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AN ETHNOGRAPHY OF A PHYSICAL EDUCATION CLASS:
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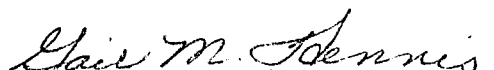
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Beulah Marie Wang

A Dissertation Submitted to
the Faculty of the Graduate School at
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Approved by


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APPROVAL PAGE

This dissertation has been approved by the following committee of the Faculty of the Graduate School at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro.

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The purpose of this study was to investigate physical education classes as episodes within which implicit and explicit learnings occur. An ethnographic description of indirect and unintended instructions conveyed to students was compiled. The descriptive data were analyzed through application of anthropological theory.

The research technique utilized for this descriptive study was that of participant observation and formal and informal interviews. The data were collected during the researcher's participation in the physical education lessons of selected fifth and sixth grade classes throughout the four month period from February through May, 1975. A projective test was administered for purposes of eliciting children's rules restricting entry into an informally organized basketball game.

Data were reviewed and organized into categories reflecting major events and conditions around which life in the physical education classes centered. Basic categories drawn from student interviews and observations of actual class occurrences were these: Sitting at Attention, Squad Work, Free Play, New Special Equipment, Physical Fitness Tests, Tumbling Club, and Field Day. Additional categories judged by the researcher to make significant contribution to the descriptive account of the physical education class were Leadership, Entry into a Game, and Gym Class in the Total Curriculum.

Analysis of the data through application of anthropological theory revealed the transmission of conflicting curricula through the physical education class. A teacher structured curriculum conveyed

rules of individual worth tempered with emphasis on co-operation, equality, and social responsibility. The teacher sponsored curriculum is instruction in ideal, integrated, democratic living. A student imposed hidden curriculum, conducted through symbolic ritual, instructed students in a code of behavior contradicting the teacher's ideal model. The student sponsored curriculum implicitly conveyed through non-verbal behavior is one of discrimination, stratification, and segregation of individuals. Rules for behavior sanctioned by the students' implicit curriculum correlate with experiences and learnings of real society.

The physical education class was conceptualized as secular ritual and compared with ritual performances in tribal Africa. The cross-cultural comparison revealed the use of symbolic ritual in the contrasting cultures as a means of perpetuating the conflicts and values of the larger societies. In both contexts, the structure of major unifying ritual is utilized as the setting for enacting the rivalries of the existing society. Through symbolic ritual, behavior performed in ritual context for purposes of expressing what cannot be said openly, the accepted rules and principles of social organization are clarified.

In the physical education classes investigated, a hidden curriculum of notable import in the structuring of students' basic value orientations was that imposed by the students themselves through the subtle expressions of symbolic ritual. The data suggest the urgency for sensitivity on the part of all educators to the variety and the nature of implicit learnings conveyed to students in schools.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Few who are concerned with formal education today would refute the implications of the phrase "crisis in the classroom" (Silberman 1970). Recommendations for correcting deficiencies and improving education's effectiveness are varied and profuse. Advocated reforms range from prescribing methods for patterning more individuals, with greater efficiency, through the channels of formal education, to freeing students for the pursuit of personalized learning through the abandonment of schools.

Analyses of efforts directed toward educational reform and resultant outcomes produce a strong case for the likelihood that solutions are sought in inappropriate areas. The ability of education to structure beliefs as to what things can be disputed results in a tendency for many established goals, procedures, and remedies in education to escape questioning. The resulting misdirection of energies might well be subversion, rather than advancement, of the effectiveness of schools in fulfilling their mission to society.

Silberman (1970) cites current emphasis on pre-school education as reflective of society's assumption that the solution to failure in schools is intensification of efforts to change the child to fit the school. Of growing concern among educational critics has been the fact that schools continually evaluate students, while the institutions themselves are rarely evaluated.

Anthropologists are among those who urge the structuring of new questions for generation of new information and possible penetration of the problems. Spindler (1963) is critical of the bulk of educational research in its orientation toward determination of methods for teaching more children more things faster. He presses the urgency for redirection of investigations toward exposure of what actually occurs in schools and what norms and values are represented, explicitly and implicitly, in the educational environment. Kimball (1973) suggests that changes in education have been of a surface nature, "a refurbishing of old superstructures," without effecting change in the traditional value systems. Critics expose schools as bureaucratic, hierarchical structures preoccupied with order and control. Examination and evaluation of values perpetuated by the organizational structure of schools is currently urged.

The educational process has long been a central concern of anthropologists. Much of the content of cultural anthropology deals with the manner in which skills, knowledges, and values are acquired from generation to generation or how a culture transmits and modifies its basic heritage. Terming the process "indirect learning," Honigmann (1954) explores situations in which there is no apparent effort to teach, yet the uninstructed successfully imitate behaviors to which they have been exposed. Learning of this nature is felt to be a highly significant factor in the formation of basic value orientations, the learning of one's native culture.

Utilizing the naturalistic observation methodology typifying anthropological research, Henry (1963) discloses the manner in which

"indirect learning" occurs in schools. Values implicit in the very process of schooling are found to be supportive of general social values.

Recent efforts toward determination of the "hidden curriculum" in education reflects growing awareness of the impact of unintended learning transmitted through the socializing influences of the school. Norms, values, and behaviors of students are shaped by the techniques as well as the contents of educational experiences. Her comprehensive review of the literature dealing with the hidden curriculum leads Bain to define the concept as "values implicitly represented in the educational environment" (1974: 3). Bain cites specifically the influences of (1) class organization, (2) procedural regulations, and (3) teacher behavior, in structuring students' values.

Herskovits (1973), Troupe (1972), and Chilcott (1968) are among the many who advocate the study of schools as cultural subsystems and transmitters of culture through the same methodological approach used for studying foreign cultural systems. Herskovits states firm conviction that children of all cultures become what they are guided into being by the instructional elements of the culture. "A complete catalog of what is taught the child," he suggests, "would, in the fullest sense, constitute an ethnographic description of his culture" (1973:39).

Physical education programs, vital contributors to general education, participate in the expressed function of preparing young people in the skills, knowledges, and attitudes deemed essential in order to become fully participating members of adult society. For the purpose of investigating physical education classes as episodes within which implicit and explicit learning occurs, and compilation of an

ethnographic description of indirect and unintended teaching taking place in the physical education class, this study is undertaken. The descriptive data are analyzed through application of anthropological theory.

CHAPTER II

THE ETHNOGRAPHIC METHOD IN EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

Methodological and theoretical support for this study are drawn from three basic areas of related literature:

1. Participant observation as a research technique
2. Anthropology and formal education
3. Anthropological studies specific to sport and physical education.

Participant Observation as a Research Technique

Referred to variously as participant observation, naturalistic observation, field study, and field work, participant observation is the study of people and of their culture¹ in their natural environment. It is characterized by the researcher's

participation in, and observation of, the society under investigation in attempt to understand the inside view of the native peoples and attain a holistic view of their social situation (International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences 1968:418).

Participant observation and the unstructured interview, the traditional methodology of anthropological investigation, are based on conviction that rules, regulations, and constitution regulating the lives of individuals and comprising the culture of a society are "embodied in human beings rather than expressed in a code of laws " (Malinowski quoted by Whiting and Whiting 1973). Observations of behavior and questioning of informants about the behavior observed thus provide the data from which patterns of culture are extracted and conscious and unconscious models governing behavior deduced.

Anthropological field methods meet frequent challenge as reliable scientific research techniques. Research theorists in anthropology (Honigmann 1973, Levine 1973, Cohen 1973, Mead 1973, Becker and Greer 1960) defend the scarcity of rigorous research design and de-emphasis on specific hypotheses characterizing field work methodology by identifying it as a major asset. The relatively free and unstructured researcher is allowed opportunity to pursue problems as they are encountered in the course of the investigation. Each case, individually, directs the energies of the researcher in accordance with existing variance rather than some preordained set of values. Participant observation, thus, is valued for its potential for generating knowledge through identification of problems inherent within the situation under investigation.

Quoting Mead, Honigmann defends nonprobability sampling characteristic of most field studies as logical scientific research appropriate for use in collection of data to be used for solving qualitative problems such as discovering "what occurs, the implications of what occurs, and the relationships linking occurrences"(1973:273). Caution is extended that the resulting descriptive patterns be documented by reference to the behavior from which it is inferred, along with clarity of the representativeness of the informants.

Further support of the unstructured interview and participant observation as tools of investigation are offered by McGrath (1970), Cohen (1973), Kluckhohn (1940), and Bruyn (1963). In analyses concerned not simply with matters of incidence and distribution, but of patterns and the variant ways in which the pattern is manifest, Kluckhohn

suggests "statistics may obscure, rather than clarify the issue." The qualitative difference of a pattern and the manner in which the pattern fits together, with the frequency of occurrence expressing the pattern, are the factors upon which appropriateness of methodology are to be based.

Middleton (1973), Honigmann (1973), Mead (1973), and Cohen (1973) deal with traditional but practical aspects of participant observation. Regardless of the focus of the investigation, the problem of getting into the "field" situation and establishing a role among the "indigenous" population to allow use of one's intimate contact with its day-to-day life as a research tool remains imperative. Data collection is intimately linked with an understanding of the context from which it is drawn.

Pelto (1970) and Diesing (1971) address themselves to the problems of bias and objectivity in field study investigations. Note is made of the bias exerted by every scientist on potential outcome of investigations through selection of a particular theoretical framework through which subject matter is perceived and interpreted. Contrary to the role of the detached experimenter, the methodology of participant observation requires the researcher's active involvement with subjects in order to gain insight into what things mean from their perspective. The problem of investigator bias thus takes on greater dimensions when conducting a scientific study of this design. A balance of intimate contact and genuine attachment with objective detachment is essential in the use of human perception for the study and interpretation of the behavior of other human beings.

Although some theorists suggest somewhat modified concepts of field work (LeVine 1973, Pelto 1970) with increased emphasis on experimental research design and specific facets of society under investigation, the exploratory study and holistic emphasis remains a most important aspect of cultural investigations. Specific hypotheses or research problems grow from observations and materials in the field rather than structuring a population to fit a preconceived problem. Careful observation of behavior of informants along with daily experiences in the patterns of their interaction continues to be valued as a most valid method of data collection.

Pelto (1970) examines at length the argument between theorists concerning the units of observation best suited for comprising ethnographic description from which to draw generalizations regarding human nature. He distinguishes between the "emic" and "etic" research options by referring to Pike's clarification:

It [the "emic" approach] is an attempt to discover and describe the pattern of that . . . particular culture in reference to the way in which the various elements of that culture are related to each other in the functioning of the particular pattern, rather than an attempt to describe them in reference to a generalized classification derived in advance of the study of the culture [as "etic" would prefer] (1970:68).

The majority of field workers support the emic point of view.

In a detailed article confronting questions and challenges concerning participant observation as a research technique, Bruyn summarizes the role of the investigator thus:

1. The participant observer shares in the life activities and sentiments of people in face-to-face relationships.

2. The role of the participant observer requires both detachment and personal involvement.
3. The researcher acquires a social role which is determined by the requirements of the research design and the framework of the culture.
4. The scientific interests of the participant observer are interdependent with the cultural framework of the people being studied.
5. The social role of the researcher is a natural part of the cultural life of the observed (1963;224-225).

The author relates the essential elements of the research technique with the universal process of role-taking in socialization from childhood through adulthood. The aim of participant observation as research methodology is summarized as "taking part in the socialization process just as the other participants do, to the point where one's inner experience can reflect the unity and structure of the society as a whole" (1963;226).

Anthropology and Formal Education

Two distinct interrelationships bridge the disciplines of education and anthropology. One relates to theories of learning, the other involves application of the anthropological research methodology for analysis of educational institutions and experiences. The latter necessarily involves the former since anthropological analysis can be conducted only within the framework of anthropological theory.

Analyses of social institutions in modern industrial nations through utilization of techniques for studying social systems and social change in primitive societies is urged by anthropologists and sociologists (Firth 1956, Mead 1955, Siegel 1955, Malinowski 1943, Henry 1963). Micro-Anthropology of this nature is valued for its

potential contribution to a broad base of data from which comparative perspectives of human behavior may be drawn.

The impact of cultural anthropology on development of educational theory is well documented (Nash 1974, Singleton 1972, Spindler 1974, Sady 1969, Kimball 1973). Applying theories concerning the learning of one's native culture, cultural continuity and culture change, and cultural relativism, anthropologists explore such issues as:

1. The function of formal education in a democratic society.
2. Continuities and discontinuities of formal education in schools with informal instruction of society.
3. The myth of racial, ethnic, and cultural supremacy.
4. Universal and relative values.
5. Ethnocentrism as an implicit curriculum in schools.
6. Varying patterns of communicating values.

Outstanding anthropologists from a long list of early contributors to anthropological and educational theory are selected for discussion.

Application of anthropological concepts specifically for educational research was first suggested in 1904 in a paper presented by Edgar L. Hewett to the American Association for Advancement of Science (Singleton 1972). Hewett's concerns, published the following year in the American Anthropologist (Hewett 1905) were two-fold:

1. More precise definition of anthropological theory, rendering its literature more readily useable in schools of teacher preparation.

2. The problems of ethnocentrism inherent in education as a particular set of values is imposed upon people having customs, morals, ideals, and religious beliefs supporting a different mode of reasoning.

Hewett's major theme was that of concern for the breaking down of ethnic values of the American Indians, Negroes, and Filipinos through American-style educational programs with failure to construct meaningful guides for behavior as replacements. Hewett understood the delicate balance and interrelatedness of culture with personality and value development, and saw each culture complex as valid adaptation to environmental demands. He called for accumulation of scientifically determined knowledge of the mind and character of the various ethnic and racial groups falling within one common system of schooling and urged adjustment of educational programs in accordance with needs and values specific to the people. Hewett recognized the realities of cultural change but expressed strong conviction that such adjustments, to be functional, must come from within a culture rather than be forced upon it from the outside.

Benedict (1943) and Mead (1943) advocated the study of the American concept of education against the backdrop of primitive educational perspectives. Both based their studies on the belief that adult behavior is determined, in large part, by the total educational experiences obtained during childhood. Both Benedict and Mead, therefore, were committed to the need for consistency between patterns of child rearing and the needs and realities of the society for which individuals are being prepared. Both sought to extend knowledge of the human organism and to determine ways of freeing human potential for its fullest capabilities.

Benedict's specific contributions were her efforts toward identification of the kind of character structure most suited to a democratic society (Nash 1974, Benedict 1943). Much of what occurs in American education was observed, by her, as being dysfunctional . . . as leading to discontinuity between childhood and adulthood. She advocated education for independence, initiative, and self-responsibility through experiences designed to pattern children for assuming these qualities and moving directly into adult roles. She recommended exhaustive examination of the educational techniques of other cultures in order to understand the seemingly smooth transition from childhood dependency into adult independence.

Benedict (1942) charged educators with responsibility for eliminating racial prejudice through active propagation of scientific fact discrediting the myth of racial superiority.

Mead (1943) identified a significant distinction between the process of education in America and that conducted among nonliterate cultures. While the former seeks to educate for change, for achieving some uniformity of values, the latter utilize education as a mechanism for preserving the status quo. Education for change, for molding homogeneity from a heterogeneous population, as perceived in America, assumes the superiority of one way of life. Furthermore, it allows the privilege of forcing that way of thinking upon others. Unplanned and dysfunctional results of such an arrangement are manifested through perpetuation of (1) an inferior-superior relationship between segments of the population and (2) breaks in continuity between generations.

Mead's (1966, 1970) later contribution to educational theory examines three distinct phases of enculturation into American society. In complex post-industrial societies such as ours, change occurs at an accelerated pace, and it is the youth, rather than the adults, who become the symbols of future life. Only a dynamic concept of child rearing, one geared to the realities of social change, is felt capable of producing the kinds of adults needed in today's complex and fluid society.

Malinowski (1943) drew parallels between problems of the young African experiencing alienation from native traditions as a result of European-style education and a number of problems evident in the United States. African schools developed by European foreigners represent "isolated centers of book learning" rather than centers of training for life action. Expectations and values of European culture are introduced at the same time that the native African is excluded from the material basis for access to the style of life to which he is taught to aspire. Individuals caught in such a trap face growing discrepancy between expectation and reality. Malinowski suggests that schools designed to meet the needs of the African, rather than reflecting the values and ideals of foreigners, might avoid much of the potential for frustration.

Herskovits' (1973) greatest contribution to educational theory was his exposure of the ethnocentrism implicit in most American school curricula. Attitudes of teachers toward minority groups frequently convey impressions of inferiority and limit self confidence, aspirations, and achievement. His research on intelligence tests revealed

the degree to which these measures reflect experience and backgrounds of individuals rather than innate intelligence (Herskovits 1927, 1973b). His studies of Black education and Black cultural backgrounds, conducted in Africa as well as in the United States, have helped to destroy the myth of racial inferiority.

Nash (1974) reports on Kluckhohn's concerns for probing beyond value relativism to determination of a universal set of values to which all Americans could subscribe. In his writings, Kluckhohn calls for interdisciplinary investigation of the nature and causes of human conflict, along with development of educational programs geared to acceptance of cultural diversity. Education for personal autonomy is suggested as an integrating principle appropriate to a truly united American culture and a self-integrating future world culture.

Credit for the recent inter-disciplinary thrust of anthropological and educational research into the problems of education and value formation is attributed primarily to the efforts of George Spindler (Singleton 1972). As a result of Spindler's initiative, leading theorists and researchers in the respective fields met at a Stanford University Conference in 1954. A significant outgrowth of this gathering was the formation of a Council on Anthropology and Education, and the development of Anthropology and Education as an academic sub-discipline. Effort is made to co-ordinate the interconnections between the two fields and to compile research and publications of interrelated relevance (Spindler 1974; Kimball and Burnett 1973; Ianni and Storey 1973; Gearing and Tindall 1973; Wax, Diamond, and Gearing 1971; Sindell 1969).

Educators and anthropologists studying schools as enculturating institutions agree that children learn far more than reading, writing, and arithmetic in schools. Some of the most important aspects of their acquired knowledge occurs through informal instruction of teachers and peers rather than resulting from overt, systematic teaching. The "unconscious training" characteristic of the formal educational system is found to be highly significant in the cultural molding process--the shaping of basic values (Linton 1936, Ianni and Ceasar 1973, Davis 1972, Wax and Wax 1971, Illich 1970, Kluckhohn 1957, Honigmann 1954).

In investigations of relationships between the school and the surrounding community, and the school as an institution with its own system of values and structure, Spindler (1963) found the educational process reflecting values and conflicts of the culture.

Unintended teachings and learnings occurring in schools, referred to currently as the "hidden curriculum" (Jackson 1968), is a concept encountered in anthropological literature in a variety of terms: deuterio learning (Bateson 1947), indirect learning (Honigmann 1954), implicit learning (Henry 1963), and tacit learning (Tindall 1975). Honigmann (1954), referring to Ruesch and Bateson, highlights the significance of deuterio learning, or "learning from learning," in general shaping of value orientations of the learner.

Using the anthropological distinction between "real" and "ideal" culture, Wolcott (1969) reveals teacher-intended learnings to be frequently only a small part of the total learning taking place in classrooms. "Concomitant," or unintended, teaching is noted as a subtle,

but pervasive, conveyor of the "real" culture transmitted to students through schools, a culture which might, or might not, be consistent with the explicit philosophy of the institution. Henry (1965) speaks of the "polyphasic" quality of education (the transmission of more than one thing at a time) and discloses the subtle ways in which teachers transmit values to students. A great deal of information is conveyed through signs and cues embedded in teacher behavior rather than through formally presented subject matter.

Bidwell (1972) and Aptekar (1970) look at the "hidden curriculum" imposed upon students by the culture of the school. Unplanned and unrecognized values taught and learned through the very process of schooling (class organization, procedure, and routine) are found, in general, to emphasize order, control, compliance, and conformity. Values implicit in the educational process are identified by Bidwell as functional in maintaining the wider society.

Issues related by Johnson (1943) in his introduction to the Symposium of Education and the Cultural Process in 1943 remain timely. Because of the diversity of cultural backgrounds of population groups, formal education in America is frequently not the assumed simple task of the school's taking over and continuing a learning process begun in the home. Using the American Negro as a sample case, Johnson illustrates the disintegrating, as well as the integrating, functions of public schooling as people of different cultures are thrust into acculturating situations. The discontinuity of cultural transmission between home and school and between generations within a community presents gaps in transmission of rules for appropriate behavior. These gaps are

observed as breaks in "moral solidarity" of a society, providing potential for conflict and crises. Johnson's description is applicable to the chaotic condition in many public schools today as well as to society in general.

The issues of cultural change, cultural continuity, and preservation of ethnic identity are the focus of current investigation regarding expectations, techniques, and outcomes of education (Spindler 1974, Sindell 1974, Chanan and Gilchrist 1974, Henninger and Esposito 1973, Howard 1973, Herskovits 1973, Coleman 1966). Effectiveness of proposed and implemented educational experiments warrants assessment in the light of anthropological theories of cultural dynamics based on data derived through anthropological investigation.

In a recent issue of Human Organization devoted to utilization of anthropological methodology for educational evaluation, Wolcott supports the use of the ethnographic approach for the study of virtually any aspect of human social life. He suggests models for structuring descriptive accounts and identifies the major issues related to appropriateness of conducting ethnographic research in schools as follows:

1. Appropriateness of the problem (freedom to discover what the problem is rather than obligation to pursue some predetermined problem is essential)
2. Appropriateness of the ethnographer (the fieldworker's essential research instrument has always been himself)
3. Appropriateness of the research climate (it is essential that the situation be free of restraining style and other constraints)
4. Appropriateness of expectations of the completed study (the traditionally expected type of progress report may not be possible through use of a method more suited for generating than verifying, hypotheses) (1975. Vol.34: 111-127).

Anthropological Studies Specific to Sport
and Physical Education

Leaders in the field of sport sociology are critical of the tendency for researchers to direct their efforts toward applied research. The use of sport as a social tool or utilization of sociological theory for bringing about improved sport performance has been the major focus of investigations. The call is made for application of sociological theory in value-free investigations directed toward an extension of knowledge about sport as a social institution (Loy and Seagrave 1974, Ingham and Smith 1974, Melnick 1975, Kenyon 1974). Basing his argument upon the sociological theory that human behavior while participating in physical activity (as in all situations) "is influenced by the presence and products of other human beings," Sage (1974) emphasizes the need for strictly sociological investigations into the essence of sport for obtaining an understanding of its pervasiveness in American society.

The use of ethnographic detail resulting from naturalistic observations is urged by Melnick (1975) and Loy and Seagrave (1974) as a means of furthering knowledge of the social significance of sport. "The significance of sport as a social phenomena," contend Loy and Seagrave "cannot be investigated by controlled experiments."

The recommended descriptive-analytic technique (observing, recording, describing, and analyzing actual occurrences) is, as yet, given limited recognition among physical educators as a legitimate research tool. Anderson (1971) valued investigations of this nature as a means of gaining clear understanding of what actually happens in the

real world of teacher-student interactions. Working with Fishman (1971), he contributed to the development of a systematic procedure for facilitating accurate recording of events assumed to be significant in the teaching-learning process. The instrument is designed to specify categories of observed teacher feedback and provides a coding system for efficient classification and recording.

Tindall's "Ethnography and the Hidden Curriculum of Sport" (1975) is a model for further research into the "real" learning taking place in classrooms. Drawing from experiences as a participant-observer of community basketball and physical education classes, he examines the "tacit" curriculum, illustrating how engaging in a game of basketball constitutes a lesson in proper personal behavior. The specific instruction conveyed to students is the premise that individuals ought to, and do, control other individuals. Similar sets of interpersonal relationships are found to obtain in other aspects of schooling.

Further analyzing his data, Tindall reveals rejection of the tacit curriculum by boys of the Ute Indian tribe, a sub-group within the total student population observed. A pattern of Ute rejection is implicit in their avoidance of participation in an organized basketball tournament through absence from school or failure to bring gym uniforms on days on which they are scheduled for tournament games. Ute rejection of the premise that people ought to and can control other individuals is shown to be consistent with their cultural values which stress individuality and equality between men. Through their rejection, the Utes enact their own lesson in appropriate behavior.

Blanchard (1974) substantiates consistency of sport behavior with patterns of general cultural behavior, noting Navajo adaptation

of the game of basketball to fit the needs and values of their culture. Navajo teams exhibit a more individual style of play than that observed among male Mormon players. Blanchard summarizes the differences thus:

In general, Navajo basketball in Ramah is less aggressive, less contact-oriented, less outwardly enthusiastic, less structured, and more concerned with individual performance than patterned team play exhibited by area Whites (Blanchard 1973:5).

His observations lead Blanchard to question the effectiveness of sport as an instrument of social change.

Orlick and Botterill (1975), Moston and Mueller (1974), and Stevenson (1974) utilize anthropological theory to compare and contrast "real" and "ideal" learnings occurring in programs of sport and physical education. They point to the paradox between an "ideal" philosophy of education for all and a "real" curriculum in which rapid exclusion from participation is inherent in the learning experiences selected. Acclaimed development of self-discipline through highly organized competitive sports programs is revealed as instruction in dependence upon officials and formal regulations.

Stevenson (1974) questions physical education's effectiveness in contributing to socialization patterns deemed desirable by society. Pointing out the heavy emphasis on team sports in most physical education classes, he notes the manner in which they become "incidental" transmitters of the values of the social environment. Stereotypic big business behaviors and attitudes displayed in contemporary sport are transmitted by association through sport materials and sport experiences, symbolic links between students and professional sport heroes.

Ethnological research has been used in examining the historical development and distribution of games. Through a study of games,

Culin (1907) sought to determine patterns of cultural diffusion linking the Asian and native American aboriginals. Lacking current geological knowledge connecting the two continents, his investigations led to ultimate conclusion of independent development of game forms within each culture. His writings provide us, however, with detailed descriptions of Japanese, Chinese, Korean, and North American Indian sports and pastimes.

Damm's (1970) comprehensive overview of anthropological studies of sport activities among primitive peoples is an effort toward determining the origin of sportive games.

The structural-functional properties of sport in maintaining and integrating social systems are revealed and discussed by several investigators (Stumpf and Cozens 1947; Dunlap 1951; Howell, Dodge, and Howell 1974; Slater 1972; Roberts and Sutton-Smith 1962). In general, sport is found to contribute to transmission of skills and knowledges essential for survival in homogeneous, preliterate societies.

In their early attempt at understanding the role of games, sports, and recreational activities in American society through utilization of the comparative process, Stumpf and Cozens (1947) examined available literature on the Maories of New Zealand. Education in general is found to be practical adjustment to survival in the environment. Games and sports contribute to this goal through development of physical skills, social attitudes, ritual sentiments, and economic knowledge essential for individual and group life. Physical skills and social values learned through play and games during childhood closely interrelate with those essential for adult life. "The physical welfare

of the society" is judged by the researchers "to be the basis for all their sport, games, and recreational activities." (1947:215).

Dunlap (1951) conducted a similar study utilizing data drawn from the literature on Samoa. Integration of recreational activities with other major aspects of the culture led her to consider sport as an integrating factor in the lives of the people. Skills essential to warfare and economic pursuits are incorporated in many of the games and sports. Group unity, socially approved expression of rivalry, and achievement of individual honor and prestige are identified as outcomes of sport participation. The investigator draws attention to the decline in the vigor, personal pride, group morale, and health habits of the people when ritual sports and games are abolished by early Christian missionaries. The contribution of sport to development of value orientation of the culture is implicit in the evidence presented.

Howell, Dodge, and Howell (1974) analyzed the play of Polynesian, Australian aboriginal, Eskimo, and Melanesian societies from the viewpoint of the major political, economic, social, and ceremonial aspects of the culture. Games appear to correlate with the primary concerns of each of the investigated social groups. Among Polynesians, for example, where food is extremely plentiful, economic-type activities account for only eight percent of the play. In contrast, for the Australian aboriginals, play activities relating to economics constitute thirty-one percent of the total play observed.

Skills and character traits developed through the game of lacrosse and its associated training sessions are found to have been of value in preparing the aboriginal North American Indians in the spheres of economics and warfare (Slater 1972). Group cohesion, discipline,

teamwork, and unity as well as the development of physical skills, agility, and strength are noted as indirect outcomes attributed to participation in the game. Lacrosse permeated, in some manner, virtually all aspects of the culture. It served as a medical agent, influenced the elements of nature and increased fertility, was a method of preparation for conflict, provided opportunity for achieving honor and recognition, and served to promote group cohesion encompassing the entire tribe.

In the homogeneous, integrated societies investigated, sport and games appear to have served a valuable function in the acting out and internalization of shared values and sentiments. They contributed to maintenance of entire societies as cohesive units.

Lüschen (1970; Roberts and Sutton-Smith (1962); Burdge (1974); and Roberts, Arth, and Bush (1970) investigated sports' socializing influences into the value system of the larger society on a more encompassing scale. Using the data obtained from the Cross-Cultural Survey Files and an analyses of available literature, Roberts, Arth, and Bush disclose relationships between predominating patterns of play and expressive elements of the culture in which they are found. Games of strategy are found to relate to complex social systems, games of chance more often correlate with religious beliefs (occurring among people believing in their ability to coerce spiritual beings), and games of physical skill are related to environmental conditions (found most frequently in latitudes more than twenty degrees from the equator).

The functional properties of sport and games in socialization of children into the skills and values of society are identified as an area

for continued investigation by sport sociologists, anthropologists, and early childhood specialists (Lüschen 1970, Sutton-Smith 1974, Devereux 1972, Norbeck 1973, Mouledoux 1976).

Comparison of Tindall's (1975) use of the ethnographic method with Bain's (1974) statistically controlled investigation of the hidden curriculum in physical education is appropriate. Both researchers view the hidden curriculum as implicit values inferred from consistencies in teacher behavior, class organization, and procedures assumed to have extensive impact on values, norms, and behaviors of students.

Drawing from field notes of actual occurrences, Tindall (1975) discloses the hidden curriculum in physical education to be a discriminating curriculum. Organizing his data into comparable categories (in this investigation, comparable groups of students and comparable events), Tindall notes the difference in information presented to athletes and non-athletes in physical education classes. Teacher behavior falls into a definite pattern of unequal distribution of information to the two groups of students regarding the following: (1) enforcement of conformity to prescribed uniform standards, (2) nature and frequency of instructional time. Differences in information presented are judged by the investigator to relate to areas of self concept as well as to skills and knowledges specific to the explicit curriculum. Observations of preferential treatment accorded to students who are athletes leads Tindall to conclude that the teacher, in this situation, discriminates against non-athletes.

Bain's (1974:110) investigation is an "initial effort to describe and analyze the hidden curriculum in secondary school physical education classes."

Six value dimensions implicit in the educational environment are identified for investigation (achievement, autonomy, orderliness, privacy, specificity, and universalism). Selection is based upon (1) emphases accorded in related writings, (2) applicability to physical education, and (3) possibility of defining in terms of specific measurable behavior.

An Implicit-Values-Instrument is designed for operationally defining and measuring the value dimensions investigated. To facilitate data collection and control for researcher bias, three certified physical education teachers are trained in the use of the measurement tool and employed as data collectors. Twenty-four teachers serving as subjects of the investigation are observed on three occasions. To allow for comparisons and to test for hypothesized differences, six teachers are selected in each of four groups: urban male classes, urban female classes, suburban male classes, suburban female classes. The scores on the six value dimensions are submitted to several forms of analysis.

Hypotheses concerning differences in implicit values according to sex and location are examined statistically. Predicted differences are not verified, but the following significant differences between sub-populations are found:

1. Male and female classes differ significantly on the privacy dimension and somewhat on the specificity dimension.
2. Urban classes are significantly higher on universalism and suburban classes tend to have higher autonomy scores.

Reliability coefficients for the value dimensions, determined from a two-way analysis of variance, range from .28 to .86. A large

portion of the variability found is considered to be due to differences between items within the dimensions. The researcher recommends changes for improving reliability of the measurement tool.

In addition to the statistically determined differences between sub-populations, Bain reports the following conclusions seem justified on the basis of the study:

1. Definition of the hidden curriculum as values implicit in the educational environment serves to clarify the construct and to facilitate its operational definition and measurement.
2. The values selected for investigation in this study (achievement, autonomy, orderliness, privacy, specificity, and universalism) show sufficient evidence of dimensionality to justify continued effort to measure them.
3. Systematic observations of classes and teacher behavior and teacher self-report of procedural regulations are useful techniques for measuring the hidden curriculum (Bain 1974:119).

Levels of generalization are apparent in both investigations. Tindall's utilization is for disclosure and discussion of occurrences noted in the situation under investigation. Bain, while formulating theory and testing for universals through operationalization and statistical treatment of data, obscures a great deal of potentially significant information regarding individual teachers and specific situations.

Summary

The ethnographic method of study (based primarily upon participant observation and the unstructured interview) is supported as an appropriate scientific research technique for the study of human behavior and the deduction of the rules and values by which people organize their lives.

Investigations of this nature require the researcher's intimate contact with the daily life experiences of the people studied. This intimacy is essential for gaining confidence of informants, interpreting information obtained, and validating data against behaviors and conditions found to obtain. Since it is the researcher's intimate contact with the "indigenous" population which is considered the essential research tool for ethnographic inquiry, the problem of investigator bias takes on greater dimensions than in a traditionally controlled experiment. It is necessary, therefore, that a balance of objective detachment be maintained along with personal involvement.

Because of its relatively free and unstructured nature, the ethnographic method is especially well suited for pursuing problems as they are encountered in the course of an investigation. Combining the ethnographic method of data collection with the comparative process of data analysis, anthropologists explore and expose problems in formal education.

A major problem identified in formal education in America is the disjuncture between values taught in schools and those learned through the informal process of enculturation into society. Educational and anthropological theory converge at a common core of concern for understanding the patterning of individuals into cultures and the effects and techniques of culture change. Much of the learning of basic values is noted to occur through informal and indirect instruction rather than resulting from overt, systematic teaching. Investigators seek to determine and disclose the subtle ways in which unintended and dysfunctional learnings take place.

Investigations of sport and physical education programs reveal discrepancies between ideal objectives and real learnings. The use of sociological theory in value-free investigations is urged by sport sociologists for clarifying the essence of sport as a phenomenon of pervasive influence in American society. Cross-cultural investigations of sport as a social factor reveal both functional and dysfunctional properties for maintaining and integrating social systems. Sport and games are found by some investigators to contribute to socialization of children into the skills and values considered important by society. Other researchers question the effectiveness of programs of sport and physical education in contributing to socialization patterns deemed socially desirable. Numerous investigators pose the question: "What are the real values, norms, and behaviors presented to students through programs of sport and physical education, and are these values functional or dysfunctional in society?"

CHAPTER III

ENTRY INTO THE FIELD

This research was conducted in J.C. Price Elementary School, Greensboro, North Carolina, from February through May, 1975. The first step in the study was establishing contacts leading to determination of an appropriate school for conducting the investigation. Minimum essentials for an acceptable site were the following:

1. Existence of a physical education program conducted by a professionally prepared physical education teacher.
2. Feasibility of the investigator's continuous contact with selected groups of students in all regularly scheduled physical education classes throughout a four-month period.
3. Permission of the responsible authorities to enter the school for purposes of conducting the study.

Initial inquiry through the Administrative and Supervisory Offices of the Greensboro Public Schools led to direct contact with the physical education teacher at Price Elementary. His enthusiastic response and willing co-operation were influential in obtaining immediate approval of the school principal. With the support and endorsement of local authorities, written permission from the superintendent of city schools granting entry into the school for purposes of conducting the study was a mere formality.

Through consultation with the physical education teacher, a schedule was arranged permitting participant observation in the physical

education lessons of three classes, one sixth grade and two fifth grades. Convenience of scheduling (assuring participation in all regularly scheduled lessons) and desire for variability among students (including a combination of fifth and sixth graders) were major factors determining classes selected for in-depth investigation.

Data collection was limited to observations of events occurring in conjunction with physical education lessons. No attempt was made to participate in other aspects of the educational experience.

Entry into the classes was direct and simple. The teacher introduced me by merely saying, "This is Buff, a new person who will be coming each day to take part in the gym classes. She wants to learn about the things you do in your gym class so she'll be asking lots of questions. Just help her out by explaining what to do." The first day in each class he asked for volunteers who would accept me into their squad group and help me get acquainted. After that I was on my own.

Insofar as possible I participated in the lessons with the students. Initial acceptance of me, an adult among them, was amazingly free. They knew I was there to understand about gym classes and several individuals went out of their way to explain normal routine and to include me in their games and activities. As the weeks passed and I continued attending, however, several sought the most obvious adult motivation for my presence by asking how much I was being paid to be there.

My first three months were spent primarily as a participating member of the classes. The difficulties of note taking along with participation in a lesson of this nature prevented the taking of running

observational notes along with active participation. I tried to recall specifics of class routine, instructions and casual comments of the teacher, student responses to teacher communication, conversations among and between students, the array of activities and learning tasks presented and individually selected, the patterns of student organization and interaction. Accounts of occurrences were written up at the end of each lesson. Whenever possible, observed episodes were recorded as actually expressed by informants.

Occasionally, parts of, or entire, class periods were spent on a side line bench observing and recording events. Students had grown accustomed to my moving in and out of their play and work groups and did not appear to modify their general patterns of behavior in response to my note-taking.

Acquaintance with all students and participation with most of them in a variety of activities were considered essential for acquisition of a total picture of the gym classes. A simple pattern of progression from squad to squad for participation in teacher-assigned groups, in teacher-designated tasks, was effective in achieving this goal in the formally structured two-thirds of each lesson. Accomplishment of engagement and disengagement with individuals in the informally organized groups characterizing the free-play phase was considerably more difficult to achieve.

A variety of data gathering techniques was utilized. A sketch was made of the lay-out of the gymnasium. Notes were kept on class activities and interaction episodes, as detailed as could be recounted at the end of each lesson. Formal and informal groupings of

students were noted and contrasted. Informal interview of students accompanied much of the active participation in the lessons. Notes were taken regarding types of activities prescribed during formal instruction and those selected for free play participation.

Available printed materials relating to the physical education program were collected and analyzed.

Formal interviews of fifty students were taped for purposes of determining student views of physical education classes. This represented approximately two-thirds of the students in each of the classes attended by the investigator.

The physical education teacher was interviewed daily as we discussed events, the students, teaching techniques, and educational philosophy. Similar atmosphere and interaction surrounded an informal weekly coffee hour in the home economics room which brought together the physical education and home economics teachers. These latter sessions provided a valuable source of "teacher-talk" data helpful in placing the physical education program in perspective within the total school curriculum.

Observations of students attempting entry into informally organized play groups and personal experiences surrounding engagement and disengagement during free play motivated consideration of play groups as socially restricting units. For purposes of investigating children's rules restricting entry into informally organized games, a projective test was administered. Students were asked to write stories about a picture in which two children observe three other people playing basketball. Stories in which the children were perceived as seeking

entry into an informal game of basketball were analyzed and the implicit restricting conditions summarized.

Data collected were reviewed and organized into categories reflecting major events and conditions around which life in the physical education classes centered. Drawn from responses obtained from students during formal interviews were basic categories: Sitting at Attention, Squad Work, Free Play, New Special Equipment, Physical Fitness Tests, Tumbling Club, and Field Day. Students were asked to respond to the question: "What things would you tell fourth graders to help them understand about gym classes?" Personal observations and participation of the researcher support validity of student responses. Leadership, Entry into a Game, and Gym Class in the Total Curriculum were additional categories judged by the researcher as making significant contribution to the ethnographic description and were thus included.

Insofar as possible, events are presented as experienced or described by the informants.

The Setting

J.C. Price Elementary School served as a community junior high school from 1924 until the redistricting of the city of Greensboro in compliance with the standards for desegregation of schools imposed by the Supreme Court ruling in 1970. Students comprising the school population arrive by bus from varied sections of the city according to a city-wide plan devised to attain an economically and racially integrated student body. A student-body module designed by city educational authorities draws together children from black and white middle-class communities, population centers of the lowest-income blacks, and

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residential areas housing the city's socio-economically elite. The range of diversity within the student population of Price is reported by the principal to be greater than that encompassed by any of the other elementary schools in the city.

Division of the three-hundred-fifty-member student body into homeroom units is likewise based on the principle of heterogeneity. Identifying criteria such as ability, sex, race, and socio-economic level are utilized to disperse units of individuals as uniformly as possible among five sixth grades and six fifth grades.

Motivated by existing physical education and home economics instructional facilities of the junior high school physical plant, the classroom teachers of the Price Elementary School agreed to a plan for expansion of curricular offerings beyond the minimum required by the city Board of Education. Implementation of a concept termed "diversified staffing," whereby student enrollment in each homeroom was increased one or two beyond the standard twenty-five students per homeroom, freed funds otherwise earmarked for a classroom teacher for employment of physical education and home economics specialists.

It was precisely these conditions, racially-sexually integrated classes meeting on a regular bi-weekly schedule under the leadership of a full-time physical education specialist, which made J.C. Price Elementary School an appropriate site in which to conduct a cultural analysis of a physical education class.

In contrast to most elementary schools of the area, where all instructional centers are housed in a single building, Price is spread among three separate structures. The gymnasium is on the top

floor of a two-story building set thirty to forty yards behind, and slightly down-hill from, the main classroom-administration center. The lower level of the gymnasium building contains currently unused dressing rooms with locker and showering facilities. A classroom on the lower level is unoccupied except on Tuesday and Thursday mornings when members of the band meet there for regularly scheduled practices.

Down the hillside another forty yards is the third instructional unit, the home economics building. Covered concrete walkways unite the three structures physically and symbolically into a single educational center which begins with the classroom-administration building on the uppermost level and extends past the gymnasium and home economics buildings to the back boundary of the school beyond four acres of playing fields.

All three buildings are of red brick construction. The solid exterior walls of the gymnasium are patterned with bright red brick rectangles indicating the presence of six large windows on each side of the original structure.

Large grey double doors provide access from the outside to hallways at either end of the gym. The entry hall leading to the back of the gymnasium is adjoined on the left by an open storage area, the boys' lavatory, and steps leading down to the currently unused boys' shower and locker facilities. The front entry hall is a mirror image of the back with a small, enclosed storage area directly opposite the entry to the front of the gym, the girls' lavatory ahead and on the right, and steps leading to a girls' shower and locker room on the lower level.

The gymnasium is a large, open, rectangular room dominated by a basketball court which is designated by light red floor tiles set inside an outer boundary of black and grey tiles. White lines, two inches wide, indicate official basketball floor markings. Six basketball backboards are mounted on the walls, one centered at each end of the room and two along either side wall. An official scoreboard hangs on the front wall above and to the left of the front exit. Painted on the floor, in a four-foot circle inside the basketball center-jump circle, is a large "P" for Price--J.C. Price School. All of the above are remnants of an earlier era when J.C. Price was a junior high school.

The yellow outline of a shuffleboard court is painted on the floor in the space between the right basketball side line and wall. Two volleyball standards with attached net are pushed against the right wall for storage and drawn onto the edge of the basketball court for classes each day. Mounted on the side wall in the right back corner is a pull-up bar. In the right front corner stands a coat rack and in the left front are a portable basketball basket and a hospital-style scale. Green tumbling mats and a small homemade balance beam occupy the left back corner. A blackboard and two bulletin boards are mounted on the front wall and drinking fountains are attached to both front and back walls near the exits. A broken electric clock hangs on the back wall and red EXIT signs are displayed over the front and back doors.

During the last two months in which the study was being conducted, three pieces of standard-sized gymnastics equipment were housed in the gymnasium and made available for use during physical education classes. Like the above noted equipment, they were situated

around the edges of the gym. The big, professional size balance beam replaced the homemade one on the left side of the room, and the side-horse was placed toward the back of the room on the right. Because of its size and the need to have ample space around it, the uneven parallel bars stood in the front, extending over the front end line into the basketball court. Tumbling mats were arranged on the floor under and around all pieces of "new equipment."

A small adjoining room off the front left corner of the gymnasium doubles as the office and equipment storage area. Immediately to the right of the doorway into the office-equipment room stands a large work table which also serves double function. It is the desk and seat of authority for the teacher as well as the center for collection of equipment at the end of class. Eight benches, two or three chairs, and a portable blackboard get shifted about as needed but are always left lined up along the walls.

The brick and cinder-block windowless walls of the gymnasium are painted light green and thus reflect a fair amount of light from the ceiling skylights. But artificial lighting is essential at all times of the day. Printed in red on the appropriate walls of the room are the cardinal directions: NORTH, SOUTH, EAST, and WEST. Across the front wall about twelve feet up from the floor and at eight-foot intervals, are the letters from "A" through "H." On both side walls from the front toward the back there are black numbers from "1" to "8." Around the walls red numbers from "1" to "6," about eight inches high, designate work areas known as Squad Stations.

An assortment of student-made Good Sportsmanship posters and a copy of the J.C. Price Sportsmanship Code are displayed along the

front wall. In conspicuous location near the front and back exits are notices which read: "Accidents Sometimes Happen. Did you Apologize?" Instructions posted at the six Squad Stations around the walls of the gymnasium function to divide the area into six different work centers and inform students of specific work tasks to be undertaken in each area.

Notices on the front and back doors from the Greensboro Recreation Department state: "All Spectators Must Be 18 - Years of Age or Over. Spectators Must Remain Off the Court." The notices serve as reminders that the gymnasium is used in the evenings by the community basketball league.

Class equipment is stored neatly in the adjoining office-equipment room. Two ball bins contain an assortment of basketballs, volleyballs, playground balls, and one flat football. On a shelf above the ball bins are the ball pump, electric time-clock, record player, and bean bag target. Smaller balls (softballs, whiffle balls, playground balls, yarn balls), bats, plastic cones, and miscellaneous small items are placed in appropriately labeled areas on shelves along the right wall. Empty ball bags and jump ropes, separated according to length, hang on nails immediately to the right of the door.

Stored against the back wall is equipment in need of major repair: a broken exercycle, a trampoline in need of a new web, an old piano, and a broken scale. On the floor at the end of the ball bins stands a miniature bowling set. A portable cart is pushed into empty space and out of the way.

The teacher's desk, chair, and bookcase occupy a small portion of the room but are in positions of prominence directly across

from the door. An additional work table and chair are situated to the right of the bookcase. The desk and neighboring table are usually uncluttered.

In conspicuous location in the bookcase are two framed physical fitness citations. One is a "PRESIDENTIAL FITNESS AWARD CITATION issued to J.C. Price" and the other is a "CERTIFICATE OF RECOGNITION on behalf of the AAHPER Fitness Project awarded to J.C. Price Elementary School." Books filling a single shelf of the bookcase deal mainly with growth and development patterns of children and children's games. Lower shelves contain stacks of assorted forms and manila folders labeled "Field Day" and "Fitness Records."

The facility, technology, and landmarks characterizing the field of study convey associations of physical education classes with organized sports (primarily basketball), recreational play and games, health, and physical fitness.

CHAPTER IV

THE PHYSICAL EDUCATION CLASS

The ethnography which follows is a hypothetical class made up of data drawn from field notes of numerous observations of an event compressed into a generalized image of what that event meant to the students who experienced it.

Basic categories of events and conditions around which life in the physical education class centered were drawn from responses obtained from students during formal interviews. The question to which students were asked to respond was this: "What things would you tell fourth graders to help them understand about gym classes?" Personal observations and participation of the researcher in physical education lessons of three classes support validity of student responses. Three categories, Leadership, Entry into a Game, and Gym Class in the Total Curriculum, were judged by the investigator to make significant contribution to the ethnographic description and are thus included. Insofar as possible, events are presented as experienced or described by the students.

Generalizations drawn from analyses of data presented are applicable to the observed population only and may not be assumed to prevail with a different population or under differing conditions. They do, however, serve as a model of the interrelatedness of many factors influencing behavior in the observed situation.

The General Curriculum

"O.K.," says the sixth grade boy acting as tour guide for a group of fourth graders on Fourth Grade Orientation Day, "this is our gym. An' we do squad work, an' we have free play, an' we have new, special equipment. An' this is our gym teacher an' the one who works with the Tumbling Club." The fourth graders follow in single file behind the sixth grader with the official orange name tag. A boy mid-way down the orderly line points toward the score board on the front wall and says something to his friend. The attention of others follows the gesture, and several focus momentarily on the official score board.

The forty-five minute gym lessons attended bi-weekly by students in all classes at J.C. Prive Elementary School are routinely divided into squad work and free play, occurring always in that order. Squad work engages approximately the first two-thirds of each lesson and involves students in teacher-determined learning tasks undertaken in teacher-assigned groups. The latter portion of the time is spent in individually selected activities undertaken independently or in informal, student-organized groups.

Additional categories of curricular content within the physical education program include such special events as Field Day, Physical Fitness Testing, and Tumbling Club.

Sitting at Attention

"Do you know how to sit at attention?" asks Kennedy. I confess that I'm not sure exactly how it is done so Kennedy gives a demonstration. He sits on the floor along the white basketball side line with knees bent and feet flat on the floor. I ask what to do with my hands and he shows that they are folded and hooked over the knees. When I inquire about the reasons for sitting at attention, Kennedy explains that it shows when we're ready for work.

In a brief, three-minute instructional session I receive perhaps the most significant bit of information needed in order to be a successful participant in the gym class. Quiet, orderly sitting at attention is a ritual enacted several times during the course of each lesson and is prerequisite to the occurrence of any other activity. As the official beginning and ending of each class meeting, it serves as a "rite of intensification,"² a reversal of the normal pattern of values, whereby play is made work and thus a justifiable experience in the educational curriculum.

Sitting at attention in integrated work groups constitutes a ritual boundary indicating to students the conditions into which they are now entering:

1. "Play" activities are cast for this special time span as work, something to be undertaken with seriousness and purpose.
2. During this special category of activity, students work (interact) together in groups other than (different from) those in which they may normally interact (in integrated groups).

Students arriving for gym class enter the gymnasium by the rear entry, the one nearest the main classroom building from which they come. Walking, racing, strolling, simulating basketball dribbles and hook shots, involved in conversation and argument, they move across the floor to the front of the room. The majority of them follow an expectation of going directly to sit in specified order in squad lines on the floor. Some deposit purses or jackets at the coat rack before sitting down. An occasional request suggesting play is redirected by reminder that play is entered into now with seriousness.

A boy carrying his own red and white basketball asks if he can take a shot.

TEACHER (Standing by the table in the front of the room): Sure, just one.

The boy dribbles to the side basket, hooks a lay-up and misses.

TEACHER: O.K. That's all, just one.

The boy offers no protest or objection. He places his ball in the office-equipment room to be used later in the period for free play and sits down.

Susie walks across the front of the room on her way to her place. "How many squad stations will we do today?" she asks.

TEACHER: I don't know yet. I never know until I see how things go and how much people accomplish. Look, someone's playing around already (indicates a boy bouncing a basketball as he sits waiting). And those people, they're not ready for work (two girls visiting).

TEACHER: We'll do at least two squad stations again today and then we'll see. On Tuesday people worked very well and very seriously and got a lot done. I expect you to work as seriously today as you did on Tuesday. All right, try to do your best work as you do your stunts again today. I'll be coming around and asking some of you to show me what you can do best, so try to do your best.

While everyone is seated, quiet, and orderly, the teacher makes additional introductory remarks of motivational or organizational nature, establishing a climate for the lesson which is to follow. "Sitting at attention" is a visual type of peer pressure enforcing conformity of all class members to subordination of personal rights and privileges to the interests and welfare of the entire group.

Lessons begin daily with students assigned in squad groups to specific work areas throughout the gymnasium. Instructions for suggested work tasks are posted on the wall at each squad station.

Completion of suggested work and readiness for rotation to another squad station is indicated by the orderly seating of squad members along the basketball court side line. When it is noted that all members of all squads are sitting at attention, squads are instructed to move to the next work station and sit down. Again, quiet and orderliness are prerequisite to beginning the new task. It is expected that two or three squad station rotations will be accomplished during each lesson.

As might be expected, some work assignments are considered more desirable than others, and students at favored squad stations are inclined to continue working after other groups are seated and ready to progress to another station. The teacher comments frequently on the importance of cooperation and consideration for others, of sitting down when noting that people in other squads are seated and waiting. Students, anxious to complete squad work and be allowed free play, apply verbal pressure with calls to "Sid down, shut up an' sid down!" Among themselves they complain that all their free play time is being used up, and they anticipate the possibility of being assigned additional squad station work if classmates fail to cooperate by sitting down.

Andy sits along the white line at station #2 watching boys working on basketball at the next station. He mutters and mumbles to himself about the steps, double dribbles, and fouls he is observing. He comments under his breath, "You better be settin' down soon. Or if you don't, I'm abou' ta knock some teeth out!"

People at other squads wait for the basketball players at station #3 to sit down. "Sid down, Charles!" calls Jerry. The immediate response is to ignore the command, then retort with, "Aw shud up!" when it is repeated.

The teacher offers suggestions about not shouting at people to sit down and strengthens the

obligation to behave in a cooperative, considerate manner without external pressures.

TEACHER: "Don't be the last person to sit down. If you're the last person to sit down, that means that twenty-six people are waiting for you. That isn't very considerate. It's better to be the last three or the last four people to sit down.

We sit waiting to be instructed to progress to the next squad station. Students at the end of the line talk quietly.

TEACHER: "It seems that some people are more interested in talking than in working. Time spent talking now comes out of time for some other things later on."

Veronica turns to Ronnie and tells him that he is wasting our free time.

Upon culmination of the squad station phase of the lesson, while students are seated and at attention, the teacher establishes the transition into the informal play period. Students collect equipment from the floor and return it to the office-equipment room as they go to take materials to be used during free play.

The lesson ends with re-enactment of the convening procedure. The teacher's whistle is the signal for returning equipment to the door of the office-equipment room for orderly storage by student equipment managers. Students sit in specified order in squad lines as at the beginning of the lesson. Closing evaluative remarks are made by the teacher. This is a time for cooling off, quieting down, and preparation for transition back into the normal work world.

TEACHER: You did very well today; everyone worked very hard. I saw a lot of people helping each other and that's important. It's important to help each other. When you go back into the other building, remember that other people are doing quiet work. Walk and talk quietly.

The teacher says some other things, but we aren't really listening. We sit across from each other at the very back of our squad lines. Bruce asks what I had for breakfast and if I've gotten my food stamps yet. He puts his head between his knees. . . then looks up again, asking if I've ever seen a twenty-dollar bill. I tell him I have, but not for awhile now. He looks past me and on past space. "Oh," he says without having really heard my response. He turns to place his face between his knees once more.

The teacher turns the class over to the captains who sit waiting on the bench in the front of the room. Captains look critically down each squad line. Those that are very quiet and orderly will be excused first. The squad leader turns to see how straight and orderly his squad line is. "Bruce, at attention!" he snaps. Doug and Joel turn around, repeating the command, "At attention, Bruce." Bruce looks up. He shakes himself out a bit and squiggles to get directly behind the person in front of him. "At attention, Bruce," he says quietly to himself. He presses his face back against his knees.

The class captains dismiss squads, one at a time, to walk quietly back to the other building.

Squad Work

After completing my introduction to the class, the teacher suggests that I join squad #3 for today's lesson. I move to sit in the empty space at the head of the line and am told that that is for the squad leader. I walk toward the back of the line and sit down in the next empty spot. "You can't sit there," Jerry tells me. "That's Lenette's place!" I ask how he knows it's Lenette's place and where can I sit, anyway? He points out the small black numbers spaced about eight feet apart along the side wall across

from which rows of students are aligned and mumbles something about Squad D - Row 5. He pushes his thumb over his shoulder, sending me to the back of the line.

The teacher explains that squads were formed at the beginning of the year by arbitrary assignment. His basic concern was achievement of integrated sexual, racial, and socio-economic groups. Changes in squad groups can be effected only with teacher approval but are rarely refused when requested.

Reasons most frequently cited for requesting squad reassignment are for purposes of being with a particular friend or to avoid a conflict of personalities within one's present group. The majority of students seeking to change squads are girls. The teacher treats each request in like manner, saying he is unable to make a decision until he knows the present squad arrangement. Students appear assured of his concern when he tells them he will "look the situation over as they work and will talk with them before the end of the period." The teacher approaches students during the lesson and makes arrangements for squad membership exchanges. At times two or three interchanges are made in an effort to maintain relatively integrated groups.

An individual's squad group identity determines the people, places, and events of interaction during the formal phase of each lesson. Instructions begin and end daily with students seated on the floor in squad lines. Small red letters (B - G) spaced across the front wall designate the area in which correspondingly identified squads sit. An established seating order within each squad is likewise maintained. Squad leaders and assistant squad leaders occupy first and second places respectively. Middle range leaders (class captains, equipment managers,

student accepted leaders, and group contributors) sit in the mid-section of each squad. Social outcasts, or "nobodies," are at the very back.

"All right," says the teacher when everyone is very quiet and the squad lines very straight, "all right, let's have the first squad slide over to station #1, the next go to station #2, the next one to . . ." He continues his instructions, but no one is listening. Figuring from squad one's assignment, beginning work stations have been determined, and students disperse accordingly.

Squad members sit along the basketball side line adjacent to assigned work stations and wait while assistant leaders bring designated equipment from the equipment room and prepare, as instructed, for squad station work. The line formed now is a broken one. Girls sit side-by-side at one end of it, and boys assemble at the other end. Leaders are expected, as before, to sit at the beginning of the line. Disagreement is expressed regarding placement of the assistant squad leaders. Some insist they should be at the end of the line opposite the squad leader; others consider it unimportant where they sit. Final decision seems to be based more upon preservation of emerging sexual segregation than on teacher designation.

Some quiet talking occurs as people wait. Boys frequently arrange groups and decide activities for the free play period which follows. The girls more often discuss out-of-school activities like shopping, clothing, and neighborhood social events. Many students just sit without talking with anyone. The teacher waits until everyone is absolutely quiet. He reminds students to read the directions. "Some directions are new," he says and then instructs, "All right, go to work."

Our station does rope jumping. Directions suggest several kinds of rope jumping to try and ask how many of each style one can do. "I hate rope jumping," mumbles Rex as he selects a rope. I ask why we have to do it. "Because that's what the directions say at this station," is his explanation. He jumps rope toward the middle of the floor, saying to himself that he doesn't do this very well and that he feels self-conscious. He joins with Jerry, and they try coordinating a suggested partner stunt. Robin and Natalie ask Gwen to time them so they can see who jumps rope the fastest. Neither jumper wants to be first to report her score at the end of the contest. Robin finally claims eighteen; Natalie says she did nineteen.

Bruce comes to join us. Lenette says he shouldn't be here "'cause he's not in our squad." Rex tells Bruce to "git back" to his own squad; he doesn't belong here. The teacher explains that he sent Bruce to work with us because there were only two people in his squad. Bruce jumps rope very fast and with an easy flowing rhythm. I ask if he can jump with the rope crossed. Jeff says not to ask Bruce because Bruce doesn't know how to do anything.

Students at station #1 take turns doing the shuttle run while Darrell and Karen argue over who should do the timing. Darrell claims responsibility because of his position as squad leader. Karen tells Darrell to make Andy "git back here and stop shootin' baskets. He's not s'pose to be doin' that at this station!" Darrell's response is to maintain that "Andy's not hurtin' anybody." Karen's threats to tell the teacher force Darrell to call Andy to "sid'down now." The issue magnifies with Andy calling Darrell an "onion head" and Anthony telling Karen not to be "so bossy."

People around the room sit down to show they have finished their work and are ready to move to another station. Lenette calls to Jerry to sit down: "You're always telling everyone else to sit down. You sit down too!" Someone shouts to John to "stop bouncin' that ball." "Aw, shuddup," John flings back. He bounces three more times and sits down. The teacher waits. When everyone is seated and very quiet, he offers some advice about not shouting at other people to sit down because they will usually ignore you when you do that. "It's better to sit quietly," he suggests. "Other people will see that you are finished and will sit down too." He says to stand and walk to the next station and sit down.

The teacher reminds again of the importance of reading the directions at each work station. "I want everyone to think about what you plan to do," he says. He asks some people what they will be doing. Keith says he will "work on the balance beam." Bertha plans to "shoot the basketball." The teacher says that he will be looking to see if everyone tries some of the tasks at each station. He says we may stand and begin working. He goes to the tumbling corner and asks to see how many different ways people can balance themselves in ten seconds. He asks the students at the "original game station" about the rules and the purpose of the game they have made up. He returns to the table in the front of the room and makes some marks on his evaluation check-sheet while the students continue working.

The volleyball players automatically form teams with the boys "staying" the girls. Play consists mainly of reaching out to scoop the ball over the net. Only rarely does the ball cross the net

more than once following the serve. Kerry and Susie titter self-consciously when they swing and miss the ball. They complain to the boys to "not hit it way back there." Terry says that it wouldn't make any difference "'cause they couldn't get it back anyway." Lenette stands by the volleyball standard watching. She says she doesn't do volleyball very well so she doesn't want to play. I ask John if there's any special way to hit the ball when I serve. "No, just get it over the net," he advises.

People at the balance beam are already sitting, waiting to move to the next station. That happens often "'cause," in Craig's words, "well, that's pretty boring. Like . . . ah . . . how many different ways can ya' balance on three points! So some kids just go an' sit there an' don't do anything."

As students sit again to show readiness to move to another activity, the teacher comments on the "need for greater consideration for other people. I saw some teasing going on," he says. "People at squad #4 were teasing. Some people in squad #1 were teasing and interrupting others. Don't be teasing and interrupting the work of others. Don't be disturbing the whole group."

The teacher asks if someone would like to show the class what they have been working on. No one responds. "No one," reflects the teacher. "All right. . . ." We move to the next station, check the directions, and begin working. When the teacher asks again for volunteers to demonstrate and explain their work, hands go up in five of the six squad groups. Among them is Rex's. Having grumbled at least three times about hating rope jumping, he says he was working on jumping backward and demonstrates his achievements.

When asked in formal interviews about personal improvements in squad station work, several people cite "being better now in rope jumping and volleyball" than they were at the beginning of the year. Many, however, agree with Mary's sentiments: "Squads? . . . Um . . . in my opinion there are lots of things that you've done and improved on and you'd like to do more . . . things . . . where you get in and do a lot of stuff with it. Like getting out and playing . . . well . . . games more. An' more like practicing and stuff, instead of doing small things that you . . . ah . . . that you know."

"Ya'," contributes David, "people would rather play than work. We don't like the squad stations. They get so boring."

Rex, on the other hand, is supportive of squad work and sees considerable improvement. "Ya', we improved a lot . . . it's a place where kids learn how to cooperate with each other an' ah . . . ya' know . . . how to . . . ah . . . act nice. Like . . . at the beginning of the year, we couldn't get together in doing anything. But now we can agree on one thing. Like . . . at the beginning of the year, Jeff would get four balls for basketball, keep one himself . . . Well, no. He'd get three, keep one for himself an' wouldn't play the game an' stuff like that. And Mr. ____, he'd say 'either put one basketball back (s'pose to have only two) or sit down.' He wouldn't put it back so I said we'd have to sit down. So that's what we did. I think I made Jeff mad. But ya' know, he can't have his way all the time."

Free Play

"Do we gotta' do squad stations again today?" she asks. "Can't we ever have a day with just free play?" The teacher confirms her deep-down

expectation that "we'll do a couple squad stations and then see how things go." I ask her what makes free play different from squad work, and if she doesn't play in the gym class all the time. She looks obliquely past me toward the floor saying, "It's different when you get to be with the people you want to be with."

The teacher announces that everything is to be picked up from the floor and returned to the equipment room in preparation for free play. He cautions against the dangers of leaving things on the floor which might cause people to trip and fall. He expresses expectation that everyone will be doing something during free-play time and that no one will be just standing around. Students are told to walk to the front and form a line if they wish to take additional items from the equipment room.

Ten or twelve boys walk very fast, knowing that to run would result in being sent to sit quietly at squad stations once more. Walking fast is important because there are only ten basketballs and, at best, perhaps six of them hold air. The line forming at the equipment room door presses together, and there is jockeying for positions. Those who are able to reach the door frame hold on to it with their right hands as a means of blocking others from breaking into the line. Once inside the room there is the problem of making decisions, of deciding which of the inflated basketballs bounce best and have the truest shape. Later arrivals decide between a semi-flat basketball and a firm volleyball or playground ball. Fights erupt as patience wears thin with waiting and complaints to "hurry up and git outa' here" are responded to with "aw, shut your face."

When the basketballs are gone, the pressure is removed from the line. Later students are more leisurely in selecting volleyballs, playground balls, jump ropes, or other assorted play equipment. Some spend a long time deciding what they want and return for frequent exchanges. Others take the same items for free play use each time they come to class.

Kennedy feels the free play announcement to be a bit overdue. He complained earlier that the teacher might assign a third squad station. "He's gonna' take up all our free time with squad work! Two stations is enough an' I just don't gonna' do no more, no matter what!" he says. Timmy plays basketball with a squad-mate as the teacher makes the announcement. "Good! We have free play now!" is his immediate reaction. I ask him to explain the difference between free play and what he has just been doing. "But this is FREE play!" he insists. His expression and intonation make it known that the difference is obvious to everyone. He finds someone to play with, anyone who is good enough to give him a challenge, and spends the rest of the period in a one-on-one basketball game.

Jeff moves from group to group looking for, pleading for, someone to play with him. Darrell tells him to "git your fat rear out of here!" Jeff responds by calling Darrell a "knot head" and walks away. He asks Rex to play with him, but Rex has promised someone else and doesn't think it would be right to break a promise. Rex looks relieved as Jeff moves on. Roger knows better than to intrude into the areas of others. He is a large ungainly boy and has learned that the best assurance of protection from taunting comments is to keep to himself.

He walks the edges of the room. He reads the squad station directions. He studies the instructions on the fire extinguisher. He sits down and reads his book.

I ask Karen what she plans to do during free play, and she tells me, "Tumbling." "The girls mostly do tumbling," she explains. Delores rushes off to seek out friends in other squads. She looks forward to free play because it is "a time when you can say things to your friends in other squads . . . something that you can't hardly ever do when you do squad work." Together they go into the girls' bathroom and share some candy or exchange blouses and try on each other's shoes. Jeannie and Ellen go to the tumbling mats in the corner. Jeannie has recently learned the back flip and whips off five or six of them each gym lesson. She is working with Ellen now, helping her improve her tumbling skills.

The teacher moves among play groups observing events and individuals. He intervenes from time to time with motivational or admonishing comments. He accepts Laura's challenge to a basket shooting contest. He operates the clock while John does the shuttle run. He moves to the tumbling mat to help Becky as she struggles with cartwheels.

The gym is a busy, noisy area within which predictable patterns of variability and consistency of play occur. Most of the boys divide according to skill level to participate in some form of basketball. The girls group according to racial identity and play dodgeball or volleyball or work on tumbling. Interest groups emerge, flourish, and eventually wane. Some remain cohesive units over periods of weeks, carrying the score of a game from class period to class period. Others

last for a single lesson. Each group possesses an identity which is conveyed to all members of the class; each develops its own locus of authority.

Becoming a part of a play group is a process which varies from individual to individual and from group to group. For some, admission is a simple matter of proclaiming one's self "in" by calling, "I'll play, I'll play!" Others stand wistfully at the edges of games while teams are organizing and play gets underway. Audrey waits a long time without being seen by any of the white girls playing dodgeball. "They won't let me play with them," she says softly to the volleyball standard she leans against. She walks off and sits on a bench on the far side of the room. Other indications of impermeable boundaries are not so subtle. Chants call out "Tick-tock, the game's locked," and appeals from the outside plead, "Let us in, you guys; let me an' Andy in!"

Disengagement from play situations is likewise varied. The exit is frequently direct and simple. Without display of obligation or apology, a participant leaves, simply walks away. Other situations involve sentiments and identities which are serious and deep-seated. New Boy and I have a four-point lead over Willie and Michael when I turn to leave the basketball game. I explain that I want to see some of the Field Day try-outs being conducted outside. Willie's eyes blaze as he denies me the freedom of departure. "You can't get out!" he proclaims angrily. "You can't get out. We're playin' a game!"

The teacher blows his whistle to signal the end of the class period. "O.K. That's all," he says. "No more basket shooting. Bring

your equipment up and come into squad lines." Discussion of (argument about) the final score of at least one game is carried on as students turn equipment over to the equipment managers for proper storage and move to sit quietly in squad lines.

We talk in formal interviews about people getting to know and understand each other better if they play together. Jeannie is not so sure that playing together develops friendships "b'cause Byrn . . . well . . . he . . . ah . . . the others, they . . . ah . . . Well, he isn't very good. An' so we 'flip' for him." Carla, on the other hand, is confident that playing together would be helpful: "The others, they might see that ya' kin do som'thin' real good an' then they might ask ya' ta play with 'um sometimes." Terry makes the mature observation that "the people ya' play with are mostly your friends anyway so it doesn't make that much difference."

The New Special Equipment

I ask John what things he usually does during his free play time, when he has a choice of doing whatever he wants to do. He ponders for a minute then says, "Oh, . . . sometimes I like to go to the parallel bars and play on them . . . WITH A SPOTTER, OF COURSE! B'CAUSE IF YA' DON'T HAVE A SPOTTER YA' GOTTA SIT OUTA' CLASS!"

Three pieces of standard-size gymnastics equipment belonging to a private gymnastics club were housed in the Price gymnasium during the final two months of the school year. The equipment (a balance beam, side-horse, and uneven parallel bars) was made available for use of the elementary school students, under supervision of the gym teacher, in exchange for the use of the Price facility as a storage and practice area.

The side-horse and balance beam were eventually included as optional squad station activities. The uneven bars were to be used only during the free play period. Selected segments of field notes illustrate learning experiences surrounding incorporation of the new equipment into the physical education curriculum.

New notices appear on the walls of the gymnasium in the areas of the appropriate equipment:

1. Near the side-horse: "ONE PERSON ONLY."
2. Near the uneven parallel bars: "ONE PERSON ONLY."
3. Hanging from the front edge of the balance beam: "BARE FEET ONLY" and "ONE, TWO, OR THREE PEOPLE."
4. Hanging from the table in the front of the room: "MATS UNDER ALL NEW EQUIPMENT."

The teacher presents and explains reasons basic to establishment of the new regulations. His concerns are (1) safety of students using the equipment and (2) proper care of the equipment.

Students sit in squad lines at the beginning of the lesson. The teacher points to a new sign hanging from the edge of the front table. "SPOTTER," he reads. "Can anyone tell me what a spotter is? Who knows what a spotter does?" Five students raise their hands. Three of them, I learn, are regular participants at the "Y" and have taken part in the gymnastics programs offered there. At least one of the remaining two is a member of Price's Tumbling Club. All of them are white.

The teacher asks David what a spotter does. David replies that a spotter helps you when you're trying to do something that is

hard for you. "Right," says the teacher. "A spotter helps us when we're trying to do something difficult." He asks what else a spotter does. Amy suggests that a spotter catches you sometimes. The teacher accepts and reinforces the suggestion. He goes on to draw an analogy between a spotter and a good friend, a concerned, alert friend who is ready to help at all times. He concludes the discussion by saying that anyone wanting to try doing stunts on the side-horse or uneven parallel bars MUST HAVE A SPOTTER: A FRIEND WHO WILL BE THEIR HELPER. He says he will be coming around during the lesson asking people who their spotters are. Anyone on the new equipment without a spotter will be asked to sit down.

Bertha sits in front of me and plays with a ball of nutty-putty while the teacher is talking about rules and spotters. She throws the putty to the floor and catches it as it bounces. She rolls it and stretches it into a long, skinny thread. She squeezes it back into a round ball and bounces it again.

The teacher assigns squads to do station work. We go to station #4 (a choice of working on the side-horse or the chinning bar) and sit waiting for all groups to prepare equipment and get ready for work. We talk about the things we did during the last lesson: the game we made up at the Original Game Station, the stations we worked at, and the fact that we really belong now over at station #1 because we did #5 and #6 the last time.

Pam and Bertha move to the chinning bar when the teacher says to begin. They take turns seeing how long they can hold themselves with their chins above the bar. Darrell and Sammy work at the

side horse. Sammy tries to do a squat vault. Darrell tells him he's "doin' that wrong" and shows Sammy that "in the picture [a stick-figure drawing posted on the wall] the legs was out here." Sammy is sure he has seen some other people at other times "do that other" (what he had been attempting), but he tries to do what it looks like the stick-figure is doing, except that the horse is too high, and Sammy's legs are too short, and the pummels are an obstruction for him. Sammy gives up and uses the equipment as a make-believe horse.

Darrell and Sammy resort to playing cowboy. They practice mounting the side-horse as one would a real horse and sitting astride it. Sammy moves to the chinning bar, and Darrell sits alone on the horse when the teacher comes to ask where his spotter is. The teacher says "not to do those things without a spotter." He walks away. Darrell looks after him without saying anything. He sits for a brief moment, and then tries another cowboy-style dismount and remount. (Darrell's expression and manner convey total lack of understanding of what a spotter is and how one might be helpful or essential to his playing cowboy.)

The two boys change places. Sammy goes to the side-horse, and Darrell tries the bent-arm hang. The girls time and encourage Darrell. The teacher sees Sammy without a spotter and calls him to come and sit on a bench in the front of the room.

When free play is announced, the teacher reminds again of the importance of having a spotter. "If you are on the new equipment without a spotter, you will be asked to get off and sit down," he says.

Eight or ten people push their way into line at the uneven bars. The shoving is done with determination because it is necessary now to have space for two friends together. Some people coming late advance up the line as they become spotters of friends occupying places toward the head of the line. Those who see themselves being pushed backward by this process claim their rights and arguments result.

Dorothy and Billy claim the same spot in the line. "I'm behind Amy!" "Hey, I'm behind Amy. You're behind me!" "Get outa' here. That's my place!" Dorothy shoves Billy aside, and Billy swings back. The teacher calls them out of line. Without discussion, he sends them to sit along the side. Sammy still sits on a bench in the front of the room. He plays with a little yarn ball, tossing it slowly from hand to hand.

Most people have no idea where to stand or what to do to be a spotter. Several students mount the parallel bars, do a stunt, dismount, and walk away. They forget all about staying to spot for a friend who comes behind them. The teacher asks Amy who her spotter is. He says she can't be on the bar without a spotter. Robin, her spotter, is standing back in the waiting line. Knowing nothing more specific to do, she stays properly lined up awaiting her turn. Nothing is said or done to help Robin better understand how to fulfill the task she is expected to perform. The teacher moves to the balance beam to make suggestions for things which might be done by the people working there.

The word "spotter," as well as the concept of spotting is unfamiliar to most of the students. They move into line asking each other, "Who's your 'sponsor?'" and they offer reminders that "You can't

be on here if you don't have a 'sponsor.'" Bertha asks me if I will be her sponsor. I say she should ask one of her good friends, and then they can work together. She tells me that she doesn't have any good friends here and that she needs a sponsor or she can't go on those "handle bars."

We wait in line for a long time. Most people have no idea what they want to do, and it takes much thinking to make a decision after having mounted the bars. We work our way to the front of the line and have finally arrived at the point of reaching up to take hold of the bar when the teacher blows his whistle. "All right," he says, "that's all. No more bouncing of balls, please. Not 'just one more shot.' That's it. All equipment up on the table." Bertha looks down at her feet. She keeps looking at her feet all the way to the equipment room. She is an equipment manager and puts away equipment as it is returned by students at the end of class.

Sammy sits on the bench in the front of the room. Billy and Dorothy are on benches along the left wall. The rest of us wait in squad lines down the middle of the floor. The teacher sits on the front table. He evaluates the lesson which has just ended. "You did very well today. . . Most of you. You worked well in your squad work, and you helped each other in spotting. You took turns and you shared equipment. And that's important. It's important to share and to be a good helper." Bertha is still in the equipment room hanging up jump ropes.

Of the three pieces of new equipment, the uneven parallel bars assume a position of prime popularity and conflict. Boys, girls, blacks, whites, somebodies, and nobodies, all compete for a place in

the waiting line. Timmy, Charles, Michael, and others who have done nothing other than basketball during free periods for the past two months are among those waiting to explore and experiment on it.

New Boy manages a half-mount on to the lower bar during each class period for two weeks. He is greeted regularly by a chorus of reminders: "You can't go on there without a spotter!"

Christy does a roll over the lower bar as New Boy reaches to mount the upper one. "Only one at a time on here," snaps Christy. "Git off!" New Boy walks back to wait his turn. Teresa comes to help Christy in a movement from the upper bar to the lower. Christy dismounts and goes to the end of the waiting line. "You can't be on here if you don't have a spotter," reminds Teresa as New Boy moves forward and reaches again toward the upper bar. New Boy lets go and steps back. Barbara is next, and Teresa offers to be her spotter as she does a skin-the-cat. Mary assists Teresa in spotting Christy and coaches her through a drop from the upper bar and swing around the lower bar to a dismount. Everyone tells Christy she did very well. Christy is pleased with her accomplishment. New Boy is next in line. He holds on to the lower bar and hangs by his knees. "You can't be on here without a spotter!" shouts Teresa. Someone else asks New Boy where his spotter is, and Christy threatens to tell the teacher. New Boy retreats.

No one offers to be his spotter. New Boy doesn't have any friends in this class! During the four weeks since his introduction to the teacher, I have not seen one single person talk with him or work with him during free play. (And I doubt seriously that he has received any verbal communication during squad work.) No, no. Kenneth spoke to him once. He told New Boy to get out of his place in the squad line and to move to the back. Kenneth or Andy or Willie pass him frequently as he shoots baskets by himself. They pick up his ball when it comes off the

backboard and take a few shots. New Boy steps aside to wait until they have finished and then continues playing by himself. In like manner, he resigns himself now to being shut out from the parallel bars. One day he just doesn't try any more.

A less overt but equally effective "lesson on the parallel bars" was observed in a sixth grade class conducted five and one-half weeks after the arrival of the new equipment.

The teacher blows his whistle and says that it is time for free play, that people may do now whatever they wish. The boys (all ten of them) divide into two teams and play a cross-court game of basketball in the back half of the room. Three black girls go to the volleyball court. One leans against the end standard while the other two scoop the ball back and forth over the net. All "hits" which occur are under-hand lifts. Whenever possible, the two players stand in a single spot and reach out to "carry" the ball over the net. The girls laugh and visit as they play. Three other girls play softball with a plastic bat and ball. They organize with a catcher, one batter, and a pitcher-fielder. Three white girls are in the far corner at the tumbling mats. They combine working with sitting-visiting. The teacher sits at the front table working on charts and organization for Field Day.

Four people rush to the uneven parallel bars as soon as free play is announced. Large White Girl stands in spotting position between the bars. Middle White Girl mounts the lower bar, holds on to the upper one and works on a kip-up mount on to the upper bar. Small White Girl reaches for the upper bar in obvious preparation for mounting the lower one. "No, no, please don't," says Large Girl. "You'll spoil it."

(The teacher will make us sit down if two people are on at once.) "No, don't spoil it," says Middle Girl. Small Girl releases the bar and moves into direct waiting line behind Middle Girl.

Black Girl, the one who arrived first at the uneven bars, stands off to the right and looks on. Large Girl spots for Middle Girl, helping her do a kip over the upper bar. Middle Girl does a front roll over the upper bar and comes to rest with her feet braced against the lower one. She stands on the lower bar and turns to face the upper. As Large Girl spots, she coaches and "talks" Middle Girl through a forward roll dismount over the upper bar.

Small White Girl, who is standing in direct waiting line, moves forward immediately to grasp the upper bar and maneuver a mount on to the lower one. Large Girl stays to spot and coach her through the routine done previously by Middle Girl. Large Girl says that she is next and asks Middle Girl to spot for her.

Black Girl moves from the end of the bars where she has been watching and waiting. She reaches into the cardboard box on the lower shelf of the portable metal stand for a piece of gymnast's chalk. She dusts the palms of her hands well and with white dusted hands outstretched takes a side-step nearer to the waiting line. (Whether or not the hand chalking is done as communication of interest and hopeful participation, a part of the admission ceremony, can only be speculated.)

None of the three white girls grant recognition to Black Girl's presence. Conversation is carried on among the three exclusively. Middle Girl establishes firm expectation of being next on the bars by asking Large Girl to stay and spot for her. Black Girl inches more

toward the middle of the bars to a spot in direct waiting line. But without her awareness, the waiting line has faded off to the left. (Or perhaps she has been aware and elects to portray non-recognition rather than launch a full-scale assault on what is occurring or be forced to face its potentially painful reality.) The three white girls continue working, spotting, and taking turns on the equipment.

Black Girl turns again toward the box with the chalk and redusts her hands. I wonder what assurances are gained through the chalking ritual. Might the chalk give courage and determination sufficient for shouting in loud, clear terms feelings never shaped into verbal communication? Or does it serve symbolically to convey participation in the embryonic "Special Equipment Club"?

Small Girl loses interest in the parallel bars and crosses to the tumbling mats in the far corner of the room. For a brief matter of minutes, the equipment is unoccupied, and Black Girl makes a move toward the upper bar. Her uncertainty in how to go about making a mount, along with the possible insecurity of having no spotter, causes delay sufficient to allow Large Girl to get up ahead of her. Black Girl backs away. She chalks her hands now a third time, yet continues to be transparent and permeable as the two white girls exercise selective vision and attention which ignores her very existence.

Middle Girl is on the bars when Large Girl makes a dash out of the room to the girls' lavatory. Black Girl steps on to the mat between the bars and assumes the spotter's position. She says she will spot. As Middle Girl swings around the upper bar and down into a dismount, Black Girl tries to catch the weight of her body in her arms

but is understandably unable to handle it. Middle Girl flops down out of control. What was needed was a flow of pressure in the small of the back to keep the girl's momentum going and bring her around and up to land on her feet. The "spotting" has been a hindrance rather than a help to performance and a miserable failure.

Black Girl looks apologetic for not having been able to spot like the other kids do and makes a visible physical retreat of two small steps from the parallel bars. Her expression and physical bearing indicate a psychological retreat of immense proportions. I am made to wonder how psychological retreats are measured.

Large Girl returns from the lavatory and resumes her responsibilities as spotter. Black Girl moves well off to the left of the equipment and watches. When the teacher blows the whistle to signify the end of the period, she runs off to the lavatory to wash the chalk off her hands.

Physical Fitness Tests

Anthony holds his official "Personal Record" report carefully by the edges. It is newly copied, and he doesn't want any creases in it. He says he wants to bring it to the teacher's table himself rather than have the person from the back of the line handle it and perhaps get it wrinkled or dirty. It is important that it be kept clean and neat because it is to be sent to his parents along with his report card at the end of the year.

Forms entitled "J.C. Price Physical Education Report" include records of height, weight, and physical fitness test performance both at the beginning and at the end of the school year. These represent progress reports for each child's physical development and accompany

the academic report (report card) which is mailed to parents at the end of the year. They constitute, as the title implies, physical education's report card.

Physical fitness testing supplants squad stations as the "work" portion of each lesson during a two-to-three week period toward the close of the school year. The teacher prepares students for the transition in the pattern of class routine. He begins by supervising the weighing and measuring of each child as a part of the normal squad station work. He tapes an announcement on the edge of the front table which says: "Bring a Pencil When You Come for Gym Class Next Week." He draws student attention to the notice, explaining that fitness tests done at the beginning of the year will be repeated. He says he can see that everyone has been growing and developing and improving and that he is anxious to see how much stronger and faster they have become. Some very muted student moans turn quickly into silent claps as the teacher hastens to add that fitness testing will replace squad station work and there will still be time for free play. Lenette turns to Karen and smiles. Everyone becomes quiet and ready for work.

Introduction of the fitness testing is accompanied by display of the teacher's stop watch. "This is an accurate watch," he says, "for accurate timing within one-tenth of a second and for accurate testing of our physical fitness." While students sit in squad lines, squad leaders distribute Personal Record Forms on which heights, weights, and physical fitness test results were recorded last August.

Today's testing is designated as items #6, #7, and #8 on the sheet, or squat thrusts, sit-ups, and step test respectively. The

teacher asks who remembers how to do the squat thrust. Six people put up their hands. Two boys are selected to demonstrate while the teacher summarizes important points to remember: (1) be sure to get your legs straight out in back of you on count #2, and (2) come all the way up, stand up straight, on count #4. Each person is asked to try three or four squat thrusts to "get warmed up."

Students are told that each person is responsible for keeping his own count. They are reminded to do this silently, not out loud, because having many people counting out loud creates confusion. Nothing is to be done which might cause other people to become confused or to laugh. Nothing is to be done which might "invalidate the test."

The teacher says to look at the old records, the ones made in August. "See if you can beat your old record, " he says. "See if you can do more now than you did at the beginning of the year when you were smaller." Students are reminded that they have just thirty seconds to make a new record. The whistle is used as a signal for beginning and ending the test.

People begin doing squat thrusts as quickly as possible. Cindy says to herself that she wants to do more than thirteen. Almost everyone makes an effort to get the legs fully extended on count #2 and to stand straight up on count #4. These points become less definite as individuals begin to tire, but it is obvious that attempt is being made to perform according to instructions.

The teacher checks his accurate stop watch and urges students' performances, saying "Keep counting. . . You should be nearing your old record now. . . Only a few more seconds to make a new record."

record. . . Faster, faster. . . Your time for making a new record is almost over." The whistle is blown as the signal to stop, and a display of hands indicating newly established records is requested. All hands go up.

Students record their new records and exchange comments on how much they have improved since August. ("I did three more!" "I did five more." "Did you break your old record?")

The step test and sit-ups follow the same procedure: review and demonstration of each test, clarification of rules of performance, reminder of personal responsibility for keeping count, and cautioning against doing any things that might invalidate the test. Prior to beginning each test, students are instructed to look at their sheets and see what their old records are so they will know what they want to exceed. "The object is to break your own record, to do better," the teacher says. "We're shooting for one hundred percent of the class to make a new record!"

As students perform the tests, the teacher offers motivating, encouraging comments, saying, "Keep counting, keep counting. . . You should be nearing your old record now. . . Keep counting. Hurry up. . . You have just a few more seconds to establish a new personal record." At the end of each test, people who broke their old records are asked to put up their hands. Students talk about how much they have improved over their old records and ask those sitting around them if they have improved also. ("Did you break your old record?" "How much did you improve by?")

Everyone sits in squad lines at the end of class waiting for dismissal. The teacher sits on the table in the front of the room. "O.K.," he says. "You did very well today. You worked hard. All of you worked hard, and you showed improvement in your physical fitness tests. You worked hard, and it paid off. Hard work always pays off."

Exchange of information about Personal Record performances indicates that most students probably count accurately as they do their fitness tests. The scores quoted are, for the most part, within a very reasonable range of probability. Some, however, are obviously inflated, either purposefully or as a result of becoming confused while counting. (I, personally, experience having to admit failure to break my old record and find it not an easy admission to make, especially when everyone else speaks of how much they have improved! I wonder if a fifth or sixth grader might be inclined to "fudge" to avoid this embarrassment.)

Students do take the tests seriously, believing them to be (1) measures of individual physical fitness, and (2) indicative of personal improvement resulting from gym class activities. When asked in formal interviews to enumerate areas of improvement in gym work during the year, they immediately cite their newly established fitness records. Terry's response is typical: "The gym class helped me. I improved in ever'thing he test' us on. In the shuttle run, an' pull ups, an' arm hang."

After completion of all fitness tests, the teacher has each student copy information from the old, dirty, folded Personal Record sheet on to a nice, new, clean official form. Students take pains to write neatly and keep their new forms clean because they are to be sent

home to their parents along with their report cards at the end of the year.

Field Day

Students sit in squad lines for the beginning of class. They are chattery, noisy and busy. Most of the talking is about gym class business: getting Field Day teams lined up, checking on parental permission papers, whose are in, whose aren't. Andy asks Mark to put his name down for the relay race. "Only when I see that signed permission slip!" replies Mark.

I ask Susie what she would say to fourth graders if she were explaining about what happens in gym classes in her school. What would be most important for fourth graders to know in order to understand about gym classes? "Um . . . Sometimes it's boring," she says pursing her lips. "Sometimes, an' . . . ah . . . sometimes ya have some fun; lots of fun. Like when you're gonna have a Field Day! Ya do all the stunts an' things an' you see who wins. Ya know, which class wins the most! The funnest part involved with gym is Field Day!"

The teacher sits at his desk working with materials from a manila folder entitled "Field Day." Sample forms, sample schedules, and organizational models of past years fill the folder. He says he could just have a field day with those interested invited to add their names to an appropriate sign-up sheet on the bulletin board, but he feels it becomes more special and official to have participants entered through an official registration procedure. Also, it is considered good for students to have some of the organizational responsibilities and to learn that Field Day doesn't "just happen."

He debates the pros and cons of having coeducational teams. Basing his decision on the philosophy of providing participation for the greatest number of individuals, the decision is cast in favor of

scheduling events for boys and girls separately. Following the same logic, he decides to establish the maximum number of entrants allowed each class in the 50-yard dash at five this year (an increase of two over last year's maximum).

Announcement is made in class that although Field Day at J.C. Price is traditional, it is also optional. It is optional for students ("No one has to be in it. You may participate if you wish, or you may come and watch if you wish, watch and cheer. That's up to you.") Field Day is optional for teachers ("Teachers are not required to have their classes enter Field Day. Some teachers may decide to do some other activity on that day. That's up to them.") And the events are optional ("There are no events that have to be included.")

The teacher seeks student opinion regarding events to be included. Show of hands indicates high interest in repeating events of the past year: 50-yard dash, 600-yard distance run, shuttle relay race, shuttle run, softball throw, and tug-o-war. Students suggest addition of an obstacle race, sack race, pole climb, frisbee throw, rope jumping contest, basketball game, and kickball game.

Appreciation is expressed for student suggestions. It is made clear that although opinions are solicited, it may not be possible to include all recommendations.

Planning for Field Day is preceded in each class by highlighting official requirements for participation:

1. Official registration: "You must register just like you register to vote. Anyone not registered is not allowed to vote; nor will anyone not registered be allowed to participate in Field Day.

2. Parent permission: "If you have not returned a signed parental permission form by Friday, you will be a spectator rather than a participant on Field Day."

Sample registration forms are projected on the side wall through use of the overhead projector to acquaint students with the registration procedure. Rules stated on the forms are read, explained, and reinforced:

1. Each person may enter no more than four events.
2. Parents' permission is required.
3. Event captains will be responsible for helping classmates with registration, for getting the class "team" of participants in a given event.

Event captains are teacher determined. Class captains are asked to assume responsibility for registering participants in the 50-yard dash, the 50-yard shuttle run, the 600-yard distance run, the obstacle race, and the softball throw. Additional captains are appointed from among those individuals expressing interest in participating in specified events: shuttle-run relay, tug-o-war, 50-yard relay race, and sack race relay. Choices reflect obvious attempt to designate students not having been active in leadership roles previously.

Being an Event Captain is also optional. The appointment is consistently prefaced with "would you take responsibility for" Carol's response that he is not interested in being an Event Captain is totally acceptable to the teacher. He asks which people in that event would like to be captain and makes a selection from among the three boys with raised hands.

Captains of the various events come to the front table to receive Official Registration Forms (conferral of authority in influencing and determining class representation in Field Day). Subservience of the leaders to the wishes of the group is established as the teacher clarifies organizational procedures: "Now, what's going to happen? We all know that captains are going to put their friends down on their teams. But that's all right. They may do that. But you have the right to see whose names are on each list. And if you think you are better than someone whose name is down, you may challenge that person. And if you win your challenge, the captain must cross out that other person's name and write your name down instead. Anyone wanting to arrange challenges should see me for help in setting them up," he hastens to add.

Lewis and Bryn sit shaking their heads, "No." Lewis' lips shape the silent words, "I'll put down the best pullers."

The importance of completing registration and turning forms in by Friday is made clear: "People will be spectators rather than participants at Field Day if their names are not on Registration Forms and forms not returned by Friday." Also, it is imperative that registration forms not be lost: "If the registration form is lost, then everyone in the class is confused and nobody knows just what is going on. Any captain losing a form will have to BUY A REPLACEMENT. It will cost you a penny to buy another registration form so it's very important that you not lose this one!"

Students laugh and enjoy the implication that the required one-penny purchase price is a great penalty. Their manner conveys understanding that the point is not desire to impose hardship on anyone

but rather to stress the importance of organization and orderliness to operation of Field Day and the significant contribution of Event Captains in determining success of the occasion.

The teacher responds to student questions concerning procedural matters: "Can Event Captains be challenged?" "Will the champions of the girls' events and the best of the boys race against each other?" "Will the best of the fifth graders 'stay' the best of the sixth graders?" "How will homerooms be matched in the tug-o-war?" ("We always get put with Mrs. B's class!")

There are no obvious conflicts as people group around Event Captains to register officially as participants in Field Day. During the week that follows, challenges are arranged to determine entrants in the most popular events: girls' sack race, boys' softball throw, boys' and girls' tug-o-war teams, boys' and girls' 50-yard dashes.

An increasing array of Field Day notices shape student involvement and serve as a barometer of heightening interests. Three new announcements are taped on the edge of the front table:

WE NEED
PARENT VOLUNTEERS
TO HELP WITH
FIELD DAY

SACKS NEEDED
FOR FIELD DAY
WILL PAY
.05¢
EACH

REMEMBER:
REGISTRATION FORMS
AND
PERMISSION SLIPS
DUE ON FRIDAY

Sample registration forms and a poster are both stapled to the front bulletin board announcing: FIELD DAY, MONDAY, JUNE 1. The poster lists events to be included and specifies the number of entrants

allowed each class. A duplicate Field Day announcement is posted beside the rear entry into the gym.

Mary places her signed parental permission paper neatly on the growing stack on a bench along the right wall. Large notices above the benches (PARENT PERMISSION SLIPS HERE - 6th GRADES and PARENT PERMISSION SLIPS HERE - 5th GRADES) designate general areas according to grade level. Smaller notices subdivide benches for homerooms as identified. Mark opens his carefully folded Official Registration Form (all five folds, which have reduced the $8\frac{1}{2}$ " by 11" sheet to $1\frac{1}{2}$ " by 2"!) and places a red "P" in front of Andy's name to indicate return of the signed parental permission paper. He refolds the form and tucks it carefully into his pocket.

Students assist the teacher in clearing the grassy track area of glass, sharp stones, sticks, or other objects that might be dangerous for those people preferring to run barefoot. The home economics teacher, in search of projects for her boys' class during the final lessons of the year, is happy to occupy students with the making of "J.C. PRICE FIELD DAY - 1975" banners suitable for identifying the four corners of the track, and yellow "OFFICIALS" arm bands to be worn by people helping conduct the Field Day.

Conflicting responsibilities made it impossible for me to be present for the actual staging of the Field Day. My last day in the school was three days prior to its scheduled date. It had, by then, become a focal activity, linking students, several teachers, and many parents.

Tumbling Club

The teacher is excited about arrangements which have been made for holding an "Open Practice of the Tumbling Club." It is considered impossible to accommodate the entire student body so attendance will be by special invitation only. He says he "thought of sending invitations to selected representatives from other schools also, but has decided that if they don't know what physical education is all about by now, there probably isn't much point in that!"

The Tumbling Club holds half-hour practice sessions during the final class period on Mondays and Fridays. The teacher says he is never sure exactly how many, or which, of the nineteen members will be present at a particular practice. This is not an extra curricular period and classroom teachers do not always excuse students from their scheduled lessons or activities.

The teacher portrays the club as an outgrowth of the gym program. The seven boys (six black and one white) and twelve girls (four black and eight white) comprising it were identified in classes as having special interests in tumbling and were asked if they would like to form a club for the purpose of working more seriously on development of their skills.

Evaluation of Tumbling Club progress occurs frequently in informal conversations with the teacher. The following comments are drawn from field notes:

The teacher speaks enthusiastically of last night's Tumbling Club practice and the "things" the students are doing. The fact that "they are even beginning to think up some of their own routines now" is reported with an obvious sense of pride.

Tumbling Club members are "talking about doing something for the forthcoming Talent Show." The teacher says he does not plan to push them.

If they come up with ideas of some things they want to perform, he will be glad to help, but he wants the interest to come from them.

The teacher reports on the Tumbling Club's performance in the Talent Show. "It was great. It was really great. A professional, finished product . . . with slides and music in the background and all!"

The teacher informs me that several members of the Tumbling Club "tell about performing their stunts for their parents when they go home." Jeannie is one who told of having her father help and spot for her as she practices at home. He is pleased with the progress Jeannie has shown and reports that she mastered the back flip at a practice session a couple weeks ago.

In early May the teacher displays an artistically designed "Invitation to an Open-Practice Session (of the J.C. Price Tumbling Club)." In answer to my queries, he responds that the invitations are his creation and that they will be sent to "selected individuals" only. Holding an open practice is considered preferable to presenting a Tumbling Exhibition because it will allow the presence of spotters and thus encourage students to try some of the more difficult events. "In a formal show," he feels, "everyone is under more pressure to be perfect in what they do. The audience expects a greater measure of perfection, and performers are more limited in what they are capable of doing." Furthermore, the entire student body is considered "just too large a group to attempt to accommodate."

The teacher also voices strong opinion that "too often extra programs of this nature are considered, not for their educational value, but merely as opportunities to have kids taken off the teachers' hands for a period." He has observed audience response at other programs to be "not only non-supportive, but down-right rude." And teachers

attending have failed to exercise authority over behavior of students for whom they are theoretically responsible.

Rather than being open and available to everyone, attendance at the Open Practice is to be considered a special privilege. Parents of Tumbling Club members, "special teachers" (counselor, special education, home economics, music), and regular class teachers known to be interested and supportive of the gym program are recipients of special invitations. Each teacher invited is allowed to bring along students felt to be appreciative of the demonstration.

Approximately one hundred people (ten to twelve adults and ninety students) gather in the gymnasium for the Open Practice of the Tumbling Club. The teacher, wearing tan slacks, gold knit shirt, and white low-cut sneakers, extends an official welcome. He explains that not all of the stunts students will be doing are perfected. Some will be needing a little help. Coaching and teaching will be a part of the program, since it is, as entitled, an "open practice." He stresses the importance of concentration and quiet when performing gymnastics and tumbling, and requests the courtesy and co-operation of the audience.

Tumbling Club members enter the room through front and back exits, the girls running in, single file, from the front and the boys, single file, from the back. The two columns merge into a single line as the students go through a warm up routine: dives, rolls, round-offs, cart wheels, back flips, back walk-overs. All students wear shorts or cut-off jeans. Some are barefoot. Some wear sox. None wear shoes.

The teacher stands or kneels along the edge of the mats. He spots, coaches, and evaluates as students perform and practice. He

gives constant verbal encouragement: "'atta' girl . . . 'atta' boy . . . that's good . . . that's very good." He draws a student aside and makes corrections or offers advice for improving performance.

Groups of students switch smoothly from practicing to sitting out to spotting. Blacks and whites, boys and girls, sox and barefeet, shorts and cut-offs, all flow together, work together, sit together. Background music plays on the record player, and two student photographers move about taking pictures. The practice reaches a climax as two girls do front flips without hands, and the quiet, attentive audience breaks into spontaneous applause.

At the end of the thirty-minute practice, the teacher expresses appreciation: "Thank you very much for your attention. It was good to have you present at our open practice." He comments briefly on the formation of the Tumbling Club, noting that members were identified as individuals with special interests in tumbling as they worked in the gym classes.

The girls run off toward the front exit, and the boys to the rear. The teacher stands by the door, and parents and teachers express congratulations for a very fine performance.

The Tumbling Club is a "symbolic embodiment"³ of the teacher's ideal curriculum. In it, through it, the beliefs and goals which are held as desired outcomes of the physical education class are given overt expression; they are portrayed to the public and internalized by the participating students. A special sense of ritual value, of "taboo," surrounds the Tumbling Club, making it available to only a select group of students and making the Tumbling Club performance open only to people who understand and support its value.

Leadership

Veronica stands for a long time trying to select a new equipment manager from among the people waving their hands. "Oh, I know," she says. "Who hasn't done anything yet?" The teacher says that is a very good question and that someone who hasn't done anything yet should have a chance to be selected. He asks people who have been or are now a "somebody" to put their hands down; only people who have been just "nobodies" all year should keep their hands up.

Class leaders, like squad groups, are part of the formal organization of the class (an expression of the ideal culture) and are teacher appointed. The principle of heterogeneity is of paramount importance in determining their selection. Sexual, racial, and socio-economic criteria are considered in arriving at a representative body of student leaders. Consideration is also given to one's expressed interest in serving in a leadership capacity. No one is urged into a leadership role unless it is made clear that this is something that one would like to do. Despite obvious attempts to involve many different people in positions of responsibility throughout the year, major class leadership positions are full-year appointments unless a student asks to be replaced.

Formal class leaders divide into four groupings in accordance with the nature and scope of their authority. Class captains (2) and squad leaders (1 per squad) represent the arm of teacher authority and are responsible for supporting predominating ideology. Equipment managers (2) and assistant squad leaders (1 per squad) exercise control over technological materials utilized by the group. Ranges of authority vary, with class captains and equipment managers exercising jurisdiction over the entire class, while squad leaders and their assistants are more or less limited to authority over individual squad groups.

Table 1
Formal Authority Structure

	SQUAD AUTHORITY (function primarily during early 2/3 of lesson; during squad work)	CLASS AUTHORITY (function primarily during termination of lesson)
IDEOLOGY (derive prestige through controlling people)	SQUAD LEADERS (6 - 1 per squad)	CLASS CAPTAINS (2)
TECHNOLOGY (derive prestige through controlling goods-equipment)	ASSISTANT SQUAD LEADERS (6 - 1 per squad)	EQUIPMENT MANAGERS (2)

More specifically, responsibilities and authority of formal leadership is summarized as follows:

Squad Leaders

1. Influence orderly conduct of squad members at times during which they function as squad units.
2. Help assistant squad leaders, if necessary, in setting up and operating equipment during squad station work.
3. Assume responsibilities of assistant leader in case of absence.

Assistant Squad Leaders

1. Procure, set up, and operate equipment during squad station work.
2. Return equipment to the equipment room at the end of squad station work.
3. Assume responsibilities of leader in case of absence.

Class Captains

1. Dismiss class by squad lines at the end of the lesson. Order of dismissal determined by readiness and orderliness of total squad.

Equipment Managers

1. Receive equipment as it is returned at the end of each lesson and store items appropriately in designated areas in the office-equipment room.

In addition to the above, class captains and squad leaders are frequently called upon for assistance in distribution and collection of forms and written materials.

Certain specified or understood rights and privileges are accorded leaders by virtue of their position as "somebodies" in the squad or class. Seating order in squad line is a prestige order, reflecting leadership roles. By teacher assignment, squad leaders and assistant squad leaders occupy first and second places respectively at the head of the line. Peer group acceptance allocates the next places in line to class captains, equipment managers, and informal group leaders. Social outcasts, the "nobodies" of the class, are relegated to positions at the very back of each squad line.

By general understanding, assistant squad leaders, the providers of equipment, exercise the right of holding special items (applies especially to balls of any nature) while sitting at attention at the first squad station of the lesson. They also enjoy the privilege of first choice of equipment for personal use. At subsequent squad stations, where equipment has been left available by preceding squads, these options are usually assumed by the squad leader. First and

second "turns" go automatically to leaders and their assistants in situations requiring organization of this nature.

Appointment to a position of formal leadership is considered a special privilege. Darrell, Gwen, Robin, and Natalie mention their roles as equipment managers or class captains when asked to name things they most enjoy doing during gym class. Squad leader and class captain responsibilities are rated as exceptionally desirable positions to hold, with the latter considered the most coveted of all.

Students sometimes share a leadership role with a friend or enjoy the luxury and power of being able to delegate their authority to others. Ellen tells that the teacher named her as the squad leader, but she usually lets Jeannie (her best friend) do it because she "really wanted to be the leader." And Billy displays a casual shrug and comments, "Be my guest," in response to Cindy's request to take his place "standing in front and dismissing squads at the end of class." Billy often has as many as four or five people ask daily for this opportunity.

Informal leadership is specific to the composition of the group and the nature of the activity in which they participate. Some expertise in the area of involvement is normally considered a prerequisite to peer acceptance in informal leadership positions.

Jerry controls admission, team formation, and officiating of the basketball games.

As we sit watching, I comment on Charles' good basketball playing. Andy informs me that "Charles isn't really very good. He jus' thinks he's good. See, he might better oughta' shot right there. . . Geeezz, shoot Charles, shoot! He dribbles too much!" Andy says that Jerry is the best player in the class. Lenette and Susie tell me that Jerry is the best player in the class. Jerry tells me so, too.

Mary has gained an accepted position of leadership at the parallel bars. People lining up gave a place to assure her participation. Susie credits Mary with having taught her the things she is working on. Barbara, Kim, and Melanie say that they have learned lots of new things on the parallel bars and, when asked how they learned so much so quickly, they tell me that Mary's friend belongs to a gymnastics club at the "Y." Mary learns stunts from her friend each night, then practices and teaches them in school.

Some activities, like rope jumping, seem not to have specified leaders.

Entry into a Game

"Once there were two boys who were watching a basketball game. Boy did they wish they could play, but they were too young. When they had gotten there the boys were choosing teams, but they ignored these boys. They watched for a long time. They wanted to play so they asked. The older kids started laughing and making jokes. They said they would let them if they could see them shoot the ball."

Observations of students seeking acceptance into play groups motivated administration of a projective test⁴ for the purpose of eliciting rules governing entry into an informal basketball game.

A picture of two people observing three others playing basketball (see Appendix B) was given to each of the students in the three classes involved in the study. Each student was asked to write a story about the picture. Instructions were the following:

Write a short story about what is happening in the picture. It can be any kind of story you wish to imagine. Some ideas for things you might wish to include in your story are these:

Tell what is happening in the picture.
 Tell something about what happened just
 before the picture.
 Tell what might happen next.
 Tell what might happen to change things
 from what they are in the picture.
 Tell something about the people in the picture.
 What are they doing and thinking? Why are
 they doing and thinking these things?

Stories obtained indicate consistency in student perception of the situation depicted (Table 1). Sixty-two stories relate conditions surrounding an informal game of basketball. In fifty-seven of these, the side-line non-participants desire entry into the game. Three of the stories portray basketball as the road to recognition. In one story, two poor boys gain recognition as a result of outstanding performance in a free throw shooting contest. The other two stories relate successful careers and social mobility through professional basketball.

The total sample providing data from which rules are elicited is composed of the fifty-seven stories in which non-participants desire entry into a pick-up game of basketball. Stories were analyzed for student perception of reasons for the non-involvement of the side-line spectators. In compiling the rules, any statement of a reason for the non-involvement of the spectators was considered to be a "rule." In the event that one person mentioned a number of reasonable explanations for the spectators not playing, each explanation was considered an individual rule.

Rules elicited form into two groups: (1) rules regarding the reasons for non-involvement of the spectators and (2) rules regarding appropriate means for becoming involved.

The major restricting attributes (Table 2) are age, size, sex, not being a member of the organizing group (arriving too late, teams already formed), and being "not liked."

Expressions of age, size, skill, and sex as restricting factors included relatively straight-forward statements:

"They [the spectators] want to play, but the others won't let them because they're too young or too short."

"The two kids [spectators] were playing, but they weren't good enough so they were thrown out."

"The girls [spectators] wanted to play with them, and the boys said, "No, girls can't play!"

"Jim asked one of them if they would let them play. All he said was, 'You aren't good enough.'"

Reasons for being disliked or "not wanted" are vague and indefinite in some cases but made explicit in others:

"They [the spectators] weren't picked to play because nobody liked them."

"The players didn't want them. They said, 'The game's locked.'"

"Bill and Joel wondered, 'Why won't they let us play with them. Maybe they just don't like us or something.'"

"The other guys [the players] didn't like them because they were sissies."

"I think that when the guys got up the team, they would not let the other guys play, or maybe they didn't play fair and were kicked out."

There is lack of agreement concerning appropriateness of keeping out late arrivals. Players having organized the game are sometimes considered justified in not wanting their play interrupted. At other times it is considered unfair to bar others from participation:

"The game is fair [teams are even]. When someone else comes we just don't let them play."

Table 2

Student Perception of Game Situation

STORY THEME ¹	B O Y S		G I R L S		TOTAL
	Black	White	Black	White	
(Informal - "Pick-up" or Peer Controlled)					
1. Boys viewing game seek entry	13	12	7	11	43
2. Girls (or boy and girl) viewing game seek entry	1	2	1	4	8
3. Children (kids) viewing game seek entry	0	2	2	2	6
4. ("Spectators") view game	0	1	2	2	5
(Formal - "Official" or Authority Controlled)					
5. ("Spectators") view official game	1	3	0	0	4
6. Players rest while "subs" play	0	1	0	0	1
7. Sitting out as punishment	0	1	0	0	1
8. Basketball a "road to recognition"	0	0	2	1	3
	15	22	14	20	71 ²

¹Five stories were rejected due to lack of any unifying theme.

²Some students were absent on the day stories were written.

"I think that they [the players] let them [the spectators] play after they finished. But if they did that, it wasn't fair. . . everyone should play."

As indicated in Table 3, procedures for gaining acceptance in a game already under way are these: obtaining permission from the players, being called upon to augment play (in the event of injury or early departure of participating members); and proof of one's playing ability. The extension of invitation to join is frequently contingent upon one or both of the latter conditions.

A major issue of disagreement is the appropriate technique for communicating one's desire to play. Some consider it inappropriate for outsiders to ask permission. This condition tends to prevail in circumstances in which rejection is anticipated. In some situations it is regarded to be the responsibility of the spectators to ask to be allowed to participate:

"They [the spectators] want to play with the older guys. But they might say 'No.' The two boys stand around to see if one of the big boys notices them. NO WAY. They're too busy in the game. One might ask them. No, they're both too chicken."

"They [the spectators] are thinking about playing. They hope that one of them [the players] will ask them to play. But the boys are bigger, and they might not ask them."

"They might want to play, but they think the big kids are not going to let them. But they don't know that. They can't tell what the big kids are going to say. So they have to go and ask. . . and maybe they will [let them play]."

Appropriate recourse for girls in response to sexual discrimination is likewise varied. Some situations support fighting to gain entry, others propose improving skill to the level of earning entry, while a third recommended response is that of resigned acceptance:

Table 3
Rules Restricting Acceptance into Games

		Too Late (Teams Formed)	Size	Age	Skill	Sex	"Not Liked"	Not Acquainted
BOYS	Black	3	3	1	1	2	0	0
	White	5	2	2	3	1	4	0
GIRLS	Black	1	2	2	1	0	0	0
	White	3	3	5	1	3	2	1
TOTAL		12	10	10	6	6	6	1

Table 4
Procedural Steps Appropriate
For Attaining Entry

		Ask Permission To Join	Wait Around For "Need" Or Invitation	Prove Ability	Fight To Gain Entry	Tell Authority	Bribe Way In	Return Later	Start Own Game
BOYS	Black	4	6	4	0	0	0	1	0
	White	5	2	1	1	1	1	2	3
GIRLS	Black	0	3	3	0	0	0	1	0
	White	7	3	5	2	1	0	1	1
TOTAL		16	14	13	3	2	1	5	4

"One girl said, 'Let's fight for it.' They [the girls] take the ball and run."

"Some girls said they would ask the boys again, but they got the same answers they always got. . . One girl said, 'Let's start practicing so we will be just as good as the boys.'"

"They [the girls] wanted to play, but the boys said, 'No.' So the girls watched them play their game."

Demonstration of skillful play or being called upon to augment the game are well documented means for gaining entry:

"Then two guys [players] had to leave, and they said they [the spectators] could play."

"'Hey wait a minute,' said one of the biggest guys, 'Let's see how good they are.' So Tim got up and took a shot. He made a hit. They looked surprised. Next Tom got the ball and shot a basket. The other kids looked real surprised. So they let them play."

Although conditions vary somewhat from individual to individual, responses obtained provide strong indication that a pick-up basketball game is considered a closed social event, an activity belonging to the participants. Permission of, invitation from, the players of the game is a prerequisite for entry. Extension of invitation is dependent upon fulfillment of some clearly agreed upon criteria. Considered in this manner, a game becomes not only an opportunity for participation and inclusion, but a legitimate means for avoidance and exclusion as well.

Gym Class in the Total School Curriculum

"You know you're gonna do som'pin on gym days an' it's not gonna be all work," explains Barbara. "Like Monday there's nothin' . . . until Tuesday, and the rest of the week. There's nothin' to do in school unless you go to gym and home ec."

Informal discussions and formal interviews reflect student categorization of gym class as separate from school work. Richard summarized the feelings of many who consider gym important because "kids just can't work all afternoon without havin' physical ed. They haveta' have a play period." "Ya," continues David. "It's important to have a gym class. It gets boring just sittin' in the classroom all the time. Ya'don't have nothin' to do, just sittin' there workin' and gettin' tired and bored with school. In gym ya' have a lot of fun, an' you can play what ya' wanna play in the squads an' ya' get to have free play."

I ask what kids expect to work on and learn when they go to their arithmetic lesson and am told they do "sets and things like that. Drawing a parallel situation, I inquire about anticipated learnings in the gym class. "The other . . . well, they don't like doing all that other work," explains Melanie. "Most kids just like to play. They don't really get a grade . . . or that grade doesn't mean that much to them because it's not school work. So they don't try their hardest." Robin responds to the question like this: "It makes ya' learn how ta' play . . . ah . . . Well, it gives ya' a chance ta' play sometimes!"

I comment on Jeff's frequent absences, asking if he misses school this much all the time. Gwen doesn't "know much about where he is, but he was in the classroom." Rex supposes he "had to stay in the room. Jeff doesn't ever get his work done, an' sometimes the class teacher doesn't let him come to the gym class."

Conversations with the teacher indicate conflicting philosophy among faculty members regarding the place of the gym class in the total

educational curriculum. "Classroom teachers," he feels, "are frustrated in attempts to motivate black and low socio-economic representation in the total classroom population. They just aren't responsive to middle-class values of getting ahead, being better, and all that. But kids like coming to the gym class; they like to move and explore . . . to work on stunts, or to play, or whatever. Withholding the privilege of attending gym class for work or disciplinary reasons is about the only effective carrot remaining."

The teacher feels assured of the principal's support of the gym program but is doubtful "that many of the other teachers are knowledgeable about what goes on in [his] classes." He expresses personal responsibility for the apparent lack of communication, summarizing his contact with the classroom teachers as "limited" and citing personal preference for "a basic attitude of letting the gym program speak for itself rather than always being on a selling campaign." Using a frequently stated phrase, he voices opinion that most classroom teachers think of gym class (and other special subjects) only in terms of free periods in their schedules. "In their estimation, special teachers aren't real teachers and what goes on in their classes isn't real work."

The teacher complies whenever possible with the numerous requests for the use of gym equipment during class-teacher supervised play periods. Items of greatest demand are jump ropes, playground balls for playing kickball, quiet balls (yarn balls) for indoor use, and soft ball equipment.

We sit in squad lines while the teacher prepares the class for being weighed and measured. He says not to get upset and go on a diet when we find we are heavier than at the beginning of the year. . . "That simply means you're growing up."

His lecture is interrupted by four girls who enter through the back door and saunter the length of the room to where he sits on the front table. "What's up, girls?" he asks. The students relay the classroom teacher's request for some balls. They assure him the equipment will be returned promptly, place three or four balls into a bag, and stroll among the squad lines to the back of the room. We sit quietly awaiting their departure. The teacher resumes the lesson as they exit through the back door.

The teacher is disturbed by limited public understanding of the importance of hiring professionally prepared physical education specialists to work with children. He relates the comment of a faculty colleague to an announcement that gym classes are to be cancelled for the following day. Conflicting professional responsibilities require the teacher's absence from school and efforts to obtain a substitute have proven unsuccessful. "What do you do down there anyway?" asked the classroom teacher. "Couldn't my son's soccer coach substitute?"

Whenever possible, gym lessons missed due to the teacher's absence are made up by his taking extra classes during his one or two free periods each week. He says that he doesn't mind and that he's "willing to agree to this arrangement because homeroom teachers feel cheated if they don't get their break time when kids go to P.E. "And besides," he concludes, "kids like to work and enjoy coming to the gym class."

Summary

A summary of material presented to this point is appropriate. The physical education class is a group of people (clearly divisible into sub-groups and categories) coming together at a regularized time and place, utilizing specialized materials, and interacting in a series

of prescribed activities for the specific purpose of bringing about a desired goal. The teacher determined goal is made visible through an "ideal model," the Tumbling Club.

Twice-weekly meetings of the class are held in the gymnasium, an area both connected with and set apart from the main classroom center of the school. The facility, technology, and activities utilized convey association of the physical education class with organized sports (primarily basketball), tumbling and gymnastics, recreational play and games, and health and physical fitness.

Student participation includes both individual and group performances. Selected activities and some group arrangements are teacher assigned; others are informally organized according to individual interests.

The two-fold purpose of the class is (1) the development of physical skills and (2) the formation of an integrated, harmonious, co-operative, inter-acting social group.

The physical education class, as described above, is a social institution fitting clearly within the definition offered by Malinowski (1944:54) in his Scientific Theory of Culture: "organized behavior for the purpose of accomplishing specified goals." Malinowski went on to suggest that social institutions constitute clearly definable groups or "isolates" which can be subjected to cultural analysis. Analysis of our class as a social institution requires extraction of additional available data regarding the purpose and conduct of the class.

CHAPTER V

DATA ANALYSIS: IN SEARCH OF THE
HIDDEN CURRICULUM

The anthropological method of data analysis is that of comparison of comparable social units or social processes. The analysis which follows begins with exposure and comparison of conflicting curricula (rules for appropriate behavior) being transmitted to students independently and simultaneously in the gym class. The teacher-sponsored explicit curriculum is an ideal curriculum conveying rules of individual worth tempered with emphasis on co-operation, equality, and social responsibility. The teacher-sponsored curriculum is instruction in ideal, integrated, democratic living. A student imposed hidden curriculum conducted through symbolic ritual instructs students in a code of behavior contradicting the model presented by the teacher. The student-sponsored curriculum implicitly conveyed through displayed behaviors is one of discrimination, stratification, and segregation of individuals. Rules for behavior sanctioned by the students' implicit curriculum correlate with experiences and learnings of real society.

Conceptualizing the physical education class as secular ritual, the twentieth century, modern American institution is compared with comparable institutions in tribal Africa for discussion of some implications of symbolic ritual.

The Integrating Curriculum

As observed in dominant ritual (Sitting at Attention) and embodied in the ideal model (The Tumbling Club), a central theme of the teacher's established curriculum is the principle of integration. Sitting and working in racially, sexually, and socio-economically integrated squad groups, students practice integrated living daily. Equality of individuals, a concept basic to integration, is portrayed and practiced through acceptance of peer authority. Group leaders are designated by the teacher with the expressed purpose of achieving an integrated, representative body of leaders.

An important dimension of valuing each individual, one essential to maintaining equality in a physical education class, is allowing and encouraging development of physical skills and abilities in accordance with personal goals and preferences. Rather than molding individuals into preconceived patterns and comparing them with standardized norms and impersonal averages, students are encouraged to develop movement skills in accordance with personal goals. Students are instructed in valuing their own individuality and in respecting the individuality of others as they make personal choices from among suggested learning tasks and work at them as expressions of personal interest. Students are involved in establishing goals for their own learning, an initial step toward autonomy and self-direction. They are required to make personal commitments and take responsibility for their decisions. Student opinions and contributions are sought, valued, and incorporated into structuring and conducting segments of the lesson.

The principle of integration, thus, holds that people exist in a variety of social, physical, and mental identities but all are to

be accepted and valued independently and equally. Factors such as skin color, sex, socio-economic level, academic skills, physical skills, and personality characteristics vary among individuals but are not determinants of an individual's worth.

A second theme of the teacher's curriculum is the principle that movement skills and movement patterns are internally motivated personal expressions. Each person's physical performance is individually specific in its meaning and is of value insofar as it represents that individual's personal movement response to a task or question. Movement patterns and skills vary but, as with individuals, need not fit a particular pattern in order to be valued. Variation and experimentation are encouraged in preference to standardization. The two principles, as noted, are intricately intertwined.

Reflecting the above stated principles, formally organized instructions are not conducted. Comments made by the teacher stress the importance of reading directions, thinking through what one plans to do from among suggested tasks, and having purpose for one's decisions. As students work, the teacher moves among them motivating and questioning. He asks students to explain what they are working on and how the same goal might be achieved in some other manner. He uses a variety of techniques to stimulate students to think through the activities they are performing. Volunteers are asked to demonstrate work to the class and to explain the purpose of the activity. Student demonstration-explanation is sought through invitation rather than command and constitutes an effective motivating device.

Ultimate control appropriate for democratic living resides in the group. When necessary, teacher reprimand underscores the supremacy of group rights over individual interests. Students are allowed the privilege of electing not to participate in an activity if they so desire, but are repeatedly reminded that no one has the right to disturb other people who are working. "Nobody has the right to disturb the whole group," the teacher would state with firm conviction. "No one has that right!" Ultimate punishment appropriately fitting is suspension of the group's right to free play during the final portion of each lesson. Well aware of the manner in which actions of classmates affect their own welfare, students exert constant personal pressure enforcing normative behavior.

The teacher's curriculum is an integrating curriculum. Development and acceptance of diversity and autonomy within the overriding values of consideration, co-operation, and responsibility for group welfare (principles basic to integrated, democratic living) constitute the core of the teacher's ideal curriculum.

In keeping with the principles of integrated, democratic living, ultimate control is placed in the hands of the group. The members of the class become at one and the same time (1) the source of approval and reinforcement as classmates demonstrate their work (and so-doing become models for others to follow) and (2) the source of censure for inappropriate behavior.

Students functioning in the dual role of models for and enforcers of the teacher's sentiments internalize them as fact and reality. Individual and group goals are bent and shaped toward a single, permeating sentiment.

At the same time, sentiments and attitudes supporting the value of participation in physical education related activities are emphasized.

What is observed is this: constant and repeated interaction of an integrated social group utilizing sports and recreational equipment in sports related activities for the specific purpose of developing habits and attitudes supportive of continuing this very image (integrated, democratic living and personal satisfaction through participation in sports related activities).

Latent Functioning of the Integrating Curriculum

The problem to which we are forced to address ourselves is the latent functioning⁵ of the teacher's integrating curriculum in rapidly eliminating all except a very select group of students (white girls) from participation on the special gymnastics equipment which arrived during the course of the study. A crucial factor in the problem is the transmission of conflicting sets of instructions in the observed class. The following data disclose some contrasts and implications of the rival curricula communicated to students.

As stated above, two sets of curricula (rules governing behavior) are being transmitted to students simultaneously and independently in the gym class. An "ideal" curriculum energizes from the teacher and surrounds segments of the class concerned with formal instruction, those aspects associated with squad work. Basic tenets of the teacher's ideal curriculum are identified above as (1) the principle of integration, and (2) the principle of movement as personalized self expression. A contrasting "real" curriculum emanates from the students, provides

dynamics of events occurring during informal free play time, and persists within much of the teacher's ideal curriculum. It is to the basic tenets of the students' real curriculum that we now attend.

Student sanctioned rules, the "real" curriculum, regulate behavior during the free play section of each lesson and permeate much of squad work. The first rule of appropriate behavior according to the student curriculum becomes apparent as students move from squad lines to work at squad stations. Students segregate according to gender identification. Boys and girls sit and work separately. Further and finer, sorting and ranking of individuals occurs according to the composition of each group. Sub-sorting among the girls occurs along lines of racial and socio-economic class distinctions. Boys tend to sub-divide according to skill level. Personality factors and social skills are additional points of consideration. Distinguishing criteria such as sex, race, skill level, and social class emerge as major cores of cohesion determining group formation.

The "real" curriculum is a segregating curriculum with students grouping to reflect significant associations or dissassociations regarding a number of variables. Real leaders, those sanctioned by the "real" curriculum, emerge and function in relationship to the composition of each group and the nature of the activity in which they participate. Some expertise in the area of involvement is a general qualification for "real" leadership along with meeting the core identifying criteria around which a particular group has formed (primarily sex, skill, and race).

According to student enforced regulations for real behavior, expertise in sport performance is recognized and valued. Displayed

behavior, formal and informal interviews, and stories written regarding entry into an informal basketball game are consistent in portraying the property-like nature of sport skills. Skillful sport performance is an attribute leading directly to the special privileges of group acceptance, status, power, and wealth. It represents the potential for waiving discriminating factors and opening the way for unusual opportunities such as (1) a girl's admission into a boy's game of basketball, (2) the acceptance of little, or young, children into a game along with bigger and older kids, and (3) the possibility that white girls might invite a black girl to "play with 'um sometimes." The rules of the real curriculum implicitly state that sport performance is recognized and valued.

Moreover, activities in which people participate have a hierarchical ranking. Basketball is considered by most boys and many of the girls as the most prestigious. A recently formed and visibly successful tumbling club influences the growing popularity of tumbling among all students, especially among the girls.

In sharp contrast with the ideal integrating curriculum of the teacher, the student sponsored real curriculum is one of segregation and stratification. Appropriate behavior calls for appraising and categorizing individuals according to a number of social identities: sex, race, skills, social class, and personality traits. What one does and with whom become a part of one's social assets or liabilities. Sport performance is among the personal attributes subjected to public scrutiny and public evaluation.

Free play groups, as special interest groups, identify with certain areas of the gymnasium or with designated activities. Within a

predictable range of permeability, social boundaries surround groups of students, closing them out and shutting them in from contact with other selected individuals. Interaction of a group over a period of time creates an identity which resists both the release of insiders and the admission of outsiders. The network of rules and restrictions in operation is sufficiently solidified that students appear to the casual observer to function in a freely accepted, open society. Boundary maintenance mechanisms⁶--some teasing, taunting, and ignoring--are easily dismissed as natural adolescent behavior. But for the introduction of the new pieces of gymnastics equipment into the class, the dynamics and the hard, cold facts of the students' real curriculum may well have escaped notice.

The newly acquired equipment is introduced as new and special. Students are told how expensive it is and how fortunate they are to have use of it. It is described as professional equipment and associated with famous Olympic athletes such as Olga Korbut. Comparison of the old, home-made equipment with the new, expensive professional model shows the obvious superiority of the latter.

The new equipment is made available for exploration and experimentation during the free play phase of each lesson. In keeping with the principles of the ideal curriculum, students are encouraged to establish their own stunts and routines in preference to being instructed in routines and patterned performances in the use of it. Rules imposed for proper care of the equipment and safety of the students require spotting, a level of technology and social responsibility of which the students are made aware but not given actual patterned instruction.

In brief, a new and exceptionally appealing opportunity which is presented is immediately made inaccessible to a large segment of the student body by withholding information which would allow each one equal knowledge and confidence in approaching it.

Through a series of daily enacted lessons, all of the black students, all of the social nobodies, and most of the boys learn that this particular opportunity is one to which they are not privileged to aspire.

Students are well aware that the equipment made available to them is used by famous Olympic athletes for the performance of specific patterns and institutionalized routines. Much of the desirability of associating with it stems from this very fact. People having outside experiences enabling them to perform skillful maneuvers on the equipment or having access to essential knowledge through friends progress rapidly to a level of proficiency which reveals dramatically the amateurish efforts of the explorers and experimenters. Novices still feeling their way from the upper to the lower uneven bar are impatiently admonished to "either do som'thin' or git off there!"

Growing discrepancy between expectation and reality between performance of the select few who hoard their information and performance of the uninformed eventually becomes sufficient to discourage most "outsiders" from participation on the new gymnastics equipment. The spotting requirement is effectively employed for eliminating stragglers, and the most persistent are ultimately closed out by being ignored.

It is apparent that failure to recognize the property-like nature of sport skills in the real world of student society and thus

promote equality through instruction in these skills has resulted in unexpected and unplanned discriminatory action.

To conclude, however, that the social dynamics revealed as students share in the use of the new gymnastics equipment is motivated by competition for a technological skill, however desirable, is insufficient to accommodate all available data:

A Black girl on the uneven bars defies the challenges of the White waiters. Her verbal assaults include a threat to "cut off your mother's head and throw it to the dogs." Her eventual dismount from the equipment is punctuated with acclamation that "I din't git down 'cause you made me neither. I com' down 'cause I want to!"

Students arrive early for class while the teacher is out of the room. They rush to the front of the gym and contest for a place on the uneven parallel bars. Billy leans against the front table. His arms are interlocked across his chest and his legs crossed like the teacher often stands. "Git off there!" Billy orders. He walks like the teacher as he moves toward the uneven bars. "Only one at a time on here!" he continues. His voice is sharp and commanding.

The teacher shows obvious distress when students enter the gymnasium during an unsupervised period. Despite his safety precautions (careful locking of doors when leaving the building) students gain entry through a back stairway. "They were swarming all over that new equipment," the teacher complains. "All we need is to have one accident or injury. . . I don't care what they think of their 'mean teacher.'" The ousted students, meanwhile, congregate in the playing fields adjacent to the home economics room. They grumble about that "mean Mr. ____" and question the justification of the eviction. "That's our equipment."

The intensity of hostility and overt aggression manifested toward the teacher and displayed between individual students and groups

of students during their adaptation to the new gymnastics equipment demands further and fuller explanation.

Empirical evidence indicates that instruction in the teacher's ideal integrating curriculum clearly has not settled disputes nor developed unity and equality among the conflicting social units brought together in the gym class. Rather, it is through symbolic ritual, subtle expressive behavior (teasing, taunting, ignoring) conducted within the constraints of the over-arching "ideal" curriculum that the conflicts and values of the larger society are acted out and reinforced. Looking at the gym class against the backdrop of a comparable social process helps explain what is observed to occur.

The Hidden Curriculum of Symbolic Ritual

An essential initial requirement in any comparative process is determination of comparable units. A summary of primary data presented above describes the physical education class as a group of people coming together at a regularized time and place, utilizing specialized materials, and inter-acting in a series of prescribed activities for the specific purpose of bringing about changed behavior.

Patterned, regularized behavior participated in for the purpose of bringing about desired goals has been identified by anthropologists as ritual. The definition correlates with the description of our physical education class and prompts the question: are we confronting secular ritual?

Several aspects of the class (Sitting at Attention and The Ideal Model) are established above as ritual and symbolism. A review of the literature regarding ritual supports validity of conceptualizing the physical education class as secular ritual.

Anthropological literature and empirical evidence provide numerous examples of non-religious ritual. Arens (1976) examines professional football as a uniquely American ritual through which basic cultural ideals and symbols are expressed. Taylor (1976) writes of the ritual function of a cup of coffee in initiating and maintaining neighborliness. In personal experiences, we participate in the ritualized playing of the national anthem prior to a baseball game or are ritually initiated into social associations. Geertz's explanation of ritual and symbolism encompasses both the sacred and the secular realms:

Whatever is important in social life becomes the object of symbolic expression and will receive ritual attention. The collective rite is thus any social behavior intended to express a certain meaning which the group concerned feels is important. The forms taken by ritual symbols are numerous, consisting, for example of places, things . . . gestures, persons, actions, human relations, but must always have a meaningful context. (1965:203)

Association with a supreme being is not a prerequisite of ritualized behavior. The gym class situation fits within a category of social behavior designated as instrumental ritual, ritual performed for purposes of bringing about some kind of change.

Generalizing from extensive data accumulated through observations of ritual among the Ndembu of Zambia, Victor Turner (1969, 1967) provides a theoretical framework for analysis of ritual and symbolism. Turner's model serves as a backdrop against which to view the physical education class. It is to his writings that reference is made.

Turner (1967) identifies three distinct phases in rites of passage, ritual marking changes in status in the lives of the Ndembu. Participants, or initiates, are first removed from daily living into a time and place set apart from habitual associations. This separation

phase is conducive to centering emphasis and attention on the events which are to follow and serves to intensify their significance. While in the removed state, initiates associate symbolically with events, things, and people in a manner reflective of the desired changes (new role expectations, changed behavior patterns, new associations). This is a time for acting out, for rehearsing, for adjusting to the desired conditions of change. Finally, the initiates are re-incorporated into society to display and function in accordance with their new and adjusted conditions.

Placing the gym class against the above model, the introductory, instructional, and practice phases of the lesson are readily identified with the designated stages of ritual. The regularized time, the gymnasium, and sitting at attention establish a separation and act as boundaries for channeling attention on conditions into which students are now entering. Squad work constitutes the instructional phase when desired goals, meanings, associations, and habits of behavior are imprinted ritually upon students. Free play is the time for students to continue acting out the sentiments in which they are being instructed, a time for rehearsing desired changes. The problem is that conflicting rules for appropriate behavior intrude and are rehearsed during free play, a point to which we will return momentarily.

Turner's analysis of ritual helps clarify the manner in which varied meanings and sentiments become interrelated and internalized. An understanding of the major properties of ritual and symbolism is a key to understanding some of the events in the gym class noted above. This slight divergence serves to (1) illustrate some effects of the properties of ritual symbols, (2) help explain how different individuals

might find diametrically opposing meanings in a single ritual symbol, and (3) suggest the manner in which ritual symbols influence the pervasiveness of sport in the class and in society in general.

Turner focuses on symbols, the basic units of which rituals are composed. In his words, a symbol is "the smallest unit of a ritual which still retains the specific properties of ritual behavior . . . the ultimate unit of specific structure in a ritual context (1967:19)." A symbol is a thing . . . an object, a movement, a person, an event, or a relationship which transmits a meaning external to itself. The meanings conveyed by symbols are transmitted by association. Symbols typify, represent, recall, or stand for something other than what they really are by virtue of some analogous quality or by association. The connection between the symbol and the referent may be direct and intimate or of a remote and disjunctive nature.

Because of their general nature, major ritual symbols are embraced by numerous and varied individuals through a wide range of associations. Despite the diversity of the analogous referents, each individual linked with the symbol through positive association adds to the value and meaning of the symbol through emotional investment and support. Thus, in the gym class students and teachers share in mutual support of free play but with contradictory goals and expectations.

A game, a sport, a piece of sport or play equipment, a play area, and play itself are all symbols. A basketball might symbolize a friend, Bob MacAdoo, an Olympic medal, an avenue to wealth and recognition, feelings of discomfort and failure, or a chain of associations which include some individuals and exclude others.

Symbols are noted to possess a number of significant properties:

1. Condensation - many things and actions are represented in a single form.
2. Unification of "disparate meanings" in a single symbolic formation - the widely varied and otherwise disconnected ideas and phenomena represented by a single symbol are linked together by the symbol through a chain of analogous qualities or by associations (real or imaginary).
3. Polarization of meaning - meanings associated with symbols are of two distinguishable clusters or "poles," an ideological pole and a sensory pole. The sensory pole is oriented toward referents dealing with desires and feelings; the ideological pole toward arrangement of norms and values that guide and control social order.

It is the "polarization of meaning" property of symbols which is identified by Turner as significant in the ritual process of internalizing social "obligation" to the point of becoming personally "desirable" modes of behavior. The convergence of sensory or emotional clustering with ideological and valuing clusterings through a single ritual symbol infuses some transfer of properties. The result is a saturation of the norms and values with the accompanying emotion while, in the same process, general emotions and physiological feelings are validated through contact with social values (Turner 1967:38-48).

An example is more adequate than words in clarifying the point. Failure in having read directions at the squad station is accompanied with physiological and emotional feelings of discomfort and

apprehension as the teacher asks some students what they plan to work on. Adjustment of behavior (reading directions and developing work plans at the next squad station) reduces discomfort and stimulates positive emotional and physiological feelings which are reinforced and amplified by teacher and group approval. The norms and values of the social situation are infused with emotional and physiological feelings which become interpreted by the experiencer as imparting fact and reality (as feelings of alignment with "rightness," with the way things are or should be). In Turner's words, "social and physiological meanings are polarized." Group members undergo similar adjustment to obligation as they observe and approve the model presented. Thus the external, social "obligatory" is internalized and is made the "desirable." (And students fulfill the dual role of acting as enforcers of, and models for, appropriate behavior and sentiments.)

Because of their properties of condensation, polarization, and unification of otherwise unconnected things, ritual symbols influence people to behave in certain ways. "Symbols, in short, have an oreic as well as a cognitive function. They elicit emotion and express and mobilize desire (Turner 1967:54)." Thus it is that at a time far removed from the imprinting experience, physiological sensitivity to the cool nip in late summer air is an unconscious motivation to participation in a game of field hockey or leads directly to a spectrum of associated referents.

Normative patterns of co-operation, consideration, and group unity are presumably transmitted for internalization in similar manner. It is upon this premise that the teacher's ideal integrating curriculum is structured and conducted.

The problem is that things don't always develop precisely as envisioned by ideal society. Turner observes actual behavior of the Ndembu during ritual performances and reports conditions paralleling those exhibited in the gym class. Ritual symbolizing harmonious inter-relationships and solidarity among groups and persons of the tribal society is found to contradict those very principles. Individuals participating in the ritual form into age and sex groups and further sub-divide into more specialized groupings. Antagonism, rivalry, jeering, and taunting is exhibited between the groups as the rite is performed. The groupings which form reflect the patterns of association and dis-association occurring in the wider social structure. The rivalries of society are enacted within the structure of major unifying ritual (1967: 55-56).

Turner's findings, like ours, lead to conclusion that, contrary to popular belief, ritual does not resolve conflicts. Rather, ritual constitutes a structure for the acting out of hostilities present in society. It provides for clarification of social rules which cannot be expressed openly. "Ritual is a distinct phase in the social processes whereby groups (and individuals) become adjusted to internal changes and adapt to their external environment (Turner 1967:20)."

The true meaning of ritual and symbolism, Turner (1967,1962) and Gluckman (1962) are led to conclude, can be understood only in terms of the principles existing in society. "Ritualized ceremony provides a means of . . . dealing with conflicts between groups and relationships. . . Ritual is built out of the very texture of social relations. [In it we see] each person performing symbolical actions which emphasize his role in relation to other participants in the ceremony (Gluckman 1962: 42)."

Looking at the gym class in the light of Turner's analysis of Ndembu ritual, it is apparent that the teacher's ideal curriculum is a concealing structure within which students compete for those things which they are being taught to value. The larger society (indeed, the teacher himself) gives value to skillful sport performance through material and psychological recognition and through association. Social identities of others (their sex, race, skill, social class, and personality) are recognized and valued in the larger society. Association, or dis-association, with select groups or individuals is important.

A hidden curriculum of notable import in the structuring of students' basic value orientations is that imposed by the students themselves through the subtle expressions of symbolic ritual. The changes introduced into the class in the form of the new gymnastics equipment and the desirability of associating with it is disruptive of a pattern of established relationships. Reminder of appropriate relations among people and between people and things is essential. Through symbolic ritual, behavior performed in ritual context for purposes of expressing what cannot be said openly, norms governing roles and relationships, are re-established. In the process, the conflicts and values of the larger society are enacted and rules for social organization in real life are clarified.

The social mechanisms to which we have been made privy as the class adjusts to the changes brought about by the introduction of the new gymnastics equipment are the very ones solidified and operative in the class during free play and within much of squad work. Taunting, teasing, bickering, threatening, and ignoring constitute effective ways

of maintaining social boundaries between selected groups and individuals. They function, as well, to control access to knowledge and restrict association with certain things or certain equipment. The resulting social structure is one in which people are classified and ranked according to sexual, racial, socio-economic class, personality, and performance identities. Through symbolic ritual (subtle conflict and rivalry carried on between groups and among individuals) students convey instructions appropriate to behavior in the wider society as well as in the gym class. The student sponsored hidden curriculum reflects the diversified, stratified society of real life.

In the gym class, play, games, and physical movement skills are removed from the category of frivolity and given value. Students form into groups expressing significant associations and dis-associations and compete for identity with, and mastery of, the socially valued things. Significant rules relating to who has access to what resources, rules appropriate to social relationships in the larger society, are enacted and clarified through symbolic ritual, the hidden curriculum expressed through behavior exhibited among students during free play and within much of squad work. The hidden curriculum supports the values and relationships of the wider society.

CHAPTER VI

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

The preceding descriptive account and comparative analysis demonstrates the interrelationship of education conveyed through a physical education class with instructions imparted through the informal socializing influences of society. Students, through symbolic ritual, transmit rules governing relationships among people and between people and things which contradict and overrule the ideal instructions presented by the teacher.

The student transmitted curriculum is found to be reflective of, and instruction in, the rules and relationships of the larger society. Conflicts embedded in the larger society are acted out through lessons enacted daily in the physical education class. The existing social structure is reinforced and regenerated through the student supported hidden curriculum.

Subtle and unintended teachings and learnings have been found influential in the general shaping of value orientations. The data suggest the urgency for sensitivity on the part of all educators to the variety and the nature of implicit learnings conveyed to students in schools.

CHAPTER VII

DEPARTURE FROM THE FIELD: IN RETROSPECT

Monday, 26 May: A traumatic day it was today, but enlightening too, in a painful sort of way. I hadn't thought through the difficulties of moving from a Nothing, Nothing in the gym class (the individual who sits at the back of every squad line, asks questions, and has to have everything explained), to being responsible for the behavior of a classroom full of students. I went into two of the classrooms (Classes 5A and 6A) to administer a projective test. It turned out to be an awkward situation for me and was obviously incongruous--strange, frustrating, totally out of context--for some of the students.

Mr. H. had talked with teachers of the involved classes ahead of time to arrange for me to meet the students in their classrooms. That seemed a more conducive situation for having them write short stories than sitting on the floor in the gymnasium.

Mrs. J.'s fifth grade group was first (thank goodness!), and she stayed in the room as I administered the projective test. Students were working on SRA tests when I arrived. Mrs. J. asked them to put their work away and to give their attention "to . . . to . . . ah. . ." "To Buff," said Jerry. Mrs. J looked at me, back at the class, and turned again to me. I explained that that was the way they were in the habit of addressing me as I participated with them in the gym class. It was obvious from her expression that she had serious reservations about such informality. She was unable to bring herself to address me in any

manner since she knew no title other than "Buff." The encounter should have been sufficient to sensitize me to the problems ahead.

Mrs. J. sat at her desk and worked. I explained to the students that I would like their help and co-operation in writing a story for me, a story about a picture I would give to them. I had students assist with the distribution to each student of necessary materials: a picture, typed directions, and a blank sheet of lined paper. I read the directions as stated on the typed sheet. I told the students I would be happy to give them another sheet of lined paper if they wanted to change their stories or had problems and needed to start over. They should just put up their hands, and I would bring the paper to them. I was aware of awkwardness of terminology for addressing the entire group. "Hey kids," didn't seem quite appropriate (nor "Hey you guys," which had become more typical for me). Fortunately I could avoid having to face the problem.

Students became involved in creating stories. One or two consulted friends for help with spelling. I moved around the class responding to raised hands by giving clean sheets of paper to replace ones that were "messed up" and answering questions (how to spell words, could they give names to people in the picture, should they have a title, and would it be all right if they printed). Mrs. J. sat at her desk and corrected social studies homework. She wrote some math problems on the board (addition of mixed fractions) and tidied up a back work table. I asked Mrs. J.'s opinion regarding the ability of the students to respond to the suggestions I had given as a framework for directing some of their thinking. She expressed the opinion that most of them would be able to

cope with the task competently. She thought there might be one or two students who would find the task beyond their capabilities.

Within half an hour all but one person had completed their stories and given them to me. I suggested that the last girl be allowed to bring her story along when she came to the gym class. Then I could be on my way without creating further interruption. The arrangement seemed quite satisfactory to Mrs. J. She told Robin to take her time, that she would have sufficient time to finish her story and that she could bring it to me when she came to the gym class (in about a half hour).

Mrs. J. expressed an interest in knowing how the students handled the story writing task. She asked if I would be coming to the gym classes until the very end of school and if she could see the stories the children had written after I had had opportunity to study them. I explained that Wednesday of this week would be my last day in the gym classes. Then I planned to be out of town for a short time, but I would return to Greensboro and would be happy to share the stories with her. With the possibility of reading the stories so far in the future, she lost interest. I thanked Mrs. J. for her co-operation and returned to the gym. As I left the room, students were being excused in small groups, by rows, to go to the bathroom and get drinks of water prior to going to the gym class.

During the first period after lunch, I went to administer the story writing assignment to the students in Grade 6A. The classroom teacher left with my assurance that everything would be fine, that the students and I knew each other, and that we would get along quite all

right without her background presence. I said it would probably take about half an hour for everyone in the group to complete the task I was asking of them. Mrs. Classroom Teacher left us, saying that she was going outside. Both she and I perceived me as a competent, capable, mature adult.

From the minute she closed the door behind her, "I" didn't exist at all so far as the students were concerned, at least not in the same manner as Mrs. Classroom Teacher and I had been perceiving. Within three minutes of her departure, chaos prevailed. Students stood up and walked around, people batted each other over the head, two boys were on their feet and wrestling, some white kid had a black kid seething and raging inside in response to a comment about his "monkey uncle," and Michael and Willie were taunting each other to the point of blows.

It wasn't a display of behavior going on in spite of me, but possibly because of me. Arguments, fights, tormenting each other were conducted blatantly. I could detect not a single display of guilt or shame or anticipation of my disapproval. Possibly it was awareness of this total lack of concern for my approval/disapproval (something I do detect among students in the gym class much of the time when they do things for which adults normally reprimand) which was the most shattering and momentarily terrifying.

I remembered the phrases Mrs. J. had used in addressing her students earlier in the day. "All right," I said, "all right boys and girls, let's sit down now. I want your attention boys and girls. Would you look this way?" (The height of inanity!)

The most mature, sensible, reasonable, rational, helpful, sensitive kids in the class simply laughed! They laughed, giggled, tittered, and hooted in a manner totally out of character. Reactions of anger, incompetence, fear, frustration, hurt, and dismay swept over me in rapid succession. The incompetence was indeed humiliating. I felt hurt, betrayed by people who had been my friends, helpful and accepting friends.

It finally came through to me that I was trapped, trapped in a role that they wouldn't let me out of, couldn't let me out of because, really, a role is a mutual arrangement. It involved them and their self concepts too. And if they were behaving out of character in my estimation and creating fearful frustration in me, what must my sudden shift in role have triggered in them! The result was quite obvious.

We made it through to the end of a half hour, a very long half hour, but not without possibly irreparable damage to our previous relationship. The only mutually acceptable medium for regulating their behavior was for me to appeal to them not to do any things that would "get me into trouble" with the teacher (implying that I would be held responsible if they misbehaved). Even then Willie tried bribery, suggesting that he really needed some paper and would be good if I'd give him my tablet of lined paper.

Tuesday, 27 May: Grade 6A, the class mentioned above, came to gym during first period today. The nature of the lesson precluded any active involvement on my part. They were organizing for Field Day, selecting entrants from the class for the various events, and arranging for the logistics of the occasion. I spent the period sitting on the side-line taking notes.

Susie walked past me as she left the room at the end of class. She had introduced me to her sixth or seventh grade friend as "Buff" when we had met in the grocery store on Sunday. Today she left the gym saying, "Goodby, Mrs. . . Mrs. . . Somebody."

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APPENDIX A

FOOTNOTES

¹Culture is considered by the investigator to be the ideas people have about themselves which are manifested in observable (exhibited) behavior.

²Rites of intensification provide a structure, a vehicle, for orderly transition between potentially disjunctive (disruptive states or conditions.) "[They] function to reinforce and intensify habitual relations among participating individuals and serve to maintain the [habits] to which the participants have been trained. . . They facilitate orderly transition of members of a society from one rate of interaction to another . . . providing the framework within which the interaction of the institution is, to a large extent, ordered and controlled (Chapple and Coon 1942:507-508)."

Burnett (1969) illustrates the manner in which the pep rally serves as a "rite of intensification," operating to preserve social stability among members of a high school community as they move into "other than normal" role relationships. Hendricks (1975), in a related study, finds the registration procedure followed on most campuses to be ritual, functioning to maintain institutional cohesion and socialize students into the norms and values of the university.

³"Whatever is important in social life becomes the object of symbolic expression and will receive ritual attention. . . Symbols are tangible formulations or notions . . . abstractions . . . fixed in perceptible forms . . . expressing meanings which the group feels important . . . concrete embodiments of ideas (as the 'hero'), attitudes, judgments, longings or beliefs (Geertz 1965:204-205)." "Symbols provide a blueprint in terms of which processes external to themselves can be given a definite form. . . [They] shape public opinion and behavior (Geertz 1965:213)."

Warner (1959) considers the public recognition of the "ideal model" to be one of the most powerful symbolisms employed by societies in the "bending" of individual members and public opinion to function in conformity with their needs.

⁴Indebtedness is expressed to the late B. Allan Tindall for the design of the projective technique employed.

⁵Latent function is "the unanticipated consequence of purposive social action. . . [It] may be further defined as either functional or dysfunctional for a designated system (Merton 1957:51)." Goode (1951) illustrates the manner in which frequent bathing among the Tikopia performs the latent function of contributing to preservation of the society.

The people performing the activity are unaware of the relationship between germs and cleanliness; the reduction of disease is not a conscious goal.

⁶"Boundary maintenance refers to the process whereby group members are brought to continue to associate with one another and to exclude from the group those whose membership is, or is viewed to be, undesirable (Swartz 1968:39)."

Socio-cultural anthropologists (Barth 1969, Eidheim 1969, De Vos 1975) studying the problems of social change investigate the persistence of group distinctiveness despite mobility, contact, and information-exchange among groups. "Most of the salient constraints on the course of change," argues Barth (1967:668), "will be found to be social and interactional and not simply cognitive."

Members of ethnic groups in poly-ethnic society act to maintain dichotomies and differences. When social identities are organized and allocated by ethnic principles, there will be canalization and standardization of interaction and the emergence of boundaries which maintain and generate ethnic diversity within larger, encompassing social systems. (Barth 1969:18).

De Vos (1975), like Barth, contends that the focus of investigations of ethnic relations must be the motivation and methods of boundary maintenance rather than accumulation of cultural content inventories of the separated groups. The existing boundaries, De Vos suggests, are basically psychological and social in nature rather than territorially related.

The problems of social articulation and maintenance of ethnic diversity in situations of transition and change are discussed by Eidheim (1969). Contrasting cultural units threatened by loss of distinctive criteria such as economic and political privilege are observed to continue expression of ethnic membership through a "rich and finely shaded" language of symbols.

APPENDIX B

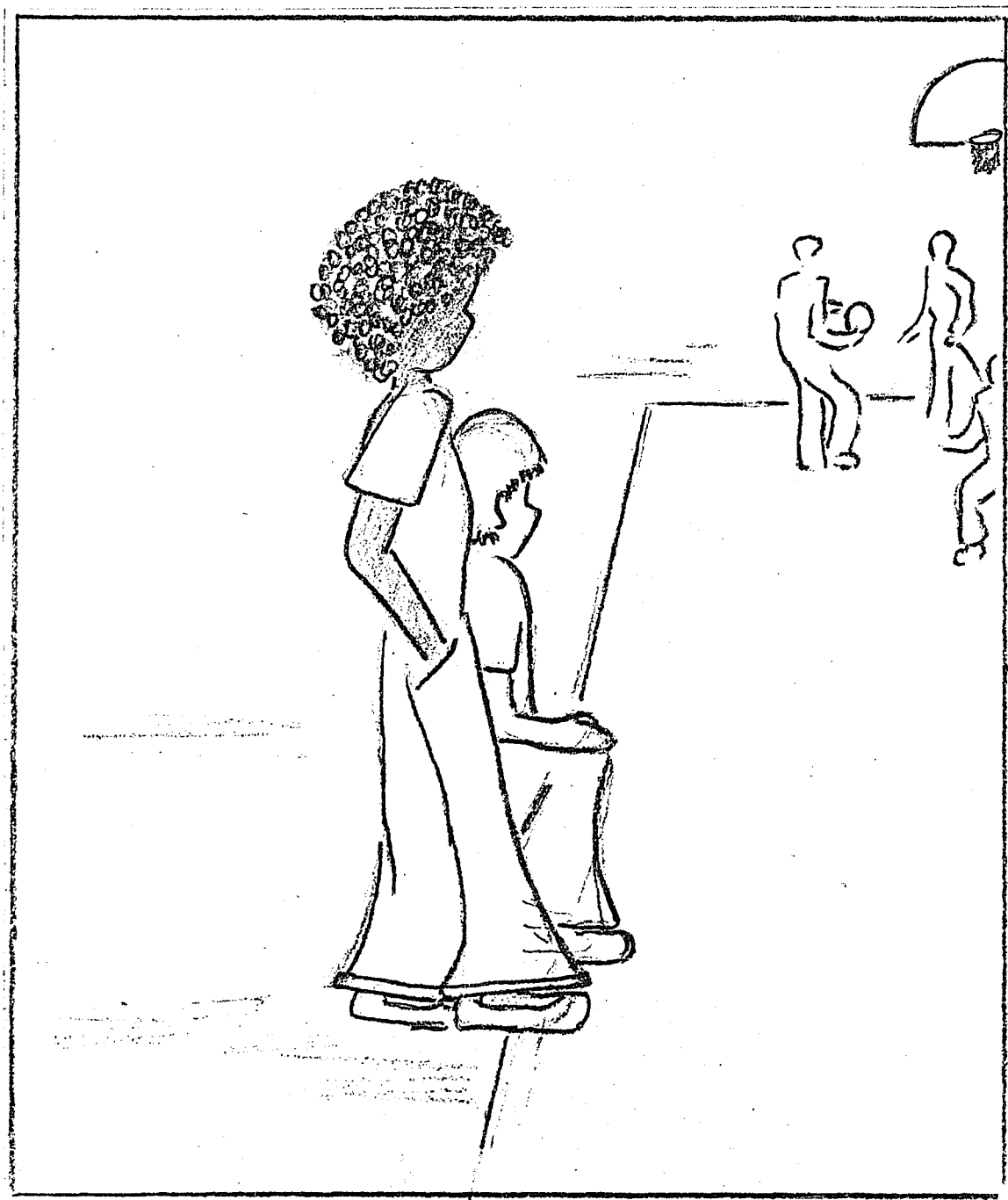


FIGURE 1: Projective Plate Used to Elicit Rules
Regarding Entry into a Game