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A Century of Historical Change in the Game Preferences of American Children

This paper chronicles the game preferences of American children during the twentieth century, documenting the results from four studies between 1898 and 1998. These studies are used to compare the popularity of particular activities (e.g., hopscotch, baseball) and types of activities (e.g., board games, games of individual skill) by gender over a one-hundred-year period. With this longitudinal, multi-study comparison, it is revealed that the game preferences of boys and girls have become markedly more similar. This pattern of increased play preference convergence throughout the twentieth century suggests an erosion of gender-determined institutionalized norms related to games. The dominance of electronic games and organized sport in the most recent of the four surveys not only reflects the technological advances of American society; it also indicates an increased desire for games that demand greater skill and promote role specialization.

GAMES ARE “A FORM OF PLAY with goals and structure” (Maroney 2001), recreational activities with agreed-upon rules that generally provide competitive criteria for determining winners and losers (Roberts, Arth, and Bush 1959; Brunvand 1996). Games are likewise a dynamic form of folklore.¹ Folk phenomena are, by definition, dynamic: fluctuations in the popularity and impact of shared traditions serve as cultural touchstones to mark different epochs. The present paper, then, traces the changing game preferences of American youth throughout the twentieth century, revealing subtle shifts in our national conception of both childhood and gender. Additionally, two assumptions about children’s games are critiqued: that games (a) help prepare children for adulthood (see, for example, Mead 1934; and Fraser 1981), and (b) are highly gendered activities, of which some belong exclusively to boys and others to girls (Gomme 1894–8; Lever 1976, 1978). The socializing aspects and gendered meanings attached to game play are analyzed against the backdrop of four surveys administered to children in the United States between 1898 and 1998 about the activities in which they most frequently engage. The shift in game preferences to skilled, organized, and adult-supervised activities and the erosion of gender-specific game activities are two of the most resonant themes from this comparative study. Taken together, they suggest that the gender divide among children has become less marked or institutionalized within American society.

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Play, Games, and Socialization

Socialization has been defined as “the basic social process through which an individual becomes integrated into a social group by learning the group’s culture and his role in the group” (Theodorson 1979:396). Games provide an effective vehicle for this type of social learning. Sutton-Smith, for example, argued that games represent “buffered learning situations through which the child gains acquaintance and experience at the power stratagems relevant to some of the major parameters of influence within his own culture” (1974:122). More than twenty years later, he emphasized the fact that “playful imitation [is] a form of children’s socialization and moral, social, and cognitive growth” (1997:9). Within these play activities children are taught the rules and strategies for successful, that is, socially sanctioned, conduct. The structure of games also reinforces the idea of social hierarchies and regulated roles, thereby facilitating the transmission of values inherent to the dominant gender order. Lever suggested “play and games contribute to the preservation of traditional sex-role divisions in society by equipping boys with the social skills needed for occupational careers while equipping girls with the social skills better suited for family careers” (1976:478). Thus, games function as socializing agents that teach children “appropriate” male and female behavior, as determined by the reigning social order.

Hercbergs observed that “play’s association with progress has dominated theories of child development for about two hundred years” (2007–8). Although the notion that play socializes contradicted the seventeenth-century puritanical condemnation of leisure activities, the idea of games as socializing agents well supported nineteenth-century evolutionary theories and their depiction of the savage/child equation or the “primitive child” (Schwartzman 1978:22).² Many of these early theories about the psychological effects and pedagogical best practices of play relied on the premise that games instinctively promote intellectual and emotional growth.³ In this regard, there is a great potential for games to augment the natural process of human development.⁴ Eager participants in such activities are amused, but also learn important lessons of life, which prepare them for adulthood. Vygotsky, for example, stated plainly: “Play is the leading source of development” in young children (1967:6).

Certainly children gain knowledge about themselves and others, and they learn how to conduct themselves in the world when they play games. One must be critical, however, of the embedded assumption that enculturation through play is strictly a hierarchical process. As noted by Thorne:

The concept of “socialization” moves mostly in one direction. Adults are said to socialize children, teachers socialize students, the more powerful socialize, and the less powerful get socialized. Power, indeed, is central to all of these relationships, but children, students, the less powerful are by no means passive or without agency. (1993:3)

Thus, to define children as no more than “adults-in-the-making” reduces play to a tool of social manipulation and reproduction wielded by a more powerful adult community. From this perspective of rigid social power, the concept of child social-

ization fits well into our historical legacy of cultural evolution, where the heathen is spiritually enlightened, the savage is civilized, and the child is socialized into the adult community. While we may denounce the nineteenth-century savage-child equation and applaud ourselves for a certain kind of intellectual maturation, the equation continues to yield faulty premises and conclusions within current social inquiry. For traditional games continue to be handed down from child to child and within contexts outside the direct control of adults—on streets, on playgrounds, and during unstructured, unsupervised play. Within these contexts, games exist within the domain of the child's social world, a domain in which children remain "relatively free to structure their own activities within bounded spaces" (Thorne 1993:31). As documented in this paper, however, the play preferences of American children throughout the twentieth century has shifted from informal games to organized sports that tend to amplify the need for and influence of adults.

Gender and Children's Games

Gender is a major organizing principle for how children express themselves and has long provided a framework to compare the play preferences of boys and girls.⁵ Two thousand years ago, Aristophanes observed that jacks was a game played by Greek girls; Pollux later described an early form of Blind Man's Bluff played by Roman boys (Brewster 1959; Pliny 1855–7; Pollux 1706). In *The Traditional Games of England, Scotland and Ireland*, Gomme (1894–8) classified the games of children into the two broad categories of dramatic games and games of skill and chance, the former which were attributed to girls and the latter to boys.

In a review of the literature on the gender differences commonly cited in studies of children's games, Hughes (1993) argued that boys' games have been characterized within the twentieth century as more active, aggressive, competitive, and complex than girls' games. The literature suggests that boys also tend to prefer open outdoor spaces, larger and more mixed-age groups, physical contact, and well-defined outcomes with clear winners and losers. In contrast, girls' games have been described as more cooperative, verbal, and passive. Young females tend to prefer more intimate play groups and smaller and indoor spaces, and engage in more turn-taking, waiting in line, and sustained cooperative, choral activities like clapping or skipping.⁶

Even in virtual play environments, game engagement differs by gender (Durkin 2006). Boys tend to prefer more violent video games (Funk 2005; Olson, Kutner, and Warner 2008) and are "heavy users" whose families spend more on gaming consoles and games (Media Analysis Laboratory 1998). Additionally, males are significantly more likely to own handheld dedicated gaming devices, such as the Sony Play Station Portable, and to prefer first-person shooter games, such as *Call of Duty: Modern Warfare*. Females tend to embrace multi-function consoles, such as the Apple iPod Touch, and enjoy the *Super Mario Brothers* franchise of games (Hartley 2010).⁷

Contextualized studies of play, however, complicate this gendered dichotomy of play and gaming. Both Goodwin (1995, 2006) and Hughes (1991), for example, confirmed that girls who participate in the traditional games of hopscotch and foursquare negotiated their play in highly complex, competitive, and aggressive ways. In her

contextualized case study of hopscotch, Goodwin notes that “contrary to characterizations of girls as incapable of handling conflict without disruption of the ongoing activity (Lever 1978), here we see girls actively pursuing argument in activity that is richly mult textured, interwoven with humor as well as seriousness” (Goodwin 1995:275). Similarly, Thorne (1993) and Beresin (2004, 2010) have documented the shifting patterns of gender on schoolyards and during recess at the turn of the new millennium. One example of a shift in game and gender patterns is provided by Beresin (2004), who describes girls’ initial participation in Suicide Handball (also known as Suicide, sui, or red butt on this playground), a highly aggressive game played exclusively by boys until the 1990s and unsuccessfully banned by the school because of the game’s inherent violence. These gender crossings challenge the rhetoric of difference and deficit that pervades the literature in this area (Hughes 1993). Similarly, historical studies of particular games reveal that these traditional activities belong neither to boys nor girls exclusively. Hopscotch, for example, perceived within the mid to late twentieth century to be a “game for girls” was similarly regarded as a “game for boys” throughout the seventeenth, eighteenth, and most of the nineteenth centuries (Van Rheenen 2001). As such, findings that report seemingly “natural differences” between the sexes based upon play preferences more likely reflect the cultural construction of gender at a particular historical moment.

Method: The Present Study

The present study compares the results of four large-scale surveys to track the game preferences of American children throughout the twentieth century. Each of the surveys used a paper and pencil checklist to solicit responses about the most frequent and favorite activities of these youth.⁸ The first survey was conducted in 1898 by McGhee, who presented a 129-item checklist of games to 8,718 children in South Carolina between the ages of six and eighteen years. The children were asked to choose the five games they liked the most from the list provided. The second survey in this study was published in 1926 by Terman. He gave a checklist of ninety games and activities to 474 children between the ages of six and seventeen years in the San Francisco Bay Area. Participants were asked to scan the list and then highlight the items based on four categories: those games and activities they regularly played, those they could do well, those they liked to do, and those they most enjoyed. The third survey was conducted in 1959 by Sutton-Smith and Rosenberg (1961), who provided 2,689 children between the ages of nine and fifteen who lived in northwestern Ohio with a checklist of 181 activities. Children were instructed to indicate the games they most preferred. The final survey was administered by Van Rheenen in 1998 to 943 children between the ages of six and seventeen years of age who lived in the San Francisco Bay Area. They were presented with a list of 190 play activities and asked to select all of the activities in which they had participated within the last month, as well as their five favorite activities in order of preference.

In comparing these four surveys, it has been assumed that the form and meaning given to play preferences will differ temporally and geographically. The present study, therefore, challenges the analytical categories of sex and the definitions of gender that

dominated American society throughout the twentieth century. A historical sketch of the game and play preferences of boys and girls is first presented, followed by an investigation as to why such changes occurred. The results of these four studies are listed in Appendix 1, which contrasts the rank order of game preferences for boys across these four studies, and Appendix 2, which follows the same method for girls. Each play activity is followed by the number (*n*) or frequency (*f*) of children who checked that particular item in the corresponding study. The differences between these rankings allow conclusions to be drawn about changes in children's game preferences between 1898 and 1998. Additional comparisons are made by analyzing the thirty common items that appear on all four checklists. Tables 1 and 2 present the rank order of preferred activities for boys and girls, respectively.

Limitations

It would be naïve to assume that historical change is the only factor that explains the differences between these four lists. As a result, several precautions must be noted. First, prior to the 1998 survey, each of the previous investigations were conducted in different geographic locations. Differences between the lists may therefore be the result of sampling in different parts of the United States rather than historical change. For example, the relative popularity of snowball fighting and fishing in northwest Ohio might be expected given the greater geographical likelihood of colder winters and the presence of lakes and streams nearby. Even regional and cultural differences in Ohio offer potential variation in game preferences, as southern Ohio is considered part of the Upland South, while northern Ohio draws from a far stronger European immigrant history.⁹ Thus, both geography and either time of year or season may impact the play preferences of children (Kraus 1957; Mergen 1991). As Sutton-Smith and Rosenberg (1961) point out, however, contrasting each investigation with similar studies of the same time period but in other parts of the country may provide a means for checking these sampling differences. For example, McGhee's study of the game preferences of South Carolina children in 1898 may be directly compared to a like study of children in Massachusetts (Crosswell 1898–9). Similarly, Terman's (1926) study of children who lived in California in 1921 can be contrasted with the study by Lehman and Witty (1927) of children who lived in Kansas, while Van Rheenen's 1998 study about the game preferences of children in northern California can be compared with Mergen's 1991 survey about game preferences of children in Washington, DC. Additionally, it is possible to contrast the 1921 and 1998 studies without risk of geographic variation, as both investigations were conducted in the San Francisco Bay Area. It is also conceivable that the technological advances associated with the late twentieth century, such as television, the computer, and the Internet, have tended to make children more, rather than less, alike from one region to another, which suggests that the latest large-scale study is relatively representative of American children nationally.

A second concern might be with the slight difference in age among participants across the four studies. The 1898 study surveyed the widest age range, which included children from six to eighteen years old, while the 1921 and 1998 investigations included respon-

dents from six to seventeen years of age. The 1959 study surveyed children between the ages of nine and fifteen. The largest numbers of respondents across the four studies were represented within this central age range. As this study does not rely on an age-by-age comparison, it is suggested that the effect of the responses from the oldest and youngest children tend to balance one another in the historical method adopted. The present study does not contend that the game preferences of six- to eight-year-olds will be the same as those of sixteen- to eighteen-year-olds. However, as the emerging literature on electronic games demonstrates, there has been a shift from age-based peer groups to a wider range of age levels simultaneously at play, and even with the emergence of multi-generational gaming communities (Grider 1997; Mayra 2006). This has led some to consider “childhood as a state delimited by biological age” (Hercbergs 2007–8:29), at least within this particular gaming context. While the current study is focused primarily on gender differences, a comparative analysis of game preference by age is therefore a potential area for future research.

A third limitation is with the difference in format and content of the surveys used in each of the four studies. The 1898 study used a questionnaire with 129 items, all of them games. However, the studies in 1921, based on a 90-item survey, 1959 (180 items), and 1998 (190 items) solicited preferences about both games and pastimes.¹⁰ Such variations may have an effect on the way children document their preferred activities. Appendices 1 and 2 illustrate all of the items included in each investigation. Thirty common items appear in each of the four studies and include the following activities: baseball, basketball, blindman’s bluff, cards, charades, checkers, chess, dance, dolls, dominoes, football, fox and hounds, hide and seek, hopscotch, house, jacks, jump rope, kites, leapfrog, marbles, prisoner’s base, puss in corner, puzzles, Simon says, spin tops, swimming, tag, tennis, tiddlywinks, and wrestling. As demonstrated below, these activities are used to analyze the changes in game preferences between the sexes within the twentieth century. Some of the games listed, however, are most likely unfamiliar to children today. For example, games such as Pom Pom Pull Away or Forfeits may no longer be recognized, let alone played—a clear indicator that these activities have fallen out of favor with American children. Names of games have also changed over time in a number of instances, where what appears to be the same game is known by a different name in the surveys under investigation. For example, Walk to Jerusalem in 1898 appears to be an activity similar, if not identical, to Musical Chairs in 1959 and 1998.

The fourth limitation is with different instruments used to measure children’s game preferences across the four studies. In each of the surveys, researchers instructed children to mark activities on a prepared checklist. In the 1898 study, however, participants were told to note only their five favorite games. In the other three studies, however, children were asked to indicate all the activities that they like to play. Differences in frequencies reflect this variation in method. The authors of the 1921 investigation combined both frequency and popularity counts into a combined index and argued that the method of response, frequency, or popularity, made little difference to overall ranking. The 1959 study was based on recognition and popularity, while the 1998 investigation asked children to mark all activities played within the

past month and to list their five favorite play activities in order of preference. Like Terman (1926), the present investigation found that frequency and popularity were closely related, whereby the most frequently cited activities were also found to be the most popular games or activities. Of the 190 items included in the 1998 game inventory, eight of the ten most frequently played activities by boys were also listed among their ten favorite activities (basketball, computer games, video games, baseball, soccer, swimming, bicycle riding, and playing cards). Similarly, eight of the ten most frequently played activities by girls were listed among their ten favorite activities (basketball, computer games, swimming, drawing or painting, musical instruments, dance, bicycle riding, and playing cards).

The final limitation with the current study has to do with demographics—only a historical comparison of game preferences by gender is presented, though it would be interesting to more fully disaggregate play preference data by race or ethnicity, as well as socioeconomic status. McGhee (1900) acknowledged that he collected an additional 3,000 surveys from African American children in South Carolina in the late nineteenth century, though he never tabulated these data. Neither the Terman study nor the Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith investigation explicitly identified the racial or ethnic affiliation of the children surveyed; as such, neither study analyzed differences by race or ethnicity. The 1998 study solicited ethnic and racial self-identification and the social class affiliation of its survey respondents. These questions were optional—70 percent provided data about their ethnic or racial identity, and 64 percent shared the level of their socio-economic status.¹¹ Although the present study analyzes gender differences in the play preferences of American children, preliminary findings demonstrate that these gender differences remain consistent when controlled for both race/ethnicity and social class. This is not to imply, however, that there are no differences in the play preferences of children from diverse cultural and economic backgrounds. These findings, while cursory, have been noted in a few instances in the results section below. Further research will yield a more comprehensive analysis of the play preferences of children based upon their family background and income.

Results and Discussion

While similar game inventories have been erroneously used to measure the play patterns of “normal” and “gender deviant” children (Bates and Bentler 1973), the present investigation assumes both gender and children’s games to be socially and historically constructed. As such, the form and meanings given to games will differ from place to place and time to time.¹² The study of games as a form of dynamic folklore, therefore, has the potential to confront the analytical categories of sex and dominant definitions of gender found within the United States during the twentieth century. The following results, however, offer only broad historical trends in the game preferences of American boys and girls. The historical change in sex preferences for games is discussed initially, followed by an investigation of the change in types of games preferred by American children during the twentieth century. Thus, the results and related discussion are provided simultaneously rather than as distinct sections.

Changes in Game Preferences of Boys and Girls

The trend toward increasing similarity of the sexes in game preference has continued in dramatic fashion over the course of the twentieth century. While these changes do not necessarily reflect the different ways in which boys and girls play a particular game, the current data suggest that the gender divide in game preference has largely been eroded in the past century. If the thirty items common to each of the four studies are arranged by rank order of preference for boys and girls separately, and rank-order correlations are run between the lists, there is evidence of increasing similarity between the sexes in game preference. As reported by Sutton-Smith and Rosenberg (1961), there is little relationship between the sexes in 1898 ($\rho = -0.023$), suggesting that late nineteenth-century boys and girls preferred quite different games. There is a slight relationship in 1921 ($\rho = +0.328$), and a moderate relationship between the sexes in 1959 ($\rho = +0.451$). The results of the present investigation support this general convergence of the sexes, finding a very strong relationship between the sexes in 1998 ($\rho = +0.832$). These findings indicate a dramatic shift in the similarity in game preferences of American boys and girls over the past century.

Similarly, analyses of the children's self-reported favorite games in 1998 (see Tables 1 and 2) find that seven of the ten favorite activities reported by boys were shared by girls. These activities include basketball (B #1, G #3), computer games (B #2, G #7), soccer (B #5; G #5), swimming (B #6, G #1), tennis (B #8, G #9), bike riding (B #9, G #10), and cards (B #10, G #8). This similarity between the sexes in self-reported game preference is particularly striking as these activities were selected from a list of 190 possible items. These five favorite activities were then handwritten on the questionnaire itself.

If we remain true to the methodology adopted in previous investigations, a change in ten rank points between these four separate studies may be used to indicate historical change. In the 1898 investigation, eighteen of the thirty common items found on all four studies had rank differences of ten or more points between the sexes, as opposed to only three such activities in 1998 (dolls, dance, and baseball). Those game

Table 1. Boys' Self-Reported Favorite Activities (in rank order of preference)

Basketball
Computer Games
Video Games
Baseball
Soccer
Swimming
Football
Tennis
Bike Riding
Cards

Table 2. Girls' Self-Reported Favorite Activities (in rank order of preference)

Swimming
Draw/Paint
Basketball
Musical Instruments
Soccer
Dance
Computer Games
Cards
Tennis
Bike Riding

choices that demonstrate a tendency toward increasing similarity between the sexes between 1898 and 1998 include:

basketball	kites
blindman's bluff	leapfrog
football	marbles
fox and hounds	puss in corner
hopscotch	spin tops
house	swimming
jacks	tag
jump rope	wrestling

The games that remain fairly constant, retaining their rank difference of less than ten points between the sexes over the past century are:

cards	prisoner's base
charades	puzzles
checkers	Simon says
chess	tennis
dominoes	tiddlywinks
hide and seek	

The sole activity that remained constant by continuing to hold more than a ten-point rank difference between the sexes in each of the four studies has been dolls, an activity strongly associated with girls throughout the twentieth century. Baseball (favored by boys) and dance (favored by girls) represent play activities that demonstrate a ten-point rank difference in three of the four studies, including data from the 1998 investigation.

Further analysis of the items that demonstrate increasing similarity between the sexes reveals that there are a number of reasons for these historical changes. In some instances, certain games have gained in favor with girls and made their choices more like boys' (basketball, swimming, tag), while other activities have lost favor with girls and made their preferences more like boys' (jacks, house). Conversely, some games have lost favor with boys, which make their choices more like girls' (spin tops, leapfrog), while other activities have lost favor with boys and gained favor with girls (marbles, kites). Finally, some games have lost favor with both sexes over the course of the past century (fox and hounds, puss in the corner).

Despite the increased similarity between the sexes in game preferences over the course of the twentieth century, it would be misleading to assert that children's games have become gender neutral. Chi-square analyses reveal significant statistical differences ($p < 0.01$) in the frequency of response among boys and girls on several activities. In particular, boys prefer computer and video games, football, baseball, and wrestling, while girls prefer dolls, dance, jump rope, hopscotch, and drama. However, the most striking result of the twentieth century in terms of children's play patterns has been the convergence, rather than the disparity, among the sexes in their game preferences. As

the following discussion attests, this convergence corresponds to a number of changes that have occurred in the types of games preferred by American children.

Changes in Types of Games

While several types of games have fallen out of favor with American children, the increased popularity of electronic games and organized sports have been two of the most significant changes in the past several decades. These trends not only reflect the technological advances of American society, but also indicate a preference for games demanding greater skill and role specialization. It is perhaps noteworthy that informal games of individual skill have decreased in popularity among American boys and girls and have given way to more organized and institutionalized games.

The increased popularity of team sports demonstrates a preference for not only active but also interactive games. The form of interaction, however, often entails a more hierarchical structure than informal games, with a coach, a team captain, a team parent, etc. Often, the outcome is paramount, where winning takes precedence over simply playing the game. The assumption that “sports builds character” (one seldom hears that other types of children’s games build character) suggests that structured interaction toward a common athletic goal teaches pro-social skills, such as perseverance, humility, and cooperation.

This cooperation, however, appears to be learned within a highly competitive paradigm, where mutual interaction is valued not so much as an end in itself but as a means for one group or team to defeat another. The result is a zero-sum game, in which one team’s victory presumes another’s loss. When friendly competition becomes a win-at-all-cost imperative, there is no space for second place, as this result constitutes losing. And yet, this training in corporate and corporeal competitiveness may be an extremely effective way of preparing young men and women for successful participation in today’s political economy. Similarly, as the popularity of electronic games attests, technology has greatly influenced children’s play choices in the last quarter of the twentieth century. Unlike the passive pastime of watching television, playing electronic games may in fact help children to negotiate their place in a highly technological and post-industrial culture. As noted in the following section, several historical developments in the late twentieth century, such as changes broadly associated with modernization,¹³ the Women’s Rights Movement, and passage of Title IX legislation, and the corresponding changes in family structure, have undoubtedly impacted the changes in the types of games preferred by American children.

Electronic Games

Perhaps no single change in the game preferences of American children has been as dramatic as the introduction and widespread popularity of electronic games within the latter half of the twentieth century. Electronic games include both video and computer games. These types of games were not included in any of the three previous studies (McGhee 1898; Terman 1926; Sutton-Smith and Rosenberg 1961), as the technology to create such games did not yet exist. In the 1998 investigation, computer games were

the most frequently played activity among boys and the second most frequently played activity among girls. Video games were the third most frequently played activity among boys and the eighteenth most frequently played activity among girls. In terms of their self-reported favorite activities, American boys ranked computer and video games as their second and third favorite pastimes, respectively, while American girls ranked computer and video games as their seventh and eleventh favorite activities, respectively. Despite the strong preference for electronic games by both boys and girls, there remains a strong difference between the sexes.

Video games were introduced in the early 1970s with the highly popular Pong, a one-dimensional arcade game with relatively simple graphics. These early forms of electronic games were greatly enhanced with the introduction of the Nintendo system in the late 1980s. The development of Nintendo and other like systems enabled children to play video games in the comfort of their own homes. Combined with improved graphics and game realism, the popularity of this type of game soared through the early 1990s.

Computer games continued to develop throughout the 1990s and into the twenty-first century, expanding the range and possibility of multimedia playgrounds. With the advent of CD-ROM technology and the greater affordability of home PCs, computer games have grown ever more accessible to American children. They now appear to be more popular among American children than video games, although the distinction between these different kinds of electronic games has become blurred, as software is often developed simultaneously for both computers and dedicated systems (Funk and Buchanan 1996). Video game consoles, such as the Sony PlayStation, Nintendo, and Sega, have continued to develop technologies that enhance the graphic realism of a fantasy or simulated game world. National surveys of American youth by the Kaiser Family Foundation (Rideout, Roberts, and Foehr 2005) found that 83 percent of eight- to eighteen-year-olds had at least one game console in their home. The electronic game market is estimated today to be a 6 billion dollar industry, earning as much or more money each year as the film industry (Gee 2003; Poole 2000).

Despite the apparent blurring of lines between different types of electronic games, survey respondents reported differences in their preference for video and computer games. For example, far more African American children (68 percent) reported playing video games than did other racial groups, and in particular, white children (44 percent). Despite these differences in preference by race, the gender differences were consistent across each of these ethnic or racial groups. While 88 percent of African American boys reported playing video games, only 54 percent of African American girls reported this preference. Fewer white children reported playing video games overall (44 percent), as noted above, but of those who did, 55 percent were boys and only 30 percent were girls.

In terms of social class or family income, there appears to be a clear relationship between the level of family income and the preference for both video and computer games, although in an inverse direction. While 55 percent of all respondents played video games, working-class children played them significantly more (68 percent) than middle- (53 percent) and upper-middle-class children (57 percent). Conversely, 79 percent of those surveyed reported playing computer games regularly, with

upper-middle-class children playing more (89 percent) than middle- (82 percent) and working-class boys and girls (69 percent). For both video and computer games, however, gender differences were found across every level of family income. In all cases, boys preferred these electronic games more than girls preferred them. Thus, while there are differences by race/ethnicity and family income, gender differences remained consistent in the preference for electronic games.

The increased popularity of electronic games seems to coincide with a decreased preference for many types of indoor and more sedentary games of the past. Central person and cooperative parlor games, such as forfeits, guessing riddles, and consequences, have all decreased in popularity among American children. Similarly, couple and kissing games, such as pig in parlor, goodnight, and spin the bottle, have likewise fallen out of favor. It may be surmised that the emergence and tremendous popularity of social networking websites such as MySpace and Facebook has altered, at least in part, the medium through which playful and flirtatious interaction takes place. One exception to this general decrease in traditional indoor games has been board and card games, which have actually increased in popularity during the twentieth century. It appears that there are few differences by gender, race, or family income in the reported preference for playing cards. While this study did not distinguish the type of card game by listing separately a range of possible activities, there may well have been differences by gender, age, race, and social class were the specific card games articulated and surveyed regarding preference. As noted earlier, however, cards and board games such as chess, checkers, and dominoes all retained limited rank differences between the sexes over the past century.

The increased popularity of electronic games has likewise meant that there exists a tremendous variation in these types of games. Like cards, the 1998 survey did not differentiate between types of video and computer games; rather, children responded simply to their preference for these two broad categories of games. The methodology of the late twentieth-century survey allowed respondents to write in their favorite play preferences. Several respondents listed specific electronic games, with some filling all five spaces with video and/or computer games. As might be expected, a range of different types of electronic games were noted.

Several methods of classifying electronic games have been proposed. Solomon (1984) differentiates between three broad categories of computer games: simulations, abstract games, and sports. Funk and Buchanan (1996), on the other hand, classify electronic games into six categories: general entertainment (no fighting or destruction), educational (learning or problem solving), fantasy violence (cartoon characters that must fight or destroy things, and risk being killed, in order to achieve a goal), human violence (like fantasy violence, but with human rather than cartoon characters), nonviolent sports (no fighting or destruction), and sports violence (fighting or destruction involved). Thus, many of these electronic games simulate the physical enactment of other existing games or sports.

In these mediated games, the hand-to-eye coordination required in manipulating a controller or toggle can be contrasted loosely with the hand-to-eye coordination required for actually hitting a fastball or throwing a football to a wide receiver running a well-executed pattern. The home video game console known as the Wii (pro-

nounced as the English pronoun “we”), released by Nintendo in 2006, revolutionized game player interaction. Nintendo’s smallest home console to date—the Wii measures 44 mm (1.73 in) wide, 157 mm (6.18 in) tall, and 215.4 mm (8.48 in) deep—the Wii Remote is the primary controller for the console. It uses a combination of built-in accelerometers and infrared detection to sense its position in three-dimensional space. This design allows players to control the game using physical gestures as well as traditional button presses (Allen 2006; Carless 2006; Sanchanta 2007). Thus, modern electronic games present a new medium by which traditional games may be experienced not only as games in their own right, but also as games played within another medium. This embedded game form requires a skill set specific to the technological advances pre-supposing the games themselves.

Thus, computer literacy has become a prerequisite for access, if not success, in today’s digital age. While some researchers have found electronic gaming to be associated with hostility and violence (Anderson and Bushman 2001; Gentile et al. 2004) as well as poorer academic performance (Anderson and Dill 2000; Harris and Williams 1985; Lewin 2006; Lieberman, Chaffee, and Roberts 1988), others have found that playing video and computer games may enhance learning, literacy, and innovative problem solving (Coleman 1976; Gee 2003; Schaffer 2006; Willoughby and Wood 2008). More specifically, researchers have found that electronic games may improve achievement motivation (Gibb et al. 1983) and visuospatial skills, such as mental rotation, visual processing speed, and memory (Castel, Pratt, and Drummond 2005; De Lisi and Wolford 2002; Ferguson, Cruz, and Rueda 2008; Green and Bavalier 2006; Rosser et al. 2007; Yi and Lee 1997). Thus, electronic games may potentially provide good principles or modalities for learning. Gee, for example, argues that “the theory of learning in good video games fits better with the modern, high-tech global world today’s children and teenagers live in than do the theories (and practices) of learning that they see in school” (2003:7). These trends in children’s game preferences have likewise led scholars to focus greater interest in the seemingly porous boundaries between ‘real’ and ‘virtual’ worlds. As Hercborgs argues, “folklorists’ forays into these play forms should yield fruitful insights into the competencies that young people are developing through their play and the way these culturally-mediated forms of learning interact with the brain’s capacity to master a set of skills that were untapped two generations ago” (2007–8:31). As these quotes seem to reveal, the notion of play and games as spaces for both formal and informal learning appears to remain alive and well in the social worlds of children today.

Institutionalized Games (Modern Sports)

Modern sports are defined as institutionalized games demanding the demonstration of physical prowess or ability (Guttmann 1978; Loy 1983). Games become institutionalized when the organizational and technical aspects of the activity gain greater importance. Rules become standardized, and official regulatory agencies take over the responsibility of enforcing these rules. The learning of game skills becomes highly organized and compartmentalized, leading to role standardization and specialization (Coakley 2009).

Institutionalized games or sports differ, therefore, from games of individual skill (marbles, jacks, hopscotch, etc.) in that these latter types of games tend to be less formally organized. The rules of marbles or hopscotch are neither codified nor monitored by an external party, such as a referee or governing body. The rules of these games are therefore less formalized, suggesting that children construct and negotiate the rules from one game to the next. The field of play for these informal games also varies, as evidenced by the tremendous range of hopscotch diagrams found from one playground to the next. Football, soccer, and basketball fields have far more standardized boundaries of space. The more the game becomes institutionalized, the more rigid these boundaries become. The number of players likewise varies within these informal games, whereas institutionalized games require a fixed number of participants or competitors per side. Finally, the players' roles are not specialized within these games of individual skill as they are in modern sports. Each player attempts to perform a similar task, maneuvering through a hopscotch grid or manipulating the movements of one's marbles or jacks. In institutionalized games, players are trained for particular positions requiring specific skills and strategies. Exceptions to this institutionalization of modern sports are pickup or informal games based upon the sport itself, where rules, boundaries, and player specialization are less rigid and fixed.

While both boys and girls have demonstrated a greater preference for more active and organized games over the course of the twentieth century, the preference of girls for these types of games has been most dramatic. McGhee notes, "the principle of organization is almost wholly lacking in the play of girls, especially between the ages six and twelve, while it is exceedingly prominent in that of boys" (1900:467). Sutton-Smith and Rosenberg (1961) argue that traditional games associated with girls in the earlier studies—singing games and imitative or dramatic games—are indeed those play forms most likely to have fallen out of favor with children in general. However, the absence of handclapping games and rhymes on the earlier surveys may suggest a scholarly bias against activities traditionally associated with girls, particularly African American girls. Similarly, it appears that handclapping games and rhymes experienced a resurgence or revival in the mid to late twentieth century, having fallen out of favor following World War II until the 1950s (Jones and Hawes 1987; Opie and Opie 1985; Tucker 2008). As demonstrated in the film *Pizza Pizza Daddy-O* by Bess Lomax Hawes and Bob Eberlein (1968) and Kyra Gaunt's *The Games Black Girls Play* (2006), handclapping games and rhymes successfully incorporated late twentieth-century African American cultural trends, such as hip-hop, into the social activities of children, particularly girls. As Gaunt argues, "the kinetic orality of African American musical aesthetics that girls learn to inhabit through these games points to a lived phenomenology of a gendered blackness" (2006:57). In the present examination, handclapping rhymes were the 37th (out of 190 activities) most popular play preference of girls, but 115th among boys, demonstrating a significant difference in the gendered game preference for this type of choral activity.

Despite a greater preference for these choral activities, American girls demonstrated an even stronger preference for sports, as they included swimming (1st), basketball (3rd), soccer (5th), and tennis (8th) among their ten favorite activities. The tremendous popularity of swimming among both boys and girls may have been influenced by the

season in which the 1998 survey was administered. As it was summer in California, there is also a likelihood that children's participation in swimming was not only experienced as an organized athletic game, but also as a more informal way to have fun and keep cool. The case of swimming illustrates the need to be cautious in our findings: many activities can be played both as major sports and as skilled games or pastimes. A group of children playing Marco Polo or Sharks and Minnows in a local pool offers a qualitatively different experience than the organized competition of a swim meet between rival schools or swim clubs.

It appears that as girls began to prefer more organized and active games, perhaps reflective of the greater social mobility of twentieth-century women, boys seem to have shifted their preference for games with ever heightened activity—games characterized by enhanced speed, aggression, and role specialization (Van Rheenen 2001). This shift has coincided with a marked increase in the popularity of major sports, particularly team sports, such as football, basketball, and soccer.

While baseball, often described as America's national pastime, has somewhat decreased in popularity among children within the twentieth century, basketball has gained tremendously in popularity. Boys cited basketball as their favorite play activity in 1998, while girls reported it to be their third favorite pastime. In 1961, Sutton-Smith and Rosenberg noted that football had taken the place of baseball as the number one athletic game; it appears that basketball has replaced both baseball and football as the top team sport of American children at the end of the twentieth century. American boys likewise listed baseball (4th), soccer (5th), swimming (6th), football (7th), and tennis (8th) among their ten favorite games, demonstrating that over half of the boys' ten most cherished activities included sports.

There were some noted differences in sport preference by race and social class. African American youth reported a preference for basketball and baseball, more than any other group. African American children also reported the least preference for soccer, tennis, and swimming. Chicano/Latino children reported the greatest preference for soccer and football, but less interest in basketball, tennis, and swimming. Asian American youth preferred tennis more than all other racial groups did and also reported a strong preference for basketball; of all groups, Asian American children reported the least preference for baseball—somewhat surprising given the long history of baseball within the Asian American community, particularly the Japanese American community. This finding should be interpreted with caution, however, as less than 3 percent of survey respondents who identified as Asian American specifically noted a Japanese American background. White children reported a preference for swimming and soccer, but less relative interest in football and basketball—two of the dominant spectator sports in the United States.

There were less marked differences by family income or social class in the reported play preferences for certain sports over others. For example, American children's preference for basketball was consistent whether the respondents identified themselves as working class (61 percent), middle class (62 percent) or upper-middle class (62 percent). There tended to be a slight working class preference for football and baseball and a slight preference among middle- and upper-middle-class children for tennis, swimming, and soccer. Despite these differences by ethnicity and family

income, however, gender differences remained consistent across these other demographic categories.

Nonetheless, girls' foray into institutionalized games or modern sports has been one of the most pronounced shifts in the game preferences since the early seventies. In 1971, a mere one out of every twenty-seven varsity high school athletes was female; today, one in every three high school athletes is female. The number of girls playing varsity high school sports increased from 295,000 in 1971 to about 3.06 million in 2008, more than a 1,000 percent increase (Coakley 2009). Since the passage of Title IX of the Education Amendment in 1972, then, the increased interest and ability of girls to participate in institutional games or sports has been striking. This dramatic shift in game preferences has coincided with the Women's Movement and gender equity as a legally mandated and viable cultural expectation. The number of women in the workforce has markedly increased over the course of the twentieth century. Likewise, societal shifts have also challenged the common patriarchal notion of the nuclear family having the father as the solitary earner in the family. Not only has the twentieth-century nuclear family ideal disintegrated with the dramatic increase in single parenthood, but it is also often the case that both adults work when there are two parents in a household.

A greater number of single parent families and families in which both parents work have led to the need for heightened organization and supervision. Greater adult supervision and parental involvement in structuring (and protecting) their children's lives has contributed to the increase in preferences for highly organized activities. This means that there is less likelihood that a parent is at home during the day to more informally supervise the play of her child(ren). Urbanization, traffic congestion, and crime have likewise contributed to less neighborhood play, a trend characteristic of earlier times. This is not to say that efforts at controlling children's leisure activities are solely a phenomenon of the late twentieth century. In his analysis of the playground and recreation movement in the first decade of the twentieth century, Goodman (1979) demonstrates how children in New York City were literally banned from playing spontaneous street games and forced to participate in organized playground programs. Several authors (see, for example, Bourdieu 1978, 1984; Brohm 1978; Hoch 1972; Mumford 1934; Rigauer 1981; Sage 1998) have argued that this intentional control of physical exercise is shaped by the needs of a capitalist system of production; as such, "the organized activities and sport programs became a means of training the children of immigrants to fit into a world of work founded on time schedules, the stopwatch, and production-conscious supervisors" (Coakley 1996:39). The game preferences of children in the latter half of the twentieth century may likewise be the result of changes associated with the rise of monopoly capitalism and consumer culture. As Sage argues, "[T]he rise of modern sport has been in large part the transition from informal play and games to bureaucratized sport, from player-controlled games to management-controlled organized sport. . . . This rigid bureaucratization in sport is not limited to professional sport. It has diffused into collegiate and high school sports, and even in the adult-controlled, highly organized youth sports" (1998:148). While one may lament the apparent loss of free, unstructured time over the course of the twentieth century, the greater control and organization of children's play seems to have coincided with less rigid or institutionalized gender roles.

Conclusion

The dramatic similarity in game preferences by sex over the twentieth century signifies a major shift in the traditional gender divide among American children. While play preferences among boys and girls may prepare American children for less divided adult gender roles and expectations in the twenty-first century, these activities are by no means gender neutral. The types of games with the greatest increase in preference among both American boys and girls have been sports and electronic games. And yet, the variation within these types of games provides further variation in preference by gender. The increased preference for institutionalized games or sports by both girls and boys suggests a move to more organized, rationalized activities, but it appears that boys prefer sports characterized by greater aggression, speed, and role specialization.

The shift in popularity toward more physical sports, such as football, may evidence a trend of boys trying to uphold a traditional gender divide, as more and more girls enter play spaces (and women enter boardrooms) formerly occupied exclusively by boys (and men).¹⁴ The preference by boys for electronic games that simulate physical combat or violence may further support this divide, despite the cultural shift toward a greater convergence of play preferences of American children. Thus, while the present study clearly finds historical homogeneity in the types of games American children play, as folklorists we must continue to examine the more nuanced and different ways in which children play these traditional and newly designed games.

Appendix 1. Boys' Game Preferences

Bay Area, CA N = 472	1998 <i>f</i>	NW Ohio N = 1370	1959 <i>f</i>	Bay Area, CA N = 225	1959 <i>f</i>	South Carolina N = 3958	1898 <i>f</i>
Computer Games	407	Football	1221	Baseball	312	Baseball	2697
Basketball	339	Throw Snowball	1213	Ride Bicycle	297	Football	2216
Video Games	330	Bicycle Riding	1211	Fly Kites	195	Swimming	953
Cards	316	Hide and Seek	1181	Tag	190	Marbles	603
Swimming	301	Basketball	1180	Garden Work	189	Fox and Geese	562
Board Games	259	Marbles	1140	Use Tools	187	Rekindle	437
Bicycle Riding	253	Tag	1137	Marbles	172	Checkers	398
Catch	250	Swimming	1136	Hide and Seek	172	Battle	387
Soccer	227	Baseball	1117	Football	161	Leapfrog	370
Baseball	211	Cowboys	1116	Stilts	158	Spin Tops	344
Chess	210	Checkers	1108	Racing	157	Buffalo Bill	343
Football	195	Cops & Robbers	1091	Basketball	156	Foot and a Half	300
Rock, Paper, Scissors	195	Cards	1090	Shooting	154	Policeman	278
Draw or Paint	193	Bows & Arrows	1089	Skate	143	Fox & Hounds	275
Musical Instrument	192	Shooting	1086	Spin Tops	143	Cards	260
HORSE	190	Racing	1080	Volleyball	142	Croquet	250
Tennis	187	Fly Kites	1070	Horse Riding	139	Hide and Seek	233
Jogging	183	Climbing	1063	Boxing	139	Fly Kites	232
Legos	179	Darts	1055	Wrestling	138	Mumble Peg	226
Climbing	171	Soldiers	1050	Hunt	138	Punch and Judy	218
Table Tennis	170	Tic Tac Toe	1041	Cards	135	Parcheesi	208
Water Balloon Fights	167	Fishing	1038	Tug-O-War	132	Tennis	191
Tic Tac Toe	165	Tug-O-War	1028	Fishing	125	Tag	190

Appendix 1. (cont.)

Bay Area, CA N = 472	1998 <i>f</i>	NW Ohio N = 1370	1959 <i>f</i>	Bay Area, CA N = 225	1959 <i>f</i>	South Carolina N = 3958	1898 <i>f</i>
Tag	163	Boating	1028	Snap the Whip	122	Drop the Handkerchief	187
Collecting Things	163	Horseshoes	1026	Checkers	121	Lotto	179
Pool (Billiards)	162	Horse Riding	1022	Swimming	120	Basketball	179
Hiking	157	Camping	1017	Jump Rope	118	Goosie Goosie Gander	178
Frisbee	155	Skating	1002	Hiking	112	Jail	170
Rollerblading	154	Model Airplanes	992	Bows & Arrows	111	Base	170
Racing	154	Dodge Ball	983	Follow the Leader	109	I Spy	167
Puzzles	135	Wrestling	974	Work with Machines	102	Circus	166
Checkers	131	Building Forts	971	Roll Hoops	99	Dancing	163
Around the World	128	Bingo	969	Leapfrog	98	Bull in the Pen	163
Hide and Seek	126	Bandits	968	Fox and Geese	96	Authors	163
Swings	122	Hunt	966	Handball	89	Clap in Clap Out	148
Slides	117	Ping Pong	965	Row a Boat	88	Steamboat	147
Kickball	112	Seven Up	958	Drop the Handkerchief	87	Wrestling	146
Camping	109	Roller Skating	944	Anty Over	86	Stealing Chips	145
Bowling	108	Hunting	940	Hopscotch	83	Shinny	138
Hangman	107	Use Tools	950	Farmer in the Dell	81	Swinging	136
Volleyball	104	Boxing	928	Puss in the Corner	79	Open the Gates As High as the Sky	134
Martial Arts	103	King on the Mountain	928	Dominoes	78	Dominoes	133
Capture the Flag	98	Stoop Tag	899	Tennis	75	Dog on Wood	128
Wrestling	98	Red Rover	892	Cat and Mouse	73	Up Jinks	127
Keep Away	97	Bowling	887	Dare Base	69	Book	125
Softball	96	Monopoly	878	Post Office	69	Hide the Switch	122
Model Airplanes	96	Building Snowman	859	Ring Around the Rosy	64	Jackstones	120
Truth or Dare	96	Crack the Whip	856	London Bridge	63	Ten Pins	116
Dodge ball	95	Frozen Tag	847	Cook	62	Roly Poly	112
Slumber Parties	92	Pool	843	Pom Pom Pull Away	61	Pig in the Pen	110
Skipping Rocks	91	Volleyball	838	Soccer	61	Keeping Store	109
Darts	91	Puzzles	825	Pool	60	Blindman's Bluff	109
Monkey in the Middle	89	Raise Pets	821	Play School	59	Black Maria	105
Hacky Sac	85	Tennis	792	Shinny	59	Jump Rope	102
Monkey Bars	84	Follow the Leader	791	Guessing Games	57	Bull Pen	100
Golf	81	Work With Machines	784	Blindfold	57	One Hole Cat	95
Dice	80	Dice	776	Simon Says	57	Puzzles	94
Cartwheels	77	Toy R.Trains	766	Puzzles	57	Jackstraws	92
Handstands	76	Shuffleboard	765	Tiddlywinks	54	Kitty Wants a Corner	90
Four Square	76	Fox and Geese	760	Play Store	54	My Father Had a Rooster	89
Marco Polo	75	Dominoes	759	Blackman	50	Chick a My Granny Crow	86
Yo-Yo's	74	Ghosts	758	Play House	49	Little Sally Walker	84

Appendix 1. (cont.)

Bay Area, CA N = 472	1998 <i>f</i>	NW Ohio N = 1370	1959 <i>f</i>	Bay Area, CA N = 225	1959 <i>f</i>	South Carolina N = 3958	1898 <i>f</i>
Dominoes	74	Stunts in Gym	757	In & Out Window	47	Picking Eggs	82
Fishing	73	Pin the Tail on the Donkey	755	Red Rover	46	Devil and Angel	82
Building Forts	73	Cars	753	Duck on Rock	45	Having Show	81
Tetherball	73	Musical Chairs	742	Dance	44	Tiddlywinks	79
Jungle Gym	72	Wall Dodge Ball	740	Fox and Hounds	44	Hull Gull	67
Jump Rope	72	I Spy	737	Anagrams	44	Pig in the Parlor	63
Handball	71	Leap Frog	731	Jackstraws	42	Jack in the Bush	62
Boating	70	Horses	730	Snap	41	Pillow Dex	61
Tug-0-War	69	Drop the Handkerchief	723	Parcheesi	36	Guessing Riddles	61
Telephone	66	Pick Up Sticks	717	Croquet	35	Golf	59
Dance	66	Clay Modeling	714	Billiards	33	Anty Over	59
Badminton	65	Blind Man's Buff	703	History Cards	32	William My Tremble Toe	59
Building Blocks	65	Dance	702	Geography Cards	32	Walk to Jerusalem	58
Street Hockey	62	Spin the Bottle	698	Roly Poly	32	Spin the Plate	58
Boys Chase Girls	62	Wood Tag	696	Bowling	31	I See a Ghost	58
Chicken Fights	59	Spacemen	693	Sewing	29	Goodnight	58
Sandcastles	59	Kick the Can	689	Jackstones	29	Knucks	57
Ice Skating	59	Hide the Thimble	675	Coast or Toboggan	28	Cross Questions and Crooked Answers	55
Pickle	59	Hiking	668	Church	27	Mother May I Pick a Rose	54
Wiffleball	57	Make Collections	662	Dolls	24	Tit Tat Taw	53
Plastic Army Men	57	Ball Tag	661	Dress-Up	23	Keeping House	47
I Spy	54	Doctors	657	Authors	23	Club Fists	47
Red Light Green Light	52	Walk on Stilts	650	Chess	22	Catcher	47
Dance	52	Simon Says	645	Knit	18	Old Dame Wiggins Is Dead	44
Simon Says	51	Kissing	614	Crokinole	17	Dolls	44
Play Dough	50	Chess	610	Ski	15	Here we go Round the Rosy Bush	42
Tree Houses/Forts	50	Scrabble	600	Backgammon	14	Stagecoach	40
Boxing	49	Tiddlywinks	588	Charades	11	Snap	40
Bingo	48	Poison Tag	586			Five Hundred	40
Doorbell Ditch	46	Statues	579			Chess	35
Girls Chase Boys	45	Soccer	578			Hop Scotch	33
Toy Trains	45	Make Scrapbook	576			Thimble	31
Sharks and Minnows	44	Dog and Bone	574			Having Parade	31
Treasure Hunts	42	Kick Dodge	567			Jake Grin at Me	30
Clay Modeling	41	I've Got a Secret	566			Green	30
Cops and Robbers	40	Jacks	566			Smiling Angel	29
Steal the Bacon	39	Draw or Paint	551			Sheepie	29
Gymnastics	38	School	548			Quaker Meeting	28
Rings	37	Hoops	548			Introducing to K & Q	28
Name that Tune	37	Cooking	541			Ring (on a String)	27
Kissing Games	37	Post Office	538			Teacher	25
Cars	36	Jump Rope	536			Sting-a-Miree	25

Appendix 1. (cont.)

Bay Area, CA N = 472	1998 <i>f</i>	NW Ohio N = 1370	1959 <i>f</i>	Bay Area, CA N = 225	1959 <i>f</i>	South Carolina N = 3958	1898 <i>f</i>
Roller Skating	36	Make Radio	533			Table Rapping	22
Horseshoes	36	Mother and I	523			Bean Bags	22
Dressing Up	36	Hopscotch	506			Simon Says Wig Wag	19
Hopscotch	35	Handball	501			Parlor Croquet	17
Sailing	35	Skiing	492			Geography	17
Twister	35	Redlight	482			Pretty Maids	15
Pepper	34	Cat and Mouse	479			Country	
Body Surfing	34	Inventors	477			Borrowed	15
Erector Sets	34	Name That Tune	460			Property	
Hot Wheels	34	Store	460			Making Play- House	14
Handclapping Rhymes	34	Chicken	437			Key	14
Racquetball	34	Clue	435			Charades	14
Hula Hoops	34	Garden	427			Rachel and Jacob	13
Marbles	33	Church	424			Stooping Catcher	11
See Saw	32	Toboggan	419			Consequences	11
King of the Mountain	32	Farmer in the Dell	409			Proverbs	10
Kites	31	London Bridge	404			Night Dodge	10
Charades	31	Matching Coins	381			King-a-Mount	10
Spin the Bottle	31	See-Saw	379			Selling Forfeits	9
Snow Skiing	30	Actors	367			Philopoena	8
Kick the Can	30	Steal the Bacon	330			Twenty	7
Floor Hockey	30	Dressing-Up	330			Questions	
Follow the Leader	29	Handsprings	327			Hat Stack	7
Playing House	28	Colors	320			Backgammon	6
Bows and Arrows	27	Black Magic	317			Clumps (yes and no)	5
Duck Duck Goose	27	Huckle Buckle				Object Guessing	4
Musical Chairs	27	Beanstalk	316			Gossip	3
Pick Up Sticks	26	Cartwheels	316			Dumb Scrambo	2
Murder in the Dark	26	Crochet	312				
Throw Snowballs	25	Spin Tops	307				
Horseback Riding	24	Ring Around the Rosy	306				
Parcheesi	24	In and Out the Windows	305				
Backgammon	23	Capture the Flag	297				
Spin Tops	23	Houses	296				
Croquet	23	Charades	294				
Cooties	22	Fox and Hounds	272				
Lincoln Logs	22	Pom Pom Pull Away	270				
Ring Around the Rosy	21	Squirrel in the Tree	265				
Leap Frog	21	Here I Come, Where From?	261				
Ice Hockey	20	Flashlight	261				
		Prisoner's Base	256				

Appendix 1. (cont.)

Bay Area, CA N = 472	1998 <i>f</i>	NW Ohio N = 1370	1959 <i>f</i>	Bay Area, CA N = 225	1959 <i>f</i>	South Carolina N = 3958	1898 <i>f</i>
Water Skiing	19	Snap	255				
Hot Potato	19	Black Tom	248				
Snowboarding	18	Poor Pussy	236				
Surfing	18	Crows and Cranes	202				
Red Rover	18	Find the Ring	202				
Chicken	16	What Time Is It?	200				
Make Scrapbook	16	Blackman	199				
Mother May I?	15	Punt Back	199				
Pitching Pennies	14	Twenty Questions	196				
Hunting	14	Sewing	191				
Doctor	14	Bull in the Ring	190				
Cat and Mouse	13	Two Deep	189				
Sewing	13	Letters	183				
Pin the Tail on the Donkey	13	Hoki Toki	179				
Cowboys and Indians	13	Beast, Bird or Fish	176				
Jacks	13	Mulberry Bush	175				
Building Snowman	13	Initials	171				
Windsurfing	12	Buzz	155				
Shuffleboard	12	Muffin Man	145				
Stickball	12	Roly Poly	142				
London Bridge	11	Noughts and Crosses	141				
Ghosts	11	Quoits	140				
Blind Man's Bluff	11	Four Square	138				
String Figures	9	Beater Goes Round	129				
Dolls	9	Knit	126				
Knit	7	Puss in Corner	126				
Fox and Hounds	7	Dolls	125				
Walk on Stilts	7	Billiards	120				
Tiddlywinks	7	Kingsland	119				
Crack the Whip	6	Forfeits	112				
Hot Box	6	Actresses	109				
Statues	6	Cobbler Cobbler	108				
Prisoner's Base	6	Oranges and Lemons	96				
Forfeits	4	Perdiddle	93				
Ballet	4	Draw a Bucket of Water	85				
Hide the Thimble	4	Nuts in May	70				
Perdiddle	4						
Pop Goes the Weasel	3						
Muffin Man	3						
Crochet	3						
Puss in Comer	2						
Farmer in the Dell	2						
Mulberry Bush	1						
Porn Pom Pull Away	1						

Appendix 2. Girls' Game Preferences

Bay Area, CA N = 471	1998 <i>f</i>	NW Ohio N = 1319	1959 <i>f</i>	Bay Area, CA N = 249	1959 <i>f</i>	South Carolina N = 4760	1898 <i>f</i>
Swimming	359	Jump Rope	1210	Tag	223	Dolls	1365
Computer Games	336	Hide and Seek	1189	Sewing	214	Jump Rope	1029
Cards	327	Tag	1170	Ride Bicycle	208	Croquet	923
Draw or Paint	297	Bicycle Riding	1162	Baseball	207	Clap In Clap Out	907
Board Games	267	Hopscotch	1138	Hide and Seek	204	Drop the Handkerchief	778
Musical Instruments	258	Checkers	1116	Basketball	200	Dancing	732
Basketball	231	Roller Skating	1115	Hopscotch	197	Crokinole	696
Dance	227	Dolls	1111	Play with Dolls	194	Parcheesi	664
Bicycle Riding	219	Bingo	1101	Skate	193	Keeping House	595
Catch	214	Cooking	1098	Cook a Meal	189	Open the Gates as High as the Sky	517
Rock, Paper, Scissors	204	Swimming	1096	Dance	189	Authors	516
Jogging	203	Cards	1089	Jump the Rope	187	Hide and Seek	492
Swings	202	Stoop Tag	1088	Play House	180	Little Sally Walker	449
Tic Tac Toe	195	Jacks	1082	Play School	172	Jackstones	406
Cartwheels	188	Red Rover	1077	Play Dress-Up	172	Checkers	384
Make Collections	187	Dressing-Up	1066	Farmer in the Dell	140	Cross Questions & Crooked Answers	378
Water Balloon Fights	180	Tic Tac Toe	1065	Garden Work	138	Goosie Goosie Gander	378
Video Games	180	Dance	1062	Volleyball	138	Tennis	370
Soccer	178	Skating	1058	Drop the Handkerchief	136	Blind Man's Buff	366
Puzzles	172	School	1054	Play Store	132	Fox and Geese	357
Jump Rope	170	Musical Chairs	1025	Racing	131	Lotto	353
Truth or Dare	170	Mother May I?	1024	Cat and Mouse	130	Up Jinks	335
Hiking	169	Building Snowmen	1020	Cards	129	Mother May I Pick a Rose	326
Tag	165	Drop the f Handkerchie	987	London Bridge	124	Kitty Wantsr a Corne	318
Racing	157	Seven Up	980	Ring Around the Rosy	121	Stealing Chips	318
Slumber Parties	156	Houses	963	Guessing Games	115	Devil and Angel	313
Rollerblading	155	Follow the Leader	958	Ride Horseback	121	Smiting Angel	303
Hangman	155	Sewing	951	Follow the Leader	115	Cards	265
Climbing	154	Horse Riding	939	Knit	114	Chick-a-My Chick a-My Cranny Crow	256
Volleyball	143	Monopoly	938	Puss in the Comer	111	Baseball	245
Handstands	139	Simon Says	937	Checkers	105	Dominoes	240
Hide and Seek	133	Throw Snowballs	925	Walk on Stilts	103	Spin the Plate	239
Slides	132	Frozen Tag	924	In and Out the Windows	103	Pretty Maids	232
Telephone	127	Puzzles	922	Prisoner's Base	99	Jackstraws	223
Softball	126	Store	912	Blindfold	99	Introducing the King and Queen	216
Tennis	126	Raise Pets	912	Fox and Geese	94	Hide the Switch	216
Handclapping Rhymes	120	Racing	907	Hike	92	I Spy	212

Appendix 2. (cont.)

Bay Area, CA N = 471	1998 <i>f</i>	NW Ohio N = 1319	1959 <i>f</i>	Bay Area, CA N = 249	1959 <i>f</i>	South Carolina N = 4760	1898 <i>f</i>
Ping Pong	119	Pick Up Sticks	904	Simon Says Thumbs Up	89	Guessing Riddles	211
Frisbee	117	Basketball	902	Post Office	86	Good Night	209
HORSE	111	Ping Pong	901	Solve Puzzles	86	Walk to Jerusalem	208
Gymnastics	110	Dodgeball	890	Snap the Whip	83	Here We Go Round the Rosy Bush	204
Camping	109	Fly Kites	881	Fly Kites	81	Teacher	199
Drama	107	Actresses	874	Swim	81	Swinging	194
Marco Polo	107	Marbles	871	Anty Over	80	Dog on Wood	182
Monkey Bars	105	Boating	869	Tennis	80	Hopscotch	166
Chess	102	Crack the Whip	858	Jackstones	79	Base	157
Monkey in the Middle	100	Statues	856	Dominoes	78	Making Play House	154
Checkers	99	Hoops	852	Leapfrog	72	Old Dame Wiggins Is Dead	148
Around the World	97	ISpy	852	Handball	71	Thimble	147
Pool (Billiards)	97	Blind Man's Bluff	848	Play Church	68	Mumble Peg	145
Hopscotch	96	Clay Modeling	840	Tug-O-War	65	Keeping Store	141
Four Square	94	Fox and Geese	839	Roll Hoops	62	I See a Ghost	137
Dressing Up	94	Camping	839	Pom Pom Pull Away	60	Consequences	134
Ice Skating	93	Climbing	834	Tiddlywinks	58	Football	132
Sewing	93	London Bridge	825	Blackman	54	Working Puzzles	127
Legos	89	Spin the Bottle	815	Marbles	52	Punch and Judy	122
Bowling	89	Baseball	814	Fish	51	Quaker Meeting	121
Dolls	87	Draw or Paint	812	Play Jackstraws	47	Book	120
Sleep Away	86	Leapfrog	809	Spin Tops	45	Tiddlywinks	120
Twenty Questions	84	Farmer in the Dell	809	Row a Boat	45	Pillow Dex	114
Jungle Gym	82	Tug-O-War	808	Bow and Arrow	44	Pig in the Parlor	106
Kickball	82	Volleyball	808	Fox and Hounds	44	Ring on a String	101
I Spy	81	I've Got a Secret	791	Anagrams	41	Basketball	95
Football	79	Wood Tag	784	Football	40	William My Tremble Toe	94
Bingo	78	Doctors	783	Snap	40	Pig in Pen	90
Baseball	75	Tennis	779	Red Rover	35	Bean Bags	90
Capture the Flag	74	Name That Tune	767	Duck on Rock	34	Proverbs	86
Make Scrapbook	74	Stunts in Gym	735	History Cards	34	Parlor Croquet	84
Twister	73	Fish	727	Shoot	33	Tit Tat Taw	83
Hula Hoops	73	Horseshoes	723	Wrestling	31	My Father Had a Rooster	82
Simon Says	71	Horses	722	Geography Cards	31	Swimming	80
Playing House	70	Dog and Bone	720	Authors	31	Geography	79
Badminton	68	Tail on the Donkey	719	Croquet	29	Borrowed Property	79
Red Light Green Light	67	Make Collections	713	Parcheesi	28	Sheepie	78
Sandcastles	66	Shuffleboard	712	Roly Poly	27	Jake Grin at Me	69
Skipping Rocks	63	Tiddlywinks	711	Hunt	26	Charades	69
Girls Chase Boys	63	Redlight	708	Use Tools	25	Snap	66
Boating	62	Darts	707	Shinny	22	Table Rapping Selling	62
Duck Duck Goose	61	Make Scrapbook	706	Boxing	20	Forfeits	59
Dodgeball	60	Scrabble	700	Toboggan	17	Having Show Battle	59

Appendix 2. (cont.)

Bay Area, CA N = 471	1998 <i>f</i>	NW Ohio N = 1319	1959 <i>f</i>	Bay Area, CA N = 249	1959 <i>f</i>	South Carolina N = 4760	1898 <i>f</i>
Tug-0-War	59	Ghosts	696	Work with Machinery	15	Key	59
Tetherball	58	In and Out the Windows	694	Chess	15	Hull Gull	57
Handball	57	Bowling	691	Bowling	15	Simon Says	57
Yo-Yo's	57	See-Saw	668	Charades	15	Wigwag	56
Clay Modeling	57	Hide the Thimble	667	Pool	14	Marbles	56
Name That Tune	57	Church	666	Crokinole	13	Tag	53
Play Dough	57	Garden	647	Ski	13	Circus	53
Hacky Sack	56	Cowboys	635	Soccer	11	Stage Coach	52
Wrestling	56	Ring Around the Rosy	632	Billiards	11	Ten Pins	51
Dominoes	56	Cat and Mouse	627	Backgammon	9	One Hole Cat	51
Kissing Games	56	Post Office	624			Picking Eggs	49
Treasure Hunts	53	Walk on Stilts	619			Rachel and Jacob	47
Follow the Leader	53	Mulberry Bush	616			Jack in the Box	45
Dice	53	Dominoes	612			Club Fists	42
Tree Houses/Forts	53	Kick Dodge Wall	581			Green	41
Charades	53	Dodge Ball	577			Policeman	40
Sharks and Minnows	51	Poison Tag	572			Anty Over	38
Darts	51	Bows and Arrows	571			Leap Frog	37
Boys Chase Girls	51	Cops and Robbers	570			Catcher	36
Martial Arts	50	Clue	570			Buffalo Bill	36
Building Blocks	48	Kick the Can	563			Flying Kites	35
Ring Around the Rosy	47	Football	561			Gossip	34
Chicken Fights	47	Hiking	554			Shinny	33
Musical Chairs	47	Building Forts	553			Spinning Tops	31
Building Forts	46	Ball Tag	542			Chess	30
Roller Skating	45	Actors	529			Golf	29
Horseback Riding	45	Kissing	528			Jail	26
See-Saw	42	Knit	521			Bull in the Pen	25
Ballet	42	Here I Come Where From	521			Roly Poly	23
Fishing	40	Bandits	517			Philopoena	23
Red Rover	38	Charades	493			Backgammon	22
Murder in the Dark	38	Crochet	485			Black Maria	17
Hot Potato	36	King on the Mountain	454			Foot and a Half	16
Spin the Bottle	36	Poor Pussy	451			Fox and Hounds	15
Steal the Bacon	34	Colors	451			Object Guessing	14
Leap Frog	34	Dice	424			Twenty Questions	13
Rings	33	Chess	410			Stooping Catcher	13
Golf	33	Squirrel in the Tree	405			Steamboat	13
Mother May I?	33	Huckle Buckle Beanstalk	402			Having Parade	11
String Figures	32	Hunting	399			Five Hundred	11
Marbles	31	Pool	395			Clumps	11
Pick Up Sticks	31	Handball	390			Sting-a-Miree	10
Fly Kites	30	Hunt	386			King-a-Mount	8
Doorbell Ditch	30	Shooting	376			Bull Pen	8
London Bridge	30	Use Tools	375			Dumb Scrambo	6

Appendix 2. (cont.)

Bay Area, CA N = 471	1998 <i>f</i>	NW Ohio N = 1319	1959 <i>f</i>	Bay Area, CA N = 249	1959 <i>f</i>	South Carolina N = 4760	1898 <i>f</i>
Street Hockey	29	Soccer	369			Night Dodge	4
Cooties	29	Snap	362			Knucks	3
Body Surfing	27	What Time Is It?	347			Hat Stack	3
Pin Tail on the Donkey	27	Spin Tops	342			Wrestling	2
Water Skiing	26	Cars	341				
Model Airplanes	25	Black Magic	331				
Backgammon	25	Skiing	312				
Doctor	25	Wrestling	311				
Knitting	25	Inventors	299				
Sailing	24	Handsprings	290				
Kick the Can	23	Flashlight	286				
Snow Skiing	21	Soldiers	273				
Parcheesi	21	Toy Trains	270				
Cops and Robbers	20	Hoki Toki	268				
Jacks	20	Initials	255				
Boxing	20	Twenty Questions	248				
Blind Man's Bluff	20	Letters	247				
Wiffle Ball	19	Find the Ring	245				
Cat and Mouse	19	Pom Pom Pull Away	240				
Spin Tops	19	Steal the Bacon	240				
Lincoln Logs	18	Matching Coins	238				
Racquetball	18	Two Deep	236				
Croquet	18	Buzz	233				
Throw Snowballs	18	Chicken	219				
Pickle	18	Black Tom	210				
Bows and Arrows	17	Fox and Hounds	198				
Toy Trains	16	Crows and Cranes	191				
Floor Hockey	16	Boxing	191				
Horseshoes	16	Work with Machines	187				
Crochet	16	Comer	186				
Crack the Whip	13	Beast, Bird or Fish	184				
Pepper	13	Toboggan	184				
King of the Mountain	13	Spacemen	182				
Stickball	13	Prisoner's Base	178				
Snowboarding	12	Muffin Man	176				
Building Snowmen	12	Model Airplanes	175				
Ghosts	12	Oranges and Lemons	167				
Surfing	11	Blackman	144				
Plastic Soldiers	11	Roly Poly	126				
Erector Sets	11	Noughts and Crosses	125				
Cars	11	Bull in the Ring	121				
Windsurfing	10	Four Square	116				
Chicken	10	Beater Goes Round	114				
Statues	10	Draw a Bucket of Water	101				

Appendix 2. (cont.)

Bay Area, CA N = 471	1998 <i>f</i>	NW Ohio N = 1319	1959 <i>f</i>	Bay Area, CA N = 249	1959 <i>f</i>	South Carolina N = 4760	1898 <i>f</i>
Shuffleboard	9	Make Radio	100				
Walk on Stilts	9	Kingsland	100				
Pitching Pennies	8	Forfeits	98				
Hot Wheels	7	Cobbler Cobbler	94				
Hide the Thimble	7	Capture the Flag	91				
Farmer in the Dell	7	Cartwheels	91				
Ice Hockey	6	Billiards	75				
Tiddlywinks	6	Perdiddle	69				
Hot Box	5	Quoits	60				
Pop Goes the Weasel	5	Nuts in May	58				
Hunting	5	Punt Back	53				
Pom Pom Pull Away	5						
Fox and Hounds	5						
Cowboys and Indians	4						
Mulberry Bush	4						
Puss in Corner	4						
Mumbly Peg	3						
Muffin Man	3						
Prisoner's Base	3						
Perdiddle	2						
Forfeits	1						

Notes

1. See Tijana Jakovljević's 2009 article "Games for Children as a Model of Folklore Communication" for more on this topic. Like other folklore archives, the American Folklife Class Projects Collection directed by Burt Feintuch at the University of New Hampshire also includes "analyses of games as folklore." The homepage for this collection of projects is <http://www.library.unh.edu/special/index.php/american-folklife-class-projects>.

2. See, for example, Groos (1898, 1901); Hall (1907); Appleton (1910); and Reaney (1916).

3. This pedagogical use of games in the child's preparation for adulthood dates back at least as early as ancient Greece, as evidenced in the writings of Plato and Aristotle. Plato writes, "We should seek to use games as a means of directing children's tastes and inclinations towards the station they are themselves to fill when adult" (*Laws* I, 643B), while Aristotle contends that "children's games should be imitations of the serious occupations of later life" (*Politics* VII, 1336a). The potentially powerful role of play in pedagogy resurfaces in the works of Comenius (1592–1670) and Rousseau (1712–1778), though the realization that games serve an educational function gained tremendous popularity at the turn of the twentieth century when it was articulated that participation in games could promote both mental and physical skill development (Dewey 1900; Froebel 1886; Guts Muths and Christoph 1893; Montessori 1976). In particular, games might induce the development of language skills, number conservation, and attention-focusing qualities (Bruner, Jolly, and Sylva 1976; Sauvy and Sauvy 1974; Sutton-Smith 1972). Through the social interaction of games, children learn the experiences of turn taking, mutual involvement, and self-reliance—characteristics conducive to social participation (Brown 1974; Hay, Ross, and Goldman 1976). Simulation games and computer-mediated games have more recently been heralded as a means of providing an active rather than passive learning environment (Papert 1993). It has been suggested that the pedagogical use of these games enhance the intrinsic engagement of a wider population of learners with varying abilities (Belch 1973; Boocock and Schild 1968; Coleman 1976; Covington 1992).

4. Among the most accessible and cited works on the essential role of play and games in human and cultural development are Bruner, Jolly, and Sylva (1976); Caillois (1961); Coleman (1976); Huizinga (1950); Mead (1934); Peller (1971); Piaget (1965); Roberts, Arth, and Bush (1959); Roberts and Sutton-Smith (1962); Schwartzman (1978); Sutton-Smith (1997); and Vygotsky (1978).

5. The psycho-social implications of gender on socialization is discussed by Hughes (1993); Maccoby and Jacklin (1987); Sutton-Smith, Rosenberg, and Morgan (1963); Thorne (1993); Thorne and Luria (1986); and Walkerdine (2007).

6. Examples of gender comparative research in this field can be found in Brunvand (1996); Eifermann (1968); Finnan (1982); Lehman and Witty (1927); Lever (1976, 1978); Olson et al. (2007); Piaget (1965); Pitcher and Schultz (1983); and Sutton-Smith (1979).

7. Other research that investigates electronic gaming preferences by gender includes Bickham et al. (2003); Cassell and Jenkins (1998); Funk and Buchanan (1996); Griffiths (1999); Griffiths and Hunt (1996); Lucas and Sherry (2004); Walkerdine (2007); Woodard and Gridina (2000).

8. Studies of children's play have adopted several different data collection methods, including observation in street, school, and home settings (Culin 1891; Douglas 1931; Eifermann 1968; Fagot 1978; Goodwin 1995; Hughes 1989, 1993; Jones and Glenn 1991; Newell 1883; Opie 1993; Opie and Opie 1959, 1969; Parrot 1975; Thorne 1993); videotaped interviews and focus groups (Beresin 2004; Gailey 1993; Goodwin 2006; Olson et al. 2007; Schott and Horrell 2000; Sutton-Smith 1959; Thornham 2008); and activity checklists or surveys (Bates and Bentler 1973; Crosswell 1898–9; Jersild and Tasch 1949; Kraus 1957; McGhee 1900; Mergen 1991; Rosenberg and Sutton-Smith 1960; Sutton-Smith and Rosenberg 1961; Terman 1926). One of the methodological shifts in game research over the course of the twentieth century has been from descriptions of *what* children play to *how* children play.

9. I am indebted to the editors of the *Journal of American Folklore* for this observation.

10. Brunvand draws a distinction between pastimes and true games, arguing that “a pastime, as the name suggests, is a traditional recreation performed simply to pass the time away. It lacks what true games have—the element of competition, the possibility of winning and losing, and a measure of organization with some kind of controlling rules” (1986:380).

11. Survey respondents identified themselves into ten distinct ethnic or racial categories: African American/Black (6.2 percent), Caucasian/White (37.2 percent), Asian American (17.4 percent), Chinese (15.9 percent), Filipino (2.1 percent), Japanese (1.1 percent), Mexican American/Chicano (1.4 percent), Hispanic/Latino (5.6 percent), East Indian (4.7 percent), Mixed/Bi-racial (8.6 percent). For the purpose of comparative analysis, I combined the Asian American, Chinese, Filipino, and Japanese into a larger Asian American ethnic category. Similarly, I combined the Mexican American/Chicano Hispanic/Latino into a larger Chicano/Latino ethnic category, thus reducing ten distinct ethnic/racial categories into six. In terms of family income, 11.7 percent of survey respondents identified themselves as working class, while 14.9 percent identified themselves as wealthy or upper class. The vast majority of respondents (73.4 percent) identified themselves as middle-class.

12. At the end of the nineteenth century, Tylor (1878, 1880) found that the number of radically distinct games played by humankind appears to be much smaller than previously thought. He suggests that a classification system ought to account for the many cognate games around the world. In discussing draughts or checkers, backgammon, kite flying, and cat's cradle, Tylor argues that wide geographic diffusion seems to be the most plausible explanation for the widespread existence of many types of games. The historic-geographic method, as developed by Finnish scholars Julius Krohn and his son Kaarle, outlines a comparative method of analysis with three essential steps: (i) the collection of as many versions or cultural texts as possible; (ii) the division of these texts into distinct elements or traits; and (iii) the comparison of all collected versions by trait in order to deduce a basic form or prototype (Krohn 1971). By analyzing and contrasting the essential characteristics of this singular folk practice, it becomes possible to propose the geographical point of origin, as well as the process of cultural diffusion. The historic-geographic methodology has been applied primarily to folktales; however, there have been a couple of such comparative studies of children's games. See, for example, Enäjärvi-Haavio's (1932) *The Game of Rich and Poor: A Comparative Study in Traditional Singing Games*. See also Van Rheenen's (1997) historic-geographic study of hopscotch as an example of the application of this methodology to the study of games.

13. By modernization, I refer to the definition offered by Grossberg, Nelson, and Treichler where they write that modernization

can be understood not only as changing modes and relations of production but as a broad range of additional interrelated historical forces as well, including economic relations of production, distribution, and consumption (e.g., development of new commodity markets, expansion of cultural consump-

tion), technology, colonialism and imperialism, migration (whether necessitated by force, economic conditions, or ideology, the diaspora is now a dominant figure of contemporary experience), urbanization, democratization, and the rearticulation of normative systems based on race, class, nationality, sex, and sexuality. Modernity refers to the changing structures and lived realities that modernization responded to and in turn reshaped: contested and ritualized structures of experience, subjectivity, and identity. And modernism, finally, refers to the cultural forms, practices, and relations—elite and popular, commercial and folk—through which people attempted to make sense of, represent, judge, rail against, surrender, intervene in, navigate, or escape the worlds of modernization and modernity. Modernism extends far beyond the domain of academically valorized culture, which, like modernity itself, was shaped by new forms of leisure and emergent cultural practices disparagingly called *mass culture*. Modernism can rather be represented as the whole complex of responses to the changing historical landscape of the modern. (1992:15–6)

14. See, for example, Mariah Burton Nelson's *The Stronger Women Get, the More Men Love Football: Sexism and the American Culture of Sports* (1995).

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