, no one trusted anyone else in the judgement of which box came closest to the wall. As soon as a boy took his turn he would run to the wall claiming that his box was the closest. Unless the last boy ran to where the others were standing, he had little opportunity to win or to help in the decision of who did win. Often the arguing that followed each turn took longer than the actual toss. No pattern of resolution was observed. Resolution depended upon a multitude of factors such as the number of children watching, how close the box actually came to the wall, the age of the players, and the number of participants.

In the adult world around the children, raised voices in argument were not uncommon. One also had to be alert when dealing with others so as not to be overcharged or to allow anyone to get ahead. People often became annoyed when others pushed their way in front, but taking turns and maintaining an order were not practiced in daily transactions. Observations were made of people pushing and squeezing through the
doors and into buses; drivers maneuvering their automobiles in small spaces and around slower cars; people walking into a store and requesting an item from the merchant when he was already in conversation.

Similar practices were seen with children at play. In games where each child took a turn, order was quite often lost, and each time one child failed, all others in the group claimed the next turn. It was not uncommon to see children slide down the slide, run around to the ladder and push past others who were already standing in line. In this situation the youngest and smallest children were the ones who were passed by most frequently as they tried, in vain, to protect their position.

If there were a space anywhere, someone usually found a way to get into it. Damascus was very crowded and the streets too narrow for the number of people and cars on them. There were frequent collisions in the constant jostling for position. It did not appear that people minded being in close contact with others around them. In playing, children reacted in a similar manner and could adjust easily to the amount of space available. If they were playing on the streets and pedestrians walked through their game, they merely played around such annoyances.

The hospitality observed in the view of life of adult behavior was seen also in children's play. A child who walked up to a group playing was often invited to join them. On
several occasions this investigator sat next to a woman on a park bench and heard her tell her four-or five-year-old to go play with the children. The child would walk toward a group and within a few minutes would be included in the activity.
CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The purpose of this study was to investigate social interaction patterns of an Arab culture as reflected by play of the children in the country of Syria.

The research technique utilized for this descriptive study was that of participant and non-participant observation. The data were collected throughout a six week-period during the summer months of May and June, 1975 in Damascus, Syria. Children between the approximate ages of five and twelve served as subjects for the study. Arab people living in Damascus were observed and informally interviewed to gain insight and knowledge regarding their culture.

In preparation for the study the investigator prepared a taxonomy to be used in analyzing and classifying games and social interaction patterns of the culture based primarily on the work of Mead, Roberts and Sutton-Smith, and Al-Hamdani and Abu Laban.

For each game and play activity recorded, the following elements were described: name of activity, equipment needed, number of players; (including sex and age), rules governing the action, results, strategy, where the game was played, and the frequency of observation. Later, each game and play activity was classified as one of physical skill, strategy, chance,
rhythm, mimicry, aggression or other. Finally, each game and play activity was typed as to elements of competition, cooperation or neither. Social interaction patterns of the Arab people in Damascus were also noted as to cooperative or competitive characteristics.

In order to determine how the games and play activities of Arab children reflected social interaction patterns of their culture the data were analyzed and compared. Analysis of the data supported the following hypotheses:

1. Games and play activities of Arab children reflect social interaction patterns of their culture.

2. Games can be identified and can be designated with regard to social interaction patterns.

3. Social interaction patterns in the Arab culture can be described and categorized.

4. There is a differentiation as to who participates in varied games and play activities.

Conclusions

Within the limits and design of this study, it was concluded that the games and play activities of Arab children between the approximate ages of five and twelve years tended to reflect social interaction patterns of their culture. Competitive patterns which tended to prevail within their culture were also prevalent in the games the children chose to play. Behavior exhibited by the children during play
contributed to a stronger atmosphere of competition within the games and play activities. This suggests that games and play activities play an important role in the preparation of children for adult life in their culture. Games allow children to play at the makings of their society without the threat which often accompanies real life.

Of the 108 games recorded, 103 were identified as competitive or cooperative. Because of the designation made in this study of competition and cooperation being directed toward the same social end by at least two individuals, it was appropriate to put some activities performed by an individual playing alone into neither type.

The social interaction patterns that were described showed that interaction among family members tended to be cooperative with some competitive practices particularly among siblings. In practically all dealings outside of family life the interaction patterns tended to be strongly competitive.

Finally, in differentiating among the participants of various games and play activities there were slight differences but they were not of major proportion. A little more than half the activities observed were of boys and girls playing together. Of the remaining games, males played a slightly higher percentage of the competitive games and games of physical skill and mimicry. Females, on the other hand, chose a few more games of strategy and rhythm.
Recommendations

The following recommendations are made for further investigation of children's play as a study of the social interaction patterns of their culture:

1. A category of vertigo should be included in the taxonomy used for classifying games.

2. Consideration should be given to competitive type activities where one is competing against oneself or against outside elements. In this study both competition and cooperation included behavior by at least two individuals.

3. This study should be repeated during the winter months and for a longer period of time to determine if the same data would be revealed. Such a study could include school activities, particularly in free play during recess.

4. Younger children should be considered as subjects in the study. Quite often they were part of a group being observed.

5. This study could be repeated in other Arab cities and compared to determine if similar statements could be made about Arab cultures, in general.
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BIBLIOGRAPHY

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APPENDIX A

SAMPLE OF THE FORMS USED FOR DATA GATHERING

SAMPLE OF THE FORMS USED FOR TABULATION OF DATA
### Sample - Data Gathering Card
#### Games/Play Activities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name:</th>
<th>Where observed:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sex:</td>
<td>Age:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Classification:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of players:</td>
<td>Type:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Equipment:</td>
<td>Frequency of observ.:</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Description:**

---

### Sample - Data Gathering Card
#### Social Interaction Patterns

**Economics:**

**Social Organization - Structure:**

**View of Life:**

**Education:**

**Type:** Cooperative _____ Competitive _____

**Description:**
FORM USED FOR TABULATING DATA COLLECTION
OF SOCIAL INTERACTION PATTERNS

1. In the Study of Economics
   Cooperation          Competition

2. The Study of Social Organization and Social Structure
   Cooperation          Competition

3. In the View of Life
   Cooperation          Competition

4. Studying the Educational Process
   Cooperation          Competition
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Code:</th>
<th>Frequency of Observation</th>
<th>Name of Game:</th>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Where Observed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1=Every day</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>physical skill</td>
<td>cooperation</td>
<td>male</td>
<td>5-12 yrs.</td>
<td>park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2=often</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>strategy</td>
<td>competition</td>
<td>female</td>
<td></td>
<td>street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3=several</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>chance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>alley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4=once or twice</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>rhythm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>stairwell</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>mimicry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>entry way</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>aggression</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>other</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B

TABULATIONS OF DATA COLLECTION
## TABULATION OF DATA GATHERED ON GAMES AND PLAY ACTIVITIES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Frequency of Observation</th>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Where Observed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Name of Game:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. Escape From A Country</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
<td>8-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Tag-&quot;Stop&quot;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
<td>8-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Floor High-Tag</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
<td>6-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Floor Low-Tag</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
<td>5-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Name Something-Tag</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
<td>8-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Fox</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
<td>6-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Stoop</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rhythm</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Running Races</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
<td>6-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of Game</td>
<td>Frequency of Observation</td>
<td>Classification</td>
<td>Type</td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Age</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------------</td>
<td>----------------</td>
<td>------------</td>
<td>---------</td>
<td>---------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Hide and Seek #1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
<td>5-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Hide and Seek #2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>9-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Stone Dodge</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>9-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Hop, Jump and Name</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>9-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Hop and Jump 1,2,3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>9-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Hop and Jump 1-8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>8-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Paris</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
<td>8-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16. Hop Scotch (Hajar)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>8-12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17. Hop Scotch (Fardors)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
<td>8-11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
TABULATION OF DATA GATHERED ON
GAMES AND PLAY ACTIVITIES (CONT'D)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Game</th>
<th>Frequency of Observation</th>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Type Coop.-Comp.</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Where Observed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18. Hop Scotch (Hiar)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
<td>8-11</td>
<td>Street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19. Hajjar-on Hands</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>11-12</td>
<td>Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20. Blind Man's Chase</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>Strategy</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
<td>7-9</td>
<td>Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21. Human Bridge</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
<td>6-9</td>
<td>Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22. Skate Board</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Neither</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23. Running Down Steps</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Coop.</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
<td>5-7</td>
<td>Staircase</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24. Running-Overpass</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
<td>5-7</td>
<td>Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25. Arba Zawaya</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Strategy</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
<td>8-11</td>
<td>Entry way Street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26. Run and Jump</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>8-10</td>
<td>Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27. Paddle Ball</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
<td>8-10</td>
<td>Street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frequency of Observation</td>
<td>Classification</td>
<td>Type Coop.-Comp.</td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Where Observed</td>
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<td>--------------------------</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name of Game:</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28. Basket Ping Pong</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>29. Paddle Badminton</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30. Pitching Chiclets</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31. Volleyball Skills</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32. Soccer Skills</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33. Soccer Skills-Heading</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34. Soccer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35. Three way Soccer</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

P.S. = Personal Skills
Coop. = Cooperative
Comp. = Competitive
Street
Alley
Park

ID
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Game:</th>
<th>Frequency of Observation</th>
<th>Classification</th>
<th>Type Coop.-Comp.</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Where Observed</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>36. Kick The Ball</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
<td>8-9</td>
<td>Street-Alley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37. Handball</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Coop.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>8-10</td>
<td>Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38. Keep Away-Stone</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
<td>8-9</td>
<td>Street-Alley</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39. Magic Ball Catch #1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>8-10</td>
<td>Street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40. Magic Ball Catch #2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Coop.</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>7-8</td>
<td>Street</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41. Keep Away #1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>8-12</td>
<td>Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>42. Keep Away #2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
<td>6-9</td>
<td>Park</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>43. Dodge Ball (1 vs many)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
<td>8-10</td>
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<td>44. Line Dodge Ball</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>P.S.</td>
<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
<td>8-12</td>
<td>Street-Park</td>
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<td>Classification</td>
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<td>Circle Dodge Ball</td>
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<td>Comp.</td>
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<td>Stop The Ball</td>
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<td>Comp.</td>
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<td>Stairwell</td>
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<td>Ball Pass (Form of Tag)</td>
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<td>P.S.</td>
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<td>Leap Frog with Side Roll</td>
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<td>Coop.</td>
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<td>Horle-Morle Bi Dorle</td>
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<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
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<td>Street</td>
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<td>Jump or Roll Over</td>
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<td>8-10</td>
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<td>Leap Frog</td>
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<td>Comp.</td>
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<td>8-10</td>
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<td><strong>55. Hopping Race</strong></td>
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<td>Comp.</td>
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<td>7-9</td>
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<td><strong>56. Hop And Push (I Spy)</strong></td>
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<td><strong>57. Bicycle Race</strong></td>
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<td>Comp.</td>
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<td><strong>58. Bicycle Rides</strong></td>
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<td>Coop.</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>59. Partner Bicycle Riding</strong></td>
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<td>Coop.</td>
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<td>Street</td>
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<td><strong>60. Giriz (Guess Who)</strong></td>
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<td>Comp.</td>
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<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
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<td>Street</td>
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<td>65. Jamal Ya Jamal</td>
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<td>Coop.</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
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<td>66. Da Da Ya Da</td>
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<td>Coop.</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
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<td>67. Moobara (Tug of War)</td>
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<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
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<td>68. Jump or Out</td>
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<td>69. Fencing with Boards</td>
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<td>70. Carry</td>
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<td>72. Pin Wheels</td>
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<td>74. Pebble Toss and Hit</td>
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## TABULATION OF DATA GATHERED ON GAMES AND PLAY ACTIVITIES (CONT'D)

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<td>77. Train</td>
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<td>79. Hanging and Travelling</td>
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<td>80. Tops</td>
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<td>81. War</td>
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## TABULATION OF DATA GATHERED ON GAMES AND PLAY ACTIVITIES (CONT'D)

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<th>Classification</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Where Observed</th>
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<td>86. Kick the Bottle Cap</td>
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<td>7-9</td>
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<td>87. Run and Lift</td>
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<td>F</td>
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<td>88. King of the Mountain</td>
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<td>Street-Park</td>
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<td>89. Home Made Swing</td>
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<td>M &amp; F</td>
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<td>90. Bridge, Where Are You Going</td>
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<td>M &amp; F</td>
<td>8-10</td>
<td>Street</td>
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<td>91. My Friend Is Coming</td>
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<td>Comp.</td>
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<td>92. Parade</td>
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<td>M &amp; F</td>
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<td>93. Dancing and Singing</td>
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<td>M &amp; F</td>
<td>5-9</td>
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<td>94. Thāṭ, Thāṭ, Thāṭ, Thāṭ, Thāṭ, Tha-</td>
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<td>Comp.</td>
<td>M &amp; F</td>
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<td>M &amp; F</td>
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<td>M &amp; F</td>
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<td>97. Rhythmic Board Banging</td>
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<td>98. Climbing</td>
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<td>100. Make Me Crazy</td>
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<td>Other</td>
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<td>Comp.</td>
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<td>102. Elastic Rope</td>
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<td>104. Jump Over Rope</td>
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<td>105. Bonjour Madame- Bonjour Monsieur</td>
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<td>Park</td>
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<td>108. Bathing</td>
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# Tabulation of Data Gathered on Social Interaction Patterns

## I. In the Study of Economics

**Cooperation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. Merchants—(lending, borrowing)</th>
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<tr>
<td>B. Police—street vendors</td>
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</table>

**Competition**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. Bargaining—(buying, selling)</th>
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<tr>
<td>1. merchants with merchants, merchants with customers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Taxi drivers—(driving, customers)</td>
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</table>

## II. The Study of Social Organization and Social Structure

**Cooperation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. Kinship unit—(family, residential area)</th>
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</table>

**Competition**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. Sibling rivalry—(behave, achieve, responsibility)</th>
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</thead>
</table>

## III. In the View of Life

**Cooperation**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A. Nationalism</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B. Family loyalty</td>
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</table>

**Competition**

| A. General distrust of anyone outside the family |
| B. Assertiveness—(crowded conditions, crossing the street, boarding buses, driving, lines, turn, business transactions) |
IV. Studying the Educational Process

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cooperation</th>
<th>Competition</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A. Family—older child cares for younger ones</td>
<td>A. Education—highly competitive (school, grades, government exams)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Games—importance of winning, being physically skilled</td>
<td></td>
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APPENDIX C

DESCRIPTION OF GAMES AND PLAY ACTIVITIES
Description of Games and Play Activities

Elements of games and play activities:
   a. Name
   b. Sex---Age
   c. Number of players
   d. Equipment
   e. Description--rules, results, strategy

1. Escape From A Country
   Girls and Boys --- 8-12 yrs.
   Four or more players
   Equipment: chalk

   A large circle is drawn and divided by the number of players. Each section is labeled with the name of a country. Each player places the front part of the foot over the outside line of a section and draws a semi-circle around the foot.

   One player chants a verse and then calls out the name of a country. The player who is standing on that country runs to the center while all other players run as far away as possible before the center player calls "stop."
   The center player chooses one of the other players and declares how many steps (large or small) it will take to reach that player and step on the player's toe. If the number of steps is guessed correctly a point is scored against the runaway player. If the number of steps is not correct the point is scored against the center player. A mark is recorded on the country to keep accurate tally of the score.

   Repeat with the person scored against chanting the verse. The count of one, two, three may be substituted for the verse.
2. **Tag—"Stop"**
   Girls and Boys --- 8-11 yrs.
   Three or more players
   Equipment: none

   Children run in different directions. The player who is "It" chases one person until the player becomes tired and then calls "stop" and goes after another and another until one is tagged and caught. The person caught becomes "It".

---

3. **Floor High—Tag**
   Girls and Boys --- 6-12 yrs.
   Usually five or more
   Equipment: none

   "It" tries to tag another player before the player steps up and off the street or sidewalk. Players climb steps, cars, fences, walls or anything available. A player tagged before getting off the street or sidewalk becomes "It".

---

4. **Floor Low—Tag**
   Girls and Boys --- 5-10 yrs.
   Usually five or more
   Equipment: none

   "It" tries to tag a player before the player can stoop. A player unable to stoop before being tagged becomes "It".

---

5. **Name Something—Tag**
   Girls and Boys --- 8-10 yrs.
   Usually four or more
   Equipment: none

   A category is decided upon by the players before play commences, ie. cigarettes, fruit, countries. A person is "It" and runs after another player trying to tag the person before that person can lift a thumb and name something in the chosen category. All players tease "It" by coming close at the same time and then quickly running away. A person tagged before naming something becomes "It".
6. **Fox**  
**Girls and Boys --- 6-10 yrs.**  
Usually seven or more  
Equipment: none

One person is designated as the fox and another as the mother. The rest of the players are children and hide behind the mother. The fox sneaks up to the mother and tells her that he will catch one of her children. The mother calls out, "No, you cannot take my children" and stands in front to protect them. The fox runs around her trying to tag a child. When a child is tagged the child must go to the house of the fox. The fox repeats the procedure until all children are caught. The last child to be caught is considered the winner of the game.

7. **Stoop**  
**Girls and Boys --- 6-8 yrs.**  
Usually five or more  
Equipment: none

A leader chants a verse and on a given word all stoop. The leader continues the verse and on a specific word all jump up. The last one up is out. The player who stays in the longest is the winner and becomes the next leader.

8. **Running Races**  
**Girls and Boys --- 6-10 yrs.**  
Usually three or more  
Equipment: none

A spot is decided upon by the players as the point to which they will run. One person acts as starter and gives the "go" signal. All players run to the designated spot. The first person to reach the spot is the winner. The procedure is repeated.

9. **Hide and Seek #1**  
**Girls and Boys --- 5-11 yrs.**  
Usually five or more  
Equipment: none

"It" leans against a tree or a wall with the eyes closed and counts giving the rest of the players time to hide. When all the players are out of sight one of
them calls to "It". "It" turns and starts looking for the players staying relatively close to "home" at the beginning. If a player is seen, "It" runs back to home base (the tree or wall) calling the player's name, the hiding place and "1,2,3 I see you". When "It" ventures away from "home base" the rest of the players race back and touch home calling, "1,2,3, I'm here". The players race to make it back to "home base" before "It" can make it back. The first player caught becomes "It".

10. Hide and Seek #2
Boys --- 9-11 yrs.
Usually four or more players
Equipment: none

Same as Hide and Seek #1 except the players crawl along the ground rather than run. Played only in the park.

11. Stone Dodge
Girls --- 9-11 yrs.
Four players
Equipment: chalk, flat stone

Boundaries: See diagram
Two players on each side of the center line. Team A tries to put out team B. A player of team A pushes the stone with the foot trying to hit one of the opponents with the stone. The opponent must jump when the stone comes toward her. If she does not jump she is considered hit and is out. If she is hit by the stone she is out and her partner must play against the two opponents. The stone must cross the center line and may not go beyond the "out" line. The stone is pushed back and forth across the center line until three players are hit. The player who is not hit wins for her team. Either member of the team may return the stone and may jump only once to place herself in a good position to return it.
12. **Hop, Jump and Name**  
Girls --- 9-11 yrs.  
Usually three or more  
Equipment: chalk

Diagram on right.  
Players choose a category and list items from the  
category writing them on the ground.  
The player hops into area 1 and jumps into 2 and 3,  
hops back into 2 and jumps 3 and 4, hops back to 3 and  
jumps into 4 and 5 etc. As the player is hopping and  
jumping she names the items in the category. If a  
name is missed or the jumping and hopping are not done  
correctly the player loses her turn. As soon as a  
player goes through the entire game another category  
is added. When a player has her second turn she starts  
jumping in the number she was in when she was put out  
during her previous turn.

13. **Hop and Jump 1,2,3**  
Girls --- 9-12 yrs.  
Usually three or more  
Equipment: chalk

Diagram on right.  
a. Player jumps into area 1, then jumps outside to  
the side (left foot on left side, right foot on  
right side), jumps back into 1. Continue through  
area 2 and 3 in the same way. From 3 jump back-  
wards going from the center to the sides.  
b. Repeat above but jump into the numbered areas  
with crossed legs.  
c. Repeat above but hop. Hopping from the center  
to the side over the center to the other side  
must be done with the same foot.  
d. Repeat a,b,c, with eyes closed and head up.

14. **Hop and Jump 1-8**  
Girls --- 8-10 yrs.  
Two or more  
Equipment: chalk, flat stone (2 x 2)

Diagram on right.  
Player pushes stone with foot to area 1, then hops  
to 2 and 3, jumps into 4 and 5, turns in 4 and 5 and  
then hops 6,7,8 and out. Repeat pushing stone into 2  
and on through 8. Do not hop in area where stone is
placed. If stone does not land in correct area or the player hops or jumps incorrectly, the next player takes a turn.

15. Paris
Girls and Boys --- 8-12 yrs.
Usually three or more
Equipment: chalk, flat stone (2 x 2)

Diagram on right.
Player pushes stone into #1 with the foot. The player hops into 1, jumps into 2, hops into 3, jumps into 4 etc. around to 8 and out. Next, the stone is pushed into 2 and the procedure of hopping and jumping is repeated. Continue until the stone has been pushed through all the numbers. A "home" (one of the numbered areas) is taken by a player who finishes. All other players may not land in another's home. Players may stop and rest in their own home. If the stone does not land in the correct area it becomes the next player's turn. If the stone lands in Paris you must start all over when your turn comes up again; otherwise, you start where you left off.

16. Hop Scotch---(Hajar)
Girls --- 8-12 yrs.
Usually two or more
Equipment: chalk, stone (2 x 2)

Diagram on right.
a. Player pushes stone into 1 while hopping into 1. Continue to hop and push stone from 2 through 8 and back from 8 through 1. Next, push stone to 2 and repeat procedure etc.
b. Push stone with foot into 1. Hop into 2 and continue through 8 and back to 2. Pick up stone without putting other foot down and hop over 1. Push stone into 2 etc. through 8. Must hop over the area where the stone has been pushed.
c. Toss stone with hand to 1. Hop into 2,3, jump into 4 and 5, hop into 6, jump into 7 and 8, turn and jump again into 7 and 8. Repeat coming back to 2. Pick up stone and jump out. Repeat tossing stone into 2 etc. through 8. If stone does not go into the correct area, balance is lost, or player steps on a line the turn is lost.
17. **Hop Scotch---(Fardors)**

Girls and Boys --- 8-11 yrs.

Usually two or more

Equipment: chalk, stone (2 x 2)

Diagram on right.

Player pushes stone to 1 and then hops from 1 through 4, then turns and jumps into 5. Hop back through the numbers kicking the stone out of 1 when hopping out.

Repeat by pushing stone to 2. On the return, the stone must be pushed from 2 to 1 and out. Continue through 5. If the stone does not land in the correct area or the player steps on a line or balance is lost, it becomes the next player's turn.

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18. **Hop Scotch---(Hiar)**

Girls and Boys --- 8-11 yrs.

Usually three or more

Equipment: chalk, stone (2 x 2)

Diagram on right.

a. Player pushes stone into 1 with the foot. Jump to 1, hop pushing stone to 2, jump into 2 etc. through 3 and then out. May jump back out of area once to get into better position to push stone. If stone does not go into correct area the player loses a turn.

b. Looking up, a player leaps from one area to the next and then out. If a player steps on a line the turn is lost.

c. Same as "a", but the first one to finish may claim an area as a private house. A decision must be made as to whether or not the rest of the players may step into that house. If the decision is negative, they must hop over the territory to complete the game.

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19. **Hajjar-on Hands**

Boys --- 11-12 yrs.

Two or more

Equipment: 4 small stones

Each player takes four stones in hand, throws them up and tries to catch as many as possible on back of the hand. The one to catch the most goes first.

a. Throw 4 stones on ground. Pick one up at a time until all four are taken. Knock the stone on
ground as you pick it up.
b. Repeat above except taking two at a time, three, then four. Must use one sweeping motion when picking up.
c. Five through ten are picked up with backward sweeping motions. Different challenges are also made up by the players during the game.

20. Blind Man's Chase
Girls and Boys --- 7-9 yrs.
About eight players
Equipment: scarf

One player is blind folded with the scarf. Other players go close yelling, teasing and pushing. The blind folded player tries to catch one of them. A caught player becomes "It".

21. Human Bridge
Girls and Boys --- 6-9 yrs.
Six players
Equipment: none

a. Two players sitting facing each other—long sitting and feet touching. Other players form a line and one at a time jump over the sitting players' legs.
b. Children sitting, spread legs very wide. Others jump over.
c. Children sitting with spread legs and holding hands. The others must now jump higher as well as longer.
d. Children sitting hold hands higher.
A player who fails to jump successfully takes the place of one who is sitting.

22. Skateboard
Boys --- 8 yrs.
One at a time, others waiting turn
Equipment: skateboard

Player riding the skateboard along the street. First he pushes with one foot; then tries to balance with two feet on the board; then tries to take one hand off the wheel. Pushes as fast as possible.
23. Running Down Steps
Girls and Boys --- 5-7 yrs.
Four or more
Equipment: none

Two children start at the top of the steps, hold hands and run down as fast as possible. Go to the top and repeat.

24. Running
Boys and Girls --- 5-7 yrs.
Any number---usually a group
Equipment: none

Stand in the middle of a raised overpass in the park. Run down as fast as possible. Race with friends. Delight in feeling the speed of running down hill.

25. Arba (4) Zawaya
Girls and Boys ---- 8-11 yrs.
Five players
Equipment: none

Five players hold hands forming a circle. Skip around counting to five. On five, break and rush to a corner. (The corners are close enough so players can reach each other.) The player who did not get to a corner goes to the center. Each player at a corner reaches and holds the hand of another. These players must change places before the center person can capture one of the corner spots. When a center person captures a corner, repeat from the beginning.

26. Run and Jump
Boys --- 8-10 yrs.
Four players--or any number
Equipment: none

Each player runs down a hill and then jumps. See who can jump the farthest.
27. **Paddleball**
   Girls --- 8-10 yrs.
   Usually three or more
   Equipment: paddle and small, high bouncing ball

   Try to keep the ball up by tapping it with the paddle. Count how many times the ball is hit continuously. Take turns.

28. **Basket Ping Pong**
   Girls and Boys --- 7-9 yrs.
   Two players
   Equipment: ping pong ball and basket

   By pressing a section of the handle the ball pops out. The players direct the ball toward each other and try to catch it in the basket they are holding.

29. **Paddle Badminton**
   Girls --- 7-9 yrs.
   Two playing—many watching and waiting a turn
   Equipment: solid wood square paddle and shuttlecock (plastic paddle also used)

   Two players hit shuttlecock back and forth to each other across a narrow street. Count the number of times the shuttle is hit continuously. Take turns.

30. **Pitching Chiclets**
   Mostly boys --- 9-12 yrs.
   Usually four or more
   Equipment: chiclet boxes

   Stand several yards away from the wall. Each player tosses one box toward the wall. The one who comes the closest to the wall wins all the chiclets tossed. (Different groups stand different distances from the wall).
31. **Volleyball Skills**  
**Girls and Boys --- 7-12 yrs.**  
Two or more  
**Equipment:** ball  

a. One boy and one girl volley the ball trying to keep it going between the two of them.  
b. One boy practicing volleyball skills against the wall.  
c. About 6 players and a leader. The leader volleys to each player who volleys back. Change to circle with leader in the middle. Volley from leader to someone on the outside, back to leader etc.

32. **Soccer Skills**  
**Boys --- 5 yr. old and 10 yr. old**  
Two players  
**Equipment:** ball  

The older boy teaches soccer skills to the younger boy by first rolling the ball, then kicking softly and then harder.

33. **Soccer Skills---Heading**  
**Boys --- 7-10 yrs.**  
Four players  
**Equipment:** ball  

One player stands facing the other three, who are about 5 yards away, and tosses the ball to each player who heads it back. Continue but stand farther apart.

34. **Soccer**  
**Boys --- from 5-12 yrs.**  
Any number---rules depend on number playing  
**Equipment:** ball, any size. The older boys use more of a soccer size ball.  

Rules depend on the number of players. Always a goalie and goal boundaries. The more players the more game-like with a forward line, defense etc.  
(Everyday, all ages, any number).
35. **Three Way Soccer**  
*Girls and Boys --- 8-11 yrs.*  
Three players  
Equipment: ball

Three players—one in the center. The outside players try to kick past the center player. If the person in the center stops the ball that player tries to kick it past one of the outside players. If successful, the center player changes places with the player who let it go through. If not, the center player remains in the center.

36. **Kick Ball**  
*Girl and Boy --- 8-9 yrs.*  
Two players  
Equipment: ball

One person stands in the alley way and one person stands in the street about 10 yards away. The person in the street kicks the ball trying to get it past the person standing in the alley. Change places.

37. **Handball**  
*Boys --- 8-10 yrs.*  
Two playing, other waiting turn  
Equipment: old shoe and ball

A shoe is put in the center and used for a center line. Players hit the ball back and forth over the shoe trying to keep the ball going. Hit the ball low and directly to the other player.

38. **Keep away--stone**  
*Girl and Boys --- 8-9 yrs.*  
Three players  
Equipment: flat stone

Three players with one in the center. The two on the outside try to kick the stone past the center player. If center player stops the stone that player changes places with the person who kicked it.
39. Magic Ball Catch #1  
Boys --- 8-10 yrs.  
Five players  
Equipment: small high bouncing ball (magic ball)  

One player bounces the ball so it rebounds up very high. All five players try to catch it as it comes down or be the first to run after it to get it. The player who catches or retrieves the ball bounces it next.

40. Magic Ball Catch #2  
Girls --- 7-8 yrs.  
Two playing, others watching and waiting turn  
Equipment: small high bouncing ball (magic ball)  

Two players standing about 5 yards apart. Bounce the ball toward each other so it is possible to catch it. Ball bounces in different directions.

41. Keep Away #1  
Boys --- 8-12 yrs.  
Seven players  
Equipment: ball  

Circle with one person in the center. Toss the ball over the center player who tries to catch it. If he catches it, he changes places with the person who tossed it. Change from tossing to keeping the ball going by volleying over the center player. Add heading to the volleys.

42. Keep Away #2  
Girls and Boys --- 6-9 yrs.  
Six players  
Equipment: ball  

Four players in the center, one at each end. The two at the ends toss the ball to each other over the heads of those in the center. If a player in the center catches the ball that player changes places with the person who tossed it.
43. **Dodge Ball** *(1 vs many)*  
*Girls and Boys --- 8-10 yrs.*  
*Six players*  
*Equipment:  ball*  

Five players stand along fence and one stands in front about 6 yards away from the group. The person out in front throws the ball at the players lined up along the fence. Those players try to dodge the ball. If hit, that person chases ball for the player trying to hit the others. Last to be hit throws the ball next.

44. **Line Dodge Ball**  
*Girls and Boys --- 8-12 yrs.*  
*Eight players*  
*Equipment:  ball*  

Four players on a team. Line up 4 across. Teams face each other. Space is limited, depending on the number of players. Teams about 4 yards apart. One person throws the ball at any member of the opposite team. A player who is hit joins the other team. Play continues until all players from one team are hit.

45. **Circle Dodge Ball**  
*Girls and Boys --- 6-10 yrs.*  
*About ten players*  
*Equipment:  ball*  

Double circle. Players on the outside throw a low ball at players on the inside. Ball may bounce first before hitting a player. When all players are hit the groups change places.

46. **Stop the Ball**  
*Boys --- 9-10 yrs.*  
*Two players*  
*Equipment:  small soft ball (baseball size)*  

One person stands at the top of a flight of stairs and the other at the bottom. There is a wall behind each player. Each player throws the ball trying to get it past his opponent from head level down. If successful one point is scored. Several spectators cheering and waiting a turn.
47. **Ball Pass** (form of tag)  
*Girls and Boys --- 8-10 yrs.*  
About six players  
Equipment: ball

The player who is "It" tries to tag the player who is holding the ball. The ball is passed from one player to the other. If tagged, that player becomes "It".

48. **Tumbling**  
*Girls, Boys and Mixed --5-10 depending on the day and event*  
Any number  
Equipment: none

Children do stunts and tumbling on the grass either following a leader, individually or in pairs. Often seen are cartwheels, continuous forward rolls, log rolls, hand stands to forward rolls, leap frog and head stands. Most often the children start off playing together and end up trying to outdo each other.

49. **Hand wrestling**  
*Boys --- 9-11 yrs.*  
Two participating. Several others watching and waiting turn  
Equipment: none

Two players hand wrestle while others watch and cheer. Each tries to beat the previous winner. Often the hand wrestling ends up in full body wrestling.

50. **Leap Frog with a Side Roll**  
*Boys --- 9-11 yrs.*  
Four players  
Equipment: none

One player leans over, the others form a line about 6 yards away. They take turns running and doing side rolls over the person out front. Players change places periodically.
51. **Horle-Morle bi Dorle** (Buck Buck)

Girls and Boys (most often seen with just boys) --- 8-10 yrs.
About eight players
Equipment: none

(Like-"Buck, Buck How Many Fingers Do I Have Up") --
Two teams. One person leans against the wall while
the others on the team lean over and hold on to the
person in front. The other team lines up about 6 yards
away. One at a time, a player runs and jumps on the
backs of those leaning over. After all four have jumped
the first person calls, "Horle, Morle bi Borle--How
much is this?" That person is holding up one, two or
three fingers. If a member of the other team guesses
correctly the teams change places. If not, repeat the
procedure.

52. **Jump or Roll Over**

Boys --- 8-10 yrs.
Five players
Equipment: none

Three players get down on hands and knees. Others
run up and either jump over those on the ground or do a
sideward roll over. The person about to take a turn
arranges the group on the ground in any way. Take
turns jumping or being on the ground.

53. **Leap Frog**

Boys --- 8-10 yrs.
Six players
Equipment: none

Like leap frog except jumping over players who are
sideways to jumper. Four players leaning over, two
jumping. Each player leaning over takes the name of a
country. As a person jumps he calls the name of a
country trying to guess the correct country of the
person he is jumping over.
54. **Ring Around The Ankle**  
Girls and Boys --- 5-10 yrs.  
Any number  
Equipment: Ring and string and bell-like object on the end  

a. Put ring around ankle and swing object so it comes around. Hop over string with the other foot. Do it standing in one place or running down the street. Count the number of times you hop over the string. Take turns.  

b. Each player in the group takes the name of something in a category, ie. fruit, countries etc. The player jumps over the string calling out the names while jumping. The name called when the jumper missed is the person who goes next.

55. **Hopping Race**  
Girls --- 7-9 yrs.  
Five players  
Equipment: none  

On a signal, two people hop across a narrow street to the other side. The winner races against another person.

56. **Hop and Push (I Spy)**  
Girls --- 9-10 yrs.  
Two players--others waiting turn  
Equipment: none  

Two people push each other while hopping on one foot. Each is trying to make the other put two feet on the ground. Players may change the hopping foot occasionally. The winner plays against a person who is waiting a turn.

57. **Bicycle Race**  
Girls and Boys --- 8-12 yrs.  
6 players  
Equipment: bicycle for each participant  

Relay race. Line up next to each other on a bicycle. A spectator calls, "Go". Riders race to the end of the block. Repeat.
58. **Bicycle Rides**  
Girls and Boys --- 6-12 yrs.  
Any number  
Equipment: bicycle

Children give each other rides on bicycles. Change places. The person on the bicycle may start while the rider runs and jumps on.

59. **Partner Bicycle Riding**  
Girls --- 10 yrs.  
Two players  
Equipment: bicycle for each person

Two people riding bicycles next to each other. Hold handle bar with the outside hand and hold partner's inside hand. Ride along the street at the same pace, maintain same distance apart, turning when necessary.

60. **Giriz (Guess Who)**  
Girls and Boys --- 7-9 yrs.  
About six players  
Equipment: scarf, small object

One person stands in front of the group, blind folded. Someone throws a small object in front of the blindfolded person. Someone else goes forward and picks it up. The blindfolded person takes the scarf off and then tries to guess who has the object. Others in the circle make comments to try to throw off the person trying to guess. If the guess is correct, change places; if not the same person is blindfolded again. If that person misses three times a penalty is imposed by the group, i.e. hot oven.

61. **Tossing Rocks**  
Boys --- 7-9 yrs.  
Six players  
Equipment: small rocks

Each person picks up 4 small rocks. Stand a few yards back and toss rocks at the frame of swings. Count the number of times each person hits the frame out of 4 tries. Collect rocks and start over. The winner is declared each time after 4 rocks are thrown.
62. Marbles
Boys --- 7-10 yrs.
Three players or more
Equipment: 4 marbles each

Stand about 2 yards away from a hole. Roll all 4 marbles toward the hole. The one to come the closest to the hole starts by going to the farthest marble and flicking it toward the hole. If the marble goes in, the player plays the next farthest marble etc. (Hold middle finger and thumb together and flick marble with middle finger).

63. Catch a Child
Girls and Boys --- 6-11 yrs.
Many players
Equipment: none

London bridge formation with several bridges. The rest of the children line up and march under the raised bridges. When the leader claps the bridges are lowered trying to capture as many players as possible. Repeat until all but one player is caught. That player is the winner.

64. Here is Lost
Girls and Boys --- 6-10 yrs.
More than five players
Equipment: none

One player is the mother, one the jeweler and the rest are children. Children stand behind the mother in a straight line, each holding on to the person in front. A Jeweler comes to the Mother saying: "I am a ring seller. I have lost a ring with a blue stone." Mother: "It is not here". Jeweler: "I will find it here". Jeweler tries to capture a child from in back of the Mother, Mother tries to keep him away. After the jeweler grabs and takes away a child the verse is repeated. The last child to be caught is the winner.
65. **Jamal Ya Jamal**  
Girls and Boys --- 5-10 yrs.  
More than five players  
Equipment: none

One person is named Jamal and has many children. One other person is the visitor. Jamal leans with face against the wall. Children line up in back. The visitor comes and rings the door bell:  
Jamal: "What do you want"?  
Visitor: "A piece of wood".  
Jamal: "Take what you want, but don't take my child".

The visitor goes and taps the last child. The child runs and hides. Repeat procedure until the last child is tapped. The last child who stands directly in back of the father is always the favorite child. When Jamal finds his children are gone he argues with the visitor until the visitor goes to find the children. They are brought back one at a time. Each child makes a funny face or gesture when returned. Father tosses the child in the trash until the last and favorite child is finally returned. This child curtseys like a good child. There is much rejoicing.

66. **Da Da Ya Da**  
Girls and Boys --- 6-9 yrs.  
More than five players  
Equipment: none

All hold hands in a line. The last person says to the first, "What did you cook today"? Response, "Rice pudding". "Give us some". Response, "No". This continues through the line until the first person says, "Come to my house and get some."

The last person goes under the hands of the first two pulling the line through. The verse is repeated until the whole circle is inside out with crossed arms. In this position a verse is repeated: "Your father says wash your hands". All raise hands in a motion to wash the face. "Your father says, comb your hair". All make a motion to wash the hair. Continue this through several different motions until the father says—go out and play. Now, everybody breaks hands and runs away.
67. **Moobara (Tug of War)**
   Girls and Boys --- 7-10 yrs.
   Eight or more players
   Equipment: none

   One team faces one way holding hands in a line. The other team faces the other way holding hands. The first person on each team hold hands across a division line. Teams pull against each other trying to pull the opposite team over the division line or trying to make teammates of opposite team break hands.

68. **Jump or Out**
   Girls --- 9-10 yrs.
   Four or more players
   Equipment: none

   All players hold hands and skip around in a circle singing a rhyme. On signal, all drop hands and spread out. One person jumps toward another. The second person must jump when the first comes or she is "out". The second person, if still in, jumps toward the third person etc. Players make motions to jump before actually jumping to try to fool others into jumping too soon. If a player jumps too soon she is "out". Continue until only one player is left. That player is the winner.

69. **Fencing with Boards**
   Girl and Boy --- 9 yrs.
   Two players
   Equipment: board for each player

   Girl and Boy banging boards like sword fighting.

70. **Carry**
   Girls and Boys --- 5-10 yrs.
   Three players
   Equipment: none

   Two players form seat with hands and carry the youngest child. As they carry the child, they sing and go faster and faster until they all fall.
71. String Games
Girls --- 10-11 yrs.
Two players and others watching
Equipment: piece of string

One person holds the string in the beginning figure. The other takes it from the first person trying to make a different figure with the string as it is taken. The players continue to take the string from each other until one person is unable to form a figure.

72. Pinwheels
Girls and Boys --- 7-8 yrs.
About eight players
Equipment: each has a pinwheel

Holding sticks with flag and pinwheels attached the children run around in a large circle, then in a straight line like follow the leader. They also try to run fast to make the pinwheel turn.

73. Wrestling
Boys --- 10-11 yrs.
Two or more
Equipment: none

Wrestle until one gives up. In streets, often see boys wrestling until one gets up and runs away. In the park, judo as well as wrestling is seen.

74. Pebble Toss and Hit
Boys --- 11-12 yrs.
Two players
Equipment: small pebbles

Each player tosses the pebbles in the air and tries to hit them with the back of the tossing hand. Hit pebbles across the street trying to hit the farthest.
75. **Follow The Leader**  
**Girls and Boys --- 7-10 yrs.**  
Usually four or more players  
Equipment: none  

Follow the leader—walk on the wall in front of the homes (like a balance beam). Each child wants to be the leader.  
In the park—use a pipe or fence as a balance beam.

76. **Double Spinning**  
**Girls --- 9-10 yrs.**  
Two players  
Equipment: none  

Hold right hands with arms straight. Turn counter clockwise going faster and faster until hands are broken. Repeat.

77. **Train**  
**Girls and Boys --- 5-9 yrs.**  
Six to ten players  
Equipment: none  

Conductor in front, others hang on to conductor's belt. The conductor goes fast, then slow, then fast again trying to shake the followers.

78. **Swings**  
**Girls and Boys --- 5-10 yrs.**  
Many children on the swings all the time  
Equipment: swings  

a. Riding double—one sitting the other standing; both standing, both sitting facing each other.  
b. Riding single—usually being pushed by another person.

79. **Hanging and Travelling**  
**Girls and Boys --- 6-8 yrs.**  
Many on apparatus  
Equipment: metal apparatus
Children hanging by hands and moving sideward around the apparatus. If they catch up to another person they keep on going around. Some fall in the process but get up and start over.

80. Tops
Boys --- 8-10 yrs.
Six players
Equipment: several tops

Each player takes a turn trying to make the top spin the longest. Each claims his is the best.

81. War
Boys --- 7-9 yrs.
Four players
Equipment: wooden handmade guns

Two players with guns, others hide and when found they are shot. Repeat. Change places.

82. Automobile
Boys --- 10 yrs.
Two players
Equipment: small colored paper plate

Each player has a small plate holding it like a steering wheel of an automobile. They run through the streets, making honking noises and dodge the people, donkeys, pushcarts etc.

83. Choral Group
Girls and Boys --- 6-11 yrs.
Seven participants
Equipment: none

Children sitting on the steps with older girl standing out in front and acting like a director. She teaches them how to follow her arm signals singing louder when her arms come up and softer when her arms come down. Words to songs are also taught.
84. Visiting (Je suis la tramp pas en moi)  
Boys and Girls --- 8-10 yrs.  
Uneven—one more boy than girl  
Equipment: none

Boys line up on one side, girls on the other facing each other. Girls skip forward toward boys as boys skip backwards. Girls skip back as boys skip forward. One boy, then, comes toward a girl asking if she will go with him. If she turns her back, she refuses and he goes back to his line and the skipping is repeated. If she curtseys she has accepted and the girl goes to her left to form another line while the boy goes to his left. She may refuse an invitation only three times and then she must accept. The one boy who is left without a girl must go through the hot oven formed by the new lines.

85. Pass, Pass, Passura (London Bridges)  
Boys and Girls --- 8-10 yrs.  
Any number over five—most often large number  
Equipment: none

Two people hold hands up high. A category is designated and each of the two players chooses something in the category. The rest of the players form a line and proceed to march under the upheld arms. When the rhyme to pass, pass, passura is completed the two holding hands lower the arms and catch a player marching under. That player is asked which object is preferred and then stands in back of the person who chose that object. After all players are caught and standing in back of one of the people holding hands the two groups pull against each other trying to pull their opponents over the center line drawn on the ground.

86. Kick the Bottle Cap  
Boys --- 7-9 yrs.  
Two or three players  
Equipment: bottle cap

When two boys are playing the bottle cap is kicked back and forth between the two. When the third person enters, he stands in the middle and the others try to kick past him. If the center person stops the cap, he changes places with the person who kicked it.
87. Run and Lift
Girls --- 5-9 yrs.
Four players
Equipment: none

Two older players stand with elbows bent and forearms in front and parallel to the ground. Two younger players run toward the older girls, place hands on the outstretched forearms and lift body off the ground. With body in a straight line, stay up as long as possible.

88. King of The Mountain
Boys and Girls --- 7-10 yrs.
Six players
Equipment: none

One player standing on the wall tries to maintain a position. Others on the sidewalk push and pull trying to get the player off the wall to capture the position.

89. Home Made Swing
Girls and Boys --- 6-9 yrs.
Four players
Equipment: rope and pillow

Tie a rope around a tree limb and place a pillow on the rope like a swing. One player sitting on the pillow being pushed. Others waiting turn.

90. Bride, Where Are You Going?
Girls and Boys --- 8-10 yrs.
Any number—many
Equipment: none

Verse: Bride, Where are you going?
   Going to pick flowers.
   Who did you see on your way?
   I saw someone very pretty.
   Who is she?
   Here she is.

Players form a large circle holding hands. As they skip around they ask the questions in the verse. One person is chosen to respond and at the end chooses someone from the circle to go into the middle. Repeat until everyone is chosen. Those in the middle form a circle.
91. **My Friend is Coming**  
Girls and Boys --- 6-10 yrs.  
Five or more players  
Equipment: small object  

One person goes out, the rest hide an object on someone in the group. The person comes back, looks for the object and has three guesses as to which person has it. If the guess is correct the person who had it hidden goes out next. If the guess is not correct the first person goes out again. On the third incorrect guess the player goes through the hot oven or pays some penalty. Others in the group indicate if the person is close to finding the object by saying "you're getting closer" or "you're going farther away".

92. **Parade**  
Girls and Boys --- 5-9 yrs.  
About eight players  
Equipment: branches  

Marching two by two holding branches high and singing as in a parade.

93. **Dancing and Singing**  
Girls and Boys --- 3-9 yrs.  
About ten players  
Equipment: tin can  

Everyone sitting in a circle. One person beats out a rhythm on a tin can while the others clap the rhythm and sing a song. Another person stands in the center of the circle and dances. Later, two or three stand and dance.

94. **Thāt, Thāt, Tha-iah (Drop The Handkerchief)**  
Girls and Boys --- 5-10 yrs.  
Ten or more players  
Equipment: handkerchief or scarf  

One person stands holding the handkerchief while all others are sitting in a circle. The person standing walks around the circle and drops the handkerchief behind someone. All other players yell to that person who gets up and chases the other player around the
circle. The person who is being chased tries to get to the vacated spot before being tagged. If the chased player makes it before being tagged the other player goes around the circle and drops the handkerchief.

95. **House**  
**Girls and Boys --- 4-9 yrs.**  
Five players  
Equipment: broom, blankets, cups, cookies

Children play house. Visiting, serving refreshments, sleeping, cleaning house and going to work.

96. **Hospital**  
**Girls and Boys --- 3-9 yrs.**  
About six players  
Equipment: blanket, improvised gadgets

Children play hospital--doctor, nurse, patient, errand person, visitor. Role playing, visitor crying, nurse caring for patient, doctor talking to visitor, coffee brought by errand girl.

97. **Rhythmic Board Banging**  
**Girls --- 8-9 yrs.**  
Three players  
Equipment: Boards

Each person holds two boards. First person bangs on a wall a few times and then the next fills in followed by the third. Rhythmic types of noises are produced.

98. **Climbing**  
**Boys --- 9-11 yrs.**  
Six players  
Equipment: metal structure

Metal structure looks like a large capsule. Two people start at the top and run all the way down trying not to fall off. Others take turns doing the same thing. Delight in running down without losing balance.
99. **Side Vault—Bench**
   **Girls --- 10 yrs.**
   Three players
   Equipment: bench

   One person standing on one side of the bench, another on the other side. Both are facing in the same direction with their sides to the bench. The third person gives the signal to go. The players at the bench do five side vaults over the bench and then sit. The first to sit wins.

100. **Make Me Crazy (translation)**
   **Girls --- 6-8 yrs.**
   Four players
   Equipment: none

   Players hold hands and skip around in a circle. One person sings a verse. At a certain point in the verse, the players break hands and hold a pose. One player is designated as "It" and goes around to the others trying to make one of them laugh. Continue until one laughs and then repeat with a new leader.

101. **Rope Jumping**
   **Girls --- 8-10 yrs.**
   About five players
   Equipment: Rope

   a. In and out—Run under rope as two people swing. Take turns jumping one, then two etc. up to ten.

   b. Over and Under—Jump as the rope is swung over head 10 times and then rope is swung just under the feet 10 times.

   c. Jump and Hold—Jump as rope is swung around four times and then hold as the rope is held over head for one count. Verse along with jumping.

   d. Fast jumping—Each player chooses a name out of a category ie. sun, moon, stars etc. One person jumps as the rope is being swung very fast. With each jump the player repeats the names. The name being called at the moment the jumper misses takes the next turn.
102. **Elastic Rope**

*Girls --- 8-12 yrs.*

*Five players*

*Equipment: elastic (as used in sewing)*

Two players stand facing each other several yards apart with elastic rope around ankles—legs spread.

a. Player stands in center and jumps landing on the two side pieces, jump back into the center and then out.

b. From the outside, jump pulling the side piece over the other side. Turn and jump back.

c. Repeat "b" going backwards.

d. Cross sides over each other and step on them. Jump up and into center, then out.

When a player finishes a-d, everything is repeated with the elastic held higher on the legs of the side players. When a player misses the next player takes a turn.

103. **Jump Rope—Fence**

*Girls and Boys -- 6-10 yrs.*

*Five players*

*Equipment: rope*

One end of the rope is tied to the fence while the other end is being swung by an older player. Others jump in together, singing a rhyme.

104. **Jump Over Rope**

*Girls --- 7-10 yrs.*

*Six players*

*Equipment: rope*

Two players hold rope about a foot over the ground. Others line up and jump over the rope one at a time. Rope is held higher after everyone jumps. Continue to raise rope until everyone misses. One miss and the player is out. (Great rejoicing everytime the jump is made).
105. Bonjour Madame-Bonjour Monsieur (card game)
Girls --- 8-10 yrs. (5-8 another time)
Three players
Equipment: two decks of cards

Pass all cards out dividing them evenly among players.
Each player in turn places a card on the pile—face up.
If King appears—all salute
If Queen appears—say, "Bonjour Madame"
If Jack appears—say, "Bonjour Monsieur"
If Ace appears—place hand on ace. The hand on the top must pick up all cards in the pile.

If a person makes a mistake in saying Bonjour Monsieur instead of Madame, or doesn't say anything, that player must take all the cards. Play until one player is left with all the cards in the deck.

106. Tag
Girls and Boys --- 5-12 yrs.
Any number
Equipment: none

Children enjoy merely chasing each other and tagging. Chasing seen everywhere, all the time, all age groups and both sexes.

107. Slide
Girls and Boys --- 3-9 yrs.
Any number
Equipment: slide

A slide is found in almost every park. Children enjoy going down the slide in different ways. There are many children on the slide all the time. Younger children are helped by the older ones.

108. Bathing
Boys --- 8-12 yrs.
Any number
Equipment: river

Boys are often seen playing in the shallow waters of the river, jumping up and down, splashing, sitting, running.