Race, Role Playing, and Simulation Games in the Civil Rights Era

Ghetto, Blacks & Whites, and El Barrio

Chris A. Rasmussen

The author discusses how social scientists and psychologists in the late 1960s and early 1970s devised the board games Ghetto, Blacks & Whites, and El Barrio to teach students in college and high school about racism, racial segregation, and poverty in American society. But, he also argues, these games assumed that poor Black and Latino Americans bore some individual responsibility for their poverty and could, with great effort, escape the ghetto or the barrio. Rasmussen concludes that these games simultaneously encouraged players to become more aware of racial inequality and replicated ideas about race and segregation prevalent among social scientists and game designers at the time, ideas that are considered questionable or even discounted today.
Key words: board games; civil rights and games; game design; race; role-playing games; simulation games; sociology of games

"Would you believe that there's a child's game called Dirty Water?" the *New York Times* asked in 1970. "Or other games with such equally descriptive names as Generation Gap, Group Therapy, Blacks and Whites, Ghetto, Smog, and Confrontation?" Reporter Leonard Sloane observed that America's environmental movement and Black freedom struggle had inspired game manufacturers to create board games that were "not child's play." Instead, he wrote, "many of America's children will be playing out their parents' real-life problems."[1] Social scientists, educators, and game designers became enthusiastic about simulation games in the 1960s, declaring that such games could enable players, scholars, and students to model social problems and understand them more intuitively. Enthusiasts predicted that simulation games would transform education because games, unlike linear textbooks and lectures, offered students an interactive and engaging way to learn about social problems, consider potential solutions to them, and test these solutions. Games, according to their proponents, could do more than interpret the world. They could help change it.[2]

American Journal of Play, volume 17, number 1 © 2025 The Strong
Contact Chris A. Rasmussen at chrisr@fdu.edu

The simulation games Ghetto, Blacks & Whites, and El Barrio were produced in the late 1960s and early 1970s, when demands for racial equality combined with innovations in gaming, social science, and pedagogy to inspire game designers to create simulations of poverty and racial inequality. Commercial and educational game designers created board games for college and high school students and for consumers that focused on America's social problems, including the fault lines of race and class dividing American society. Ghetto, designed by social worker Dove Toll in 1969, and Blacks & Whites, developed by two psychology professors and Psychology Today Games in 1970, offered white college and high school students the chance to experience vicariously the poverty, discrimination, and residential segregation endured by many African Americans in the nation's cities.[3] Ghetto confronted players with the difficulty of keeping one's head above water on an income below the poverty line; Blacks & Whites focused on residential segregation and required white players to engage in role play to foster empathy with Black Americans. Similarly, El Barrio—produced by game designers at the University of California, Berkeley in 1971—attempted to model the experience of poor and working-class Latino immigrants as they struggled to make ends meet and adjust to life in the United States.

To understand fully a board game's significance, media scholar Paul Booth writes, we must understand the game's creation, its rules and textuality, and players' response to it.[4] Ghetto, Blacks & Whites, and El Barrio appeared in the wake of the Civil Rights movement and the urban unrest that occurred in many American cities in the 1960s, when racial discrimination and poverty ranked among the nation's most urgent political issues and—as sociologists Mitchell Duneier and Elijah Anderson observe—poverty had become a highly racialized issue. Some white Americans identified poverty almost exclusively with Black Americans, especially in urban ghettos. Anderson writes that the ghetto was "no longer simply a physical space," but a "mental construct." For many white Americans, the ghetto was "where the Black people live."[5] Ghetto, Blacks & Whites, and El Barrio attacked racial inequality, but the games' focus on the ghetto and the barrio reinforced some stereotypes about the urban poor.

The games also appeared at a moment when simulation games seemed indispensable to the future of education and social science. Game designers created simulations of racial inequality and poverty based on the social scientific research and political currents of the 1960s and early 1970s. As sociologist Loïc Wacquant observes in his influential study of ghettos, social scientists in the 1950s and 1960s conceived of urban poverty as a residue of past discrimination

or "the product of *individual deficiencies*" that would soon be remedied by economic growth and a few government programs targeted to aid the poor.[6] Simulation games created in the 1960s and 1970s focused on individuals' behavior and depicted the poor as steeped in a "culture of poverty," anthropologist Oscar Lewis's influential concept that impoverished people held deeply internalized values and behaviors that rendered them unwilling or unable to propel themselves out of poverty.[7] The games modeled some of the hardships confronted by residents of the ghetto and the barrio, but they were also predicated on the assumption that the poor bore some responsibility for their own poverty and even more responsibility for lifting themselves out of it.[8] As a result, the games sometimes faulted racial minorities for their plight and even reinforced stereotypes about their behavior. Ultimately, these educational games suggested that residents of the ghetto and the barrio could, albeit with enormous effort, shake off the culture of poverty, make prudent economic decisions, and climb the socioeconomic ladder.

Ghetto, Blacks & Whites, and El Barrio gave players vicarious experiences of struggling to pay their bills, getting an education and a better job, and moving to a better neighborhood, but the games did not simulate the combination of political power, economic stratification, and white supremacy that created and maintained the ghetto and the barrio. Recent scholarship on race and poverty and a resurgent social justice movement have focused on the system of structural inequality that consigns impoverished Black and Latino Americans to political powerlessness and economic deprivation.[9] Simulation games were ostensibly designed to encourage players to consider policies for alleviating racial discrimination and poverty, Ghetto, Blacks & Whites, and El Barrio instead measured players' success by their ability to earn more money rather than undo systemic racial and economic inequality.[10] The goal of players in these games was not principally to change the ghetto and the barrio, but to escape them.

Gaming remains extremely popular but has changed enormously in recent decades. Board games are a multibillion-dollar industry, and digital and online gaming generated nearly $300 billion in revenue in 2022 and is still growing rapidly.[11] Contemporary scholars, like their predecessors in the 1960s, believe that games can challenge racism and racial inequality. The extraordinary popularity and alluring interactivity of digital games has led enthusiasts to proclaim that these games will supplant movies and television as the preeminent storytelling medium of the twenty-first century. Games have become an important form of education and entertainment that invariably shapes players' ideas about

race, whether by reinforcing racial stereotypes or rejecting them. Game designers, most of whom are white, have sometimes created games that feature white heroes, denigrate nonwhite characters, and prove hurtful to nonwhite players. White players of online games have engaged in outbursts of blatant racism and created an online environment hostile to players of color, especially to Black players.[12] But games can also contribute to undoing racial stereotypes and encourage players to envision a more egalitarian society. In game designer and scholar Mary Flanagan's influential formulation, games can allow players to engage in "critical play," in which they see the world anew, analyze aspects of human life or society, ask questions about a game's content and rules, and perhaps even subvert them.[13]

Other gaming scholars have urged the creation of games that undermine racism instead of replicating it. In *Black Game Studies*, Lindsay D. Grace urges players to engage in "critical gameplay," question the stereotypes built into games, and imagine games free from racial prejudices. Grace praises the growing number of analog and digital games, many of which are created by Black game designers, that offer a more sensitive and accurate depiction of Black life. Some of these games depict fantasy worlds that have little direct bearing on contemporary racial and social issues, but others simulate poverty, racial protest, and the juvenile justice system.[14] Games, like novels, songs, or movies, can reproduce prevalent ideas about race or challenge them. As Kishonna L. Gray and David J. Leonard write in *Woke Gaming*, games typically express the injustices and prejudices prevalent in society but "gaming also offers a potential space for change."[15] The mixture of prejudice and hopefulness that has typified gaming for decades can be traced to the simulation games created to address racial inequality in the 1960s and 1970s.

The Future's Language: Gaming

Ghetto, Blacks & Whites, and El Barrio were products of an era in which social scientists believed that simulation games could help understand and improve America's economy, politics, and society. Hungarian mathematician John von Neumann introduced game theory in his 1928 article, "On the Theory of Parlor Games," in which he demonstrated that mathematical models derived from the study of games could be used to explain many aspects of human behavior. In 1944 von Neumann and economist Oskar Morgenstern published their monu-

mental *Theory of Games and Behavior*, which analyzed poker and other games to understand how players sized up rival players, calculated potential risks and rewards, and made strategic decisions.[16] Game theory revolutionized the discipline of economics, and scholars soon applied von Neumann and Morgenstern's ideas to psychology, politics, diplomacy, and war. As the *New York Times* explained, game theory promised to yield "new knowledge of man's struggle for existence," because "[g]ames are simple forms of basic struggles in the everyday competitive world." Conversely, everyday life was a game.[17]

Social scientists, strategists, policy makers, and business people quickly seized on game theory's potential and devised sophisticated games to simulate decision making in business, government, and war. Games, such as poker or chess, are contests bound by rules in which players attempt to achieve a specified objective, but simulation games, which model some aspect of society and are typically more complex, are designed to be instructive.[18]

In the 1950s, Pentagon strategists developed sophisticated war games to simulate potential conflicts during the Cold War. Hans Speier and Herbert Goldhamer, sociologists employed by the RAND Corporation, recognized game theory's value and limits. Mathematics alone, they contended, could never fully account for the complexity, unpredictability, and sheer irrationality of war. Speier and Goldhamer created simulations used by RAND and the Pentagon to model the historical, political, and psychological factors that provoked wars and shaped military strategy.[19] Business schools soon incorporated simulations into their curricula, creating games to model decision making in finance and marketing, and social scientists created games to model government and policy.[20]

Historian Jennifer Light's analysis of the U.S. government's use of analog simulation games to develop and improve its Model Cities program, created in 1966 to redress urban violence, decay, and corruption, conveys gaming's importance. "To understand the full extent of the dominance of systems thinking" among scholars and policy makers in the era of the Cold War and the Civil Rights movement, she writes, "scholars must attend to the history of games."[21]

Social scientists were enthusiastic about the potential for simulation games to transform scholarship and social policy. Sociologist Daniel Bell predicted in 1967 that computer-based simulations would revolutionize social science by enabling scholars to conduct "large scale 'controlled experiments' in the social sciences" that "will allow us to plot 'alternative futures.'"[22] Sociologist James S. Coleman, creator of the widely used simulation, Democracy (1966), which used rational-choice theory to model the U.S. Congress, wrote in 1969 that social

scientists must create and use simulation games, because ultimately, "life is a game" in which people strive to achieve their objectives within political, economic, and societal constraints.[23] Surveying the development of gaming two decades later, Coleman called games "essential to the enterprise of social theory construction," because simulations were sociologists' counterpart to natural scientists' experiments and enabled them to test and refine their paradigms for understanding society. "If I had one prescription for those who would aspire to the creation of social theory," he concluded, "it would be a heavy dose of the construction and use of simulation games."[24]

Gaming—the word was virtually unknown in 1960—quickly gained widespread influence in the social sciences and education in the coming decade.[25] The Western Behavioral Sciences Institute, founded in 1958 in La Jolla, California, became a center of game design, and R. Garry Shirts emerged as one of gaming's leading designers and scholars. The Johns Hopkins Game Program, launched in 1962, included sociologists James S. Coleman and Sarane S. Boocock and created a series of widely used educational games—such as Ghetto, Democracy, Economic System, Life Career, and Generation Gap—that enabled students and players to simulate aspects of America's economy, politics, and society.[26] Another influential gaming program was developed at the University of Michigan under the leadership of Richard D. Duke, who designed a series of games to simulate complex policy making and environmental problems. An urban planner, Duke created Metropolis in 1964 to model the budgeting process for the city council in Lansing, Michigan, and the game was adopted by officials in many cities.[27]

A scholarly journal, *Simulation & Games*, debuted in 1970 to publish research on the burgeoning field. The East Coast War Games Council, founded in 1962, became the National Gaming Council in 1968, changed its focus from war games to business simulations, and became the North American Simulation and Gaming Association (NASAGA) in 1975.[28] European scholars also recognized gaming's potential, and the International Simulation and Gaming Association (ISAGA) held its inaugural meeting in Germany in 1970. ISAGA grew rapidly, attracting scholars who believed that simulation games, rather than lectures and textbooks, was the future of social scientific research and education.[29]

Game manufacturers had marketed commercial board games since the nineteenth century, but game designers created a new genre of sophisticated simulation games based on war, strategy, and business for educators and consumers in the 1950s. The Avalon Game company (later Avalon Hill Games)

introduced the first commercially successful war game, Tactics, in 1954. Games Research Inc. began marketing Diplomacy, which simulated the calculations, deceptions, and blunders that culminated in World War I.[30]

Executives at the 3M corporation noticed the rapidly growing market for board games and hired game designers Sid Sackson and Alex Randolph to launch its games division in 1962. Sackson designed one of the company's most successful games, Acquire (1964), in which players competed to amass wealth by building hotel chains. 3M Games developed several notable "bookshelf games" in the 1960s and 1970s but was unprofitable, and the company sold its gaming division to Avalon Hill Games in 1976.[31]

Game designers' enthusiasm verged on utopianism. Simulation games, they claimed, offered a tool to model human interaction and society, a new methodology for conducting social scientific research, a new pedagogy, even a new mode of communication. Simulation game designers predicted that gaming would fundamentally transform education, especially in social studies, by offering a dynamic learning experience in which students interacted with one another, made decisions, and received immediate feedback about the consequences of those decisions.

Sociologist William A. Gamson's enormously influential game, SimSoc (Simulated Society), created in 1966, challenged students to grapple with the social, political, and economic matters of governing a modern nation, and the game inspired many imitators.[32] *Social Education*, the premier journal for teachers of social studies, stated that education was being remade by a "game explosion" and reported that it received more correspondence about simulation games than any other topic.[33] James S. Coleman wrote in 1968 that "the use of games constitutes a fundamental change in the process by which learning takes place," adding that games would prove especially useful for teaching social studies because games engaged students in a way that conventional classes, textbooks, and essay assignments did not.[34] Sarane S. Boocock recalled that simulation games expressed the experimental spirit of the 1960s and resonated with many students, including those who previously had been unenthusiastic about school.[35]

Instead of reading a textbook about American government or economics, students could experience vicariously the give-and-take of politics or the ups-and-downs of the stock market. Sociologist and game designer Cathy S. Greenblat wrote that games encouraged players to develop a holistic vision of society, liberated education from the hierarchical authority of professors, and enabled students to participate in the learning process: "Games entail the active

involvement of learners with the subject matter in autotelic activities that free them from dependence on authority and offer them feedback and ways of measuring their progress toward a goal."[36] Richard D. Duke similarly believed that simulation games led students to understand one another's point of view and comprehend "the gestalt" of society and politics in a way that the "ancient" form of linear text could not. Gaming, he wrote in 1974, was nothing less than "the future's language."[37]

Social Science and Race Relations in the 1960s

Race relations ranked among the most pressing domestic issues confronting the United States in the decades after World War II. Upward of six million Black Americans had moved from the South to northern and western cities in the twentieth century, and racial segregation and poverty posed serious problems throughout the 1960s.[38] As the Civil Rights and Black Power movements challenged racial inequality in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s, social scientists and policy makers confronted the urgent problems of racial discrimination, segregation, and poverty.

Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* (1944) criticized racial inequality yet concluded hopefully that race relations in the United States were on the cusp of significant improvement. St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton's *Black Metropolis* (1945) was less optimistic, focusing on the use of political and economic clout by white Chicagoans to consign Black residents to inferior neighborhoods. The U.S. Supreme Court's landmark 1954 ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*, which prohibited de jure racial segregation in public schools, cited Kenneth and Mamie Clark's psychological research on the effects of racial inequality on children. In his studies of Harlem, *Youth in the Ghetto* (1964) and *Dark Ghetto* (1965), Kenneth Clark described ghettos as "the institutionalization of powerlessness," arguing that poverty and segregation were not inevitable but were created and maintained by laws and policies designed to preserve white supremacy.

Michael Harrington's enormously influential exposé of poverty, *The Other America* (1962) espoused the culture-of-poverty thesis, developed by anthropologist Oscar Lewis in *Five Families*, his 1959 book on Mexican poverty and in *La Vida*, his 1966 book comparing the lives of Puerto Ricans in San Juan and New York City. Simply put, the poor not only lacked money but did not share

middle-class Americans' values or their optimistic belief that they could improve their lives. Harrington's book was among the key inspirations for President Lyndon B. Johnson's ambitious War on Poverty, launched in 1964.[39]

Some of the most influential scholarly research and journalistic accounts of poverty in the 1960s assumed that poverty resulted from individuals' dysfunctional behavior, rather than from a system of racial and economic inequality endemic to American society. Daniel Patrick Moynihan's controversial but influential 1965 report on the Black family faulted the "tangle of pathology" and the "matriarchal" family structure for consigning a disproportionate number Black Americans to poverty.[40] Television and newspaper reports commonly depicted ghetto residents as the "undeserving poor," whose poverty resulted from their own choices, faulting their lack of education, unwillingness to work, reliance on welfare, and decision to bear children they could not easily afford to support. Journalistic accounts often blamed the poor for their troubles and assumed that they could escape from poverty and begin climbing the socioeconomic ladder if they established a long-term goal and made more savvy economic decisions.[41]

The Civil Rights movement won historic victories for desegregation and voting rights in the mid-1960s, yet many Black Americans still confronted poverty, unemployment, substandard housing, and police brutality and responded by protesting in dozens of American cities. Rebellions convulsed Harlem in 1964 and left more than thirty people dead in Watts the following year. During the "long, hot summer" of 1967, protest erupted in more than 150 American cities, and President Johnson responded by appointing the Kerner Commission, supported by a team of social and behavioral scientists, to study the causes of these "civil disorders." The commission's bestselling report stated that the United States was "moving toward two separate societies, one Black, one white, separate and unequal." The report's most quoted and most controversial statement placed the blame for racial segregation and inequality squarely on white Americans and the structures of power they dominated, declaring: "White racism is essentially responsible for the explosive mixture which has been accumulating in our cities since the end of World War II."[42]

Black Americans protested again in cities across the nation after the assassination of Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1968.[43] Racial problems and opposition to the Vietnam War eroded Johnson's popularity, culminating in Republican Richard Nixon's election as president in November 1968. In his influential 1969 book, *The Emerging Republican Majority*, Nixon campaign aide and political

scientist Kevin Philips declared that millions of white voters had abandoned the Democratic Party because of "its ambitious social programming, and inability to handle the urban and Negro revolutions."[44]

Temporary Ghetto Dwellers: Ghetto

Racial inequality, poverty, and urban rebellions led social scientists and game designers to create games about race relations. Some of these games, such as The Black Experience, sought to acquaint players with the many contributions of African Americans to American history, while others simulated contemporary social problems.[45] Game designer and social worker Dove Toll consulted with professors of social work and sociology and members of the Johns Hopkins Game Program to create Ghetto (1969), a game that modeled urban Black poverty. The game's name suggested that ghettos were "where the Black people live" and the game board depicted pawnshops and bars, but no churches, and, tellingly, no people. Ultimately, though, Ghetto was premised on the belief that individual players could overcome hardship and gradually climb into the middle class.

The number of young Americans attending high school and college boomed in the decades after World War II, an era in which higher education was seen as the avenue to a middle-class income and lifestyle. In 1960, 43.2 percent of white adults and 21.7 percent of Black adults had graduated from high school; in 1970, those figures had risen to 57.4 percent of white adults and 36.1 percent of Black adults. College graduation rates for white adults were 8.1 percent in 1960 and 11.6 percent in 1970; 3.5 percent of Black adults had graduated from college in 1960 and 6.1 percent had a college degree in 1970.[46] The belief that education could propel poor and working people into the middle class is evident in Ghetto's instruction manual, in which Toll explained the premises on which the game was based: opportunity for upward mobility in American society depends largely on the amount of education one has; most kinds of legitimate work available to those who have not graduated from high school are financially unrewarding; responsibility for children greatly affects a woman's economic potential, especially among low-income people; finally, neighborhood conditions affect each individual differently, depending on whether he or she has a family and on the type of activities in which he or she has chosen to engage.

Players' options were constrained by their poverty and by their neighbor-

hood environment. (figures 1 and 2). Ghetto rated the neighborhood according to four "neighborhood conditions:" safety, recreation, education, and housing, each of which affected a player's life chances. At the start of the game, the neighborhood was in bad shape—high rents, crowded apartments, dilapidated buildings, poor schools, few recreational activities, and antagonistic relations with the police. If neighborhood conditions improved, players' opportunities improved with them. Ostensibly, neighborhood conditions suggested the ghetto environment's enormous impact on players' lives, but these conditions were shaped principally by the choices residents made, as though they—rather than, say, government, redlining, zoning, white flight, and landlords—bore collective responsibility for the ghetto's problems. At the beginning of each round, neighborhood conditions either improved or deteriorated in response to players' prior decisions about how to use their time and resources, compounded by the vagaries of spinning the game's wheel (11) [The numbers in parentheses refer to the page numbers of the game's rule book]. Although players were allowed to cooperate with one another and to invest in neighborhood improvement to enhance safety, recreational opportunities, schools, or housing, poverty left players with scant resources to devote to bettering their neighborhood (11).

Ghetto focused its attention on players' subjective experience of poverty's hardships, and the game's rulebook explicitly endorsed the culture-of-poverty thesis, inviting players to "become temporary ghetto dwellers, and, at a safe remove, 'live out' the life of a fellow man who has been trapped in the culture of poverty" (5). The game was "not really designed for residents of inner-city ghettos," who hardly needed a board game to learn about poverty, but for white college and high school students who had not experienced poverty or racial segregation (5). Toll wrote that playing the game would "sensitize its players to the emotional, physical, and social world the poor inhabit" as they struggled to pay their bills and provide for their children (4). At the game's outset, each player was assigned a "profile," which resembled a social worker's case file for a ghetto resident (Willie Mae, Isabelle, Lorenzo, and others). These profiles were designed to encourage players to empathize with the plight of an individual ghetto resident. None of the residents had a high school diploma. Some worked low-paying jobs, and others were unemployed and received welfare. Eight of ten were unmarried. Most had at least one child, and some as many as six.[47]

Ghetto forced players to cope with some of the hardships that poverty imposed on the poor but suggested that they could gradually climb out of poverty through sacrifice, prudence, and hard work. Escaping from poverty, how-

Figure 1. Ghetto game box. The image on the box is from "The Block" by photographer Herb Goro, who photographed a poor neighborhood and its residents in the East Bronx in 1968–1969. Herb Goro, *The Block* (New York: Vintage Books, 1970), ii–iii. Photo by Mason Resnick.

Figure 2. Ghetto gameboard. A neighborhood without people. Photo by Mason Resnick.

ever, was far from easy. Each player received a specified number of "hour-chips" representing free time at the beginning of each round. Players with spouses or children had as few as four hours of free time daily, while those who were single and childless had upwards of twelve (8). Strapped for both time and money, players had to choose whether to work, go to school to qualify for a better job, care for their children, hang out, attempt to improve their neighborhood, rely on welfare, or turn to crime (6). The game encouraged players to devise a strategy for using their available time to improve their economic standing. By completing high school, trade school, or courses at the city college, players could move from unskilled to semiskilled to skilled jobs, but getting an education proved extremely difficult for players with children to care for and rent to pay. Although players devised strategies about how to spend their time and money, the game, like life itself, was also shaped by luck, which could suddenly upend a player's plan. Some outcomes were determined by rolling dice, spinning a wheel, or drawing chance cards, which could result in players being expelled from school or losing their jobs and slipping into destitution (9).

Female players faced far more impediments than males. The game's depiction of women echoed Daniel Patrick Moynihan's controversial claim that Black Americans' high poverty rate resulted from "the deterioration of the Negro family," typified by absentee fathers and single mothers.[48] Players who were assigned the profile of a woman faced far greater impediments than men because most female profiles were single mothers with extremely low incomes who were compelled to devote much of their time and money to child care and could work or go to school only if they paid for babysitting. They also ran a significant risk of becoming pregnant and could do little to reduce that risk, because the game's instructions prohibited players from using birth control (10). If birth control were introduced into the game, designer Dove Toll explained, players would opt not to have children, which "would not be realistic and would provide less opportunity for learning about the economic effects of having children" (14).

Dim job prospects tempted some players to become a "hustler" and turn to crime. The game's inclusion of hustlers expressed a notorious stereotype of Black criminality, but Black Nationalist Malcolm X lionized the hustler in his 1965 autobiography, calling him "the most dangerous Black man in America" because of his utter contempt for the white power structure.[49] Some social scientists in the 1960s contended that criminal behavior was not pathological, but a rational strategy for coping with poverty. Sociologist Richard Cloward and criminologist Lloyd Ohlin invoked opportunity theory in their 1961 book on

juvenile delinquency to explain delinquency and criminality as understandable responses to extreme inequality.[50] In Ghetto, hustlers made considerably more money than low-wage workers but also ran significant risk of being injured, arrested, fined, jailed, and gaining a criminal record that permanently hampered their employability. Hustlers also harmed other players, who became the victims of robbery, and caused neighborhood conditions to deteriorate, making life more difficult for all players (10). Notably, if neighborhood conditions improved, the likelihood of a hustler being arrested rose markedly, from a low of 3 percent in the worst ghetto to 89 percent if the neighborhood's schools, housing, and policing became significantly better. After players completed six rounds of the game, a player who had been a successful hustler throughout the previous six rounds could become a "big-time hustler," engage in crime on a much larger and more lucrative scale, and be insulated from many of the risks that frequently sent small-time hustlers to jail (11).

Game designers sometimes encouraged players to alter the game's rules and experiment with ideas for modeling and improving society, and Ghetto's instruction manual suggested that players could introduce a variation into the game in which unemployment and poverty provoked a riot, like the hundreds of rebellions that convulsed dozens of American cities in the 1960s. The game's instructions cautioned that a riot could either improve the neighborhood by focusing national attention on the ghetto's problems or harm it by destroying property (14). Players were also invited to experiment with possible remedies for poverty by amending the game's rules to introduce a guaranteed annual income, more generous welfare support for children and parents, or urban renewal (15).

Ghetto was designed to be educational rather than competitive and to foster interaction among players, and the game's rules encouraged players to consider long-term strategies for improving their lives and to measure how well their strategies succeeded. Players kept a score sheet on which they recorded their use of time and money, their expected returns, and their actual returns. After playing eight to ten rounds, each of which represented a year in a player's life, players tallied their resources and calculated their "projected future reward"—that is, their prospective earnings over the next forty years, because "life is a game of about forty to fifty economically productive years" (13). Ghetto's first premise was that education was the pathway to a good job, and players who adopted a long-term strategy of getting an education and a higher-paying job could expect much greater future earnings than unskilled workers. Although

players kept score by totaling their assets and their projected earnings, the game was intended to foster conversation about poverty, and its instruction manual included a bibliography of scholarship on poverty and urban problems. The rule book included questions about the problems that confronted ghetto residents to foster postgame discussion about players' choices: What effect did age, children, and education have on their ability to get ahead? Did the poor have any incentive to engage in collective action to improve their neighborhood? What were the risks and rewards of hustling? Why was the ghetto's crime rate so high? To what extent did players feel the frustrations of life in the inner city as they struggled to get ahead but sometimes suffered setbacks through no fault of their own (12–14)? Ultimately, Ghetto's depiction of the lives of poor Black Americans was sometimes stereotyped, but the game expressed the belief—widely shared in the 1960s—that gaining an education and a better job would enable the poor to pull themselves up out of poverty and out of the ghetto.

A Taste of Helplessness: Blacks & Whites

While Ghetto invited players to become temporary ghetto dwellers, Blacks & Whites (1970) even more explicitly asked white players to engage in role play (a therapeutic technique used by many psychologists) and to adopt the persona of a Black ghetto resident. The game also borrowed heavily from Parker Brothers' Monopoly to model residential segregation, and the objective of "Black" players was to better their lives by moving from a segregated neighborhood into a more affluent, integrated one. Blacks & Whites stated this goal succinctly: "Experience the ghetto. Live on welfare. Try to buy into a white suburb."[51]

Ghetto relied principally on sociological research; Blacks & Whites was created by psychologists. The field of psychology grew rapidly after World War II, and psychologists, like social scientists, were deeply concerned about racism in the 1950s and 1960s. As I noted, Kenneth and Mamie Clark's studies of the psychological consequences of racism supplied part of the intellectual foundation for the U.S. Supreme Court's 1954 landmark ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*, which declared segregated public schools unconstitutional. Kenneth Clark's 1965 book, *Dark Ghetto*, issued a sweeping indictment of racism's injurious effects on Black Americans. Psychologists and sociologists contributed to the Kerner Commission's study of the "civil disorders" that erupted in more than one hundred cities in 1967 and strove to identify the factors that caused some

Black Americans to hit the breaking point and engage in rebellion and violence.[52]

Eager to make psychological research accessible to a broad readership, psychologist, publisher, and entrepreneur Nicolas Charney launched the magazine *Psychology Today* in 1967, positioning its content between the scholarly articles in academic journals and the superficial coverage of psychology in the mass media.[53] Troubled by racism's toll on individuals and society, Charney devoted considerable attention to race relations in *Psychology Today*, publishing articles by Kenneth Clark and on the response of Americans to the rebellions that convulsed cities in 1967 and 1968.[54] Charney also founded a company, Communications/Research/Machines (C/R/M), which launched Psychology Today Games to create educational games and disseminate psychological techniques and insights to students and consumers. The new gaming company created Blacks & Whites and several other role-play games in the early 1970s.[55] C/R/M acknowledged that a board game about segregation could not cure America's poisoned race relations but believed the game could teach students, especially white students, about racism.[56]

Blacks & Whites was developed by Robert Sommer and Judy Tart, professors of psychology at the University of California, Davis. Sommer and Tart believed that their role-play game would "give middle-class whites a taste of the helplessness that comes from living against implacable odds" by allowing players to adopt the role of a Black person trying to escape poverty and segregation or the role of a white person who benefited from racial inequality (2) [The numbers in parentheses refer to the page numbering of the game's rule book]. Players were allowed to choose a "Black" or "white" identity, but the rules stipulated that "white" players must be a majority in the game, just as whites were a majority in the U.S. population (1). Players in Blacks & Whites sought to amass property, but the game relied principally on the technique of role playing and focused on the individual player's response to poverty and segregation rather than to the structure of racial and economic inequality.[57] As the game's instructions conceded: "Nobody pretends to know what it is like to live in another's skin." But it hoped the game could sensitize players to some of the indignities and inequality that white supremacy inflicted on Black Americans (3).

In Sommer and Tart's prototype for Blacks & Whites, "Black" players were so disadvantaged economically that they simply could not win, and many players became frustrated by the game. When Sommer and Tart tested the game with groups of students, players responded by rewriting its rules and introducing "Black Power politics" that enabled Black players to band together to defeat

Figure 3. Blacks & Whites game box. The psychologists who designed the game believed that role play could ameliorate racism. Photo by Mason Resnick.

Figure 4. Blacks & Whites gameboard. As in Monopoly, players aimed to buy real estate but also sought to move out of the ghetto and end racial residential segregation. Photo by Mason Resnick.

the whites (3). An account of the game's development in its rule book recounted in 1960s lingo that players "shook up the rigidities of the past and introduced free-form alternatives" so that "Black people, though still victims of discrimination, became the agents of change in a game that came to emphasize the absurdities of living in different worlds while playing on the same board." David Popoff, an editor at *Psychology Today*, further revised the game's rules after consulting with Black Nationalist and pan-Africanist Maulana Karenga, founder of the US Organization.[58] Blacks & Whites, like Ghetto, was designed to encourage players to improvise and devise solutions to social problems, and the game invited players to alter the rules and experiment with strategies for promoting racial equality (3). "Don't get hung up reading the rules," the rule book began. "You'll soon be changing them anyway" (1).

Unlike Ghetto, in which successful players might gain jobs with higher wages and slowly make their way out of poverty, Blacks & Whites dangled the prospect of earning enough money to leave the ghetto and move to an affluent suburb. The game modeled inadequate housing and residential segregation in American cities, which became important issues during the Civil Rights struggle.[59] The game's simulation of segregation borrowed extensively from Monopoly, the enormously popular real estate board game introduced by Parker Brothers in 1935. Monopoly's game board contained properties ranging from Mediterranean Avenue to Boardwalk; Blacks & Whites substituted Harlem, Watts, Levittown, and Grosse Pointe. As in Monopoly, players rolled the dice, landed on properties, bought them if they could afford to do so, and amassed wealth (2).[60] (See figures 3 and 4.)

Black players strove to escape from poverty and move to one of the more affluent neighborhoods on the game board, but the game burdened them with almost insurmountable disadvantages. Black players started the game with $10,000 in cash and white players began with $1,000,000. Income, like wealth, was unequal, and Black players collected $10,000 each time they passed the game's Start square; Whites, however, collected $50,000 (1). (The game's disparities of wealth and income exceeded America's economic inequality in this era. One group of economists calculated average household wealth in 1968: white, $70,786; Black, $6,674; the U.S. Census Bureau reported mean household incomes in 1972: white, $11,861; Black, $7,501.)[61]

Real estate prices posed a significant barrier to Black players. The least expensive properties, Harlem and Watts, cost $50,000; the most expensive, Grosse Pointe, cost $1,000,000. Residential segregation also created a barrier for

Black players. The game board was divided into four housing zones—the ghetto zone, integrated zone, suburban zone, and estate zone, each of which comprised two separate neighborhoods (inner ghetto and outer ghetto, for example). At the start of the game, Black players could buy property only in the ghetto and integrated zones and were barred from owning property in the suburban zone unless they persuaded a white player to sell it to them, purchased the property at a bankruptcy auction, or drew an "opportunity" card that permitted them to buy it. Black players were also prohibited from buying into the wealthy estate Zone unless they amassed $1,000,000 in assets, a nearly unattainable sum. But if a Black player succeeded in moving into either the suburban zone or the estate zone, the prohibition of Black ownership in that zone ended and other Black players could also purchase property in it. If Black players acquired half of the properties in a neighborhood, the value of the remaining properties plummeted, and white players were required to sell their property and engage in so-called "white flight" (3).

Even luck was racially segregated in Blacks & Whites, as the game contained one deck of opportunity cards for Black players and another for whites. These cards, like Monopoly's "chance" and "community chest," injected sheer unpredictability into the game and alluded to contemporary issues in race relations. A lucky white player might draw a card announcing that the federal government had purchased his or her ghetto properties at an inflated price for its Model Cities program, while an unlucky one might draw a card warning of impending race riots and forcing him or her to sell his or her properties in mixed-race neighborhoods. Black militants could win control of the city council and levy whopping fines on white property owners in the ghetto and mixed-race neighborhoods.

Opportunity cards for Black players similarly resulted in both windfalls and disasters. Rioting could slash real estate values in the ghetto and integrated neighborhoods, allowing a Black player to snap up property at a discount. Court-ordered desegregation could enable Black players to move into previously segregated white neighborhoods. Urban renewal or being drafted and deployed to Vietnam could force a player to sell his ghetto properties at a loss. Or Chicago Mayor Richard J. Daley could order Black players arrested and hauled to the police station for interrogation.

Some opportunity cards, intended as humor, were cringeworthy. One card informed white players that they fantasize about being a Black Panther and must pay $30,000 for psychoanalysis. Another stated, "You have contracted a strange

skin disease. For your next three turns make your moves as a Black player." A card for Black players announces the invention of a skin-lightener that enables them to take three turns passing as white.

The game's rules also included the racist stereotype of Black Americans' dependence on the welfare system: white players who went broke were simply out of the game, but Black players who went bankrupt became eligible for welfare and received payments of $5,000 from each white player (3).[62] Despite the game designers' commitment to racial equality, Blacks & Whites expressed some of the racial attitudes prevalent among white Americans in the 1960s and 1970s.

Life in the Barrio Is Not Easy: El Barrio

The Chicano movement grew rapidly in the 1960s, especially among young Latinos and on university campuses.[63] Demographers projected that millions of Latinos, many of them impoverished and from rural areas, would migrate to the United States in the 1970s, and social scientists sought to anticipate the problems that new immigrants would encounter as they adapted to life in their new country.

In 1971, game designers at the University of California's Berkeley Project on Gaming Simulation produced El Barrio, a game designed to model the difficulties of life in a "Chicano ghetto" (7)[64] [The numbers in parentheses refer to the page numbers of the games' rule book]. The word *el barrio* (the neighborhood) was commonly used to refer to the Puerto Rican neighborhood in New York's East Harlem, but, as the nation's Latino population grew, it was applied broadly to Latino neighborhoods across the country. Game designers used research by social scientists on Latino communities in Denver, San Antonio, Albuquerque, San Francisco, and Los Angeles to create El Barrio. They especially relied on the work of sociologists Ozzie Simmons, Robert Hanson, and Jules Wanderer of the University of Colorado's Institute of Behavioral Science, which identified four character types among Latino immigrants: the "loser," "stumbler," "struggler," and "achiever" (9) and contended that migrants from rural areas needed to be resocialized and embark on the right role path to assimilate into American society, become an achiever, and attain "fulfillment of the American Myth that is shared by immigrants and the multitude in the suburbs alike" (9).[65] That is, Latino immigrants were presumed to aspire to the goals of home ownership and a middle-class standard of living.

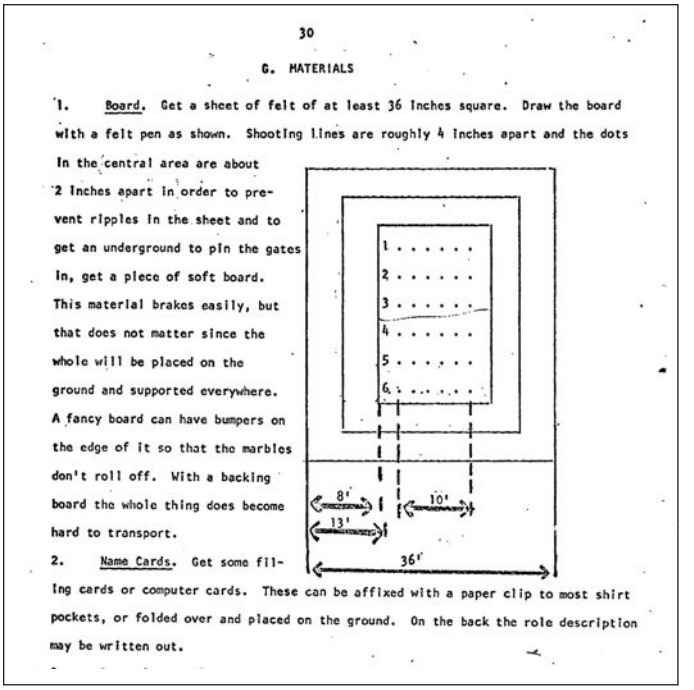
The game's designers acknowledged that El Barrio did not simulate Chicano culture or urban life in detail but focused on some of the biggest challenges that Latino immigrants confronted living in a poor, segregated neighborhood (13–14). Players struggled to earn an income, avoid trouble with the police, obtain legal documentation or become citizens, learn English, and cooperate for their mutual survival. The game's instructions put it succinctly: "Life in the barrio is not easy" (15).

El Barrio, like Ghetto and Blacks & Whites, was designed to educate white players about the lives of poor minorities. "The main purpose of this game," the rule book explained, "is to give people who do not live in the barrio some understanding of how it feels to be a Chicano in an American city" (13).

Players could choose to be a Chicano, the "system," the police, the judge, or the "game overall director" (G.O.D.), an umpire who enforced the rules (0, 2, 14). Players who chose to be Chicano players (Roberto Rojo, Victor Verde, Nestor Negron, and others) were instructed to "take the role of Latin migrants to the city," refer to one another by these Hispanic names, and "act as though we are the Spanish speaking residents themselves" (1, 13). All the Chicano roles were male because, according to the game's gender-stereotyped instructions, "the sex is presumed to be male because women in the family tend to follow males in typical Chicano society" (9). Some of the Chicano roles were native-born, U.S. citizens, and others were immigrants from Mexico, Nicaragua, or Cuba (Chicanos, of course, are Mexican-Americans). Some had more education or greater fluency in English, while others had no formal education and spoke Spanish exclusively (1).

Players sought to acquire the economic and social capital necessary to adjust to life in a Latin ghetto (9). El Barrio was not produced commercially, and its DIY aesthetic required teachers and players to create their own game board and purchase the marbles, dowels, and other materials used to play the game (see figure 5). Oddly, instead of rolling a die or spinning a wheel, players shot marbles to hit other marbles that represented jobs and other resources and tried to avoid hitting police marbles and other trouble marbles. The game's instructions explained that the children's game of marbles modeled life in the barrio because most Latinos were laborers, and playing marbles mimicked manual labor (10).[66]

By acquiring marbles that represented economic, political, and social capital, players earned more advantageous positions from which to shoot their marbles in subsequent rounds of the game. Becoming more proficient in English,



30

G. MATERIALS

1. Board. Get a sheet of felt of at least 36 inches square. Draw the board with a felt pen as shown. Shooting lines are roughly 4 inches apart and the dots in the central area are about 2 inches apart in order to prevent ripples in the sheet and to get an underground to pin the gates in, get a piece of soft board. This material brakes easily, but that does not matter since the whole will be placed on the ground and supported everywhere. A fancy board can have bumpers on the edge of it so that the marbles don't roll off. With a backing board the whole thing does become hard to transport.

2. Name Cards. Get some filing cards or computer cards. These can be affixed with a paper clip to most shirt pockets, or folded over and placed on the ground. On the back the role description may be written out.

Figure 5. Instructions for making the game El Barrio. A do-it-yourself game to learn about Latino immigrants to cities in the United States.

which could be purchased for three marbles, also gave players a more advantageous position from which to shoot marbles onto the homemade game board (4, 21), and attaining fluency in English, which cost nine marbles, along with documentation of legal residency or citizenship, enabled players to get a driver's license and purchase a used car. Cars gave players access to more jobs but also exposed them to the risk of accidents and repair bills (5). Chicano players without documentation of legal residency or citizenship (papers cost five marbles) ran considerable risk of trouble with the police (5). Players, whether Chicanos or whites, also accumulated political capital, represented by wooden dowels of various lengths, because the barrio invariably had a power structure, whether dominated by gangsters or the city planning department (18). Interestingly, some players represented the "system," the police, or the judge. The "system" comprised employers, social welfare agencies, businesses, universities, hospitals, and government and embodied upper-middle-class "white Anglos with depersonalized institutions" (11, 18). Playing El Barrio was designed to "reflect the

arbitrariness and power of the system relative to the majority of the players" (15), and the system allocated jobs and resources and deployed the police in ways that often appeared capricious to Latinos.

El Barrio, like Ghetto and Blacks & Whites, allowed players to cooperate rather than compete against one another and to consider community one of the hallmarks of Latino culture. The game's rules explained that Chicanos attached more value to family, friends, and community than did white or Black Americans and that the game modeled Latinos' social cohesion: "*the aim of life in El Barrio is to build up one's social network as rapidly as possible*" (10; emphasis in original). Players who pursued their self-interest faced long odds, while those who cooperated with other players increased their likelihood of improving their economic and social well-being. The rules specified that some players were *compadres* with one another, and these friends were penalized two marbles if they refused to lend a few marbles or use of their car to a *compadre* (1, 5). The game's instructions explained that Chicanos typically had less education than Black Americans, lacked the influebce of the Civil Rights movement, and were not prominent in American music and popular culture, and so "have not yet been able to dramatize their built-in conflicts with the System" in same way as African Americans have (8).

Although the game was designed principally to be educational rather than competitive, a player could win the game by amassing fifty marbles, which made the player wealthy enough to build a house in the barrio or move to a home in the suburbs (5, 24). For a game ostensibly designed to teach players the importance of cooperation, saving enough money to build a home or move out of the barrio was, ironically, a highly individualistic and material measure of success, but reflected social scientists' beliefs that Chicanos desired to assimilate into American society and become property owners.

El Barrio offered a rudimentary model of the economic and cultural impediments that Latino migrants and immigrants faced as their numbers grew and they adapted to urban life in the United States. As in most simulation games, though, players were encouraged to alter the game's rules, devise new roles for players, and suggest ways to create a more egalitarian society (17). After the game concluded, players were encouraged to discuss what they had learned from playing it (13–14), and the game's instructions included four pages of questions to stimulate conversation. Ultimately, players were asked to consider whether the game had changed or confirmed their view of American society and the place of Latinos in it (26–29). El Barrio, which demonstrated the difficulties

Latino immigrants faced in American cities, was predicated on the assumption that Latinos wanted to assimilate and share in the vaunted American dream.

Responses: Pro and Con

Proponents of games promised that they would remake education, engage students, and render textbooks and lectures obsolete. As Paul Wake and Chloe Germaine point out, to understand fully a game's meaning, scholars must consider "the embodied experience of game play" as players interact with the game and with one another.[67]

Evidence about these educational board games is scant but suggestive. Some instructors reported that Ghetto demonstrated the superiority of games to conventional modes of instruction. Cathy Greenblat, a sociologist, recounted that the murder of Martin Luther King, Jr., the growing influence of Black Nationalism, and urban rebellions had made race relations so tense in 1968 and 1969 that students in her course on race were reluctant to discuss the issue. Greenblat's colleague, Sarane S. Boocock, a member of the Johns Hopkins Game Program that designed Ghetto, gave her a prototype version of the game, and Greenblat discovered that gaming and interactive learning enabled students to understand why people with little money, inadequate education, and dismal job prospects struggled to make ends meet, let alone rise to the middle class.[68]

Empirical studies of Ghetto conducted among teachers, college students, and high school students indicated that the game sensitized students to the plight of the poor but did not increase their knowledge about poverty. L. Warren Nelson, Assistant Superintendent of Schools in Highland Park, Michigan, arranged for students and teachers from a poor neighborhood to play the game and reported that even students typically uninterested in school were enthusiastic about the game and considered it an accurate simulation of crime, pregnancy, and education. Reviewing Ghetto in *Simulation & Games,* Nelson wrote that the game taught students about poverty and enabled them to "see alternatives and choices open to them."[69] But other observers, including Sarane S. Boocock, reported that playing Ghetto led some players to despair that trying to escape from poverty was futile, causing them to become pessimistic about efforts to eliminate economic inequality.[70] Boocock stated that games could foster empathy for others but warned that they could also tempt players to engage in selfish behavior to "win" and even backfire by reinforcing "stereotypical attitudes about

the poor and racial minorities."[71] Ghetto modeled some of the economic hardships endured by the poor but also suggested that they were trapped in poverty as a result of their own choices. If the poor wanted to improve their lives, they would have to lift themselves out of the ghetto.

Responses to Blacks & Whites ranged from approving to withering. An article in *Time* magazine touted the game, and Psychology Today Games boasted that community action groups and business people in cities across the nation were playing it to understand racial discrimination and segregation in their community.[72] Reviewing Blacks & Whites in *Simulation & Games*, E. O. Schild, a gaming pioneer, called it "a poor game which could have been a good one." He acknowledged that the game contained some clever ideas, but considered it too simple, its outcomes shaped excessively by luck, and its model of racial segregation as inaccurate as Monopoly's simulation of the real estate market in Atlantic City. As for the game's reliance on role playing, Schild stated that no empirical studies had demonstrated that role-play games made players more sensitive to the plight of others. Games, he explained, teach structure and strategy, not empathy. In a parting shot at Charney's magazine, Schild wrote, "this may be psychology today, but it is gaming of five years ago."[73]

R. Garry Shirts, a leading game designer, was also critical, charging that the game's emphasis on role playing ironically encouraged racial stereotyping, because "white players act the way they think a Negro would act," instead of attempting to understand how racial discrimination restricted opportunities for Black Americans.[74] In short, Blacks & Whites offered an oversimplified simulation of racial segregation and the game's emphasis on role playing led players to assume a Black or white persona rather than confront the ways in which economic and political structures maintained racial inequality and diminished the life chances of Black Americans.

Simulating Race and Poverty

American politics veered rightward in the late 1960s as liberalism imploded over the unpopular Vietnam War and embittered race relations, and some white Americans pushed back against the gains made by the Civil Rights movement and the growth of the welfare system.[75] Satirists created board games unsympathetic to the plight of the urban poor and critical of the welfare system. Public Assistance, developed by Ronald Pramschufer and Robert Johnson in 1980,

relied on negative stereotypes of welfare and its recipients. Although images on the game pieces and box avoided egregious racist caricatures (all the people depicted on the game's box were white), Public Assistance trafficked in racialized stereotypes about "working persons" who were forced to support "able-bodied welfare recipients" and their "illegitimate children." The game sidestepped direct reference to Blacks or Latinos by using instead the word "ethnic." Ghettopoly, created in 2002 by David Chang, was even more harshly critical of the poor, presenting a caricature of the "'hood," filled with crack houses and peopled by "playas," "gangstas," pimps, and "ho's." The NAACP and other organizations immediately denounced the game as racist, and most stores refused to sell it.[76]

Social scientists continued to develop simulation games but focused on games that modeled economics, government, and environmental problems rather than race relations. Poverty rates in the United States declined in the 1970s, rose again during the Reagan presidency, and have remained stubbornly high in recent decades.[77] Simulations of the hardships endured by poor people in the United States and around the world remain useful tools for educators and social activists. Simulation game designers continue to model poverty and ghetto life to educate students and citizens about the difficulties that the poor confront daily. Inequality-opoly, created by educator Perry Clemons, ambitiously seeks to model structural racism and sexism in the United States.[78] The persistence of poverty and renewed political and scholarly interest in economic inequality over the past decade, virtually guarantee that game designers will continue to model poverty and explore ways to reduce it.

Simulation games that model society, whether played on game boards or computer screens, remain an important tool for social scientists and educators. Simulations of society, politics, war, history, and the economy—some of them sophisticated products of social scientific research, others principally for entertainment—remain popular in the classroom and outside it. Digitization and the internet transformed gaming, combining complicated mathematical models and dazzling computer graphics, resulting in a string of enormously successful fantasy and role-playing games, including Dungeons & Dragons (1974), to *World of Warcraft* (2004) and *League of Legends* (2009).[79] Educational simulation games are still used in thousands of classrooms across the United States, and corporations and schools use computer simulations to train employees and encourage students and employees to be more sensitive to cultural differences and implicit discrimination.[80]

Ghetto, Blacks & Whites, and El Barrio were produced in an era when

rapidly changing race relations, combined with innovations in gaming, social science, and pedagogy, inspired game designers to create simulations of poverty and racial inequality. The structure and rules of these games undeniably created a model of inequality that forced players to recognize how poverty and discrimination posed significant barriers to achieving success for Blacks and Latinos. Still, the games suggested that prudent choices and the sheer dint of hard work would gradually enable individuals to escape poverty and become integrated into American society. The rules for Ghetto, Blacks & Whites, and El Barrio encouraged players to consider ideas for creating a more just society, but the objective of players was to succeed against the odds in an unjust one. As players struggled to pay their bills, get a better job, or move to a better neighborhood, the games offered few alternatives to the system of political, economic, and racial inequality that created and maintained the ghetto and the barrio.[81]

Notes

1. Leonard Sloane, "Toy Industry is Not Child's Play," *New York Times*, December 13, 1970, Sec. 3-3.

2. Cathy S. Greenblat, "Sociological Theory and the 'Multiple Reality' Game," *Simulation & Games* 5 (1974), 3–4; Sarane S. Boocock and James S. Coleman, "Games with Simulated Environments in Learning," *Sociology of Education* 39 (1966), 215–36; James S. Coleman, "Academic Games and Learning," *NASSP Bulletin* 52 (1968), 62–72.

3. On Blacks & Whites, see Rebecca Onion, "A '70s Board Game Designed to Teach Players About Race, Housing, and Privilege," *Slate*, April 1, 2016, http://www.slate.com/blogs/the_vault/2016/04/01/the_game_blacks_and_whites_from_1970_taught_about_race_housing_and_privilege.html/; *Blacks & Whites, Board Game Geek*, https://boardgamegeek.com/boardgame/7245/blacks-whites.

4. Paul Booth, *Board Games as Media* (2021), 8–9, 22.

5. Mitchell Duneier, *Ghetto: The Invention of a Place, The History of an Idea* (2016); Elijah Anderson, "The Iconic Ghetto," in *Black in White Space: The Enduring Impact of Color in Everyday Life* (2022), 27–43; quotation on 27 (I capitalized Black); see also 1–3. On the racialized debate over welfare policy, see Jill Quadagno, *The Color of Welfare: How Racism Undermined the War on Poverty* (1994), 155, 176–77. On racialization generally, see Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States*, 3rd ed. (2014), 1–18.

6. Loïc Wacquant, *Urban Outcasts: A Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality* (2008), 16 (emphasis in original).

7. On the "culture of poverty," see Oscar Lewis, *Five Families; Mexican Case Studies in the Culture of Poverty* (1959); Lewis, *La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty—San Juan and New York* (1966); Lewis, "The Culture of Poverty," *Scientific*

American 215, October 1, 1966, 19–25; and Michael Harrington, *The Other America: Poverty in the United States* (1962).

8. On white stereotypes of ghetto life, see Elijah Anderson, *Black in White Space: The Enduring Impact of Color in Everyday Life* (2022), 27–43.

9. On the persistence of poverty and growth of economic inequality, see William Julius Wilson, *The Declining Significance of Race: Blacks and Changing American Institutions* (1978); Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy* (1987); Douglas S. Massey and Nancy A. Denton, *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass* (1993); William Julius Wilson, *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor* (1996); Mario Luis Small and Monica McDermott, "The Presence of Organizational Resources in Poor Urban Neighborhoods: An Analysis of Average and Contextual Effects," *Social Forces* 84 (2006), 1697–1724; Peter Edelman, *So Rich, So Poor: Why It's Hard to End Poverty in America* (2012); Joseph E. Stiglitz, *The Price of Inequality: How Today's Divided Society Endangers Our Future* (2012); and Ruby K. Payne, *A Framework for Understanding Poverty: A Cognitive Approach*, 5th ed. (2013). Notable works on race, racism, and segregation include Cornel West, *Race Matters* (1993); Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States*, 3rd ed.; Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: Mass Incarceration in the Age of Colorblindness*, rev. ed. (2012); Ta-Nehisi Coates, *Between the World and Me* (2015); Ibram X. Kendi, *Stamped from the Beginning: The Definitive History of Racist Ideas in America* (2016); Carol Anderson, *White Rage: The Unspoken Truth of Our Racial Divide* (2016); and Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America* (2017).

10. Attempting to achieve individual success and to cultivate the virtues ostensibly necessary to attain it have long been among the most common themes in board games. See Jill Lepore, "The Meaning of Life: What Milton Bradley Started," *New Yorker*, May 14, 2007. https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2007/05/21/the-meaning-of-life.

11. "Video Games—Worldwide," *Statista* (2024). https://www.statista.com/outlook/dmo/digital-media/video-games/worldwide#revenue.

12. Aaron Trammell notes the prevalence of racialized and racist assumptions in many board games, digital games, and among gamers. Aaron Trammell, *The Privilege of Play*: *A History of Hobby Games, Race, and Geek Culture* (2023), 3–9. On game designers' biases, see Ergin Bulut, "White Masculinity, Creative Desires, and Production Ideology in Video Game Development," *Games and Culture* 16 (2021), 329–41; Sabine Harrer, "We Are the Champions? Performing Whiteness in Ascension: Dawn of Champions," *Simulation & Gaming* 52 (2021), 533–53; and Sam Srauy, "Professional Norms and Race in the North American Video Game Industry," *Games and Culture* 14 (2019), 478–97. On gamers' racist behavior and its consequences, see Brian TaeHyuk Keum and Maynard Hearns, "Online Gaming and Racism: Impact on Psychological Distress Among Black, Asian, and Latinx Emerging Adults," *Games and Culture* 17 (May), 445–60; Jessie Daniels and Nick LaLone, "Racism in Video Gaming: Connecting Extremist and Mainstream Expressions of White Supremacy," in *Social Exclusion, Power, and Video Game Play: New Research in Digital Media and Technology*, edited by David G. Embrick, J. Talmadge Wright, and Andras Lukacs (2012), 83–97; David J. Leonard, "'Live in Your

World, Play in Ours': Race, Video Games, and Consuming the Other," *Studies in Media & Information Literacy Education* 3 (2003), 1–9; Brian McKernan, "Digital Texts and Moral Questions About Immigration: *Papers, Please* and the Capacity for a Video Game to Stimulate Sociopolitical Discussion," *Games and Culture* 16 (2021), 383–406; Kishonna L. Gray, *Intersectional Tech: Black Users in Digital Gaming* (2020); Gray, *Race, Gender, & Deviance in Xbox Live: Theoretical Perspectives from the Virtual Margins*, Theoretical Criminology Series (2014); and Gray, "Deviant Bodies, Stigmatized Identities, and Racist Acts: Examining the Experiences of African-American Gamers in Xbox Live," *New Review of Hypermedia and Multimedia* 18 (2012), 261–76.

13. Mary Flanagan, *Critical Play: Radical Game Design* (2009), 1–15, 260–62. On video games' potential to enable players to consider alternate histories, see Andrew Denning, "Deep Play? Video Games and the Historical Imaginary," *American Historical Review* 126 (2021), 180–98.

14. Lindsay D. Grace, ed., *Black Game Studies: An Introduction to the Games, Game Makers, and Scholarship of the African Diaspora* (2021). Grace cites several recent games that simulate economic, social, and racial inequality, including Inequality-opoly (150–51), Operator (158–59), Systemic Lives (176–77), The Runaround (182–83), and Trading Races (186–87). See Critical Gameplay at: https://www.criticalgameplay.com/.

15. Kishonna L. Gray and David J. Leonard, eds., *Woke Gaming: Digital Challenges to Oppression and Social Injustice* (2018), 6–7.

16. John von Neumann and Oskar Morgenstern, *Theory of Games and Economic Behavior* (1944), 87; Robert J. Leonard, "From Parlor Games to Social Science: Von Neumann, Morgenstern, and the Creation of Game Theory, 1928–1944," *Journal of Economic Literature* 33 (1995), 730–61; and Rothstein, *The Color of Law* (2017).

17. Will Lissner, "Mathematical Theory of Poker is Applied to Business Problems," *New York Times*, March 10, 1946, 1, 36; Lissner, "The Mathematics of Poker Strategy," *New York Times*, December 25, 1949, E-7.

18. On the definition of games, see Flanagan, *Critical Play*, 6–7; D. R. Cruickshank and Ross Telfer, "Classroom Games and Simulations," *Theory into Practice* 19 (1980), 75–80; Dean S. Dorn, "Simulation Games: One More Tool on the Pedagogical Shelf," *Teaching Sociology* 17 (1989), 1–18, esp. 2–3; Hannah Johnston and Anthony Whitehead, "Distinguishing Games, Serious Games, and Training Simulators on the Basis of Intent," *Future Play '09: Proceedings of the 2009 Conference on Future Play*, ACM Digital Library. https://dl.acm.org/doi/pdf/10.1145/1639601.1639607; and Nigel Gilbert and Klaus G. Troitzch, *Simulation for the Social Scientist*, 2nd ed. (2005).

19. On the history of war games, see Daniel Bessner, "Weimar Social Science in Cold War America: The Case of the Political-Military Game," *German Historical Institute Bulletin*, supplement 10 (2014), 91–109; Bessner, *Democracy in Exile: Hans Speier and the Rise of the Defense Intellectual* (2018); Thomas B. Allen, *War Games: The Secret World of the Creators, Players, and Policy Makers Rehearsing World War III Today* (1987), chapter 10; Allen, "The Evolution of Wargaming: From Chessboard to Marine Doom," in *War and Games*, ed. Tim J. Cornell and Thomas B. Allen (2002), 231–62; Aaron Trammell, *The Ludic Imagination: A History of Role-Playing Games, Politics, and Simulation in Cold War America, 1954–1984* (PhD diss., Rutgers University, 2015); Roger Smith, "The Long

History of Gaming in Military Training," *Simulation & Gaming* 41 (2019), 6–19; and Edgardo B. Matute, "Birth and Evolution of War Games," *Military Review* 50 (1970), 49–56. One of the best-known simulations is Model United Nations. See James P. Muldoon, Jr., "The Model United Nations Revisited," *Simulation & Gaming* 26 (1995), 27–35.

20. Kalman J. Cohen and Eric Rhenman, "The Role of Management Games in Education and Research," *Management Science* 7 (1961), 131–67; S. Murphy, "Management Games: Their Development and Uses," *Industrial and Commercial Training* 12 (1980), 154–56. For examples of these games, see Franc M. Ricciardi, *Top Management Decision Simulation: The AMA Approach* (1957); and Jay R. Greene and Roger L. Sisson, *Dynamic Management Decision Games* (1959).

21. For an excellent analysis of the use of simulation games to study urban problems and the federal government's Model Cities Program, see Jennifer Light, "Taking Games Seriously," *Technology and Culture* 49 (2008), 347–75; quotation on 348. For an account of using games to model urban problems, see Ellen Perry Berkeley, "The New Gamesmanship: A Report on the New Urban Games," *Architectural Forum* 129 (1968), 58–63. On the growth of systems analysis and social science, see Jennifer S. Light, *From Warfare to Welfare: Defense Intellectuals and Urban Problems in Cold War America* (2003); David R. Jardini, "Out of the Blue Yonder: The Transfer of Systems Thinking from the Pentagon to the Great Society, 1961–1965," in *Systems, Experts, and Computers: The Systems Approach in Management and Engineering, World War II and After*, ed. Agatha C. Hughes and Thomas P. Hughes (2000), 311–58; and Alice O'Connor, *Poverty Knowledge: Social Science, Social Policy, and the Poor in Twentieth-Century U.S. History* (2002). Scholarship on digital gaming includes Adam Chapman, Anna Foka, and Jonathan Westin, "Introduction: What is Historical Game Studies?" *Rethinking History* 21 (2017), 358–71; Dawn Spring, "Gaming History: Computer and Video Games as Historical Scholarship," *Rethinking History* 19 (2015), 207–21; and William Uricchio, "Simulation, History, and Computer Games," in *Handbook of Computer Game Studies*, edited by Joost Raessens and Jeffrey Goldstein (2005), 327–38. For an engaging history of board games, see Tristan Donovan, *It's All a Game: The History of Board Games from Monopoly to Settlers of Catan* (2017). See also Aaron Trammell, "Analog Games and the Digital Economy," *Analog Game Studies* 6 (2019), online at: https://analoggamestudies.org/2019/03/analog-games-and-the-digital-economy/.

22. Daniel Bell, "Notes on the Post-Industrial Society (I)," *The Public Interest* 6 (1967), 30; Bell, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society: A Venture in Social Forecasting* (1973), 344. For an interesting look at the use of data and modeling in political campaigns, see Jill Lepore, *If Then: How the Simulmatics Corporation Invented the Future* (2020).

23. James S. Coleman, "Games as Vehicles for Social Theory," *American Behavioral Scientist* 12 (1969), 2. Cathy S. Greenblat similarly noted "an intimate relation between games and social theory." Greenblat, "Sociological Theory and the 'Multiple Reality' Game," 3.

24. James S. Coleman, "Simulation Games and the Development of Social Theory," *Simulation & Games* 20 (1989), 163. In an analysis of Coleman's game Democracy, sociologist Scott L. Feld wrote that simulation games offered the tool that would enable

social theory to become more accurate. Feld, "Simulation Games in Theory Development," *Sociological Forum* 12 (1997), 103–15. Scholars in the humanities also recognized games' important role in society in the decades after World War II. Historian Johan Huizinga's influential 1938 book, *Homo Ludens*, became available in English in 1955, and French scholar Roger Caillois's *Les Jeux et les Hommes* (1958), translated as *Man, Play, and Games* in 1961, both emphasized the centrality of games and play in culture. Johan Huizinga, *Homo Ludens: A Study of the Play-Element in Culture* (1955), esp. 1–27; Roger Caillois, *Man, Play, and Games*, trans. Meyer Barash (1961); originally published as *Les Jeux et les Hommes* (1958).

25. The distinction between games, simulation games, and simulations can be fuzzy. All can involve a model of society, allow interactivity, and be educational. Generally, simulations are more complex and are designed to model a system in greater detail, while games are ludic and are played for enjoyment. See Johnston and Whitehead, "Distinguishing Games," Futureplay 2009 Proceedings. https://dl.acm.org/doi/abs/10.1145/1639601.1639607. For an introduction to simulation games, see Gilbert and Troitzch, *Simulation for the Social Scientist*, 2nd ed. (2005).

26. James S. Coleman, Samuel A. Livingston, Gail M. Fennessey, Keith J. Edwards, and Steven J. Kidder, "The Hopkins Game Program: Conclusions from Seven Years of Research," *Educational Research* 2 (1973), 3–7; Sarane Spence Boocock, "Johns Hopkins Games Program," *Simulation & Gaming* 25 (1994), 172–78; Michael Inbar and Clarice S. Stoll, *Simulation and Gaming in Social Science* (1972); Cruickshank and Telfer, "Classroom Games and Simulations."

27. Richard D. Duke, "Origin and Evolution of Policy Simulation: A Personal Journey," *Simulation & Gaming* 42 (2011), 342–58; Richard D. Duke, telephone conversation with the author, February 14, 2019.

28. On the creation and history of NASAGA, see https://www.nasaga.org/our-own-about-us.

29. Jan H. G. Klabbers, "The Saga of ISAGA," *Situation & Gaming* 40 (2009), 30–47; David Crookall, "The Founding of Modern Simulation/Gaming: S&G and ISAGA Four Decades On," *Simulation & Gaming* 43 (2012), 5–14.

30. Allan B. Calhamer created Diplomacy in 1954 and licensed it to Games Research, Inc. Diplomacy remains popular today. For a critical assessment of racial attitudes in Avalon Hill games, see Trammell, *Privilege of Play*, 51–76.

31. On game designer Sid Sackson, see The Sid Sackson Portal, The Strong National Museum of Play. https://sacksonportal.museumofplay.org/s/sackson-portal/page/biography/; Abby Loebenberg and Robert L. Mack, "Feeling Clever: Thematic Design in Sid Sackson's Games," *Analog Game Studies* 9 (2022). https://analoggamestudies.org/2022/09/feeling-clever-thematic-design-in-sid-sacksons-games/; and *The Avalon Hill General Index and Company History*, 1952–1980, *Internet Archive*. https://archive.org/details/GeneralMagazine_GeneralIndexVolumes1to16/.

32. William A. Gamson, "SIMSOC: Establishing Order in a Simulated Society," *Simulation & Games* 2 (1971), 287–308.

33. "Simulation: The Game Explosion," *Social Education* 33 (1969), 176–99.

34. Coleman, "Academic Games and Learning," 72.

35. Sarane S. Boocock, telephone conversation with the author, January 14, 2019.

36. Cathy S. Greenblat, "Gaming and Gaming-Simulation: An Overview for Teachers, Trainers, and Community Workers," in *Urban Simulation: Models for Public Policy Analysis*, edited by Marshall H. Whithed and Robert M. Sarley (1974), 403–17. See also Greenblat, "Simulations, Games, and the Sociologist," *The American Sociologist* 6 (1971), 161–64; and Greenblat, "Seeing Forests and Trees: Gaming-Simulation and Contemporary Problems of Learning and Comprehension," in *Gaming-Simulation: Rationale, Design, and Applications*, edited by Cathy S. Greenblat and Richard D. Duke (1975), 7.

37. Richard D. Duke, "Toward a General Theory of Gaming," U.S. Department of Commerce, *Simulation and Gaming*, NBS Special Publication 395 (1974), 13–20; Duke, *Gaming: The Future's Language* (1974); Cathy S. Greenblat and Richard D. Duke, *Principles and Practices of Gaming-Simulation* (1975). See also Sarane S. Boocock and E. O. Schild, eds., *Simulation Games in Learning* (1968); John R. Raser, *Simulation and Society: An Exploration of Scientific Gaming* (1969); Duke, "A Personal Perspective on the Evolution of Gaming," *Simulation & Gaming* 31 (2000), 79–85; Richard D. Duke, telephone conversation with the author, February 14, 2019.

38. For a statistical analysis of the growth of American ghettos, see David M. Cutler, Edward L. Glaeser, and Jacob L. Vigdor, "The Rise and Decline of the American Ghetto," *Journal of Political Economy* 107 (1999), 455–506.

39. For an excellent analysis of social scientists' use of the word "ghetto" to describe poor, segregated Black neighborhoods, see Duneier, *Ghetto: The Invention of a Place*, esp. 68–76, 88–94, 98–102. On psychologists' role in shaping the U.S. government's responses to poverty and racial inequality, see Mical Raz, *What's Wrong with the Poor? Psychiatry, Race, and the War on Poverty* (2013); Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (1944); St. Clair Drake and Horace R. Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (1993; orig. 1945); Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited, Inc., *Youth in the Ghetto: A Study of the Consequences of Powerlessness, and a Blueprint for Change* (1964), 79–80; Kenneth B. Clark, *Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power* (1965); and Nathan Glazer and Daniel P. Moynihan, *Beyond the Melting Pot: The Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians and Irish of New York City* (1963). On the history of racial segregation, see C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (1955). On the "culture of poverty," see Lewis, *Five Families;* Lewis, *La Vida;* Lewis, "Culture of Poverty;" Harrington, *Other America.*

40. Daniel Patrick Moynihan, *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*, U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Policy Planning and Research (1965).

41. Martin Gilens, "How the Poor Became Black: The Racialization of American Poverty in the Mass Media," in *Race and the Politics of Welfare Reform*, edited by Sanford F. Schram, Joe Soss, and Richard C. Fording (2003), 101–30.

42. *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders* (1968), 203.

43. Kwame Ture (Stokely Carmichael) and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation* (1992; orig. 1967); *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, 1. On the Black rebellions of the 1960s, see Christopher Hayes, *The*

Harlem Uprising: Segregation and Inequality in Postwar New York City (2021); Kevin Mumford, *Newark: A History of Race, Rights, and Riots in America* (2007); and Elizabeth Hinton, *America on Fire: The Untold History of Police Violence and Black Rebellion since the 1960s* (2021).

44. Kevin Phillips, *The Emerging Republican Majority* (1969), 1. I capitalized Negro in this passage.

45. The Black Experience: An American History Game, Theme Productions, 1971. For a history of game makers see, Denis Mercier, "From Hostility to Reverence: 100 Years of African-American Imagery in Games," *Jim Crow Museum*. https://jimcrowmuseum.ferris.edu/links/essays/games.htm.

46. National Center for Education Statistics, Table 104.10, "Rates of High School Completion and Bachelor's Degree Attainment Among Persons Age 25 and Over." https://nces.ed.gov/programs/digest/d19/tables/dt19_104.10.asp.

47. Quadagno, *The Color of Welfare*.

48. Moynihan, *The Negro Family*, 5; see also 30.

49. Malcolm X, *The Autobiography of Malcom X* (1965), 111–12.

50. Robin Marie Averbeck, *Liberalism is Not Enough: Race and Poverty in Postwar Political Thought* (2018), 43–45; Richard Cloward and Lloyd Ohlin, *Delinquency and Opportunity: A Theory of Delinquent Gangs* (1961).

51. Blacks & Whites, game box.

52. *Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, 203. For an interesting discussion of social and behavioral scientists' contribution to the Kerner Commission's report, see Ellen Herman, *The Romance of American Psychology: Political Culture in the Age of Experts* (1995), 208–23; and Raz, *What's Wrong with the Poor?*, 70–72.

53. Philip H. Dougherty, "Advertising: Young Thinkers Aim for Youth," *New York Times*, October 31, 1968, 76; Dougherty, "What Future for Magazines?" *New York Times*, April 27, 1969, Sec. 3-1.

54. Kenneth Clark, "Explosion in the Ghetto," *Psychology Today* 1 (September 1967), 31–39, 62–64; M. S. Handler, "Poll Finds Riots Are Effective in Changing Slum Conditions," *New York Times*, December 16, 1968, 32. The poll results were published in *Psychology Today* (January 1969).

55. *Psychology Today* included the game board, cards, and rules in its March 1970 issue, and Psychology Today Games manufactured and sold the game commercially. Blacks & Whites, *Psychology Today* 3 (March 1970), 39–53. In addition to Blacks & Whites, the company also produced Society Today, The Cities Game, Body Talk, and Woman & Man, all of which encouraged players to share their observations about contemporary social issues, including race, poverty, and gender relations. Society Today, Psychology Today Games, 1970; The Cities Game, Psychology Today Games, 1970; Body Talk, *Psychology Today* 4 (October 1970), 45–54; advertisement for Psychology Today Games, *Psychology Today*, 4 (December 1970), 9; Woman & Man, Psychology Today Games, 1971.

56. Blacks & Whites, *Psychology Today* 3 (March 1970), 39–53.

57. On the distinction between simulation games and role play, see Greenblat, "Simu-

lations, Games, and the Sociologist," 162; Carolyn M. Shaw, "Designing and Using Simulations and Role-Play Exercises," in *The International Studies Encyclopedia*, ed. Robert A. Denemark and Renée Marlin-Bennett (2017), Carolyn M. Shaw and Amanda Rosen, "Designing and Using Simulations and Games," *Encyclopedia of International Studies* (2020). https://doi.org/10.1093/acrefore/9780190846626.013.66.

58. On the development of the game, see Blacks & Whites, rule book, [3], "Blacks & Whites," *Psychology Today* 3 (May 1970), 39–40; David DuPree, letter in *Psychology Today* 4 (July 1970), 4. On Maulana Karenga and US, see Scot Ngozi-Brown, "The US Organization, Maulana Karenga, and Conflict with the Black Panther Party: A Critique of Sectarian Influences on Historical Discourse," *Journal of Black Studies* 28 (1997): 157–70.

59. Concern over housing discrimination contributed to passage of the Fair Housing Act of 1968, which was part of the Civil Rights Act of 1968 Pub. L. 90–284, 82 Stat. 73. On the civil rights movement in the North, see Thomas J. Sugrue, *Sweet Land of Liberty: The Forgotten Struggle for Civil Rights in the North* (2008); and Sugrue, *The Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit* (1998), 5. On racial segregation and Blacks' resistance to it, see David M. P. Freund, "A Free Market for Housing: Policy, Growth, and Exclusion in Suburbia, 1940–1970," in *Colored Property: State Policy and White Racial Politics in Suburban America* (2007), 176–240; Beryl Satter, *Family Properties: Race, Real Estate, and the Exploitation of Black Urban America* (2009); Arnold R. Hirsch, *Making the Second Ghetto: Race and Housing in Chicago, 1940–1960* (1983); Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (1985), 198–203, 287–90; and Martha Biondi, *To Stand and Fight: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Postwar New York City* (2003).

60. Monopoly, in turn, borrowed heavily from the rules and game board of the Landlord's Game, published by Elizabeth Magie in 1904. The Landlord's Game promoted the influential ideas of economist Henry George, who proposed to redress economic inequality by imposing a substantial "single tax" on land. While the Landlord's Game critiqued economic inequality, Monopoly encouraged players to amass wealth and drive their competitors into bankruptcy.

61. The income differences are printed on the Blacks & Whites game board. Moritz Kuhn, Moritz Schularick, and Ulrike I. Steins, *Historical Survey of Consumer Finances*, Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, 2019. See Moritz Kuhn, Moritz Schularick, and Ulrike I. Steins, "Income and Wealth Inequality in America, 1949–2016," Federal Reserve Bank of Minneapolis, Institute Working Papers 9, June 2019. https://www.minneapolis.org/research/institute-working-papers/imcome-and-wealth-inequality-in-america-1949-2016.

62. Quadagno, *The Color of Welfare*.

63. Carlos Muñoz, Jr., *Youth, Identity, Power: The Chicano Movement*, rev. ed. (2007); Johanna Fernández, *The Young Lords: A Radical History* (2019).

64. California University - Berkeley, El Barrio, Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC), ED064874 (November 1972), 51. https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED064874.pdf. El Barrio was not produced or sold commercially.

65. Ozzie G. Simmons, Robert C. Hanson, and Jules J. Wanderer, "Urbanization of

the Migrant: Processes and Outcomes," Institute of Behavioral Science, research proposal (1964); Robert C. Hanson and Ozzie G. Simmons, "The Role Path: A Concept and Procedure for Studying Migration to Urban Communities," *Human Organization* 27 (1968), 152–58. See also Lewis, "Culture of Poverty."

66. El Barrio's designers credited the decision to use marbles to "They Shoot Marbles Don't They?" a game designed by the Environmental Simulations Laboratory at the University of Michigan in 1971.

67. Paul Wake and Chloé Germaine, "Introduction: Material Game Studies," in *Material Game Studies: A Philosophy of Analogue Play*, edited by Chloé Germaine and Paul Wake (2023), 2.

68. Cathy S. Greenblat, telephone conversation with the author, December 19, 2018; Greenblat's recollections are included in Richard L. Duke, Sandra M. Fowler, and Bernie DeKoven, "R. Garry Shirts: Simulation Gaming Exemplar," *Simulation & Gaming* 42 (2011), 550–51. See also Mary E. Bredemeier and Cathy Stein Greenblat, "The Educational Effectiveness of Simulation Games: A Synthesis of Finding," *Simulation & Games* 12 (1981), 307–32. On race relations at Rutgers University in the 1960s and 1970s, see Richard P. McCormick, *The Black Student Protest Movement at Rutgers* (1990).

69. L. Warren Nelson, "Simulation Review: Ghetto," *Simulation & Games* 1 (September 1970), 341–45 (emphasis in original).

70. Samuel A. Livingston, "Simulation Games and Attitude Change: Attitudes toward the Poor," Johns Hopkins University, Center for the Study of Social Organization of Schools, Report 63, (1970), 7, 12. https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED039151.pdf. Livingston, "Simulation Games and Attitudes toward the Poor: Three Questionnaire Studies," Johns Hopkins University, Center for the Study of Social Organization of Schools, Report 118 (1971). https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED057612.pdf.

71. Boocock, "Johns Hopkins Game Program"; Boocock, telephone conversation with the author, January 19, 2019.

72. "Modern Living: The Black and White Game," *Time*, May 4, 1970.

73. E. O. Schild, "Simulation Review: Blacks and Whites," *Simulation & Games* 2 (1971), 95–97.

74. Shirts cited in David DuPree letter in *Psychology Today* 4 (July 1970), 4.

75. On liberalism in the 1960s, see Kevin Mattson, *When America Was Great: The Fighting Faith of Postwar Liberalism* (2004); Howard Brick, *Age of Contradiction: American Thought and Culture in the 1960s* (2000); Alan Brinkley, *Liberalism and Its Discontents* (2000); Robert Booth Fowler, *Enduring Liberalism: American Political Thought Since the 1960s* (1999); Allen J. Matusow, *The Unraveling of America: A History of Liberalism in the 1960s* (1984); Theodore J. Lowi, *The End of Liberalism: Ideology, Policy, and the Crisis of Public Authority* (1969); and Edward A. Purcell, Jr., *The Crisis of Democratic Theory: Scientific Naturalism & the Problem of Value* (1973). For a critique of liberalism's shortcomings, see Averbeck, *Liberalism is Not Enough*, 1–9, 43–45, 52–57. For an influential conservative critique of the welfare system, see Charles Murray, *Losing Ground: American Social Policy, 1950–1980* (1984).

76. Public Assistance, Hammerhead Enterprises, 1980; Ghettopoly, David Chang,

Ghettopoly.com, 2002; Marc Santora, "A Board Game Built on Stereotypes Stirs Up Opposition," *New York Times*, October 11, 2003, B-5; Bob Herbert, "An Ugly Game," *New York Times*, October 17, 2003, A-25.

77. Jessica L. Semega, Kayla R. Fontenot, and Melissa A. Kollar, *Income and Poverty in the United States: 2016,* Department of Commerce, U.S. Census Bureau, Report no. P60-259. https://www.census.gov/library/publications/2017/demo/p60-259.html.

78. Inequality-opoly: The Game of Structural Racism and Sexism in America, Clemons Education, Inc., 2016, version 2.0, 2019.

79. Matt Barton, *Dungeons and Desktops: The History of Computer Role-Playing Games* (2008); Gary Alan Fine, *Shared Fantasy: Role-Playing Games as Social Worlds* (1983).

80. Greg Toppo, *The Game Believes in You: How Digital Play Can Make Our Kids Smarter* (2015); Carolyn Jones, "A New Venue for Video Games: K–12 Classrooms," *EdSource*, May 3, 2018. https://edsource.org/2018/a-new-venue-for-video-games-k-12-classrooms/597100/; Lori M. Takeuchi and Sarah Vaala, "Level Up Learning: A National Survey of Teaching with Digital Games (2014). https://joanganzcooneycenter.org/wpcontent/uploads/2014/10/jgcc_leveluplearning_final.pdf.; Sandra M. Fowler and Margaret D. Pusch, "Intercultural Simulation Games: A Review (of the United States and Beyond)," *Simulation & Gaming* 41 (2010), 94–115; Christine Maidl Pribbenow, Kyrie Eleison H. Caldwell, Donald Dejon Dantzler, Percy Brown, Jr., and Molly Carnes, "Decreasing Racial Bias Through a Facilitated Game and Workshop: The Case of Fair Play," *Simulation & Gaming* 52 (2021), 386–402.

81. For a thought-provoking consideration of the ways in which games' structure and game play can reveal and critique inequality, see Brenda Romero's games and art installations, *The Mechanic is the Message*, which confront players and viewers with the horrors of the Holocaust, the slave trade, and other examples of cruelty and exploitation. Brenda Romero, *Brenda Romero Work* (2019), http://brenda.games/work-1.