

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT

CHILDREN'S PLAYScape IN ADMINISTRATIVE BEIRUT:
EXAMINING CHILDREN'S PLAY AND ITS SIGNIFICANCE
FOR PARENTS

by
RIHAM KHALIL KOWATLY

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RIHAM KHALIL KOWATLY

Approved by:



Dr. Nazanin Shahrokni, Visiting Assistant Professor
Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Media Studies

Advisor

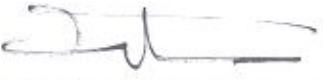


Dr. Sari Hanafi, Professor
Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Media Studies

Member of Committee

on his behalf,

Dr. Othman Mohammad, Child and Adolescent Psychiatrist
Lynn Community Health Center and Lynn Public School
System, Boston MA



Member of Committee

Date of thesis defense: May 25, 2015

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AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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Examining Children's Play and its Significance for Parents

My qualitative and quantitative comparative study compares private and public play choices visited by lower and upper middle class children in addition to parent's perception of leisure time as well as play significance. It examines the role that outdoor and indoor leisure and play have in relation to socialization perception differences by asking: Where, how frequently and what types of activities are elementary school children (age 7 to 9) of different socio-economic groups engaged in during their leisure/play time in Administrative Beirut between home, public spaces (streets or gardens), private commercial play places, and other extracurricular activities? What is the parents' perception and awareness of playtime role in children's subjectivity and social learning? To conduct this study, data on children's leisure/play time and choices has been surveyed and collected through conducting a survey with over 250 parents in various schools, of different socio-economic status, within Administrative Beirut and its near suburbs. Gender and class contribute to modeling an urban child's identity and socialization when enabling or restricting their childhood social experience and spatial practices in public spaces and private play places through containing and controlling play opportunities and choices. The results confirm that social structures, neo-liberal planning policies, and consumer culture of urbanized cities take distinctive roles in shaping urban childhood experiences in modern times.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Childhood is perceived as a time of socialization in which major social and cultural value-orientation patterns are introduced and learned. One context within which these are learned is childhood play or playtime. Play during leisure time is actually a crucial aspect of childhood since it benefits socialization and cognitive and moral development. However, play choices are influenced by where a child lives, and this study of spatiality and childhood focuses on how everyday spaces – the home, the school and the city – control and regulate children’s identities through discipline, development, learning and maturation. As such, urban childhood is of particular interest because neo-liberal planning policies limit public space within which a child can play in a natural, open setting, free of charge, among children of varied classes, genders, and backgrounds, and without modern entertainment. Parents are therefore left to choose appropriate places for play where their children can spend their leisure time. Moreover, children of different social classes may have different spatial opportunities for play. While these circumstances affect urban childhood around the world, studies of childhood from a sociological perspective and what is called childhood geography are rare.

The capital city of Lebanon, Beirut, serves as a prime example of an urban context struggling with scarcity of public spaces. The neo-liberal development policies threatening Beirut’s public spaces have resulted in a scarcity of parks, with fewer ones with designed or

well-furnished children's playgrounds. Moreover, private play places are limited since residential Beirut's inhabitants mostly dwell in buildings, which lack private gardens, thereby limiting play in green open spaces further. The second public realm, the streets, cannot be considered a safe playground since it is not designed and furnished for this purpose. While there might be children who do play in the streets, there are others who have turned to the private sphere for playscapes. Therefore, this situation subsequently presents the home and/or commercial places as alternative playscapes. In general, the private sphere is the one mostly designed for play, with the public sphere diminishing as a space for play.

My qualitative and quantitative comparative study compares private and public play choices visited by lower and upper middle class children in addition to parent's perception of leisure time as well as play significance. It examines the role that outdoor and indoor leisure and play have in relation to socialization perception differences by asking: Where, how frequently and what types of activities are elementary school children (age 7 to 9) of different socio-economic groups engaged in during their leisure/play time in Administrative Beirut between home, public spaces (streets or gardens), private commercial play places, and other extracurricular activities? What is the parents' perception and awareness of playtime role in children's subjectivity and social learning?

To conduct this study, data on children's leisure/play time and choices has been surveyed and collected through conducting a survey with over 250 parents in various schools, of different socio-economic status, within Administrative Beirut and its near suburbs. In the chapters to follow I will set the study's theoretical framework and research methods and discuss results. In chapter 1 I set the theoretical framework and provide a

literature review on children and childhood, play and child development, children's geography, and leisure places and children. In chapter 2 I map the playscape of Administrative Beirut in terms of public gardens with children playgrounds, commercial play places, sports leisure places, and intellectual cultural leisure places for children. In chapter 3, I illustrate the survey conducted on children's leisure/play time and parents awareness of play. In chapters 4 and 5 I present a data analysis and discussion of children's playscape in Administrative Beirut based on my conducted study.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK & LITERATURE REVIEW

A. Introduction

Childhood is perceived as a time of socialization (Holloway and Valentine 2) in which major social and cultural value-orientation patterns are laid down in childhood play that prepares the young to participate at a later stage in adult society (Stone 196).

Mechanisms of socialization manifest mutuality of interaction, during the social learning process, between the “socializee” – the actor being socialized – and the socializing agents’ role system in a situation which favors the relevant learning process. (Parsons 139) In this chapter, I will review literature on discovering childhood, development of childhood narratives, play as a social being and a contributor to child development, in addition to examining how spaces and places take role in children’s geographies and cultural experiences.

B. Children and Childhood

1. The Discovery and Boundaries of Childhood

Without confusing childhood with child care or affection, childhood awareness was missing in medieval society where the idea of childhood and the awareness of its nature did not exist. (Aries 36) There were even no attempts to portray childhood or children in medieval art until about the 12th century. (Aries 31) An individual was perceived to belong

to the adult society as soon they could live without the constant solicitude of their mother, nanny or cradle-rocker. (Aries 36)

In the 14th and 15 century, the word enfant ('child') was used as a synonym for words such as valetton (a young man or a good-looking lad) Adolescence was confused with childhood until the 18th century, the words pueri and adolescents were not distinguished in Latin school and the French only used the word enfant. (Aries 28) At the end of the Middle Ages the word's meaning was extensive and it could be used for both putto ('the children's room' in the 16th century) and the adolescent (the big or bad lad). (Aries 28-29)

The (long) duration of childhood was not defined in regards to biological phenomena or being the period before puberty; it was rather bound by leaving the state of lower degrees of dependence. (Aries 29) The common idiom inferred feudal subordination or in spoken language "men of humble rank whose submission to others remained absolute" – a 'little boy' was a young servant rather than a 'child'. (Aries 29)

The first concept of childhood sprang in the company of children and was coined 'coddling' while the second emerged from few churchmen before the 16th century and more in the 17th century with moralists who wanted to ensure discipline, manners, protection and reformation to God's fragile creatures. (Aries 40) In the 18th century, both elements and the concern about hygiene and physical health came together in the family realm.

In a strict etymological sense, childhood is the age when "the man to be cannot yet speak." (Durkheim 146) To Durkheim the definition of childhood posits the function education must account for, explaining that the essential role and purpose of it is being a

period of *growth*. It is a period when the physical and moral individual is made, formed, and developed. (147)

Due to their biological age, children are assumed to share a commonality that differentiates them and their geography boundaries or activity spaces from adults'; however, Valentine, in her article "Boundary Crossings: Transitions from Childhood to Adulthood", argues that the boundaries of childhood and adulthood are somewhat ill-defined. (37) To the north, she adds, childhood can be imagined as the "time of innocence and freedom from the responsibilities of adulthood", spend the majority of their day at school, "experience spatial restrictions" based on their age, and have their "independent mobility" restricted by parental concern. (38) Valentine explains that thinking of childhood as a "performative or processual identity" rather than a biologically defined group makes its concept even more indefinable; yet it entails that demonstrating maturity or acting responsibly in a specific time and space enables our understanding of this perceived age to 'grow' or 'shrink' based on their competence and responsibility. This refutes the linear understanding of 'age' and the transition from childhood to adulthood as many individuals don't move neatly from once a state of dependence to independence. (38)

Valentine argues that 'children' is not a universal category; gender, class, race and sexuality etc. contribute to the aforementioned transitions, shape "children's" social identities and intersect with their identity at home, the school and neighborhood. (39-49)

2. A Time of Weakness and Mobility

Durkheim theorizes childhood to suppose two conditions: weakness and mobility. (147) He posits children's law of growth to be characterized by the instability and

constantly changing equilibrium of their nature. Weakness, part of their natural force, pushes a child to change and transform through constant assimilation in order to attain full development or become “complete.” (Durkheim 147) Hence the essential characteristic of this age holds a negative form manifested in his “weakness and imperfection” and a positive form portrayed in the “strength and need for movement.” (147)

Durkheim explains that a child from the physical point of view is essentially weakness itself whereby he doesn't fend for himself or grow except by a process of renewal given the ceaseless intervention of his nurturers. This process of growth and development illustrates the power of movement. (147) It is a process that never remains idle or come to rest or inertia but fickle holding “disappointments and pleasant surprises.” (148) Durkheim posits that a child's morality, similarly, exhibits weakness and mobility through his “expressions of will.” (Durkheim 148) He explains that good and evil are not deep-rooted in a child's nature as the latter is incapable of having sustained effort when “good resolutions are no sooner made than forgotten.” (Durkheim 148) Children's mental state is not definitive, Durkheim argues, they are made unmade, with contradictory passions, enthusiasms, and attitudes that succeed one another with laughter turning to tears, playfulness to stubborn resistance, tenderness to anger etc. (148) This mental state speaks to Durkheim's concept of homo-duplex or human nature dualism with the morality of the socialized personality moving between freedom, emancipation and liberalism on one side and authority, community, and constraint on the other.

This idea of children's lack of stability and regulation can be related to Durkheim's concept of social deregulation, which he refers to as *anomie*. The place *anomie* holds in

modern functionalism is that which alienation does in conflict theory. Marx posits alienation to be the pernicious result of social order controlling citizens. Therefore, while Durkheim emphasized children need for firmly established common social norms, Marx argued that we need far greater freedom from regulation.

Wallace & Wolf explained anomie to be a situation of excessive wide horizons characterized by unspecified goals and limitless aspirations where rules or norms are absent. (22) These can be ones which a child would progressively be introduced to as he grows older in a modern society. While the dynamics and values of adult culture is varying with globalization and social change, socialization developmental needs of children in cultural play environments are yet to be examined.

Durkheim theorizes the child to be an anarchist and traditionalist at once. (149-150) The child is an anarchist when acting ignorant of all “rules, constraints and consequences” and a traditionalist when repeating movements *ad infinitum*, wanting to hear the same stories tirelessly, to sleep in the same bed or eat with the same knife and fork etc. A child takes his repeated movement and ideas as a power or force of action that is irresistible and cannot be counterbalanced. “Enamoured for novelties and change” yet horrified of all change and novelty. (Durkheim 150) These contradictory sentiments are an effect of a child’s *instability*, thus any state which succeeds at acquiring some “fixity” and get repeated can turn to a “tyrannical” need if not taken care of. (150) Therefore, Durkheim

concludes, it is very easy that a child acquire *habits* which would have the power to contain and correct his instability. Regular habits can constrain the child into order and continuity initiating his moral life. (150)¹

Ensuring the aforementioned can lead the child to “extreme mobility”, Durkheim argues, which is a form of mechanical order that doesn’t possess any moral value by itself; however, paves the road to “a superior quality of order.” (150) The taste for regularity - though not yet a respect for rule and duty - possesses a “sentiment of moral authority and discipline” which “constitutes the second stage in the formation of character and will.” (Durkheim 150) This concept resembles Durkheim’s view of social evolution as a movement of mechanic or organic solidarity. Mechanical solidarity (of tribal societies) holds strong collective conscience, beliefs and sentiments common to average citizens of the same society, while organic solidarity (of industrial societies) is characterized by the interdependence of roles and lack of self-sufficiency that can hold people together. (Wallace & Wolf 20)

¹ In typical functionalist fashion, Durkheim bases his theory of social cohesion and solidarity on two specific societal needs: integration and regulation. (Wallace & Wolf 22) Accordingly, children are found between fatalism or too much regulation and anomie or too little regulation. Weber’s conception of moral values, however, differs from Durkheim’s setting them as a source of human significance or meaning rather than social significance or integration. Indeed Weber’s conception is that moral values are motivational and energizing rather than inhibiting and restraining, and at times a source of conflict or disruption rather than solidarity and equilibrium.

By the virtue of mobility, a child's ill-balanced nature is powerful in its weakness. Any form of brutal repression can hinder its strength. (Durkheim 149) Fatigue is not a result of demanding from a child above their faculties, Durkheim argues, but a matter of inhibiting their initiative or free development. (149) To him, enabling unhindered development is expected from the educational systems through expending free and natural play, activity, and movement. (149)

An educationalist is presented with an incipient being that is in the *becoming*. It is his job to remember the dual nature of the child and his age's specific capability so as not to exhaust his strength or interfere in his growth. Indeed, the educationalist should take into consideration that progress can be apparent and unapparent, Durkheim argues. (148)

Durkheim's educationalists' teaching can be posited to happen in Goffman's backstage, the place where performances are coordinated through learning social control. From a frame analysis perspective, Goffman suggests a dramaturgical metaphor to describe the interaction processes of presenting oneself on a daily basis. (Rawls 138) Dramaturgy denotes that when presenting themselves, individuals are actors who manipulate the script, stage, props and roles for their own purposes in a cynical and deceptive performance. Performances are managed within interrelated dynamics and the creation of a front region and back region or backstage. Individuals orchestrate gestures to present themselves as having identifiable characteristics. (Rawls 140) Play is a collective enterprise and representation of the social and historical arrangements carried on in an era. (Stone 195)

3. Children's Rights

The “Convention on the Rights of the Child” has altered the manner children are viewed and treated “as human beings with a distinct set of rights instead of as passive objects of care and charity.” (unicef.org)

The Convention has been “adopted and opened for signature, ratification and accession by General Assembly resolution 44/25 of 20 November 1989” and has turned subject to “entry into force 2 September 1990, in accordance with article 49.” (United Nations Humans Rights, Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights) Its 31st article lists:

- 1. States Parties recognize the right of the child to rest and leisure, to engage in play and recreational activities appropriate to the age of the child and to participate freely in cultural life and the arts.*
- 2. States Parties shall respect and promote the right of the child to participate fully in cultural and artistic life and shall encourage the provision of appropriate and equal opportunities for cultural, artistic, recreational and leisure activity.*

(Convention on the Rights of the Child, article 31)

For the purpose of the study, which is to examine or explore how childhood in Beirut in recent years is being shaped on the level of socialization during leisure and play time; childhood will be defined as the time when an individual experiences early social learning, given children’s weakness in accommodating and mobility in assimilating to socialization choices, particularly leisure context and opportunities. These experiences can

play a general role in shaping an individual's conception of their leisure time, as one grows up.

C. Play and Child Development

1. Play as a Social Being

A dictionary definition of play can be related to concepts of action, activity, operation, and being actively engaged or employed. (Thorne 4) Children and children's play, similar to other social beings, are "creatures of history" which have not always been as we know now. (Stone 196 & 240) Play acquired the approval of the moral custodians of 17th and 18th century French society. It developed to be rather more of a childish thing as childhood became recognized as a separate social identity in the human biography. (Stone 197) As work (rise of entrepreneurial stratum in European society) moved to the center of social arrangements, play became increasingly relegated to childhood. (Stone 196-198) End of 18th century, and with the emergence of nationalism, play was taken as a mean to prepare the young for military service. (Stone 197) England is said to have suppressed play, end of the 18th century, by depriving much of the population of play space, through legislated enclosures of open spaces. English towns forbade children from playing in the streets or running races. (Stone 196-198)

Harker explored definitions of play in his article "Playing and Affective Time-Spaces." He posited playing not to have a stable identity, occur at "the intersection of being and becoming" and only happen in specific "time-space contexts" where it acquires specific forms and functions. He elaborated however that defining playing in its being as such can

be theoretically limiting and we should incorporate playing in its becoming (or embodied action) into account too. (58)

Harker reinforced the subtle connection between playing and childhood and argued that playing should be applicable to all age groups, not only the young. (48) Indeed, play should not be restricted to the concept of liberating children in terms of use of space, in order to secure their rights, gain control over certain aspects of their lives, escape parental control or appropriate their space in the built environment. (Harker 48) He explains that play is contingent with “sedimented regimes of power-discourse” or “not all fun and games.” (48) There are always spatial, temporal and cultural aspects for playing’s becoming, which emerges from or build on “sedimented notions of what playing is”. Therefore play theorizations are “differential relations of movement and rest” (Harker 58) which can take various significances and meanings in different geographies and times.

2. Play Benefits

Piaget has been remarkable contribution to the study of the child development and intelligence, theorizing about the importance of the "original structures" which influences a child’s perception and construction of ‘the world’ where through psychoanalysis we learn about the importance of “the content of those subjective conceptions of the world in motivating forms of play.” (Shore53)

Cognitive development or learning about the world, Piaget explains, is the product of the interaction of the child’s unique mode of thoughts with its adaptation to the exigencies of the outside world. This is thereby how the interactive process by which a child constructs their ‘world’. (Shore 54) He argues that concepts of ‘the world’ in the child’s mind constitute their basis for further learning rather than that a child gets “taught”

more and more about it as a result of result of environmental influence. This process of learning is not dictated by the adult rather the product of a reaction influences. In other words, it is created in a dialectic relation between the child's "individual thought" and the impact of the adult environment upon his "original convictions" about the world. (Shore 54)

Contrary to *early socialization theory*, Piaget's observations and experiments posit that a child's cognition of 'the world' is qualitatively rather than quantitatively different from that of adults. Therefore, child's learning process, according to Piaget, can be argued to be a transformative one, or constructed it in an active process, rather than learned or just an additive process. (Shore 54) This pre-formed structure or "scheme" would influence behavioral expression the quality of all incoming conceptual information and what can be stimulated by it.

The earlier socialization theory takes the process of learning as a linear vector while Piaget has described it as a spiral process with the 'self' as an exerted beginning or central reference, where the construction of "knowledge" slowly evolves or expands outward into the surrounding environment. (Shore 57-58)

Children's development comprises two parts, Piaget posits: assimilation and accommodation. Assimilation, the conservative element in the development of the child, is vital since it "assures the continuity of [mental] structures and the integration of new elements to these structures", "deforms" reality, and re-invents the outside world in the child's own thoughts, or mental structures. (Shore 59) However, assimilation alone is insufficient as it doesn't allow variations in the child's structures or acquiring new content. (Shore 59) Piaget defines accommodation as any "any modification of an assimilatory

scheme or structure by the elements it assimilates", whereby accommodation helps ensures further assimilation. (Shore 59)

The use of Piagetian theory in our investigation of the role of playgrounds in the development of the child is twofold: providing specific information on the developmental process of the individual; using his theory as a ground for the evaluation of play learning environments. "Play can be seen as the behavioral consequence of the unequal ratio between assimilation and accommodation, which characterizes the cognitive stage of the young child" such as "symbolic games" or fiction games which represent what has been imagined. (Shore 60)

Piaget's discussions relates to an increasing alliance between children's early subjective "constructions of the world" and the objective 'reality' of the world. (Shore 60).

3. Types of Play

a. Free Play and Games

Froebel posited in his book *Play and Playscapes*, that play was more important than formal education, since it provides the child with the opportunity of thinking for themselves whereas in formal education sends someone else's message. (Hiatt 25) Several studies have shown that unstructured free play and giving access to nature stimulate the child's mind and body through thus important for holistic child development. (Hiatt 25)

"Play" and "games" can be differentiated into two distinct concepts within the socialization of the urban child, in that the child is qualitatively evolving from subjective concerns to social interaction. (Shore 73) While play's rules of performance are failure-

proof; games' rules are externally-derived and their behavioral performance, on the other hand is considered a social public behavior. (Shore 73) Games occupy a behavioral niche between "subjectively-determined play, and objectively-bound "socialized" behavior" whereby the qualities of play correspond to a stage prior to the qualities inherent in game-playing. (Shore 73) "Play can be posited as a distinct developmental stage, in which active participation is prerequisite to the development of later more socially-responsive behaviors." (Shore 74)

b. Outdoor play

Studies have shown that that 8 to10-year-old children paid significantly more attention to a school lesson given in a garden setting than did a control group who participated in the same lesson inside a classroom, and children whose residence relocated from an urbanized setting with little vegetation to rural areas, higher in vegetation, demonstrated significant increases in their ability to focus attention following the move. (James 32)

Children's direct social and individual experiences in nature in early to middle childhood during the "developmental window of opportunity" between the ages of three and twelve years help shape their environmental identity and guide their environmental actions. (Hiatt 9) Outdoor play in greened playscapes has a positive effect on children's social development, motor skill development, attention, activity level, creativity, imagination, social connections, and learned behaviors. (Hiatt 11-15) It also can provide children with experiences in naturalistic landscapes which could impact their morals, values and actions. (Hiatt 10)

Natural playscapes offer sensory stimulation and physical diversity which is critical for childhood experiences outdoors. (James 35) Through careful design, constructed playscapes can be greened to simulate natural playscapes, through integrating natural elements and processes in a playscape. (James 35)

4. Play and Gender

In his book “Gender Play”, Thorne has spoken about gender as an active and ongoing process that produces divisions, identities, groups and meanings actively and collaboratively in everyday life. (4) After detailed observations of daily life in two elementary schools, he posits gender and play to relate to the following concepts which children are passively socialized across.

First, “same-gender groups” (e.g. boys-against-the-girls) on the playground which produces gender as a form of dichotomy or opposition, as compared to cooperative team work at class. (4) Challenged gender arrangements would oppose scripted actions by behaviors such as making heterosexual groups or a boy joining a girls’ group playing jump rope, for instance. (Thorne 5) Second, play as a “dramatic performance (e.g. girls-chase-boys) which children would posit as “only playing” or just being fun and often underlies gender-related messages about sexuality and aggression. The third cluster of meanings revolves around gender play being a social practice with a “scope or opportunity for action” or as “grounded in the concept of possibility” for social change, given the crosscutting lines of difference and inequality that it withholds. (Thorne 5) Boys playing football can be an instance that has more to do with “performing sedimented (and gender inflected) practices than challenging these norms.” (Harker 60)

“Playing is often about conformity and socializing to an imaginary norm...the liberating potential of playing performances is thus always determined in the contingency of the encounter” (Harker 60) Refuting the dictionary definition of children’s play, as applied to anything which involves very little trouble or as the dichotomy between work and play, Thorne explains how his school observations reveal that play is rather serious and fateful encounters of social relations which entail structures of power, constructions of gender and various emotions (anger, sorrow, boredom etc.). (5-6)

C. Children’s Geography

Two major studies have developed the first work on children’s geographies in the early 1970s: the study on children’s spatial oppression in Detroit and Toronto by Bunge (1975) and the study on children’s spatial cognition and early mapping skills by Blaut et al. (1970) and Blaut and Stea (1971).

Holloway and Valentine divide in their book “Children’s Geographies” the later into playing, living and learning. (19) *Playing*, in their collected contributions, addresses children’s access to ‘public’ space, girls using the street as a leisure space, and the emergence of commercialized play places. *Living* addresses the increasing institutionalization of the early years of childhood, the quality time and relationship quality between parents and primary school children, spatiality within the home and in and out of the home and how this experience influences the “children’s experience and control of ‘family’ and ‘own’ time”, and how multiple experiences at home shape children’s lives on the street. (19-20) The final section of the book addresses the variety of children’s *learning* environments. Contributions to this concept encompasses the development of a playground movement in attempts to produce “appropriately gendered future American citizens” and

how “gender differences were inscribed onto children’s bodies” and in others works how highly urbanized societies can make children loose access to sites of learning. (20)

Valentine explains that children’s geographies are bound up with wider social structures such as “the economy, the state...the family, the education system, the consumer culture” and “transitions into the labor market, leaving education, leaving home.” (39-49)

Spatiality and childhood focus on how everyday spaces – the home, the school and the city – control and regulate children’s identities through discipline, development, learning, skill and maturation (Holloway and Valentine 11). The contiguous expanse of children play space comprise the home’s bedrooms, playrooms and gardens; the school’s playgrounds or sports fields; and the neighborhood’s public open spaces, playgrounds and community centers. (Holloway and Valentine 100) Recent studies in the 1990s, in the North, show that children’s independent access to neighborhood (play) space has been reduced due to: stranger-danger (pedophilia, abduction and murder), increased car flow rendering streets as dangerous for play, planners’ appropriation of playspace. (Holloway and Valentine 100)

Research shows that the access, use, and attachment of children to public spaces differ from that of adults in the way they appropriate spaces, create secret places, give those names, and transform the roles of spatial forms (Holloway and Valentine 12)

Traditionally, children have not been a focus of concern in geography with social studies focusing on understanding childhood more in terms of time and less in terms of space (Holloway and Valentine 9). However, geography can make an important addition to the social construction of childhood through illustrating the importance of place and the spatial imagery of childhood in different times and places. (Holloway and Valentine 7-9)

3. Children and Open Spaces in Lebanon

a. Children in Beirut

Population in Beirut till 2014 has been reported to be 2.179 million with a 25.2% of age 0 to 14 which would count to 549,108 (around 550000). (Index Mundi, Lebanon Demographics Profile 2014) Thus, at a rough estimate, this study's age group of 7 to 9 would ratio to 78444 (around 78500) child.

b. Public Space in Beirut

A look at Beirut's aerial photograph exposes the scarcity of green open spaces. Apart from the sea-front corniche and a number of municipal gardens, Beirut can almost only claim privatized open spaces. A recent report about "Public Green Space" by the World Health Organization (2011) stipulates that the relative surface of open green areas in Beirut is 1sq.m./person, far below the recommended 40 sq.m./person (Saksouk). Following a tradition of privatizing zones earmarked for public use, Beirut has undergone diverse forms of controlling public space hindering its dwellers from their right to the city which "is far more than the individual liberty to access urban resources: it is a right to change ourselves by changing the city more after our heart's desire...The freedom to make and remake our cities is one of the most precious yet most neglected of our human rights" (*Harvey 1*). (For an overview of public gardens with children playgrounds, please see Chapter II.)

Armed conflicts during the years of the Lebanese civil war and after it have created memories of open spaces that are consistently associated with armed militias and a collective memory of fear. Violence and security are vital to the understanding of the social

constitution of space in Lebanon, where public open space cannot represent a symbol of national unity or a tribute to a national common belonging. (Fawaz and Gharbieh 173-175)

c. Studies on Children and Spaces in Beirut, Lebanon

Similar to the global trend described by Holloway and Valentine regarding children's geography not being a focus of concern in social studies, surveying studies, based in Lebanon or the Middle East, about childhood in Beirut or children's leisure time yield results related to children in war zones, child labor, children with learning difficulties or mental health problems, refugee children or studies related to children and public health. This alerts how childhood and children's time in Beirut is yet an absent concern in research.

One comparable published study on leisure time would be "Leisurely Islam" by Deeb and Harb which surveyed leisure cafes in South Beirut across the theme of spatial practices and morality. Political, religious and economic players are posited to be the players involved in producing and controlling leisure sites. (Deeb & Harb 66) Deeb and Harb argue that Hizbullah invests resources in the cultural production of the natural and built environment, such as playing a role in producing leisure for the Islamic environment by co-opting existing sites, creating others, or most commonly supporting suitable private entrepreneurs. (66)

4. The Production of Space

In their book *The Social Logic of Space*, Hillier and Hanson explain the "problem of space" to stand in the attempt to find relations between "social structure" and "spatial structure". They explain that the root of the problem to be in how social theorists conceptualized society as "an abstract realm of social relations and institutions, without a

spatial dimension” and space as “a relation between a material realm of physical space, without social content in itself.” (26) Society does not only exist in space but takes on a “definite spatial form” either by aggregating or separating people in spatial locations or through physical milieus (buildings, markers, zones, etc.). (27) Spatial organization can indeed recognize cultural differences between how different social formations live out and reproduce their existence. (27)

Lefebvre’s “Space and Social Theory” discusses the importance of understanding the spatial dimension of the social relations’ structure, organization and experience. Culminating in *The Production of Space*, was the result of a long process in which Lefebvre’s analyses of various aspects of modernity resulted in his reprioritization of space as fundamental for understanding capitalism. His work illustrates the politics of power of space. He sets urban planning as a profession in which ideologies are explicitly or implicitly acted out, where the control and domination of one group by another is practiced to limit contact or interactions through practices of segregation or isolation. Lefebvre’s work presents an attempt to produce a theoretical analysis of space that has within it the potential for radical political action.

The importance and short supply of space in the modern age can resemble that of bread in earlier times. Lefebvre aims to present an understanding of space that can subvert or challenge authoritarian hegemonic concepts and practices in space, through proposing alternatives that can rescue individuals from capitalism and alienation. Knowledge of space involves the interrelation of form, structure and function as spatial elements. The dialectical

understanding of spatialization's threefold is what, to Lefebvre, enables the knowledge of space.

Spaces are realizations and nothing but the "inscriptions of time in the world." (Zieleniec 60) They are posited as a product of domains of power -ideological, economic, and political - that seek to delimit, regulate and control the activities that occur within and through space. Lefebvre approaches space in a dialectical manner theorizing it as "movement, interconnection and interaction of money, people, and commodities." (Zieleniec 68)

Lefebvre's spatial dialectics takes space as a material defined, analyzed and quantified according to its geographical co-ordinates in space. (Zieleniec 68) As an antithesis spatial dialectics considers space a *process* linking social relations between people and between people and things. (Zieleniec 69) Lefebvre's synthesis of capitalist space is that it is an object produced whilst simultaneously a process. (Zieleniec 69) He argues that *social space* is produced and reproduced in connection with and within the relations of forces of production. A dynamic relationship exists between material form, social function and hierarchical structures that recognizes the fundamental importance of social activity or practices within space. (Zieleniec 69-70)

Lefebvre's posits three necessary elements for the *production of space*: spatial practices; representations of space; spaces of representation. He explains space to be produced as a social formation (mode of production) and mental construction (conception). He discusses "spatial practices" to manifest in physical places and be *perceived places*, "representations of places" to manifest in mental spaces and be *conceived places*, and "representational spaces" to manifest in sensational social spaces and be *lived spaces* (Zieleniec 73-78).

Lefebvre explains *spatial practices* to be spatial compositions which are structured in and across space to assure social life and social relations to be produced and reproduced. It is the physical and material flows of individuals, groups or commodities, circulations, transfers and interactions, which ensures continuity and cohesion. (Zieleniec 73) Illustrations of spatial practices include urban landscapes, buildings, commerce and recreational places etc.

Lefebvre posits *representation of space* to be the dominant space in society or mode of production and is “tied to the relations of production and to the ‘order’ which those relations impose, and hence to knowledge, to signs, to codes and to ‘frontal’ relations” (Lefebvre 33). He symbolizes them as conceptualized spaces which subsume ideology within their practice and are discursively constructed by professional agents and technocrats such as sub-dividers, urbanists, planners, engineers, developers and architects, who identify what is lived and perceived with what is conceived. Hence, it is argued by Lefebvre agents who control how space is represented “control how it is produced, organized and used.” (Zieleniec 74)

The third element for the *production of space* is what Lefebvre describes as representational spaces which are like “spatial discourses”, mental inventions, more or less coherent systems of non-verbal symbols and signs. (Zieleniec 75) He also refers to them as lived spaces or spaces of “inhabitants” or “users” of everyday life which are subject to rationalization and intervention and come in contrast to the dominant ordered spaces of hegemonic force. (Zieleniec 75) To Harvey, representational spaces, such as utopian plans and imaginary landscapes or material constructs such as particular built environments or paintings, can help imagining new spatial practices. (218-219)

To illustrate the spatial elements described by Lefebvre, we can think of the park as one example. When a park is designed and constructed through architects labor and technological equipment, it is considered a *conceived* space. The park's space and its meaning is reformed and transformed as the space is *perceived* and *lived* by social actors and groups.

Lefebvre's concept of the development of the city holds indebtedness to the work of Marx on the historical separations between town and country and the development of capitalism and divisions of labor. (Zieleniec 64) Lefebvre's depiction also resembles the distinctions between the old and new modes of production of *gemeinschaft* (village-like sentimental communal life based on natural will) and *gesellschaft* (the city-life instrumental associational life based on rational). The effort, will, and subjectivity Lefebvre presented the city to require from us speak to Durkheim's concept of anomie where modern societies strive to fulfill their unlimited needs without any sense of control. Indeed, this concept is resonant with Weber's argument on disenchantment and the consequences of being forced to dwell with "anti-nature (abstraction) painfully and long" where formal means-end rationality dominates. (Lefebvre 134)

Lefebvre approached understanding modernity when discussing the *everyday* in the *production of space* where ideologies are constructed and applied to and within everyday life. "It is not technological progress, the absence of war, or ease of life, or even length of life, but the chance for a *fully lived life* that is the measure of a civilization." (Zieleniec 84) Lefebvre believes a society's quality to be in the opportunity for the unalienated and authentic life experience provided to its people. (Zieleniec 84) He uses the term *everyday*

life to distinguish between everydayness (*le quotidien*) under the predictable repetitive routinization of life under capitalism and the daily life (*la vie quotidienne*) illustrated in the ordinary and habitual nature of the day-to-day living. (Zieleniec 85) Local cultures and places of children's day to day activities in everyday spaces are argued to be bound up by global processes. (Holloway and Valentine 7)

C. Leisure Places and Children

1. Leisure Socialization

Mannell and Kleiber delineated two forms of leisure socialization: The process of being socialized *into* leisure, "...by which children acquire motives, attitudes, values, and skills that affect their leisure choices, behavior and experiences throughout their lives" (225-226); second socialization *through* leisure when participation in an activity was used to communicate and instruct other skills or values. (James 51-52) Furthermore, leisure socialization also encompasses activities' environment and how it contributes to the development of environmental preferences, and consequently the pursuit of future activities in adulthood (Hoyt, 1991; Lohr et al., n.d.). (James 52)

Due to the complexity of studying socialization processes, the study of leisure socialization ought to begin with basic questions about "*when* and *with whom*" one was introduced to a particular leisure activity. (James 53) Research has shown that parents' differ in how they value some leisure activities (e.g. sports) and how their subsequent parenting practices (e.g. encouragement) for their sons and daughters subsequently differed (Fredricks, Simpkins, & Eccles, 2005; Hart, 1979; Valentine, 1997b), and produced gendered differences in children's participation and valuing of leisure choices (Eccles & Harold, 1991). (James 52)

2. *The “Cultural Capital” of Places*

Of the hallmarks of the functional analysis, integrative forces stresses on interdependence and equilibrium through instilling common values and identification. (Wallace & Wolf 20) Values play a central role in functionalist explanation, symbolizing anchorage, acting as shared conceptions of the good, legitimizing social structures. (Wallace & Wolf 24) Between conforming as traditionalists and breaking the rules as anarchists, children are conditioned to regulate themselves in solidarity with the mass culture or the collective conscience beliefs and sentiments. Durkheim argues that moral educationists should play a positive role in enabling children’s unhindered development through expending free and natural play, activity, and movement. (149) Beyond being open spaces for free play, public and private play places possess educational agency for culture learning.

Bourdieu highlights two roles educational institutions play in cultural or artistic training: To admire certain works and inspire familiarity by convening a feeling of belonging to the cultivated class; to inculcate a durable disposition and generalized attitude for appropriating the value of cultural categories. (208) Thus, according to Bourdieu, educational systems are the institutions which transform and socially condition “inequalities of gifts” which are also “inequalities of merit.” (212) The less educated beholders, on the other hand, are devoid of “imperceptible familiarization” or unconscious training and inclined to demand realistic portrayals. (Bourdieu 208) The danger of *habitus*, Bourdieu warns, is in the inherent academism or rationalized teaching which instills a global style and unbreakable doctrinal body of precepts and prescriptions. He believes that

a small minority of educated people manage to assimilate from their scholarly culture and institutional education, discerning personal opinions. (211)

“Sacralizing culture” contribute to the consecration of the social order, the legitimacy of a particular definition of culture, and the justification for the right of the civilized to conditions which produce the possession of culture. (Bourdieu 213) Bourdieu discusses the privileged members of middle-class society to replace the difference between “a naturally cultivated nature” and a “naturally nature” or a natural gift that is situated as a second nature that has been transmitted by cultural heritage - a “possession turned into being”- a habitus that has been artificially acquired so therefore “deserved.” (211) Culture; therefore, negates itself “not what one is but what one has, or rather what one has become” by reminding of the social conditioning that has rendered it possible. (211) The people of taste and “scholarly culture” are frequently carried towards conscious or unconscious, institutionalized or non-institutionalized ethnocentrism or “class-centrism.” (Bourdieu 213)

Families’ disposable income in advanced industrialized countries has contributed towards restricting children’s outdoor presence off the streets, with diverse and commercial play brought to the homespace. (Holloway and Valentine 100-101) Holloway and Valentine argue that to challenge the prevailing order, commercial playspace in built environment (buildings, stations, restaurants, supermarkets etc.) has developed. (101)

Bourdieu illustrates how places can play this role within their morphology of organization. Museums, he explains, present spatial ambience of “religious silence, decorated ceilings, and monumental staircases” and practices such as prohibiting touching

objects, to reinforce inclusion and exclusion. Durkheim elucidates this as “a genuine metamorphosis”, or a radical spiritual change, which transit people from the profane to the sacred. (Bourdieu 214) The everyday encounters, school training, and socialization within institutionalized scholarly culture feed into one’s unconscious deciphering and degree of art competence. Artistic competence and taste therefore turns to a symbolic asset, thus cultural capital and wealth, which sets people apart by “characteristics of elegance, nobility, and good form.” (Bourdieu 209)

3. Playgrounds: Brief History and Design Recommendations

“Institutional and industrial forces were also at work during the 18th, 19th, and 20th centuries, which drove the ascension of the playground.” (Hiatt 25) A major cultural influence developed in the Victorian era’s penchant accounting for moral living through physical fitness, which lead to the emergence of outdoor gymnasiums. (Hiatt 26) With growing industrialization problems in cities, the increase in factories drew workers in greater numbers, producing a strain on space and atmosphere. Workers’ children were suffering ailments associated with the smog and uncleanliness of the city; this in return created a pressing need for social reforms and “civilian betterment through physical fitness” and public plays spaces. (Hiatt 26)

A study in 2012 at Ohio University’s Landscape Architecture department, titled “Landscapes of Play: Supporting Child Development” explored how nature-focused playscapes outperform the dominating prefabricated playgrounds in terms of child’s holistic cognitive, social, emotional and motor development. Hiatt has also synthesized architects’ recommendations on creating such play yards. Landscape Architect Susan Herrington’s extensive research work on playgrounds endorses adding living things, sculpted terrains,

material qualities, and being sensitive to micro-climates in the play yard. (Hiatt 50)

Landscape Architect Barbara E. Hendricks’s research cautions against “undue sentimentality toward idolizing purity and naturalness” by being conscious of the difference between “performative qualities of nature” and “thematic nature playgrounds.” Hendricks adds that (51)

“Play area design should be executed with humility, recognizing that we adults are but tourists in the land of children; we are not experts in their culture and their ways. Childhood experts are experts in an adult definition of childhood—not in life as experienced by children” (Hendricks 6)

Hiatt’s study combined guiding principles or design criteria for playground designs that meets children’s holistic development and support free play, which comprise: to include elements which a child can manipulate, to involve living things, to be climate-sensitive, to be appropriate to child scale, to allow both individual and group play, and to encourage “child’s imagination to shape the play experience.” (52)

CHAPTER III

MAPPING CHILDREN’S PLAY GEOGRAPHY

The research methodology employed in this study is quantitative and qualitative. In this chapter, I have researched and mapped public spaces and private places that are appropriated or visited by children of the study’s age group.

A. Public Gardens with Children Playgrounds

Studies show that children prefer to play in flexible landscapes rather than “formally designated and provided playgrounds.” (Holloway and Valentine 12) A project by “Beirut Green Project” and “WonderEight” created a local directory of parks or municipal public gardens in Beirut (available at their website *beirutgreenguide.com*). Of approximately 20 public gardens, 9 are indicated to have a children’s zone or playground (see Plan 3A.1). Among the 9, *Elias Awde* garden is still under construction and *Horsh Beirut* is partially accessible with only the sports playgrounds (tennis, football and basketball) open to the public and mostly used by adolescents. This leaves 7 municipal gardens which generally cater to children who are older than toddlers and younger than preteens, till date. Situated across 5 of 12 districts, gardens with playgrounds are also not evenly distributed across Administrative Beirut. Two exist in each of *El Moussaytbe*, *Bachoura*, *El Mazraa* and *Rmeil* districts while one exist in Achrafieh district. None exist in *Ein-Mreisseh*, *Ras Beirut*, *Minet El Hosn*, *Sayfeh*, Beirut Central District (BCD) or *Zouqaq El Blat* districts.

Garden name	Double seat Swing	Slides	Seesaw	Monkey bars	Climbing wall	Sandpit	Jungle Gym	Informal Football Area	Biking lane
Syoufi	1	1	2	-		-	1	-	-
Children's Graden Kaskas	2	-	2	1	-	1	1	1	-
Hawd El Wilaya	1	-	2	-	-	1	1	1	-
Basta El Tahta	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-
Jesuits	2	-	2	-	-	-	2	1	-
Sanayeh	-	-	6	3	2	-	3	-	1

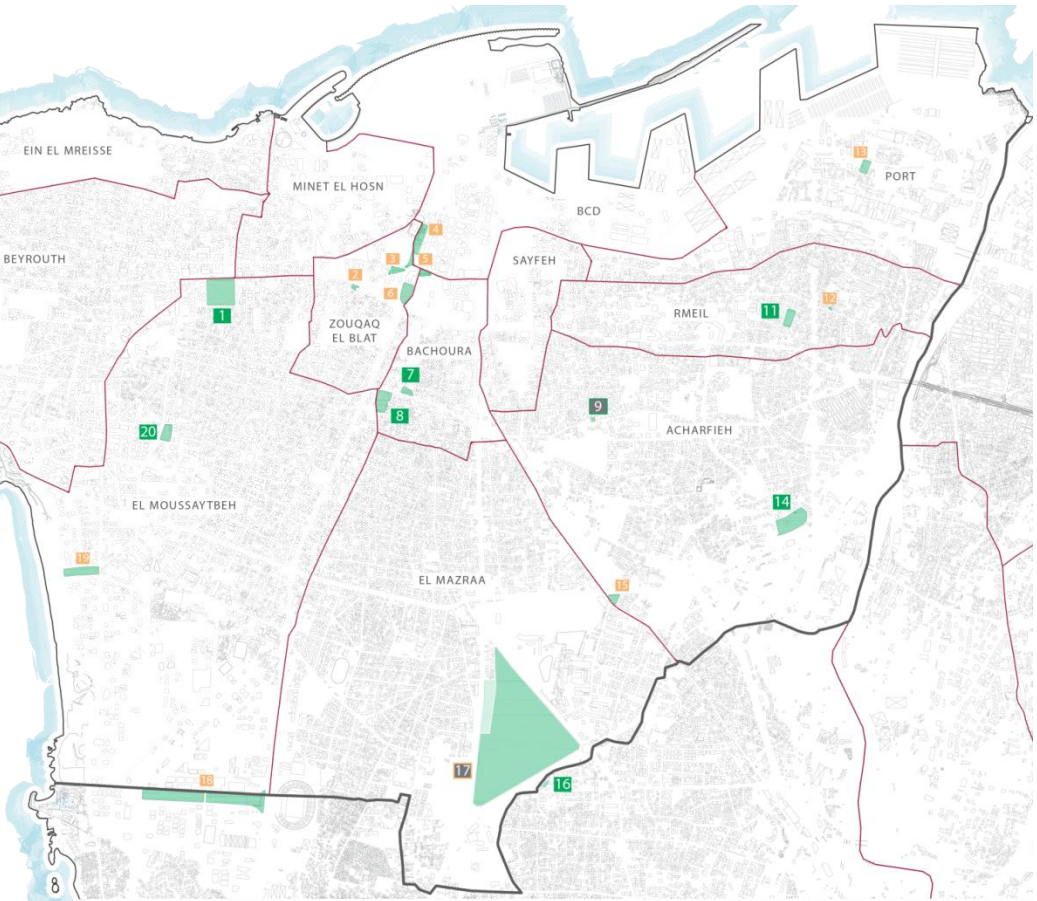
Table 3.1 Assessment of Gardens' Playground Furniture and Activities

Part of a report paper titled "Claiming Public Spaces for Children", accompanied with his final year architecture project, conducted in 2006 at the Department of Architecture and Design at the American University of Beirut, Al Hakim reported 6 public gardens to have children areas. (Al Hakim 7) This suggests that children playgrounds at *Hawd El Welaya* garden and Children's garden has been introduced since then. It is to be noted that *Rene Mouad/Sanayeh* garden, which opened again in 2014, underwent renovation designating more areas for children, adding modern playground furniture in some areas.

MUNICIPAL GARDENS WITH CHILDREN AREAS

— Admin. Beirut Boundary
 — District Boundary

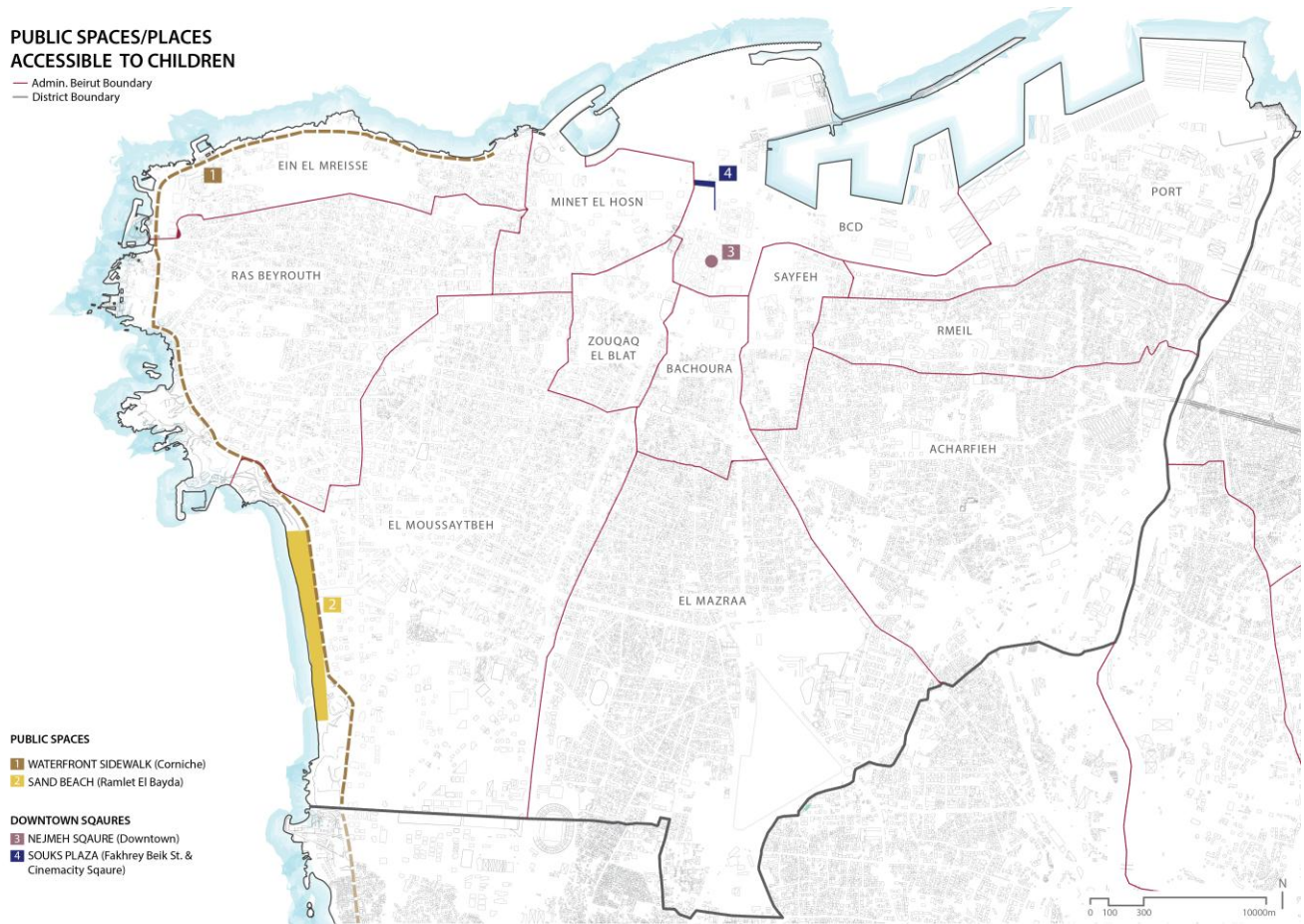
- MUNICIPAL GARDEN
 - INACCESSIBLE PARK
 - MUNICIPAL GARDEN WITH A CHILDREN AREA
 - INACCESSIBLE GARDEN WITH A CHILDREN AREA
- 1 Sanayeh (Rene Moawad)
 - 2 Zoqaq El Blat (Abdul Rahman el Hout)
 - 3 National Evangelical Church of Beirut
 - 4 Roman Baths (Leila Osseiran)
 - 5 Capuchins garden
 - 6 Gebran Khalil Gebran
 - 7 Basta El Tahta (Walid Eido)
 - 8 Abu Haidar (Houd el Wilaya)
 - 9 Saydat al Ataya (Metropolitte Elias Audi)
 - 10 Saint Nicolas
 - 11 Jesuits
 - 12 William Hawi
 - 13 El Quarantina
 - 14 El Sioufi
 - 15 El Mathaf
 - 16 El Aftal
 - 17 Horch El Sanawbar (Closed since 1992)
 - 18 Ghobayreh
 - 19 Ramlet El Balida
 - 20 Talet El Khayyat (Mufti Hassan Khaled)



Plan 3A.1

Ramlet El Bayda sand beach and more the waterfront sidewalk (a.k.a. the *corniche*), extending from *Ein Mreisseh* to *Roauche* area, are public spaces known to host different age groups including children, who swim, walk, run, cycle or play, usually with older children or adults. *Nejmeh* square in BCD has emerged as a known informal gathering space for children who cycle and play around the clock tower's plaza. Cinemacity Souks plaza has transformed to another informal children space in BCD, after the cinema's opening in 2014. The (pedestrian) plaza is surrounded by nearby coffee shops and restaurants and is not furnished with any benches or intensive vegetation. Children cycle, run and play at the paved plaza and across Fakhry Beik street perpendicular to it, especially during weekends. On the other hand, at Zaytuna Bay waterfront, also part of BCD, clear

signs were added at its upper garden prohibiting children from cycling or playing around. The waterfront wooden deck doesn't invite children to bike their; nevertheless children can be seen walking or playing over the elevated deck/elongated bench or at the small green patches adjacent to restaurants where their parents would be sitting.



Plan 3A.2

B. Commercial Play Places for Children

Children's commercial recreational places, visited in leisure time, will be referred to as 'play places' rather than 'playgrounds' since the later might culturally be conceived as

open air playgrounds, sports courts or soft play places (usually for toddlers) rather than private commercial indoor play places (usually located in malls, buildings or as one-two store buildings).

In an attempt to find an official list of all children play places in Administrative Beirut, I asked a number of different types of places about their official identification or where they got their legal permits from, to learn that children play places don't have a specific category they fall under, they are either registered as "retail shops" or "companies"; therefore, their list is not a concrete one to be found at a ministry, an administrative office or the municipality for example. Hence, I started researching commercial play places through a regular search online and through directories such as the yellow pages (*yellowpages.com.lb*) and the website *whereleb.com*. The website *whereleb.com* holds record of various recreational facilities across Lebanon with a section for "kids playgrounds." Places' names and sometimes address, website, social media accounts or contacts are provided at the website. Checking places' facebook profiles lead to snowballing new options which facebook suggested for being of the same category, geographic area and/or being also liked by a page's audience.

My collected preliminary list of popular commercial play places was divided by location between the provinces of Administrative Beirut and Mount Lebanon. Across Beirut's suburbs in Mount Lebanon province, children play places are clustered in: *Dbayeh* (mostly along the highway and malls such as Le Mall, City Mall, & Blueberry Square Center); *Kiserwen* (mostly in *Zouk Mosbeh*); and *Baabda* (*Hazmieh* particularly). Other areas included *Chiyah*, *Dawra*, *Jounieh*, *Jiser El Basha*, *El Maten*, *Souk El Ghareb*, *Tayyouneh*, *Antetlias*, *Aley*, *Aramoun* etc. Except for amusement parks, the majority of

these places are yet located indoor. All places situated in Mount Lebanon province were filtered out for being outside the study's geographical limits – Administrative Beirut.

Likewise, all places which cater for toddlers or adolescents were filtered out.

Scanning the websites and social media accounts of play places in Administrative Beirut, I could collect the places' missions, services, programs, occasional events etc.

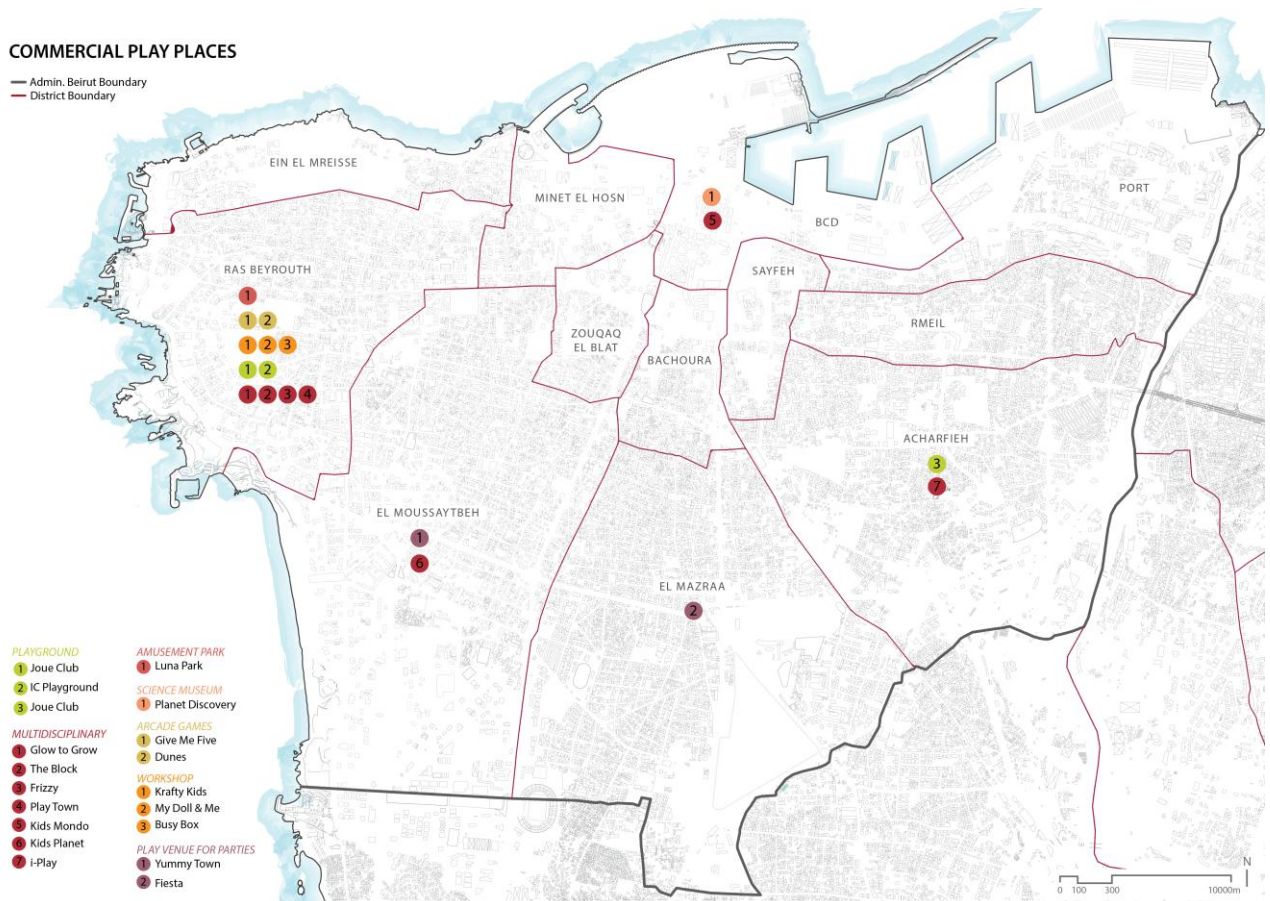
Based on similar types of activities, I have classified the surveyed commercial play places into the following categories:

- ***Soft playgrounds:*** Includes a “jungle land”, rubber playgrounds, classic play items such as slides and seesaws etc.
- ***Commercial toy store with a play area:*** Namely Joué Club toy store which has play areas within some of their branches.
- ***Workshops:*** Art lounges, fashion workshops, electronics building workshops etc.
- ***Arcades:*** Coin-oriented entertainment machines, usually informally clustered in malls in designated areas.
- ***Video game places and/or internet cafes:*** Mapping this category through an online survey was unfeasible as the majority of these places are known in their neighborhood but don't have websites or facebook pages.
- ***Science museum:*** Namely “Planet Discovery” in BCD being the only one.
- ***Party venues with play areas:*** This list has been excluded from my map for being places occasionally accessed during events or parties only.
- ***Multidisciplinary places:*** Includes different stations or sections of different types of activities including for instance arcades, a workshop area, a soft playground, video games, science stations, theater shows, sports court, beauty salon, and/or birthdays

area etc. 7 places go under this category hosting from 5 to 15 of the listed activities variety.

Around 35 commercial play places are found in Administrative Beirut across 5 of its districts; with 1 amusement park, 7 multidisciplinary places, 1 science museum, 5 venues for parties with play areas, 3 art workshops, and 3 arcades places. The majority of play places are located in *Ras Beyrouth* district particularly in *Hamra*, *Verdun*, and *Ein ElTene/Koraytem* areas (while it is to be noted that no municipal garden exist within this district).

(Please see Appendix 3B for places' activities and fees in addition to a list of popular places within Beirut's suburbs, part of Mount Lebanon province).



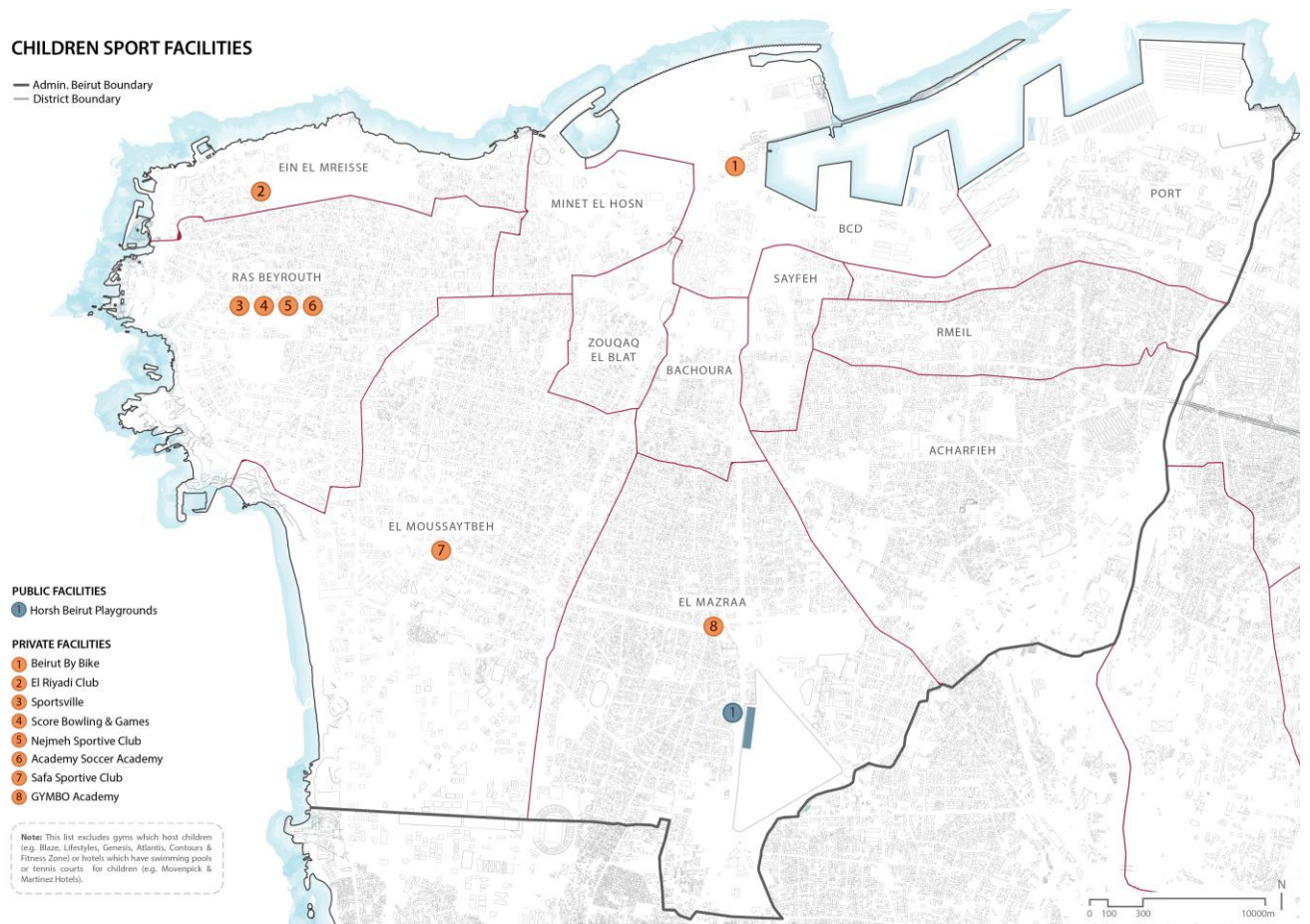
Plan 3B

C. Sports Leisure Places for Children

Private children sports places surveyed included:

1. Sports venues with one or more of the following sports: basketball, tennis, football, swimming, diving, bowling, ice skating etc. and in some cases offered martial arts classes too (Karate or Taekwando for example).
2. Gyms with children zones
3. Hotels with sports venues for children (registered classes)

(Please see Appendix 3C for places' activities and entrance fees).



Plan 3C

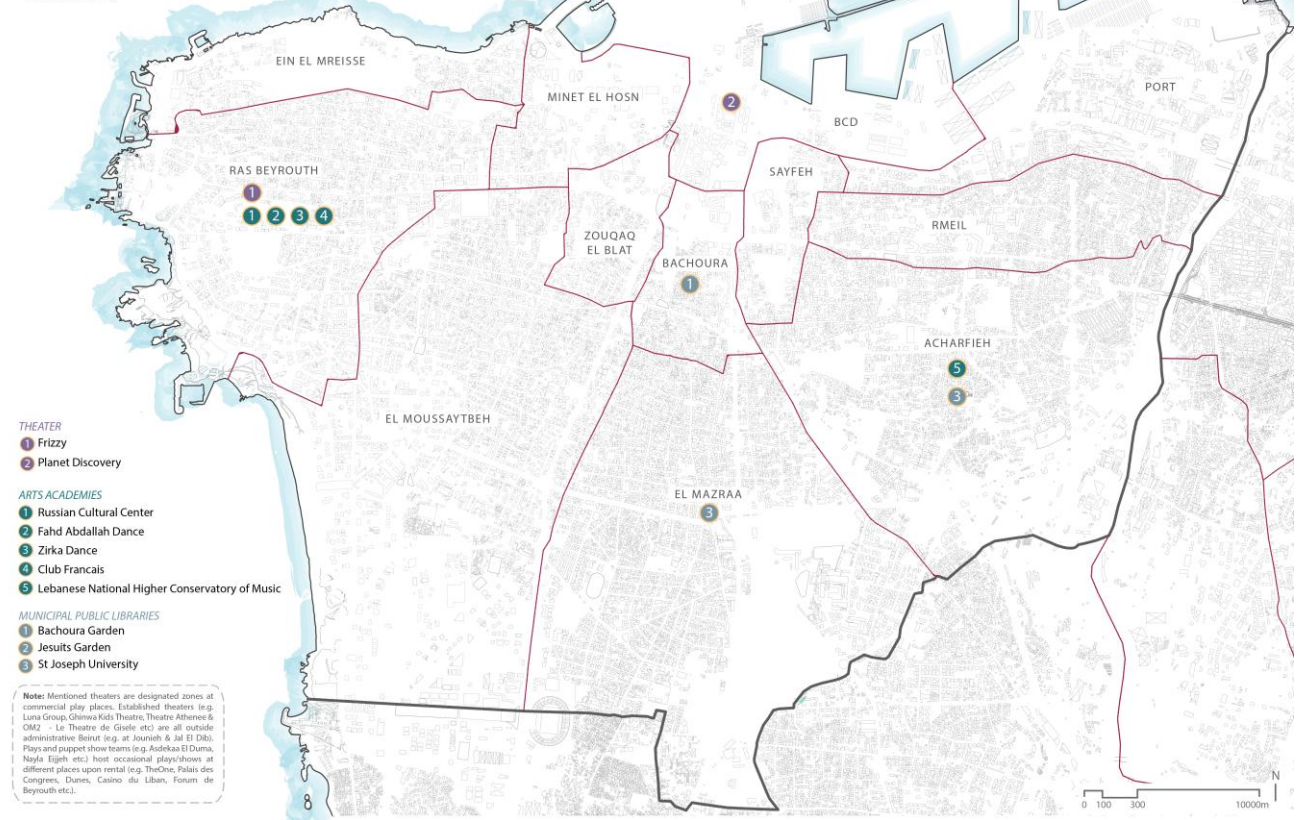
D. Intellectual Cultural Leisure Places for Children

I've classified intellectual cultural leisure to include places which offer intellectual, music or art oriented learning activities whether through a casual visit or registered classes in academies. Surveyed places comprise:

1. **Municipal libraries with children sections** (governed by Assabil NGO)
2. **Occasional theater shows** (play or puppet shows). Mentioned theaters are designated zones at previously mapped commercial play places. No established children theater exist within Administrative Beirut, while famous ones are all found to located outside it (e.g. Luna Group, Ghinwa Kids Theatre, Theatre Athenee & OM2 - Le Theatre de Gisele etc. mostly located at Jounieh & Jal El Dib). Play and puppet show businesses in Beirut (e.g. *Asdekaa El Duma*, *Nayla Eijjeh* etc.) host occasional plays/shows upon renting locations (e.g. TheOne, Palais des Congrees, Dunes, Casino du Liban, Forum de Beyrouth etc.).
3. **Academies** (music, dancing and martial arts)

INTELLECTUAL CULTURAL LEISURE PLACES

— Admin. Beirut Boundary
 — District Boundary



THEATER
 1 Frizzy
 2 Planet Discovery

ARTS ACADEMIES
 1 Russian Cultural Center
 2 Fahd Abdallah Dance
 3 Zirka Dance
 4 Club Francais
 5 Lebanese National Higher Conservatory of Music

MUNICIPAL PUBLIC LIBRARIES
 1 Bachoura Garden
 2 Jesuits Garden
 3 St Joseph University

Note: Mentioned theaters are designated zones at commercial play places. Established theaters (e.g. Luna Group, Ghinwa Kids Theatre, Theatre Athenee & OM2 - Le Theatre de Gisele etc) are all outside administrative Beirut (e.g. at Jounieh & Jar El Dib). Plays and puppet show teams (e.g. Sodekkaa El Dama, Nayla Ejjeh etc.) host occasional plays/shows at different places upon rental (e.g. TheOne, Palais des Congress, Dunes, Casino du Liban, Forum de Beyrouth etc.).

Plan 3D

CHILDREN'S PLAY GEOGRAPHY

— Admin, Beirut Boundary
 — District Boundary

PUBLIC SPACES/PLACES ACCESSIBLE TO CHILDREN

- 1 Waterfront sidewalk
- 2 Sand beach
- 3 Nejme square
- 4 Souks plaza

MUNICIPAL GARDENS WITH CHILDREN PLAYGROUNDS

- 1 Sanayeh
- 2 Multi Hassan Khaled
- 3 Abu Haidar
- 4 Saint Nicolas
- 5 Jesuits
- 6 Sioufi
- 7 Horsh Beirut
- 8 Children's

COMMERCIAL PLAY PLACES

MULTIDISCIPLINARY

- 1 Glow to Grow
- 2 The Block
- 3 Frizzy
- 4 Play Town
- 5 Kids Mondo
- 6 Kids Planet
- 7 i-Play

PLAYGROUND

- 1 Joue Club
- 2 IC Playground
- 3 Joue Club

PUBLIC/PRIVATE SPORT FACILITIES

- 1 Horsh Beirut Playgrounds
- 2 Beirut By Bike
- 3 El Riyadi Club
- 4 Sportsville
- 5 Score Bowling & Games

INTELLECTUAL CULTURAL LEISURE PLACES

ARTS ACADEMIES

- 1 Russian Cultural Center
- 2 Fahd Abdallah Dance
- 3 Zikra Dance
- 4 Club Francais
- 5 Music Conservatory

THEATER

- 1 Frizzy
- 2 Planet Discovery

AMUSEMENT PARK

- 1 Luna Park

SCIENCE MUSEUM

- 1 Planet Discovery

ARCADE GAMES

- 1 Give Me Five
- 2 Dunes

PARTIES VENUE

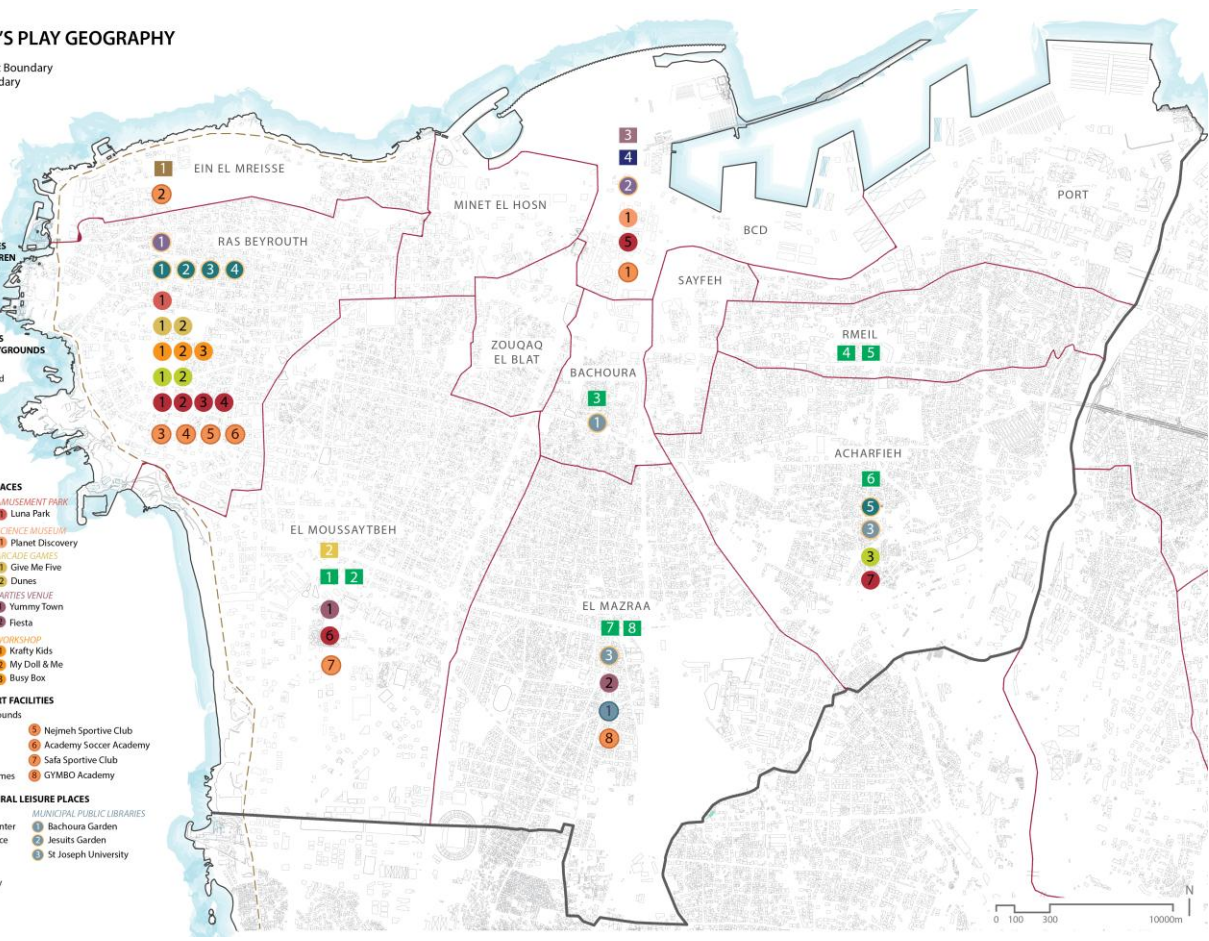
- 1 Yummy Town
- 2 Fiesta

WORKSHOP

- 1 Krafty Kids
- 2 My Doll & Me
- 3 Busy Box

MUNICIPAL PUBLIC LIBRARIES

- 1 Bachoura Garden
- 2 Jesuits Garden
- 3 St Joseph University



Plan 3E

CHAPTER IV

SURVEYING CHILDREN'S LEISURE/PLAY TIME AND PARENTS AWARENESS OF PLAY VALUES

The quantitative research and mapping of children's play geography in Administrative Beirut has been accompanied by a comparative inductive analysis of spaces and/or places children of different socio-economic statuses (SES) go to in their leisure or play time, inquired about through a qualitative and quantitative survey distributed at 5 schools of different SES, completed by XX parents of children of age 7 to 9 (or students of grades 2 to 4).

A. Participants' Recruitment and Ethical Considerations

Survey participants were recruited by approaching the administrations of private low, middle and high socio-economic statuses schools, in Administrative Beirut, to help in the anonymous recruitment of students' parents. The schools' permission was taken by an oral informed consent. The subject population target group is parents of children of age 7 to 9 or students of elementary school grades 2 to 4.

The human participants' (parents') recruitment for the study's minimal-risk survey was fair and non-discriminatory given it was sent to all parents of the aforementioned grades. Parents (mother, father or legal guardian) were expected to be adults above 18 and less than 65 years old.

The survey was available in Arabic and English; distributed version was based on the school's advice for their parents' language of preference. Having a written consent form was waived in order to protect the parents' anonymity. The parents' informed consent form attached before the survey papers:

- Introduced the research project, where the research question was not described in depth to avoid biases, and explained that the survey involves generic non-sensitive questions about their child's leisure time and their general assessment of play places in Beirut. It was also explained that all play places private names will be protected, during data analysis and in the thesis paper by pseudo names.
- Explained my affiliation with AUB and provided my contacts and those of the primary investigator and IRB office.
- Explained that the parents' identity will remain anonymous and that the survey will not require them to disclose any personal information or identifiers nor ask their children (as a vulnerable group) any question. As well explained that the survey can be completed by any of the child's parents (or legal guardians) who know about the child's leisure time.
- Explained that participating in the survey is voluntary; they can refuse to answer questions, stop participating at any time without penalty or repercussion and that there are no direct benefits to participating.
- Explained that the school administrations will not keep a copy of their answers and will neither reward nor penalize them or their children if they accepted or refused to

participate, and that their relationship with the school and AUB will not be affected in all cases.

- Explained that by completing the survey they acknowledge that they have understood the consent content and agree to participate in the study.
- Explained that the research does not put harm or discomfort on human subjects greater than those ordinarily encountered in daily life.
- Explained that the survey is to be filled once, for one child only, and shall require no more than 15-20 minutes to be completed.

B. Survey Scheme and Objectives

1. Child Background

The objective of the first section was to collect basic background information about the child's age, gender, hobbies and socio-economic status. Data on age helped filter out children who don't fit into the study's sample age group while gender identification helped study possible correlations between gender and types of play. Hobbies indicated were compared with main activities and places attended, for analyzing consistencies between interests and activities enrolled in or attending.

Schools' (scale of) fees have been taken as the study's primary indicator for parents' socio-economic status. Types of extra-curricular activities and entrance fees of play places multiplied by visits' frequency (inquired on section 2) will also factor to account for parents' affordability rates.

2. Feedback on Leisure Choices

The objective of this section was to inquire on children's leisure time and choices at home, in public spaces, and private play places during school time and vacations.

- ***Leisure Time:*** The objective of this sub-section is to assess home leisure time distribution between free play, spending family quality time, playing with board games, toys and videos games, watching TV and reading extracurricular books. Indoor leisure time frequency was compared with outdoor play frequency, across different SESs.
- ***Leisure Time in Outdoor Public Spaces:*** The objective of this sub-section was to inquire about children's leisure time in public spaces: the neighborhood (street or next to the place of residence) and public spaces including municipal gardens. Parents' acceptance and satisfaction of their children play in the street was compared across different socioeconomic groups. This section also asks about names, visits' frequency, accessibility, activities and playground assessment of public gardens most visited (if applicable).
- ***Leisure Time in Private Places:*** This sub-section asked about structured leisure and play time through collecting data about the type, frequency and locations of extra-curricular activities or classes children are registered in school seasons and the vacations (if applicable). In addition, it aimed and identifying the type and frequency of the two most frequented play categories during both times as well. Moreover, to examine whether children's play choices is a factor of parents' willful choices or their permissive parenting style, parents and children's desired and undesired choices was collected for comparison. Parents' assessment of places and

activities they refuse to take or engage their children in was questioned to help account for parents' awareness of play learning outcomes and/or effects.

3. Feedback on Play Place Most Visited

The objective of this section was to learn about the play places children are visiting the most while inquiring about visits' frequency (number of times) and intensity (duration) so as to account for the level of exposure. Furthermore to assess play quality, the most and least favorite activities with an assessment of play values was collected. To study parents' awareness and satisfaction of these most frequented places, parents rating of a place's intellectual, social, entertainment and behavioral benefits was questioned.

The average time spent to reach a play place can be studied across visits' frequency, and satisfaction with a place's playtime quality; to infer possible relations between accessibility, satisfaction, and scarcity of options.

Whether parents leave or stay with their children at play places was questioned so as to account for the level of autonomy play places are given and the presence/absence of parental mediation of playtime (content & interactions) during playtime. Finally, in discussing Beirut's playscape, the possibility of going outside Beirut for better quality play places was examined.

4. Feedback on Leisure and Play in General

This section aimed at learning about parent's narratives of leisure and play time, their correlation between playtime and moral development, their understanding of playtime objectives and their aspiration for alternative types of play places in Administrative Beirut

Data collected on parents' perceptions, observations, and value of leisure time and children socialization in play places will help interpret parents' role in mediating playtime socialization and the possible impact of playtime choices. This data analysis will contribute to the discussion of the dialectical interaction between children as socialized agents and the play time and places as socializing agents.

CHAPTER V

DATA ANALYSIS

This chapter starts by describing the study's demographics, then moves to play in the public sphere (street play and municipal gardens' play); next it explores play in the private sphere (home, institutionalized play in extra-curricular activities, and commercial play places); before ending with the narratives, behavior and engagement of parents in the (private or public) play place most frequented by their children.

A. Study's Demographics

1. Population

Eleven schools of various socio-economic and socio-cultural backgrounds, were contacted to help recruit participants. Ahliah School, Lebanese International School, Makassed Khaled Bin El Walid School, Rawdah High School, and Wellspring Learning Community were the five schools who accepted to participate. Wellspring

Wellspring Learning Community, Rawdah High School, and Ahliah School are considered pluralistic in terms of students' socio-cultural background or religion. Their educational curriculums are considered secular, though Wellspring Learning Community and Ahliah School are affiliated with churches (present on or adjacent to school campuses). Khaled Bin El Walid School, part of Makassed Philanthropic Islamic Association of Beirut, and Lebanese International School affiliated with Irshad & Islah Islamic Beneficent Association can be characterized with a homogenous majority Muslim student community.

All schools are mixed in terms of gender. Ahliah School stands amidst Wellspring Learning Community and Rawdah High School as upper-middle class schools and Khaled Bin El Walid School and Lebanese International School as lower-middle class schools.

Based on schools' advice and preference, surveys were given in English to Wellspring Learning Community and Rawdah High School, and in Arabic to Ahliah School, Lebanese International School, and Khaled Bin El Walid School. All schools preferred and requested the survey to be sent as a hard copy, even the one school (Wellspring) which originally primarily communicates with their parent community via e-mail (Whatsapp & SMS).

A total of 707 surveys were distributed across all five schools with 220 completed out of which 6 excluded for being filled in by children or copied from a classmate's answers.

Charts 5.1 and 5.2 and table 5.1 demonstrate surveys' distribution and response rate among participating schools.

Schools' Contribution

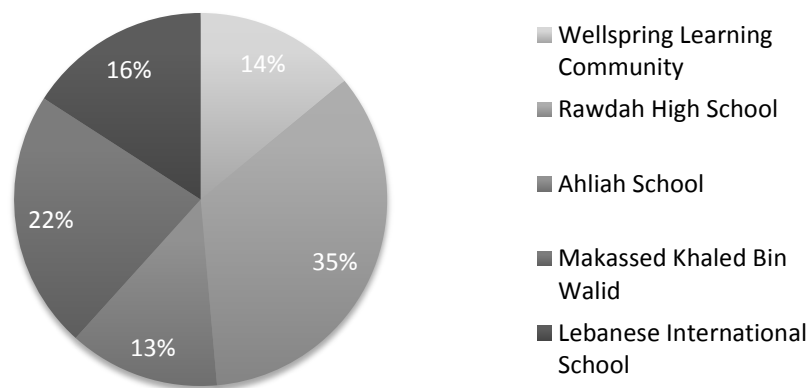


Chart 5.1 Schools' Contribution into the Study

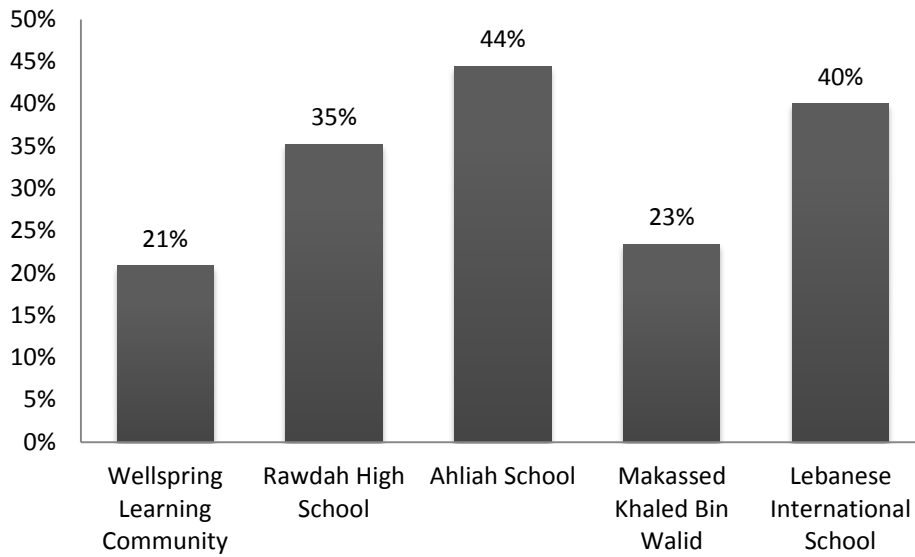


Chart 5.2 Response Rate per School

	Wellspring Learning Community	Rawdah High School	Ahliah School	Makassed Khaled Bin Walid	Lebanese International School
Surveys Distributed	144	210	63	205	85
Surveys Completed	30	74	28	48	34

Table 5.1 Surveys’ Distributed and Completed Quantities

2. Age Distribution

As previously explained, the study’s target group age was 7 to 9 (or grades 2 and 4). The age distribution of the study’s sample ranged between 6 and 10 (as indicated in chart 5.3), with an average of 8.3. Average age per gender is 8.3 for females and 8.4 for males.

Age Distribution

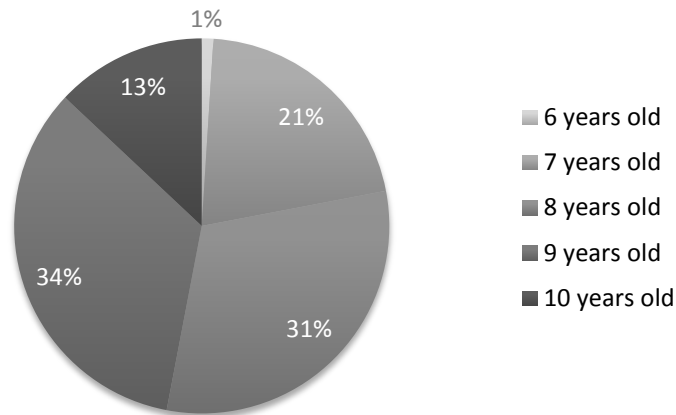


Chart 5.3 Sample's Age Distribution

This inclines the study's age group to be older than 6 to 7 and the play preferences of this age segment.

3. Socio-economic Group (SES) Division

For the purpose of the study's comparative framework on the theme of childhood and play, schools of different socio-economic statuses were reached out to. High end schools (American and French curriculums) haven't shown readiness to engage their parent community in extracurricular work or research, despite my persistence and negotiation. On the other hand, involving public schools required a bureaucratic procedure to receive an approval from the Ministry to Education, which the study's tight work schedule didn't

permit. Indicated in the table below are the respective annual fees of schools which have accepted to take part in the study.²

	Wellspring Learning Community	Rawdah High School	Ahliyah School	Makassed Khaled Bin Walid	Lebanese International School
Annual Fees	\$7740	\$5530	\$4767	\$3470	\$2700

Table 5.2 Schools' Annual Fees

Given Ahliyah School's annual fees lie amid the fees scale, its participants (28) were disregarded so as to ensure more polarity in socio-economic division. However they were included when looking into the data in general or across genders – referred to throughout the paper as the “**Grand Total.**” Therefore, two class categories have been derived:

- **Upper-middle class:** comprises of Wellspring Learning Community and Rawdah High Schools participants
- **Lower-middle class:** comprises of Khaled Bin El Walid School and Lebanese International School participants

Table 5.3 and charts 5.4 and 5.5 below explain the distribution of participants and schools across both classes.

² It should be remarked that some annual fees are the net average of the fees of grades 2 to 4, given some schools had a higher annual fee for grade 4.

	Upper-middle		Lower-middle	
	Wellspring Learning Community	Rawdah High School	Makassed Khaled Bin Walid	Lebanese International School
Participants	30	74	48	34
Total participants	104		82	

Table 5.3 Participants' Distribution across Classes

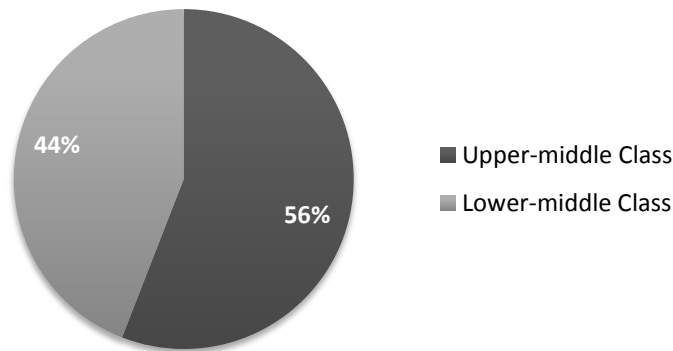


Chart 5.4 Classes Division

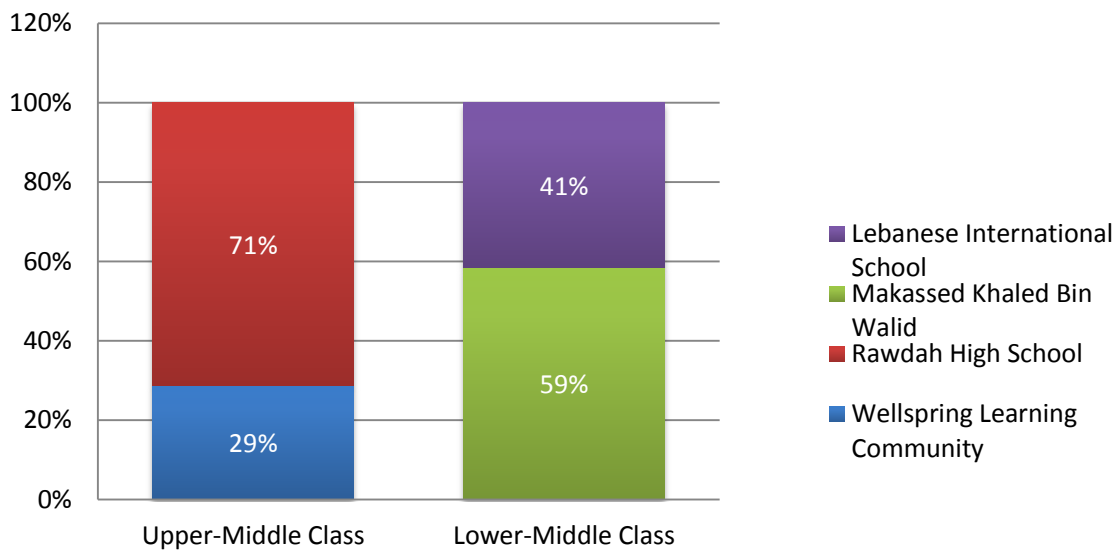


Chart 5.5 Schools Distribution across Classes

4. Classes' Age and Gender

Average age per SES wasn't significantly different with 8.2 for upper-middle class and 8.4 for lower-middle class. Participants' gender distribution within the study, across the classes and within one class is also evenly distributed, as indicated in the charts below.

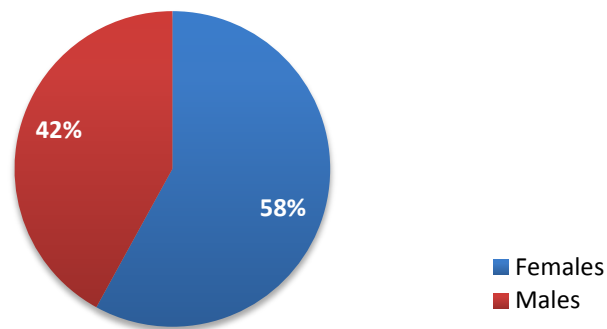


Chart 5.6 Children's Gender Distribution of the Grand Total

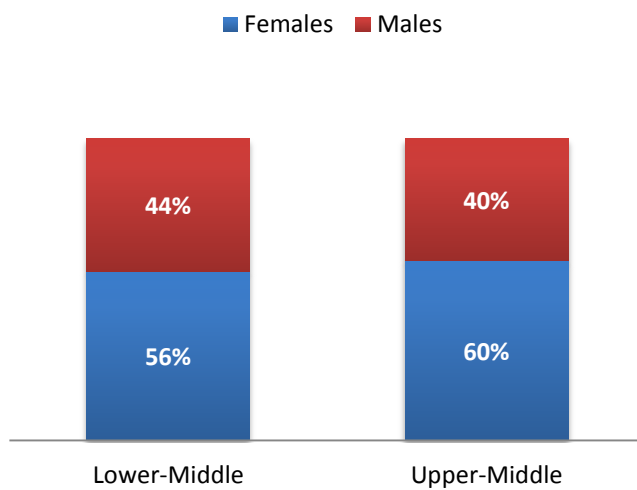


Chart 5.7 Gender Distribution across Children's Classes

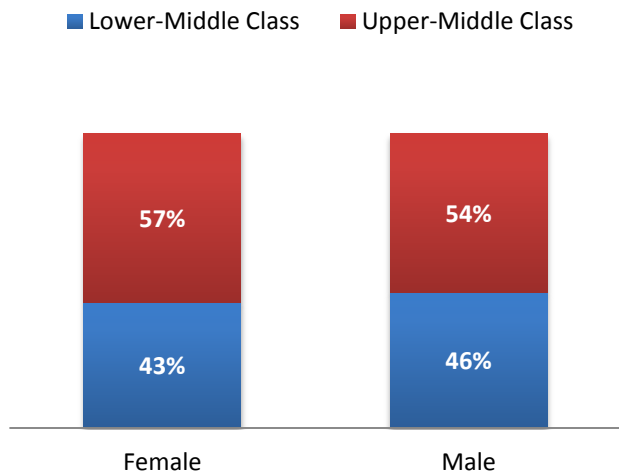


Chart 5.8 Class Distribution across Children's Gender

5. Profiles

Both socio-economic classes include one school within Administrative Beirut and another at its near suburbs. Nevertheless, the majority of all schools' participants reside within Administrative Beirut, as table 5.4 indicates.

	Within Administrative Beirut	Outside Administrative Beirut
Ahlih	71%	29%
Khaled Bin El Walid	85%	15%
Rawdah High School	54%	46%
Lebanese International School	56%	44%
Wellspring Learning Community	90%	10%
Grand total	73%	27%

Table 5.4 Schools' Residence Distribution

SURVEY DEMOGRAPHICS

- Admin. Beirut Boundary
- District Boundary

SCHOOL INFORMATION

- ADDRESS
- ANNUAL FEES

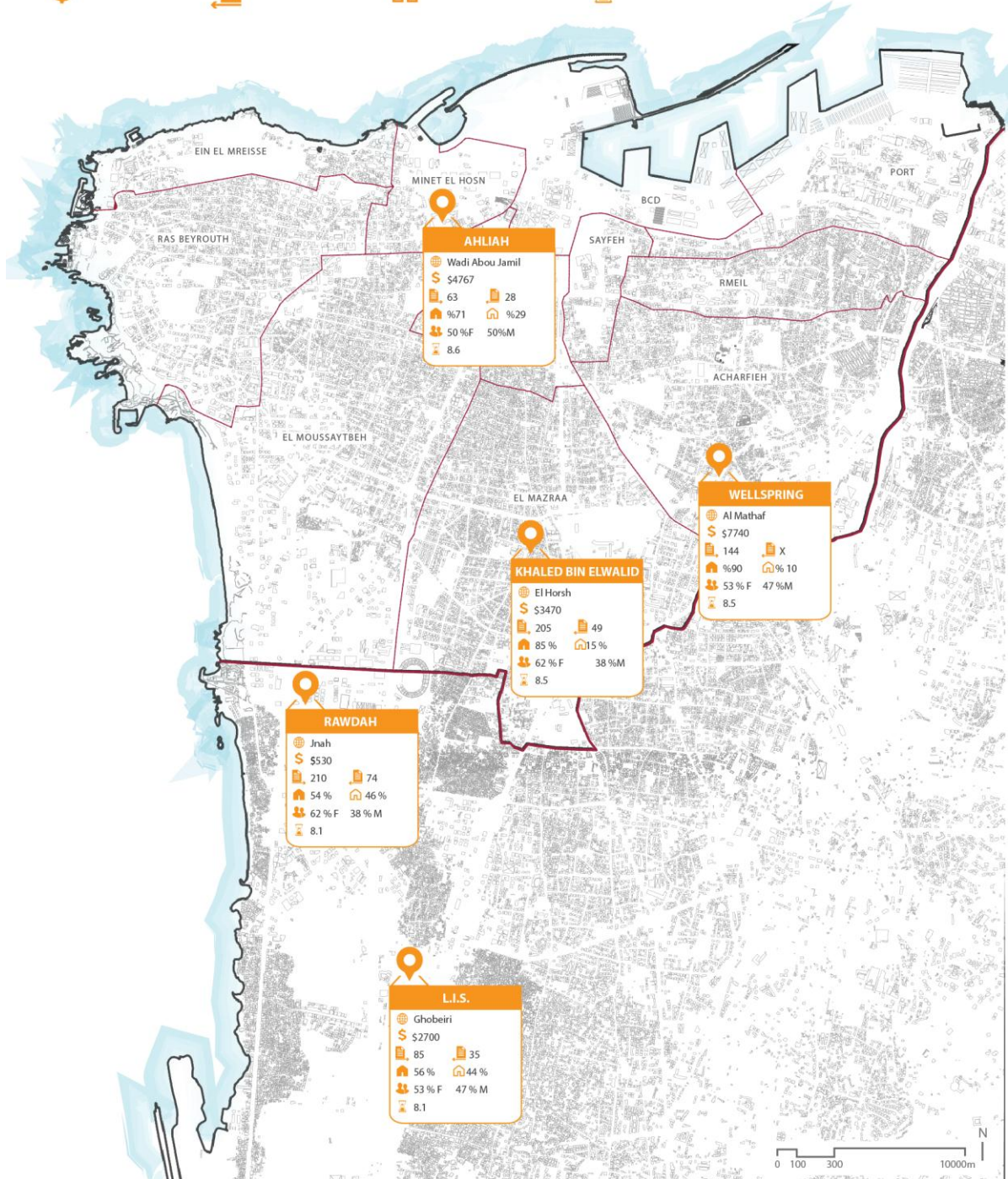
SURVEYS INFORMATION

- DISTRIBUTED
- RECEIVED

CHILDREN INFORMATION

- RESIDE IN BEIRUT
- RESIDE OUTSIDE BEIRUT

- GENDER DISTRIBUTION
- AVERAGE AGE



Map 5.1 Schools' respective participation features.

B. Play Categories in the Public Sphere

1. Street Play

a. Across Classes

“Street play” was conceptualized in the survey to be at the street or an alley in the neighborhood, an empty land or lot nearby, or at one’s building entrance or yard. Contrary to expectations, when asked about the rate children are involved in “street play” (per week, month or year), lower-middle class parents reported higher rates than upper-middle parents for *not* involving their children in street play, with a rate of 89% compared to 47%.

Parents who choose to involve their children in street play mentioned their respective play locations. These locations included the aforementioned options in addition to other places which got filtered out, such as personal gardens or next to their mountain or village houses.

Play street activities reported by both classes are summarized in table 5.5, showing that physical activities (especially ones related to ball games) are most common among children. Less reported activities included: playing ping pong, with the rope, skateboard, rollers, big cars, badminton, gymnastics, volleyball, water games, drawing with chalk on the sidewalk, picking flowers, and catching insects. Results indicate that exploratory or imaginative street play is not common among children of both classes.

	Ball	Biking	Scooter	Basketball	Football	Tennis	Racing	Soccer
Lower-middle	75%	67%	17%	25%	33%	17%	8%	0%
Upper-middle	67%	46%	21%	15%	58%	4%	4%	8%

Table 5.5 Most Common Street Play Activities

85% of lower-middle class children involved in street play voted the play location to be at their building entrance or yard, whereas 70% of upper-middle class children who play in the street also do so at the building entrance or yard.

With 53% of children of upper-middle class, compared to 11% for lower-middle class, involved in street play mostly taking place at buildings' entrances or yards; we can interpret that spaces attached or proximate to upper-middle class residences are standing as safe play places to the majority of upper-middle class parents.

These results show that, for middle class children in Beirut, what "street" symbolizes is no more a *public* sidewalk or space to play with the neighborhood's children or socialize with older neighbors (youth or elderly). To the majority of middle class children, "street" in Beirut has transformed, from open lands, pocket spaces, sidewalks, or alleys to spaces attached to private buildings, or in other words to built-environments and distances longitudinally or transversely proximate to their house doors.

b. Across Gender and Class

Play in the street or building's open rooms/spaces cannot be argued to be gendered given the close rates for the involvement of females and males, of both classes, in playing there, as indicated in the table below.

		Female	Male
Lower-middle	<i>Don't play</i>	86%	91%
	<i>Play</i>	14%	9%
Upper-middle	<i>Don't play</i>	49%	44%
	<i>Play</i>	51%	56%

Table 5.6 Street Play Involvement across Gender

Furthermore, no significant difference is noticed between females and males street play locations across classes. All lower-middle class females involved in street play do so at the building entrance or yard. Lower-middle class male children have been reported to play at the buildings' entrance/ yard or personal gardens at equal rates. Female upper-middle class children play at the building entrance or yard more than males, and the second common street play location for both genders was indicated to be "an empty lot nearby." Indeed, given that surveyed participants reside within and outside Administrative Beirut; no correlation can be interpreted between street play and area of residence. Residing in the (also urbanized) suburbs of Beirut doesn't suggest more street play opportunity for middle class children.

To conclude, Beirut's built environment has kept (middle-class) children off its streets with its highly urbanized neighborhoods of scarce open spaces or wide sidewalks. Streets in Beirut don't exercise spatial inequality, with both ends of the study's socio-economic groups restricted from socializing there. Studying street play for children older than the age of 10 is needed to further investigate if the notion of safety changes with age, for all classes.

Public spatiality can extend from linear streets to open and fenced (municipal) spaces. To study whether parent's perception of public space changes between leaving children to play alone in the street versus accompanying them to (fenced) public spaces – municipal gardens– parents' notion of public space is further investigated in the (garden play) section to follow.

2. Garden Play

a. Visits Frequency

As mapped in the previous chapter, municipal gardens are not widely available in Beirut's districts; indeed, the vast majority does not have designed and/or equipped play areas. Nevertheless, these gardens are opportunities for outdoor and free play in green spaces. 45% of upper-middle class children reported not to visit municipal gardens at all, compared to 32% of lower-middle class ones. The mode account for children who visit public gardens is 5 times a year for lower-middle class children as opposed to 6 times a month for upper-middle class children.

Public as well as private gardens were listed by parents when asked about the municipal/public garden their child visits the most. Horsh Tabet and Baadba Forest excluded despite being mentioned for few times for being under the province of Mount Lebanon. Beirut by Bike was excluded for being a private biking and bikes rental place lot rather than a public garden. Despite being a private outdoor place, I have chosen to leave "Yuppie park" within table 5.7 for most visited municipal gardens, for being the one and only spacious outdoor children playground, located at Hazmieh outside Administrative Beirut. Nevertheless, it has been reported to be the second most visited garden after Sanayeh Garden. International College (IC) playground, located within the lower campus of American University at Beirut, facing Manara corniche, can also stand as a private outdoor playground in Beirut; however, it is not easily accessible to the public or as big.

Lower-middle class parents have reported to use public spaces (Sanayeh Garden) more than upper-middle class who visit the private outdoor playground Yuppier Park (at a rate of 39% compared to 9%). This reveals a scarcity in outdoor play places where children of different classes play or socialize together. This in return shows the role of the classed public and outdoor spaces in separating childhood experiences of children (and adults) of different socio-economic and socio-cultural backgrounds.

Garden Name	Lower-middle	Upper-middle	Grand Total
Children's Garden	9%	0%	4%
Horsh Beirut	9%	5%	8%
Sanayeh Garden	70%	52%	58%
Sioufi Garden	2%	5%	3%
Yuppier park	9%	39%	24%

Table 5.7 Municipal Gardens Attendance

Similar to street play, which mostly revolved around physical activity, parents reported children's garden play to generally turn around: jumping, biking, running, racing, playing football, tennis, rollerblades, with the ball, scooter, slides, swings with a couple of parents mentioning play engaged with gardens' natural environment such as looking at different types of trees, feeding birds, picking flowers...etc.

b. Sanayeh Garden

Rene Mouad Garden, commonly known as Sanayeh Garden, will be taken as our case-study for being the most visited municipal garden by lower and upper middle class children who visit gardens, with a percentage rate of 70% and 52% respectively. The average number for Sanayeh garden visits for lower-middle class children is 14 times per 3 months or 1.1 times per week, as opposed to 26 times per 3 months or 2.1 times per week for upper-middle class children. Therefore, we can conclude that, while more lower-middle

class children go to Sanayeh garden, upper-middle class children visit the garden at a higher frequency rate.

To question if visiting gardens within both classes is correlated with approachability, participants were asked to evaluate gardens' accessibility, results shown in table 5.8. The higher frequency rate of upper-middle class is not correlated with accessibility; with 71% of lower-middle class parents rating Sanayeh garden "readily accessible", compared to 55% of upper-middle class parents doing so. Furthermore, it is not a matter of the garden's assessment with 75% and 87% of lower and upper middle class respectively considering Sanayeh to be excellent to good as a children garden, as seen in table 5.9. Therefore, we can hypothesize that while more lower-middle class children visit Sanayeh garden, upper-middle class children who visit the garden make a point to do so at a higher frequency, irrespective of a garden's accessibility or assessment.

Lower-middle			Upper-middle		
Readily accessible	Not easily accessible	Accessible with difficulty	Readily accessible	Not easily accessible	Accessible with difficulty
71%	3%	27%	55%	9%	36%

Table 5.8 Sanayeh Garden Accessibility across Classes

Lower-middle			Upper-middle		
Excellent	Good	Average	Excellent	Excellent	Excellent
28%	47%	25%	22%	22%	22%

Table 5.9 Sanayeh Garden Assessment as a Children Garden

c. Perceived Public Gardens

As previously discussed, playing in outdoor natural settings is essential for child development. To explore reasons playing in municipal gardens is not so common in Beirut, parents were asked to report why their child “rarely or never goes to public gardens in Beirut.” A thematic analysis of parents’ single or multiple reasons is summarized in table 5.10, which includes personal factors (preferences, accessibility, and time availability); gardens’ design and sustainability; and cultural reasons pertaining to the participants’ or gardens’ culture.

Gardens’ culture, safety, design and sustainability shows to be the highest factor to stand against frequent visits to municipal gardens. Remarkably, the notion of safety was parents’ greatest concern (with the highest score of 16%). This public space stigma is further explained with parents’ narrative of public gardens as “crowded” with “non-Lebanese”, “strangers” and “poor” within an unstable “political climate”, while perceiving the gardens not to be “nice”, “friendly” or well equipped with playground furniture; which in return doesn’t make them feel comfortable supervising their children and/or doesn’t encourage the children to play there. Parents use of the words “not safe” could also imply that they perceive outdoor play to hold more physical harm than indoor play in soft playgrounds or with arcades, video games etc.

Reasons' Categories	Reason Mentioned	Percentages	
Personal Preference	Prefer indoor activities	2%	11.5%
	Prefer private places	3%	
	Have a garden at home	2%	
	Goes to a village/mountain house	4%	
Design & Sustainability	Not nice	4%	28.4%
	Not equipped	7%	
	Not clean	5%	
	Not friendly	1%	

	Crowded	7%	
	Child doesn't like to play there	4%	
Knowledge & Culture	No public gardens	10%	12.2%
	Not used to it	2%	
Garden Safety & Culture	Presence of strangers	7%	29.6%
	Presence of poor	2%	
	Not safe	16%	
	Can't supervise the child	2%	
	Political climate	2%	
Accessibility & Time Availability	Not easily accessible	3%	18.2%
	Far from home	6%	
	Traffic	1%	
	No time	8%	

* Percentages of single reasons have been rounded up.

Table 5.10 Reasons for not going to Public/Municipal Gardens in Beirut

Examining the perception differences between lower and upper middle class parents, as seen in table 5.11 below, we notice that upper-middle class parents have shown more concern for the gardens' culture (32% as opposed to 26%) with particular unease to public gardens "safety" (21% compared to 6%). Lower-middle class parents have shown more concern to gardens' design, equipment and accessibility, with a particular assessment for lack of time to take their children to gardens.

Reasons' Categories	Reason Mentioned	Lower-middle	Upper-middle
Personal Preference	Prefer indoor activities	4%	0%
	Prefer private places	0%	4%
	Have a garden at home	0%	4%
	Goes to a village/mountain house	6%	4%
		11%	12%
Design & Sustainability	Not nice	6%	2%
	Not equipped	11%	4%
	Not clean	6%	5%
	Not friendly	2%	1%
	Crowded	4%	7%
	Child doesn't like to play there	4%	5%
		34%	25%

Knowledge & Culture	No public gardens	4%	6%	12%	14%
	Not used to it	2%		2%	
Garden Safety & Culture	Presence of strangers	13%	26%	5%	32%
	Presence of poor	2%		2%	
	Not safe	6%		21%	
	Can't supervise the child	0%		2%	
	Political climate	4%		1%	
Accessibility & Time	Not easily accessible	2%	23%	4%	17%
	Far from home	2%		9%	
	Traffic	0%		2%	
	No time	19%		2%	

* Percentages of single reasons have been rounded up.

Table 5.11 Reasons for not going to Public/Municipal Gardens in Beirut across Classes

To conclude, middle-class children's outdoor presence is restricted off the public sphere of highly urbanized Beirut's, with low involvement in outdoor street play not being complemented with outdoor garden play. For middle class children, spending leisure time at public or outdoor spaces is limited in terms of frequency rates, available options and activity types. To examine children's leisure time at the private realm, the next section establishes a context.

C. Play Categories in the Private Sphere

1. *Indoor Leisure Time*

a. Across Classes

	<i>Winter</i>		<i>Summer</i>	
	Lower-middle Range Mode (%)	Upper-middle Range Mode (%)	Lower-middle Range Mode (%)	Upper-middle Range Mode (%)
Quality time	4-7hours (32%)	More than 11hours (33%)	More than 11hours (45%)	More than 11hours (49%)
Playing video games	1-3hours (39%)	1-3hours (32%)	1-3hours (31%)	1-3hours (28%)
Playing toys & board games	1-3hours (41%)	1-3hours (41%)	1-3hours (34%)	1-3hours (31%)
Watching TV	1-3hours (45%)	1-3hours (36%)	1-3hours (36%)	1-3hours (31%)
Extracurricular reading	Less than an hour (56%)	1-3hours (36%)	1-3hours (44%)	Less than an hour (36%)

Free play	Zero (43%)	1-3hours (27%)	Zero (29%)	4-7hours (23%)
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Table 5.12 Indoor Leisure Time Modes across Classes over Seasons

	<i>Winter</i>	<i>Summer</i>
	p-Value of Lower & Upper Ranges	p-Value of Lower & Upper Ranges
Quality time	0.48	0.36
Playing video games	0.75	0.22
Playing toys & board games	0.57	0.89
Watching TV	0.41	0.64
Extracurricular reading	0.01	0.09
Free play	0.19	0.08

Table 5.13 p-Value of Indoor Leisure Time across Class over Seasons

A footnote in the survey form explained spending quality time with parents to be “leisure time where family members interact jointly and attentively in a thematically meaningful way. Examples: Talking over meals, playing games together, reading stories, discussing school problems etc.” The majority of upper-middle class spend much more time than lower-middle class in quality time during winter season (more than 11 hour per week compared to 4-7 hours) while both classes spend an equal amount of quality time during summer. This can be explained by the busy schedule of parents/mothers’ of lower-middle class between work and teaching children at home.

The majority of both classes have shown equal rates (1-3hours per week), during both seasons, when engaging in all of indoor entertainment types: “Playing alone, with siblings or friends with video or electronic games (iPad, Play Station etc.), “Playing alone, with siblings or friends with crafts, toys, board/brain games etc.” and “Watching TV.” This suggests that children of both classes are getting equally engaged in indoor entertainment at

home with video games, toys, board games and TVs readily available to the majority of children of these classes nowadays. This speaks to Holloway and Valentine words on families in advanced industrialized countries who spend their disposable incomes on commercial play brought to the homespace (100-101) which I'd argue plays a role in keeping children occupied off the streets or having to play at outdoor spaces.

This, in return, invites us to explore outdoor leisure types and qualities for both classes.

Extracurricular reading has shown opposite rates between both classes across seasons. Indeed a significant difference is noted between classes for children's extracurricular reading during winter ($p=0.01$) Lower-middle class has shown to spend less time reading extracurricular stories during winter (less than an hour per week) while the upper-middle class spend 1-3hours per week. Vice versa, the majority of lower-middle class spends more time reading extracurricular stories during summer (1-3hours/week) than upper-middle class children (less than an hour per week). This might be explained by the lower-middle children being more at home, less involved in outdoor entertainment or traveling plans during the summer vacation. This might be also hypothesized to be a factor of the winter season homework load, which is being more regulated at higher end schools. Nevertheless, both rates in both seasons are considerably low for children's engaging in personal exploratory reading. Given that interactive reading with children is more time consuming than adults' reading, indicated reading rates show that parents' quality time reading stories for their children can't step up to a habit or daily routine if reading time doesn't exceed an hour or 1-3 hours throughout 7 days.

Free play has shown during summer a trend to be significantly different among lower and upper middle class children ($p=0.07$). We can find the majority of the lower

middle class to spend no time in free play in winter and summer (43% and 29% respectively) whereas the majority of upper-middle class spend 1-3 or 4-7 hours during winter and summer (27% and 23% respectively). Despite children's low rate of free play, we can analyze the higher involvement of upper-middle class children in free play at home to be due to their higher involvement in structured leisure time (enrolling in multiple extra-curricular activities, as section 2 will show).

b. Across Gender

		Females Range Mode (%)	Males Range Mode (%)
Quality time	<i>Winter</i>	More than 11hours (33%)	4-7hours (35%)
	<i>Summer</i>	More than 11hours (51%)	More than 11hours (44%)
Playing video games	<i>Winter</i>	1-3hours (37%)	1-3hours (34%)
	<i>Summer</i>	4-7hours (28%)	4-7hours (31%)
Playing toys & board games	<i>Winter</i>	1-3hours (42%)	1-3hours (38%)
	<i>Summer</i>	1-3hours (30%)	1-3hours (31%)
Watching TV	<i>Winter</i>	1-3hours (41%)	1-3hours (42%)
	<i>Summer</i>	1-3hours (33%)	1-3hours (31%)
Extracurricular reading	<i>Winter</i>	Less than an hour (41%)	Less than an hour (44%)
	<i>Summer</i>	1-3hours (40%)	Less than an hour (36%)
Free play	<i>Winter</i>	Zero (31%)	Zero (35%)
	<i>Summer</i>	Zero (22%)	1-3hours (28%)

Table 5.14 Indoor Leisure Time Modes across Gender over Seasons

	p-Value of Females and Males Ranges	
	<i>Winter</i>	<i>Summer</i>
Quality time	0.398	0.617
Playing video games	0.517	0.586
Playing toys & board games	0.074	0.406
Watching TV	0.770	0.408
Extracurricular reading	0.263	0.158
Free play	0.711	0.434

Table 5.15 p-Value of Indoor Leisure Time across Gender over Seasons

No significant difference is posited between females and males behavior in indoor home leisure time across the seasons

c. Across Gender and Class

		FEMALE	
		Lower-middle Range Mode (%)	Upper-middle Range Mode (%)
Quality time	Winter	More than 11hours (31%)	More than 11hours (32%)
	Summer	More than 11hours (54%)	More than 11hours (49%)
Playing video games	Winter	1-3hours (36%)	1-3hours (35%)
	Summer	1-3hours & 4-7hours(23% each)	4-7hours (29%)
Playing toys & board games	Winter	1-3hours (36%)	1-3hours (45%)
	Summer	1-3& more than 11 hours (24%)	1-3hours (31%)
Watching TV	Winter	1-3hours (34%)	1-3hours (39%)
	Summer	4-7hours (33%)	1-3hours (35%)
Extracurricular reading	Winter	Less than an hour (50%)	Less than an hour (38%)
	Summer	1-3hours (63%)	Less than an hour (38%)
Free play	Winter	Zero (39%)	1-3hours (30%)
	Summer	Zero&Less than an hour(25% each)	4-7hours (23%)

Table 5.16 Indoor Leisure Time Modes across Females over seasons

	p-Value of Females Lower & Upper Middle Class Ranges	
	Winter	Summer
Quality time	0.655	0.424
Playing video games	0.986	0.222
Playing toys & board games	0.918	0.295
Watching TV	0.660	0.318
Extracurricular reading	0.410	0.007
Free play	0.411	0.540

Table 5.17 p-Value of Indoor Leisure Time across Females over seasons

		MALE	
		Lower-middle Range Mode (%)	Upper-middle Range Mode (%)
Quality time	Winter	4-7hours (47%)	More than 11hours (33%)
	Summer	More than 11hours (36%)	More than 11hours (48%)
Playing video games	Winter	1-3hours (43%)	4-7hours (29%)
	Summer	1-3hours (39%)	1-3hours & More than 11 hours (29% each)
Playing toys & board games	Winter	1-3hours (47%)	4-7hours (37%)
	Summer	1-3hours (44%)	1-3hours (31%)
Watching TV	Winter	1-3hours (58%)	4-7hours (33%)
	Summer	1-3hours (47%)	1-3 & 4-7hours (24% each)
Extracurricular reading	Winter	Less than an hour (64%)	1-3hours (38%)
	Summer	Less than an hour (51%)	Less than an hour (33%)
Free play	Winter	Zero (47%)	Zero (32%)
	Summer	1-3hours (36%)	4-7hours (24%)

Table 5.18 Indoor Leisure Time Modes across Males over seasons

	p-Value of Males Lower & Upper Middle Class Ranges	
	Winter	Summer
Quality time	0.053	0.016
Playing video games	0.421	0.050
Playing toys & board games	0.250	0.068
Watching TV	0.108	0.284
Extracurricular reading	0.016	0.384
Free play	0.376	0.006

Table 5.19 p-Value of Indoor Leisure Time across Males over seasons

A significant difference is noted between females of upper and lower middle class and among males of both classes relating to extracurricular reading in summer ($p < 0.01$).

The majority of female lower-middle class children spend more time reading and watching

TV, than upper-middle class females and lower-middle class males, which can be explained by lower-middle class parents exerting more control on the females presence at home during summer.

Another significance difference would pertain to the quality time males of both classes spend at home in summer ($p < 0.01$). Indeed the frequency range of playing video games in summer for upper-middle class has a trend towards significance ($p = 0.05$)

Indoor leisure speaks to Holloway and Valentine concept of *living* on the level of spatiality within the home and how home experiences shape children's lives on the street and how this experience influences the "children's experience and control of 'family' and 'own' time" (19-20) ; indeed, home is a 'social space' and a "recognition of social order." (139) Holloway and Valentine reviewed the work of Barth which presents identity formation to be reflected through "particular fixed geographical or spatial localities" (140) and Douglas who insists on the importance of time in making homes and how homes are "structures of time and memory through their capacity to spatially order and control the activities of the family members" (140)

2. Extra-Curricular Activities

Parents were asked to provide information about extracurricular activities (or registered classes) their children are involved in, indicating the season of involvement³, type of activity, location and attendance frequency.

82% of upper-middle class children reported to be involved in extracurricular activities, compared to 61% of lower-middle children. Those accounted not to be involved in ones have either crossed the question's table or didn't fill it in. This holds the bias that not only who didn't fill in this question might not be involved in extracurricular classes. To test for the rates of involvement across classes, the number of activities engaged in per was calculated. The 85 upper-middle children who indicated to be involved in extracurricular activities, reported to be involved in 160 activities of all kinds, which accounts for a 188% rate of involvement. On the other hand, the 50 lower-middle class children reported 83 activities which account to a 166% involvement.

Activities were sorted out into Cultural, Physical, and Religious categories. Cultural extracurricular activities included arts and crafts, dancing, music and language lessons, chess classes, scouts, and summer camps. Physical extracurricular activities comprised of martial arts, ball-related games, horseback riding, swimming, snowboarding, skating, gymnastics etc. Religious activities included religion lessons at houses, centers or places of worship, in addition to summer camps or schools.

³ When the season (winter/summer) was not indicated, activities listed were counted to be relevant to one season, since parents who had their children involved in certain activities across the year indicated that.

Table 5.20 demonstrates lower-middle class to be more involved in physical and religious activities while upper-middle class reported higher involvement in cultural activities. It should be remarked that though lower-middle schools are affiliated with Islamic philanthropic organizations and teach Islam as a subject within their curriculum, children were yet involved in extracurricular religious lessons. This stands contrary to upper-middle children, attending pluralistic secular schools, who reported much lower rates at getting involved in extracurricular formal religious education. Play within the framework of learning religion is definitely a subject for further studies.

Therefore we can conclude that contrary to lower-middle class, the majority of upper-middle class children are involved in multiple structured-play opportunities of cultural and physical type.

	Cultural	Physical	Religious
Lower-middle	16%	61%	23%
Upper-middle	27%	55%	7%

Table 5.20 Extracurricular Activities per Class

3. Leisure-Time Play Places

a. Categories of Places

The objective of section 3 in the survey was to account for the specific commercial play place children visit the most for play, within Administrative Beirut. Many parents mentioned the various types of place they frequent the most, rather than the name of a commercial play place and did not abide my Beirut's mentioned geographical boundary. Indeed, parents' answers encompassed different types of places, not only commercial play

places, where their children play the most. Locations mentioned were classified into the following categories:

- **Amusement Parks:** This category didn't group different types of play types into it, as parents mentioned the term itself. Nevertheless, given surveys were given in English and Arabic, this category can hold a translation-based bias by which mentioned in Arabic (*Malahey*) clearly refers to spacious outdoor play places, while amusement parks in English could be perceived by parents as indoor play areas (with arcades, carting etc.)
- **Downtown Spaces:** Comprise pocket spaces in Downtown Beirut (Nejmeh square, Souks, and Zeituna Bay) where children activity included running, biking, play with their scooter etc.
- **Natural places:** Private and public open spaces, such as Sanayeh Garden, Yuppie Park, Waterfront sidewalk (corniche), the zoo were grouped into this category
- **Cultural Intellectual Places:** The answers of 3 participants of the upper-middle class created this category with 2 mentioning a library bookstore to be the place their children goes to the most during leisure time. 1 of the 3 parents added museums to be a second place their child frequent to takes photos.
- **House Play Dates:** Play dates at the child's home or the house of relatives or friends.
- **Restaurants Play Areas:** Mostly fast food places with children play areas.
- **Multidisciplinary play places** (referred to in Chapter 3): Places with multiple types of play and games such as The Block, Give Me 5, 2 to 12, arcade places at malls

etc. Contrary to amusement parks, these places are indoor and hold a variety of art and culture activities, electronic games etc.

- **Malls:** Some parents regarded the mall to be the place they visit most often, without naming a play place which they go to there. To avoid any bias, malls mentioned without naming play places were grouped into one category (e.g. ABC, City Center, Beirut Mall)
- **Sports Places:** Includes sports fields and centers (e.g. Hoops), gyms, clubs, AUB green field etc.
- **Village/Mountain:** trips or at the family’s house or garden
- **Water parks**

Questions b and c in survey section 2.3, which asked about top two frequented categories of commercial play places, were disregarded given the majority of parents didn’t abide by voting for the top two choices; furthermore, they didn’t complete the table beneath (details of play location and frequency) while indicating the play category they are referring to, as requested.

b. Involvement Rate per Class

	Lower-middle	Upper-middle	Grand Total
Amusement Parks	10%	5%	8%
Downtown Spaces	0%	6%	3%
Outdoor Natural Places	22%	10%	12%
Cultural Intellectual Place	0%	3%	2%
House Play Dates	1%	9%	6%
Restaurants Play Areas	4%	0%	2%
Malls	6%	11%	10%
Multidisciplinary Play Places	22%	31%	26%

Sport Places	25%	20%	21%
Village/Mountain	3%	3%	4%
Water Parks	4%	1%	2%

Table 5.21 Involvement Rate across Classes

As seen in table 5.21, multidisciplinary play places accounts to be the most popular among lower and upper middle classes while being more visited by upper-middle class children (31% compared to 22%). The second most visited play category would be going to malls for upper-middle class children (11% compared to 6%) and outdoor natural places for lower-middle children. We can also find amusement parks and fast food restaurants play areas, which can be considered more popular, to be more common for lower than upper middle class (10% and 4% respectively opposed to 5% and 0%).

If we are to assume that all malls involvement is in multidisciplinary play places, upper-middle class children would be more involved in commercial play places with a rate of 42% compared to 28% for lower-middle class children. Grouping amusement parks, malls, multidisciplinary play places and restaurants play areas under the bigger umbrella of commercial places would show that upper-middle class children are involved with a rate of 47% compared to 36% for lower-middle.

Entrance fees for commercial play places has been listed in Appendix C. Upper-middle class children's reported higher involvement in commercial play places, and higher visits' frequency (as section c will show), which can be positively correlated with the places affordability.

Indoor play is a more evident theme for lower-middle class children when being more involved in all of house play dates, malls, and multidisciplinary play places. On the

contrary, we find outdoor play to be more relevant for lower-middle class children with higher involvement in outdoor natural areas, water parks and amusement parks.

c. Involvement Rate and Gender

As table 5.22 shows, gender differences within every class pertain to the class’s general involvement rather than gender differences. For instance, the higher involvement of lower-middle class females in outdoor natural places and lower involvement in malls and multidisciplinary places, is correlated with lower-middle class’s general preferences (as seen in table 5.21)

	<i>Female</i>		<i>Male</i>	
	Lower-middle	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Upper-middle
Amusement Parks	11%	5%	9%	5%
Downtown Spaces	0%	9%	0%	3%
Outdoor Natural Place	20%	11%	25%	10%
Cultural Intellectual Place	0%	2%	0%	5%
House Play Dates	3%	7%	0%	13%
Restaurants Play Areas	6%	0%	3%	0%
Malls	6%	14%	6%	8%
Multidisciplinary Play Place	29%	35%	16%	25%
Sports Place	20%	12%	31%	30%
Village/Mountain	6%	4%	0%	3%
Water Parks	0%	2%	9%	0%

Table 5.22 Involvement Rate across Gender

d. Involvement Frequency

The rate of frequenting cultural-intellectual places, malls, multidisciplinary play places, house play dates, visiting downtown spaces, were statistically significant between lower-middle and upper-middle classes ($p < 0.01$), as table 5.23 shows.

	Lower-middle (hours/week)	Upper-middle (hours/week)
Amusement Parks	11.06	9.75
Downtown Spaces	0.00	21.00
Outdoor Natural Place	29.56	22.81
Cultural Intellectual Place	0.00	9.75
House Play Dates	2.25	38.25
Restaurants Play Areas	2.25	0.00
Malls	4.06	28.50
Multidisciplinary Play Place	37.94	83.06
Sports Place	66.98	66.00
Village/Mountain	5.63	8.25
Water Parks	6.00	2.25

Table 5.23 Average Hours Spent per Week per Play Category

D. Parents and Play Significance

1. Narratives on Play and Leisure

Table 5.24 summarizes the general themes common to parents' narratives of both play and leisure time.

Free Time	Free to spend their time the way they like to spend it - child does whatever he/she likes to do - take some time for himself
Free Play	Child playing without interference of adults- living childhood - freedom to choose activity + generic play statements
Entertainment & Fun	Reduce boredom - enjoyable time- entertaining time- Activity they like- recreation - recharging the energy- playing- to forget boredom - reflects their childhood - simple playing- be happy - pleasure - enjoy and have a good time
Psychological Enhancement	Enthusiastic - good psychological state - feeling comfortable
Talents & Skills	Useful activity - apply talents and skills - exercising talents - learn more skills
Social Skills & Character Building	Making friends - create relations with others - enhancing their social relationships - make friends - social society- gains something useful - self expression
Educational Activities	Mental development - moral and cognitive development - intellectual
Physical Activities	Sport - dispensing energy - psychological - daily movement- football - swimming
Artistic Activities	Drawing – coloring - crafts

Table 5.24 Themes of Leisure and Play Narratives

a. Leisure Time

Table 5.25 breaks down parents’ perception of leisure time, comparing narratives parents both classes have provided. The most significant difference noticed between lower and upper middle class parents’ narratives of leisure time pertains to the concept of “entertainment and fun” which is more evident to lower-middle class parents (32% opposed to 15%). Another noted difference relates to “free play and time”, which is more evident to upper-middle class parents (11% compared to 3%) and relays the concept of “unsupervised play” where children are left alone. Again we could find reading not to occupy any value in children’s leisure time.

Leisure Themes	Features	Lower-middle		Upper-middle	
Video games and media	TV	1%	4%	3%	4%
	Movies	0%		1%	
	Tablet Computers	0%		1%	
	General Games	3%		0%	
Social Skills & Character Building	Social Skills	5%	15%	4%	11%
	Skills Building	1%		1%	
	Character Building	5%		3%	
	Hobbies	4%		3%	
Entertainment & Fun	General Entertainment	13%	32%	6%	15%
	Fun	19%		9%	
Doing Activities	Educational Activities	11%	30%	8%	27%
	Artistic Activities	3%		1%	
	Extracurricular Activities	0%		1%	
	Physical Activities	11%		12%	
	Outdoor Activities	5%		5%	
Social Time	Friends	3%	4%	11%	17%
	Family Quality Time	1%		6%	

Psychological Enhancement	Psychological Enhancement	6%	13%	1%	12%
	Relaxation	6%		11%	
Free Play and Time	Free Play	3%	3%	8%	11%
	Free Time	0%		3%	
Others	Reading	0%	0%	1%	3%
	Pets	0%		1%	
	Gardening	0%		1%	

Table 5.25 Leisure Time Thematic Analysis

a. Play Time

To account for perception differences, parents were also asked to write their narratives of play time. We can notice that the themes of “video games and media” and “psychological enhancement” are more bound to play than leisure. It is also evident that play represent social time to upper-middle class parents more than lower-middle ones. Unlike the case in leisure time narratives, both groups perceive play to be relevant to entertainment and fun. Therefore while the perception of leisure is more bound to psychological enhancement and meaning, play is related to doing entertaining activities.

Play Themes	Features	Lower-middle		Upper-middle	
Video games and media	Electronic Games	4%	10%	2%	9%
	TV	0%		1%	
	General Games	5%		6%	
Social Skills & Character Building	Social Skills	4%	15%	4%	16%
	Character Building	10%		11%	
	Skill Building	1%		1%	
Entertainment & Fun	General Entertainment	3%	19%	6%	19%
	Fun	16%		13%	
Doing Activities	Physical Activities	23%	45%	9%	27%
	Educational Activities	16%		10%	
	Indoor Activities	1%		2%	

	Outdoor Activities	4%		5%	
	Extracurricular Activities	0%		1%	
Social Time	Family Time	1%	3%	2%	14%
	Friends	1%		12%	
Psychological Enhancement	Psychological Enhancement	3%	4%	1%	5%
	Relaxation	1%		4%	
Free Play			4%		11%

Table 5.26 Play Time Thematic Analysis

2. Play and Child Development

a. Play and Morality

- **Narratives on Moral Development**

When asked about the presence and an explanation of the relationship between moral development and play choices, the majority of parents confirmed the correlation. Nevertheless, not many explained it with relevant concepts. The two most relevant themes discussed the relationship to be bound to children's play choices (26% of lower-upper parents compared to 4% of upper-middle parents) and their communication and interaction within a play environment, which can project their personal values (32% of lower-upper parents compared to 28% of upper-middle parents)

- **Moral Restrictions across Class and Gender**

Parents were asked to vote for subjects that they avoid or prohibit their children participate or watch through any form of entertainment, video games or movies. Results are summarized in the tables below across gender and class.

Themes	Class		Gender	
	Lower-middle	Upper-middle	Female	Male
Fighting or any form of physical aggression	83%	83%	90%	74%
Any form of verbal aggression or profanity	97%	85%	90%	91%
Women or men wearing revealing clothes	87%	61%	68%	78%
Any form of ethnic or racial discrimination	91%	69%	79%	78%
Young girls taking care of their beauty like women	64%	37%	45%	53%
Suggestive dancing	79%	36%	53%	57%
Couples displaying affection or in an intimate scene	93%	84%	89%	87%
Watching rituals outside our religion	63%	31%	47%	41%
Political messages	75%	56%	65%	63%

Table 5.27 Rates of Prohibiting Themes across Class and Gender

Themes	Females		Males	
	Lower-middle	Upper-middle	Lower-middle	Upper-middle
Fighting or any form of physical aggression	93%	88%	71%	76%
Any form of verbal aggression or profanity	98%	84%	97%	86%
Women or men wearing revealing clothes	85%	55%	88%	69%
Any form of ethnic or racial discrimination	88%	73%	94%	64%
Young girls taking care of their beauty like women	61%	34%	68%	40%
Suggestive dancing	80%	32%	76%	40%
Couples displaying affection or in an intimate scene	93%	86%	94%	81%
Watching rituals outside our religion	63%	36%	62%	24%
Political messages	78%	55%	71%	57%

Table 5.28 Rates of Prohibiting Themes across Class and Gender

Themes tested across were derived from literature on common subjects in play environments and (video) games mediums. Physical aggression has been rejected by both classes at high rates; however, it was prohibited for females more than males (90% as

opposed to 74%). Similarly verbal aggression or profanity; nevertheless, it was somewhat more permissible by upper-middle class parents.

Themes related to gender and/or sexual references such as “women wearing revealing clothes”, “young girls taking care of their beauty like women, “suggestive dancing”, and “couples displaying affection or in an intimate scene” have shown significant higher restriction by lower-middle class parents and specifically for females. Sexualizing of young girls is becoming more common in multidisciplinary play places which are commonly having spa and salon rooms for young girls to learn and practice taking care of their “beauty.” We can find only 34% of upper-middle class parents reject their girls attend to activities which promote sexualizing of young girls and 32% (as opposed to 80% for lower-middle class) reject watching “suggestive dancing.”⁴ We can find lower-middle class to again show more conservatism when rejecting their children (females and males almost alike with 85% and 88% respectively) see “women wearing revealing clothes.” Results of prohibiting or allowing this theme has shown parallel results across both genders of one class.

Themes related to pluralistic socialization, such as tolerating “watching rituals outside one’s religion” or rejecting “any form of ethnic or racial discrimination” are pertinent to play environments when playing with diverse children, during holiday

⁴ An underlying bias to term of suggestive dancing would be parents not being aware of the conventional meaning and proactive behaviors that suggestive dancing evolves. Indeed, the term might have been easier to interpret in surveys distributed in Arabic (to lower-middle class parents).

celebrations, and/or while watching helpers at play places or watching any form of ethnic discrimination portrayed in video or arcade games. Upper-middle class parents have shown more permissiveness when it comes to their children watching or participating in ethnic or racial discrimination, with a rate of 64% rejecting it (as opposed to 94%), among its male population for instance. Another significant difference is shown with upper-middle class parents tolerating watching rituals of other religions, at almost the double the rate of lower-middle class parents. We could still find lower-middle class parents to avoid exposing their children to “political messages” in media or play, with rates of 75% as opposed to 56%.

To conclude, lower-middle surveyed parents, who have their children in religious (as opposed to secular) schools, have shown higher parental mediation and restriction rates when prohibiting themes of sexual, discriminatory, religious and political orientations.

b. Play Time Personality Objectives

Table 5.29 summarizes personality themes which parents would like play time to help build.

<i>Theme</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>
Team Work	Team building
Fun and Entertainment	Entertainment - entertaining skills - fun
Maturity	Stress resistance - experience
Tolerance	Acceptance - more flexible -
Kindness	Caring
Social Skills	More interactive - social values - Loving people - Loving the community
Self Confidence	Build personality - self secure -self-esteem -Strong
Autonomy	Independence
Attachment	Bonding
Attentiveness	Listening skills
Intellectuality	Children Library, Children Academy - be smart
Bravery	Courage - defending - Self defense
Good Manners	Be polite - not to be high-tempered

Cooperative	Helpful
Problem Solving Skills	Thinking outside the box

Table 5.29 Thematic Analysis of Aspired Personality Building during Play Time

3. Parental Engagement in Play Time

To examine parents' involvement in the social learning of play experience, this section establishes a context.

a. Child Accompaniment

Examining parents' involvement in children's play time, we can tell that more lower-middle class parents "always" or "most of the times" stay with their (7-10 of age) children when visiting play places, with a rate of 93% as opposed to 78%.

	Always	Most of the times	Rarely	Never
Lower-middle	72%	21%	3%	4%
Upper-middle	41%	37%	15%	6%
Grand Total	53%	30%	12%	5%

Table 5.30 Rates of Child Accompaniment at Play Places

To examine who supervises children's play and social learning experience, the study has testified for means parents resort to when they leave their child at a play place.

	Lower-middle	Upper-middle
Leave a phone with your child	20%	26%
Leave an adult family member with your child	48%	33%
Leave an older child (cousin or friend) with your child	28%	23%
Leave your helper/nanny with your child	16%	41%
None to learn dependency and look from time to time	4%	2%

Table 5.31 Rates of choices when leaving children alone at play places (per class)

	Lower-middle		Upper-middle	
	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Male</i>
Leave a phone with your child	14%	27%	20%	40%
Leave an adult family member with your child	43%	55%	37%	25%
Leave an older child (cousin or friend) with your child	36%	18%	24%	20%
Leave your helper/nanny with your child	21%	9%	41%	40%
None of the above (for child to learn independency, while still looking at the child from time to time)	0%	9%	2%	0%

Table 5.32 Rates of choices when leaving children alone at play places (per gender and class)

As results of tables 5.31 and 5.32 show, the majority of upper-middle class children to be left with their nanny/helper in the absence of their parent, with a rate of 41% compared to 16% for lower-middle class parents. This alerts for the weakness or absence of parental mediation of social learning experiences during children’s leisure time, for upper-middle class parents. The majority of lower-middle class parents (48%) have reported to leave an adult family member when not there.

It is significant how comparing having/being left with a phone has shown almost double the rates for males, of both lower and upper middle class, when opposed to females. This can indicate more permissiveness and autonomy for males spatial practices and appropriation at play places.

CHAPTER VI

DISCUSSION

Children's assimilation into the world assures the continuity of their social learning and socialization experience. As Piaget posits, assimilation is needed to deform and reinvent reality; however, it cannot serve child development alone without accommodation to social surroundings. Play stands as a behavioral moment between assimilation and accommodation, when a child is relatively still free of responsibilities. With the benefit of more leisure time during childhood, a child's weakness and mobility is a fertile land for personal and social growth in the future.

Social structures, social change, and consumer culture of urbanized cities take distinctive roles in shaping urban childhood experiences in modern times under neo-liberal planning policies. Moreover, gender and class contribute to modeling an urban child's identity and socialization when enabling or restricting their childhood social experience, social learning, and spatial practices through containing and controlling play opportunities and choices.

This study has established a framework to explore childhood and child socialization in Administrative Beirut (in 2015), through studying its public and private play geography.

The definition and quantification of geographical coordinates of commercial play places, sports centers, public spaces, cultural intellectual places, helped draw the spatial dialectics of Beirut's playscape or play geography. Furthermore, an examination of the

children's experiences at the public playscape reveals that the majority of lower and upper middle class children are not engaged in street play and that street space has transformed to buildings' entrances or yards. Public gardens are more popular among lower-middle class children yet less frequented by them. Moreover, in terms of play opportunities, public space does not stratify childhood when reported to be perceived as scare and/or unsafe by both socio-economic groups.

While the study's variables have examined street play for middle class children and in urban Beirut, further studies can examine how and when the notion and practice of street play differs in rural areas and for lower and upper socio-economic groups. For Lefebvre's theory of *production of space* to see light in Beirut's public realm, space ought to be produced as a social formation and mental construction. Public spaces fail to be *perceived places* with limited spatial compositions of continuity and cohesion. With mismanaged, equipped or sustained green spaces, producing and reproducing *spatial practices* is circumscribed. Parents' mental representation of public space in Beirut, stigmatizes municipal gardens and restrict them from turning to *conceived places*. Children's abundant and sustained presence at municipal gardens is essential to attract space production, and recover public spaces as *lived spaces*.

Home, as a private play sphere, has been also addressed through this study. Spatiality at home, comprising of personal and shared spaces, influences children's experience and control of their quality, personal and play time; as such we can say homes

are structures of time. The impact of diverse and commercial play brought to the home space, shows that extracurricular reading doesn't make a quality time habit, indoor leisure is almost evenly distributed between watching TV, playing videos games and playing with board games or toys between both classes. Free play at home seems to be a trend for upper-middle class children more the lower-middle ones, which can be posited to lower parental involvement in children's play time or parents wanting to allow more room for children's home play time given their involvement in multiple extra-curricular activities outside home. The higher frequency of lower-middle class females spending more time at home (reading or watching TV) during summer can explain the class's behavior towards females presence at home.

Structured play and extracurricular activities, majorly revolving around physical activity for both classes, reminds us of Bourdieu's theory of how "sacralizing culture" contributes to manifesting social order. Engaging children in multiple cultural and physical extracurricular activities, suggests that upper-middle class parents want their children to be involved in a habitus that would help render their social conditioning and culture possession possible. This also speaks to Holloway and Valentine's concept of *living* while increasing institutionalization of childhood's early years.

Commercial play places have been reported to be the most frequented places for play during leisure time by upper and lower middle class children. However, these private multidisciplinary indoor play places show more popularity for upper-middle class children than lower-middle class children who are also involved in natural outdoor play.

In this context, Lefebvre reminds us how modernity is understood discussing the *everyday* in the production of space where ideologies are constructed and applied to and

within everyday life. Within a city-life instrumental associational life, we could find children forced to dwell with anti-nature abstractions, re-enchanting themselves with play of a materialistic theme, appropriated in built environments, alienated from local cultures or everyday spaces. This theme presents itself across artificial and controlled grounds and environments, with children's play majorly revolving around physical play and registered cultural extracurricular classes. At the same time, children's play is revolving less around any sentimental or communal life, given the scarce free play reported and meager intellectual, imaginative, contemplative/spiritual, or philanthropic leisure activities or play children are socialized around.

Experiences of spatial restrictions and dependent mobility are in general delimited by parental concerns. Studying parents' perception, conception and value-system of leisure and play time shows that upper-middle class parents have an affinity for indoor places (malls, multidisciplinary places, house play dates) whereas lower-middle class parents have shown more preference to multidisciplinary places and outdoor natural areas, which can be posited to affordability and consumer culture. Upper-middle class males are reported to be given the highest autonomy when left alone at play places.

Based on the study's findings which have shown stratified childhood experiences across middle class children, childhood in Beirut can be argued to be subject to hegemonic concepts underlying children's geography. Spaces of children show the interaction between policies, commodities, play stakeholders and global play trends, all of which signify areas of potential change for enhancing children's geography. To help advocate against the growing anti-nature playscape in Beirut, further studies can be conducted to derive policies that can help increase and sustain green spaces, invest in public lands. Non-governmental

and community initiatives can also help promote pocket gardens in remainder public spaces on the street level, and roof gardens on top of residential buildings. Social entrepreneurship projects that target children can also help integrate childhood with the communal life, which can help delimit children's engagement in commercial or materialistic play.

To study the outside world a child living in Beirut assimilates and accommodates to, I have explored the space and time middle-class children experience during their leisure time. Attempting to assess Beirut as a child friendly city, this study has shown how produced and reproduced spaces and places are not only objects but processes linking social relations by contributing to experiences of leisure and growth. For middle-class children living in Beirut, play could have transcended from being an equal human right, when subjected to gender and social inequalities.

APPENDIX I

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Riham Kowatly, I am a graduate student of Sociology in the Faculty of Arts and Sciences at the American University of Beirut (AUB) where I am working on my thesis research project. I would gladly like to invite you to participate in a research study about the leisure time of children of age 7 to 9 (or grades 2 to 4) in Administrative Beirut. This survey asks generic questions about your child's leisure time at home, in public spaces and private play places. The purpose of this study is to understand the availability and quality of play places in Administrative Beirut and parents' perception of playtime.

Your participation in this survey will remain **completely anonymous**. There will be **no** direct identifying information about you. Any places names you might mention will be given pseudo names in my thesis paper. The research does not put harm or discomfort on you greater than those ordinarily encountered in daily life. Your participation is voluntary. You may stop the survey at any time without suffering any penalty or repercussion. You may skip questions that make you uncomfortable.

The school administration will neither reward nor penalize you or your child if you accept or refuse to participate. **No** copy of yours answers will be kept with the school. Your relationship with the school and AUB will not be affected in any case.

The survey should be filled once by any of the child's parents (father, mother or a legal guardian) and for one child only (who can be in elementary grades 2, 3 or 4). It is designed to be completed in about **15-20 minutes**.

Your valued and appreciated participation will contribute to the scientific body of knowledge on child facilities, playtime and socialization in Administrative Beirut.

The primary investigator on this research project is Professor **Nazanin Shahrokni**. If you have any questions later, you may contact Professor Shahrokni at ns116@aub.edu.lb or at AUB at +961 1350000, ext. ٤٣٨٤ or me at rkk13@aub.edu.lb or +961 70995973. If you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights as a subject in this study, you may contact the Institutional Review Board (IRB) at +961 1374374, ext. 5445 or by email at irb@aub.edu.lb.

By completing the survey you acknowledge that you have understood this consent content and agree to participate in the study.

Thank you in advance for your highly appreciated time and input.

Sincerely,
Riham Kowatly

Section 1: Child Background Information

- a. Child Age: _____
- b. Child Sex: [] Male [] Female
- c. Area(s) of residence over the past three years: _____
- d. School(s) the child attended over the past three years: _____
- e. Child’s main hobbies: _____

Section 2: Feedback on Leisure Choices

2.1. Leisure Time:

- a. On average, how much time **per week** does your child spend doing the following activities at **home** on **school days** (Weekdays plus Weekends)

	Zero	Less than an hour	1-3 hours	4-7 hours	8-11 hours	More than 11 hours
Spending quality time with parents*	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Playing alone, with siblings or friends with video or electronic games (iPad, Play Station etc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Playing alone, with siblings or friends with crafts, toys, board/brain games etc.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Watching TV	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Reading extra-curricular books	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Free and unsupervised play	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*Quality time with parents is leisure time where family members interact jointly and attentively in a thematically meaningful way. Examples: Talking over meals, playing games together, reading stories, discussing school problems etc.)

- b. On average, how much time **per week** does your child spend doing the following activities at **home** on **vacations** or **summer**:

	Zero	Less than an hour	1-3 hours	4-7 hours	8-11 hours	More than 11 hours
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Spending quality time with parents*	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Playing alone, with siblings or friends with video or electronic games (iPad, Play Station etc.)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Playing alone, with siblings or friends with crafts, toys, board/brain games etc.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Watching TV	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Reading extra-curricular books	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Free and unsupervised play	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

2.2. Leisure Time in Outdoor Public Spaces:

- a. How often does your child play out in the street or in front of the house/building?
(Example: Zero times, 2 times/Week, 3 times/Month, 5 times/Year)

_____ times/(Week, Month, Year)

If applicable, where does your child play?

- Alleyway in the neighborhood
- Building entrance or yard
- Empty lot or land nearby
- Other _____

What does your child play there?

On a scale from 1 to 10, grade your satisfaction with the type and safety of their play there: _____

- b. How often does your child go to a public garden in Beirut?
(Example: Zero times, 2 times/Week, 3 times/Month, 5 times/Year)

_____ times/(Week, Month, Year)

- c. If your child goes **regularly** or **occasionally** to public gardens in Beirut:

1. Do you allow him/her to go alone: [] Yes [] No

2. Please name the public garden(s) your child goes to the most:

3. How accessible is the garden to you (distance, hours of operation, time, transportation etc.)

- Readily accessible
- Accessible with difficulty
- Not easily accessible

4. Please list the activities your child does there:

--

5. How children-friendly is the children area in the public garden you go to the most (in terms of design, safety, environment, variety in play options):
- Excellent
 - Good
 - Average
 - Poor

- d. If your child **rarely** or **never** goes to public gardens in Beirut, please mention the reasons for that:

--

2.3. Leisure Time in Private Places:

- a. Please list any **extra-curricular classes** your child is registered in:

Season (Winter/Summer)	Type (Sports, dance, arts, music, martial arts, religion etc.)	Place (Home, after-school club, center, club, academy, places of worship etc.)	Frequency (e.g.: once a week, twice a month etc.)

- b. Please check the **two most frequented** play places which your child visits in **Administrative Beirut** during **school months**:

- Amusement park
- Theater or puppet shows
- Children Library
- Soft playgrounds
- Workshops (art, fashion, electronics etc.)
- Arcades (coin-oriented entertainment machine)
- Video games and/or internet cafe places
- Science museum
- Multidisciplinary play places (arcades, workshop, soft playground, video games, science stations etc.)
- None
- Others: _____ []Trips to the mountains []Water parks

Where and how often does your child visit these play categories you checked above? (Example: twice per week, 3 times per month, 5 times a year)

	Frequency	Location
Category 1 name:	_____ times/(Week, Month, Year)	

Category 2 name:	_____ times/(Week, Month, Year)	
------------------	---------------------------------	--

c. Please check the **two most frequented** play places which your child visits **the most** in **Administrative Beirut** during vacations or **summer**:

- Amusement park
- Theater or puppet shows
- Children Library
- Soft playgrounds
- Workshops (art, fashion, electronics etc.)
- Arcades place (coin-oriented entertainment machine)
- Video games and/or internet cafe places
- Science museum
- Multidisciplinary play places (arcades, workshop, soft playground, video games, science stations etc)
- Others: _____ [] Trips to the mountains [] Water parks

Where and how often does your child visit these play categories you checked above? (Example: twice per week, 3 times per month, 5 times a year)

	Frequency	Location
Category 1 name:	_____ times/(Week, Month, Year)	
Category 2 name:	_____ times/(Week, Month, Year)	

d. For the following questions, please answer with the most applicable place **name**. (Please feel free to answer with “none” where necessary.)

1. The play place **you** frequently *like* to take your child to: _____
2. The play place **you** *reluctantly* take your child to: _____
3. The play place **your child** frequently *likes* to go to: _____
4. The play place **your child** *reluctantly* agrees to go to: _____
5. The play place your child often gets invited to (for parties or events) and **you** *agree* s/he goes to: _____
6. The play place your child often gets invited to (for parties or events) and **you** *refuse* s/he goes to: _____
7. Please list the general reasons why you refuse or reluctantly take your children to certain play places (finances, environment, distance, age restriction, staff...etc.)

e. **Please circle all that applies.** As a family, we avoid or prohibit our children from participating or watching any entertainment, video games or movies that contain:

- Fighting or any form of physical aggression
- Any form of verbal aggression or profanity
- Women wearing revealing clothes
- Any form of ethnic or racial discrimination
- Young girls taking care of their beauty like women
- Suggestive dancing

- Couples displaying affection or in an intimate scene
- Watching rituals of other religions
- Political messages

Section 3: Feedback on the Play Place Most Visited

Please name the play place your child visits the most (irrespective whether this place is your choice or theirs):

The following questions in this section are about this play place that your child *visits the most*.

- a. How often does your child visit this place? (Example: twice per week, 3 times per month, 5 times a year)
_____ times/(Week, Month, Year)
- b. Approximately how much time does your child spend in this place during a regular visit?
 - Less than an hour
 - An hour
 - 2 hours
 - 3-4 hours
 - More than five hours
 - Other _____
- c. What is the average time you take to reach to this play place:
 - Less than 15 mins
 - 15-20 mins
 - 25-30 mins
 - 40-60 mins
 - More than an hour
 - More than two hours
 - Other _____
- d. What is your child's *most* favorite activity (section or game) in this play place:
- e. What's your child's *least* favorite (section or game) activity in this place:
- f. Have you discussed with your child the meanings or values behind their *most* favorite activity:
 Yes No Other: _____
- g. Have you discussed with your child the meanings or values behind their *least* favorite activity:
 Yes No Other: _____
- h. How do you rate the quality of your child's **intellectual benefit** at this place?
 - Not beneficial
 - Somewhat beneficial
 - Beneficial
 - Very beneficial
- i. How do you rate the quality of your child's **social skills benefit** at this place?

- Not beneficial
 - Somewhat beneficial
 - Beneficial
 - Very beneficial
- j. How do you rate the quality of your child's **entertainment** at this place?
- Not entertaining
 - Somewhat entertaining
 - Entertaining
 - Very entertaining
- k. How would you best describe your child's behavior after their playtime at this place:
- More excited but cooperative
 - More relaxed and cooperative
 - No change
 - More hyperactive and/or inattentive (difficult to direct)
 - More agitated and/or oppositional
 - More aggressive (verbally)
 - More violent (physically aggressive)
 - Other_____
- l. Does your child play alone or with other kids when s/he goes to this place (please circle all that is applicable):
- Alone
 - With other kids (family or friends)
 - With other non-family kids
- m. Do you stay with your child during their play time at this place?
- Always
 - Most of the times
 - Rarely
 - Never
- n. **Please circle all that applies.** If you *do not* "always" stay with your child at this place, do you:
- Leave an older child (cousin or friend) with your child
 - Leave an adult family member with your child
 - Leave your helper/nanny with your child
 - Leave a phone with your child
 - Other_____
- o. If you stay with your child in the place, how often do you play with your child?
- Regularly
 - Occasionally
 - Rarely
 - Never
- p. If you stay with your child while they are playing, how often do you communicate about the meaning or the benefit of the activity around the playtime?
- Regularly
 - Occasionally

- Rarely
- Never
- I don't stay with him/her

q. When would you rather interfere and when would you rather give more autonomy to your child's playtime at this place?

r. Do you find yourself often having to go **outside Administrative Beirut** for *better quality* play places?

- Yes
- No
- Other _____

If yes, please name the places you visit most frequently outside Administrative Beirut:

Section 4: Feedback on Leisure and Play in General

a. What is your understanding of children **leisure time** in general?

b. What is your understanding of children **playtime** in general?

c. Do you see any relationship between your child's **moral development** and their play choices? Please explain.

d. Do you think there should be any age or moral restriction to what children can be exposed to during play? Please provide an example(s):

- e. From the *most* important to the *least* important, please rate the following objectives based on what you desire your child to receive from their playtime in general:

Build personality – Do physical activity and dispense energy – Gain social values – Gain problem solving skills – Get entertained – Gain social skills.

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
- 6.

- f. What aspects of your child's personality would you like playtime to help build?

- g. What other **type(s)** of leisure and play places would you like to take your child to but generally don't find available (or abundant) in Administrative Beirut?

- Play theater
- Children Library
- Art exhibition
- Outdoor playground or garden
- Sports facility (Please specify the type: _____)
- Children Academy (Please specify the type: _____)
- Other _____

Please feel free to add any further comments:

APPENDIX II

حضرة الأستاذة (ة) المحترم (ة)،
انا اسمي رهام قوتلي، وأنا طالبة دراسات عليا في علم الاجتماع في كلية الآداب والعلوم في الجامعة الأميركية في بيروت (AUB) حيث أعمل الآن على إنجاز مشروع بحث الأطروحة. أود وبكل سرور ان ادعوكم للمشاركة في دراسة بحثية حول وقت الترفيه في بيروت الإدارية عند الأطفال من سن ٧ إلى ٩ (أو الصف الابتدائي ٢ إلى ٤). الغرض من هذه الدراسة هو فهم نوعية ومدى توافر أماكن الأطفال العامة والخاصة في بيروت الإدارية ومفهوم الأهل للعب. يتخلل هذا الاستبيان أسئلة عامة حول وقت فراغ طفلك في المنزل، في الأماكن العامة وفي أماكن اللعب الخاصة.

لن يتم الكشف عن هويتك عند المشاركة في هذه الاستبيان ولن يكون هناك اي تحديد لمعلومات مباشرة عنك. ستستبدل أسماء الأماكن التي قد تذكرها بأسماء مزيفة/رمزية في البحث والأطروحة. لن يضع الاستبيان أي ضرر أو مشقة على المشتركين أكبر من تلك التي قد يواجهون عادة في الحياة اليومية. مشاركتكم في الدراسة طوعية، كما ويمكنكم التوقف عن ملأ الاستبيان في أي وقت أو تخطي الأسئلة غير المريحة دون وجود أية عواقب أو تداعيات.

لن تكافئك أو تعاقبك إدارة المدرسة انت أو طفلك إذا لم تقبل المشاركة. لن يتم إبقاء أي نسخة من الإجابات مع المدرسة ولن تتأثر علاقتك مع المدرسة أو الجامعة الأميركية في بيروت في أي حال.

ينبغي ملأ الاستبيان مرة واحدة من قبل أي من والدي الطفل (الأب أو الأم أو الوصي) ولطفل واحد فقط (يكون في الصف الابتدائي ٢ أو ٣ أو ٤). الاستبيان مصمم ليستكمل في حوالي ١٥ - ٢٠ دقيقة.

مشاركتكم الكريمة والقيمة ستساهم في دعم الهيئة العلمية والأبحاث المرتبطة بالطفل، و مفهوم اللعب والتنشئة الاجتماعية في بيروت.

المحقق الرئيسي في هذا المشروع البحثي هي البروفيسورة نازنين شاهر وكني. إذا كان لديك أية أسئلة في وقت لاحق، يمكنك التواصل مع البروفيسورة شاهر وكني على عنوان البريد الإلكتروني ns116@aub.edu.lb أو عبر الاتصال في الجامعة الأميركية في بيروت على +961 1350000 تحويلة ٤٣٨٤، أو التواصل معي على عنوان البريد الإلكتروني rkk13@aub.edu.lb أو +961 70995973. إذا كان لديك أي أسئلة أو مخاوف أخرى بشأن حقوقك كمشارك/ة في هذه الدراسة، يمكنك التواصل مع مجلس المراجعة المؤسسية (IRB) على عنوان البريد الإلكتروني irb@aub.edu.lb أو +961 1374374 تحويلة ٥٤٤٥.

استكمال الاستبيان يعني اقرارك بفهم هذا المحتوى والموافقة على المشاركة في الاستبيان.

نشكركم مقدماً لأخذ الوقت لملء هذا الاستبيان.

مع التقدير،
رهام قوتلي

القسم ١: معلومات أساسية عن الطفل

- عمر الطفل: _____
- جنس الطفل: [] ذكر [] أنثى
- منطقة/مناطق الإقامة على مدى السنوات الثلاث الماضية: _____
- مدرسة/مدارس الطفل على مدى السنوات الثلاث الماضية: _____
- هوايات الطفل الرئيسية: _____

القسم ٢: ملاحظات على خيارات الترفيه

2.1. وقت الترفيه في المنزل:

- ما هو معدل وقت تمضية طفلك في الأسبوع الواحد للنشاطات التالية في المنزل خلال أيام العام الدراسي (أيام الأسبوع بالإضافة إلى عطلة نهاية الأسبوع):

صفر	اقل من ساعة	١-٢ ساعة	٤-٧ ساعة	٨-١١ ساعة	اكثر من ١١ ساعة
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

* وقت الجودة مع الآباء أو الأمهات هو وقت الفراغ أو الترفيه حيث يتفاعل الأهل مع الطفل بانتباه وبطريقة ذات معنى أو مغزى. أمثلة: الحديث عند وجبات الطعام، لعب مباريات معاً، قراءة القصص معاً، مناقشة المشاكل المدرسية وغيرها

b. ما هو معدل وقت تمضية طفلك في الأسبوع الواحد للنشاطات التالية في المنزل خلال أيام العطل أو الصيف:

صفر	اقل من ساعة	١-٢ ساعة	٤-٧ ساعة	٨-١١ ساعة	اكثر من ١١ ساعة
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

2.2. وقت الترفيه في الأماكن العامة:

a. ما هو معدل لعب طفلك أمام المنزل/المبنى؟
(مثال: صفر مرات، ٢ مرات/أسبوع، ٣ مرات/شهر، ٥ مرات/السنة)

مرات / (أسبوع، شهر، سنة)

إذا توافر جواب للسؤال السابق، أين يلعب طفلك؟

- زقاق أو شارع في الحي
- مدخل أو ساحة المبنى
- أرض خالية مجاورة
- مكان آخر _____

ماذا يلعب طفلك هنالك؟

على مقياس من ١ الى ١٠، ما درجة ارتياحك لنوع وسلامة لعبهم هنالك: _____

b. ما هو معدل ذهاب طفلك إلى حديقة عامة في بيروت؟
(مثال: صفر مرات، ٢ مرات/أسبوع، ٣ مرات/شهر، ٥ مرات/السنة)

_____ مرات / (أسبوع، شهر، سنة)

c. إذا كان طفلك يذهب أحيانا أو بشكل منتظم إلى حدائق عامة في بيروت:
١. هل تسمحون له أن يذهب وحده: [] نعم [] لا

٢. يرجى تسمية الحديقة العامة التي يذهب إليها طفلك أكثر الأحيان:

٣. كيف تقيمون سهولة الوصول إلى الحديقة (مسافة ووقت الوصول إليها، ساعات عملها الخ).
 يمكن الوصول إليها بسهولة
 يمكن الوصول إليها بشيء من الصعوبة
 لا يمكن الوصول إليها بسهولة

٤. يرجى ذكر الأنشطة التي يقوم بها طفلك هنالك:

٥. كيف تقيمون هذه الحديقة العامة كمساحة لعب للأطفال (من حيث التصميم والسلامة والبيئة والتنوع في خيارات اللعب):
 ممتازة
 جيدة
 متوسطة
 رديئة

d. إذا كان طفلك يذهب إلى الحدائق العامة في بيروت نادرا أو لا يذهب أبدا، يرجى ذكر أسباب ذلك:

2.3. وقت الترفيه في الأماكن الخاصة:

a. يرجى ذكر الدروس اللاصفية (خارج صفوف المدرسة) التي ينتمي إليها فيها طفلك:

الموسم (الشتاء/الصيف)	النوع (رياضة، رقص، فن، موسيقى، فنون الدفاع عن النفس، دين الخ)	مكان (المنزل، نادي في المدرسة، مركز، نادي، أكاديمية، أماكن عبادة الخ)	نسبة التردد (مثال: مرة واحدة في الأسبوع، مرتين في الشهر الخ)

b. يرجى تحديد أكثر صنفين للأماكن التي يرتادها طفلك في بيروت الإدارية خلال الأشهر الدراسية:

- ملاهي
- مسرح أو عروض دمي
- مكتبات للأطفال
- ملاعب طرية (متاهات، ألعاب مطاطية، مراجيح الخ.)
- ورش عمل (فنون، أزياء، الكترونييات الخ.)
- آلات لعب (بالفيش)
- أماكن ألعاب الفيديو أو مقاهي الانترنت
- متحف العلوم
- أماكن متعددة التخصص (آلات لعب، ورش عمل، ملعب طري، ألعاب فيديو، محطات علمية الخ.)
- لا يذهب الى اي من هذه الأماكن
- أصناف أخرى: _____ [] رحلات إلى المناطق الجبلية [] مسابح

يرجى تحديد مكان وفترات ارتياد أماكن اللعب المحددة أعلاه:

(مثال: مرتين في الأسبوع، ٣ مرات في الشهر، ٥ مرات في السنة الخ.)

المكان	فترة الارتياح	
	مرات / (اسبوع، شهر، سنة)	الصنف الأول:
	مرات / (اسبوع، شهر، سنة)	الصنف الثاني:

c. يرجى تحديد أكثر صنفين للأماكن التي يرتادها طفلك في بيروت الإدارية خلال العطل أو الصيف:

- ملاهي
- مسرح أو عروض دمي
- مكتبات للأطفال
- ملاعب طرية (متاهات، ألعاب مطاطية، مراجيح الخ.)
- ورش عمل (فنون، أزياء، الكترونييات الخ.)
- آلات لعب (بالفيش)
- أماكن ألعاب الفيديو أو مقاهي الانترنت
- متحف العلوم
- أماكن متعددة التخصص (آلات لعب، ورش عمل، ملعب طري، ألعاب فيديو، محطات علمية الخ.)
- لا يذهب الى اي من هذه الأماكن
- أصناف أخرى: _____ [] رحلات إلى المناطق الجبلية [] مسابح

يرجى تحديد مكان وفترات ارتياد أماكن اللعب المحددة أعلاه:

(مثال: مرتين في الأسبوع، ٣ مرات في الشهر، ٥ مرات في السنة الخ.)

المكان	فترة الارتياح	
	مرات / (اسبوع، شهر، سنة)	الصنف الأول:
	مرات / (اسبوع، شهر، سنة)	الصنف الثاني:

d. للأسئلة التالية، الرجاء الإجابة باسم المكان الأكثر ارتيادا من طفلك. (يمكن الإجابة بعبارة "لا يوجد" عند الضرورة.)

١. مكان اللعب الذي ترغب أن تأخذ طفلك إليه في كثير من الأحيان: _____
٢. مكان اللعب الذي لا ترغب أن تأخذ طفلك إليه في كثير من الأحيان: _____
٣. مكان اللعب الذي يرغب طفلك في كثير من الأحيان الذهاب إليه: _____
٤. مكان اللعب الذي لا يرغب طفلك في كثير من الأحيان الذهاب إليه: _____
٥. مكان اللعب الذي يدعى إليه طفلك في كثير من الأحيان لحفلات أو مناسبات وتوافقون أنتم على ذهابه: _____
٦. مكان اللعب الذي يدعى إليه طفلك في كثير من الأحيان لحفلات أو مناسبات ولكن ترفضون ذهابه: _____
٧. يرجى ذكر الأسباب العامة لعدم رغبتكم أو رفضكم السماح لطفلكم بالذهاب إلى الأماكن المحددة أعلاه: _____

٨. يرجى تحديد كل الخيارات التي تنطبق. لا أحبذ أو أسمح لطفلي اللعب بأي نشاط أو لعبة تحتوي على:
 - القتال أو أي شكل من أشكال الاعتداء الجسدي
 - أي شكل من أشكال العدوان اللفظي أو الشتيم
 - رؤية نساء ترتدي ملابس كاشفة
 - مظاهر تمييز عنصري أو عرقي
 - الاهتمام بالمظهر الخارجي للبنات الصغيرات على نسق الراشحات
 - رقص دلالي
 - شريكين في مشهد مودة أو حميمية
 - مشاهدة طقوس لديانة أخرى
 - رسائل سياسية
 - أسباب أخرى _____

القسم ٣: معلومات عن مكان اللعب الأكثر ارتيادا

يرجى تسمية أكثر مكان لعب يزوره طفلك (بغض النظر إذا كان هذا المكان هو اختيارك أو اختياره): _____

أسئلة هذا القسم هي عن هذا المكان الذي يتردد طفلك إليه أكثر الأوقات.

- a. كم مرة يزور طفلك هذا المكان؟ (مثال: مرتين في الأسبوع، ٣ مرات في الشهر، ٥ مرات في السنة الخ.)
 _____ مرات / (أسبوع، شهر، سنة)
- b. تقريبا كم من الوقت يبقى طفلك في هذا المكان أثناء الزيارة العادية؟
 - أقل من ساعة
 - ساعة
 - ساعتين
 - ٣-٤ ساعات
 - أكثر من خمس ساعات
 - مدة زمنية أخرى _____

c. ما هو متوسط الوقت الذي يلزمكم للوصول إلى مكان اللعب هذا:

- أقل من ١٥ دقيقة
- ١٥-٢٠ دقيقة
- ٢٥-٣٠ دقيقة
- ٤٠-٦٠ دقيقة
- أكثر من ساعة
- أكثر من ساعتين
- مدة زمنية أخرى _____

d. ما هو النشاط (القسم أو اللعبة) المفضل لدى طفلك في هذا المكان؟

e. ما هو النشاط (القسم أو اللعبة) غير المفضل لدى طفلك في هذا المكان؟

f. هل ناقشت مع طفلك المعاني والقيم وراء النشاط المفضل لديه:

- [] نعم [] لا جواب آخر: _____

g. هل ناقشت مع طفلك المعاني والقيم وراء النشاط الأقل تفضيلاً لديه:

- [] نعم [] لا جواب آخر: _____

h. كيف تنظرون للقيمة الفكرية المكتسبة من اللعب في هذا المكان؟

- غير مفيدة
- مفيدة إلى حد ما
- مفيدة
- مفيدة جداً

i. كيف تقيمون المهارات الاجتماعية المكتسبة من اللعب في هذا المكان؟

- غير مفيدة
- مفيدة إلى حد ما
- مفيدة
- مفيدة جداً

j. كيف تقيمون الترفيه المكتسب من اللعب في هذا المكان؟

- غير مسل
- مسل إلى حد ما
- مسل
- مسل جداً

k. كيف تصف سلوك طفلك بعد اللعب في هذا المكان:

- أكثر استرخاءً لكن متعاون
- أكثر حماساً وغير متعاون
- لا تغيير
- أكثر إفراطاً في الحركة و/أو شروداً (صعب التوجيه)

- أكثر هيجانا و/أو معارضةً
- أكثر عدوانية (لفظا)
- أكثر عنفا (عدوانية جسدية)
- سلوك آخر _____

1. ما هو عدد الأطفال (أشقاء، أقارب، أو أصدقاء) الذين يرافقون طفلك عند زيارة هذا المكان؟
- يذهب وحده
 - ١
 - ٢-٤
 - ٥ أو أكثر

- m. هل تبقى مع طفلك في المكان أثناء الزيارة؟
- دائما
 - أكثر الأحيان
 - نادرا
 - أبدا

- n. يرجى تحديد كل الخيارات المناسبة. إذا لا كنت تبقى "دائما" مع طفلك في هذا المكان، هل:
- تترك ولد أكبر (من الأقارب أو الأصدقاء) مع طفلك
 - تترك أحد أفراد العائلة الكبار مع طفلك
 - تترك مساعدة/مربية المنزل مع طفلك
 - تترك هاتف مع طفلك
 - جواب آخر _____

- o. في حال البقاء مع طفلك أثناء لعبه، هل تلعب مع طفلك:
- بانتظام
 - أحيانا
 - نادرا
 - أبدا

- p. في حال البقاء مع طفلك أثناء لعبه، ما مدى التواصل معه حول مفهوم أو منفعة النشاط؟
- بانتظام
 - أحيانا
 - نادرا
 - أبدا
 - لا أبقى معه

- q. متى تقرررون التدخل ومتى تعطون مساحة من الحرية الذاتية لطفلك أثناء اللعب في هذا المكان؟

- r. هل تذهبون خارج بيروت الإدارية للحصول على أماكن ذات جودة أعلى؟
- نعم
 - لا
 - جواب آخر _____

إذا كان الجواب نعم، يرجى ذكر اسم وموقع الأماكن الأكثر ارتيادا خارج بيروت الإدارية:

القسم ٤: مفاهيم عن الترفيه واللعب

a. ما هو مفهومك لوقت الترفيه عند الأطفال بشكل عام؟

b. ما هو مفهومك لوقت اللعب عند الأطفال بشكل عام؟

c. هل تظنون أن هنالك رابطا بين التطور الأخلاقي وخيارات اللعب عند طفلك؟ يرجى التوضيح.

d. هل تظن أنه يجب أن تتوافر قيود أخلاقية أو ضوابط عمرية في اللعب؟ يرجى تزويدنا بأمثلة:

e. من الأهم للأقل أهمية، يرجى ترتيب الأهداف التالية بناءً على ما ترغب أن يكتسب طفلك من وقت اللعب بشكل عام:

بناء الشخصية - النشاط البدني و توجيه الطاقة - اكتساب القيم الاجتماعية - اكتساب مهارات حل المشكلات
- التسلية - اكتساب مهارات اجتماعية

- ١.
- ٢.
- ٣.
- ٤.
- ٥.
- ٦.

f. ما هي جوانب بناء الشخصية التي ترغبون ان يتحصل عليها طفلكم عند اللعب؟

g. ما نوع/أنواع أماكن الترفيه واللعب التي تتمنون توافرها لطفلكم بيد أنها غير متوفرة (أو غير موجودة بوفرة) في بيروت الإدارية؟

- مسرح
- مكتبة أطفال
- معرض فنون
- ملعب في الهواء الطلق
- منشأة رياضية (يرجى تحديد النوع: _____)
- أكاديمية أطفال (يرجى تحديد النوع: _____)
- نوع آخر _____

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