Where do the children play?

John Evans

While there is still some debate about whether or not children play less today than they did in the past, few would argue that they play differently. There is a good deal of concern that children are less involved in physically active outdoor play today because their traditional playgrounds – the backyards, streets and vacant spaces – are now less accessible. Why this is the case, and why it should be something which concerns us, are questions which are addressed in this paper. The discussion concludes by examining ways in which outdoor play might be made more accessible to children.

John Evans, PhD
Faculty of Education
Deakin University
Geelong, Vic 3217
Email: evo@deakin.edu.au

In the early 1970s I think it was when singer-song writer Cat Stevens recorded a song titled 'Where Do the Children Play?' Parts of the song go like this:

> Well I think it's fine building jumbo planes, or taking a ride on a cosmic train...
>
> I know we've come a long way, we're changing day to day, but tell me, where d' th' ch'ldr'n play?
>
> You've cracked the sky, scrapers fill the air, but will you keep on building higher 'til there's no more room up there.
>
> Will you make us laugh, will you make us cry, will you tell us when to live, will you tell us when to die.
>
> I know we've come a long way, we're changing day to day, but tell me, where d' th' ch'ldr'n play?
>
> (Stevens c.1970)

One of the keys to an active childhood is having access to time, space, resources and friends. In his own inimitable style Stevens was warning us about the consequences of urbanisation and technology and of losing sight of the importance of play in children's lives. While there is still some debate about whether or not children play less today than they might have done in the past, few would argue that they play differently. There is a good deal of concern that children are less involved in outdoor play today because their traditional playgrounds – the backyards, streets and vacant spaces – are now less accessible. According to Rivkin (1995),

> although no person or government planned it, habitats for children, especially in industrialised countries, have been greatly altered – often destroyed – in this century, especially in recent decades (p.1).

The following discussion is based around three questions: why are the traditional play spaces less accessible; why should this be a matter which concerns us; what, if anything, can be done about it?

WHY ARE THEY LESS ACCESSIBLE?

I think it is fair to say that the traditional playgrounds – the backyards and streets – are no longer play-friendly environments. This has come about, in part, because of the growth of cities and the increasing number of people who are choosing to live in urban and suburban areas where there is either no backyard or it is so small that it cannot be used for outdoor games typical of childhood. In homes that have front and backyards a greater emphasis on appearance has meant that the space is more likely to be taken up by manicured lawns and carefully planned gardens. Aesthetics have taken precedence over functionality. Children can play but they are constantly reminded to 'be careful'.

The problems are even greater in high density housing areas. Here the 'backyard' is the space immediately below and around the buildings. There may be ample space and there may even be some fixed play equipment located in an 'adventure playground', but most parents are reluctant to allow children to play there unless they are easily visible or an adult is present. The 'playground', therefore, is more likely to be the balconies, stairwells and lifts, places close to the apartment. The reason parents are reluctant to permit children to play in spaces around the apartment block is that they are concerned for their safety. In the streets nearby constant traffic prevents games and causes anxious parents to discourage children from crossing the street to get to nearby playgrounds or to the homes of friends

who might have a backyard in which to play. As Moore (1986) explained, streets once filled

> ... an especially important role in children's loose-knit social structure by providing a physical threshold a few steps from home for peer contact. Streets and street corners were important meeting places. When traffic density was low and streetscape diversity high, children were drawn to an environment that was extremely well adapted to their needs (p.239).

Apart from the loss of traditional playspaces, the single most important factor which serves to limit play in our society today is the issue of child safety. As Moore (1986) found, fears about traffic, strangers and physical hazards were the principal reasons parents restricted children's outdoor activities. We are preoccupied with making sure children are safe to the point where we are stifling their freedom to play. We don't allow children to walk or ride by themselves to the park to play or even to school for fear of personal harm. In his study, Moore (1986, p.207) found that 'the most common fear for parents was child molesters who were sometimes imagined lurking practically everywhere'. He went on to cite the example of the parents of an eleven-year-old girl who were so frightened that their daughter would be assaulted that her outdoor play was restricted to the pavement immediately outside her home. He concluded that 'the most serious consequences of the "fear of strangers" were the unreasonable territorial constraints imposed by some parents' (p.207).

'Stranger-danger' casts a large and heavy shadow over children's freedom to play. According to Blakely (1994),

> parents' concern with the prospect of harassment or abuse of their children by strangers or unfamiliar people compels them to restrict children's range of movement in their neighborhoods, especially female children (p.18).

It also increases the extent to which parents show tension, anxiety and fear for their children if they are not within visual access.

In her survey of parents, Blakely found that

> almost all children were forbidden to go alone to the playground or park because of fear of drug addicts, rapists and kidnappers. These places were visited only with a trusted adult escort (p.22).

As Blakely found, it is parents' perceptions of social dangers which limit children's opportunity for free and active play. The number of actual incidences are very low but the fact that they happen at all is sufficient for most parents to place strict limits on children. Headlines such as 'Child rapist nabbed', 'School warning on sex stalker' and 'Man grabs girl in playground', and the like which appear in our daily newspapers, not surprisingly make parents very cautious about allowing children to walk or ride to and play unsupervised in parks and playgrounds.

A concern about traffic, combined with the issue of 'stranger-danger', also helps to explain why children are prevented from playing in the streets or even walking or riding to school each day. The study by Hillman and Adams (1992) in the UK demonstrated just how a fear of traffic can lead parents to restrict children's movement. In 1971 they found that 80 per cent of 7-8 year old children got to school on their own (unaccompanied by an adult) either by walking, cycling or by bus. By 1990 this figure had dropped to 9 per cent. They also found that there were many fewer children killed each year in road accidents in 1990 than there were in 1923 despite the fact that there had been a more than 25-fold increase in traffic. The reason? Better drivers? No. The reason was that there were fewer children playing on or near the streets.

Here in Australia it is now common practice for parents to walk with children to and from school or take them by car even though the distance may be less than one kilometre in many instances. The line of cars outside primary schools each morning and afternoon is testimony to our concern for safety. As Hillman and Adams (1992) noted, by insisting on taking children to school we have lost an ideal and routine way for them to engage in daily physical activity. And to those of us who can remember walking and riding to school, it was not just a physical activity, it was a social experience because it was often done in the company of siblings and/or friends.

Hillman and Adams' (1992) study revealed a number of other interesting and relevant findings which lend support to the research of Blakely (1994) and Moore (1986). Fear of traffic was not the only reason parents restricted children's freedom. Children were not allowed to go out and play after dark for fear of molestation.

> Our survey evidence has revealed that in England 98% of junior children are not allowed out alone after dark. Thus, not only have children lost play space and independent mobility, they have also lost the independent use of a significant part of the day (Hillman & Adams 1992, p.20).

What we have created, they claim, is a world where safety is promoted through fear. According to Kegerreis (1993), this in itself is cause for concern because

> children are deeply influenced by their parent's view of the world. If parents are continually anxious about their children's welfare when out of the house, this can have serious consequences for the children (p.33).

Such consequences include not only missing out on a range of play experiences but 'they will absorb a general message about the dangers of the world and about parents' wish to maintain control of them' (p. 33).

WHY SHOULD THIS CONCERN US?

We might well ask the question, why should this concern us? What does it matter if children are no longer out playing in backyards, streets, parks and playgrounds? What is so important about these particular play experiences anyway?

What is valuable about play is that it is self-directed activity where the primary intention is to have fun. As Mann (1996) explains, play offers a rather rare chance for children (the players) to control the course of events. So in a street or backyard game they make the decisions, they take responsibility for choosing teams and deciding upon the rules and they are free to adapt the game as it proceeds. The benefits of such autonomy are considerable and

widely discussed in the literature. Shields and Bredemeier (1995), for example, offer the following observation:

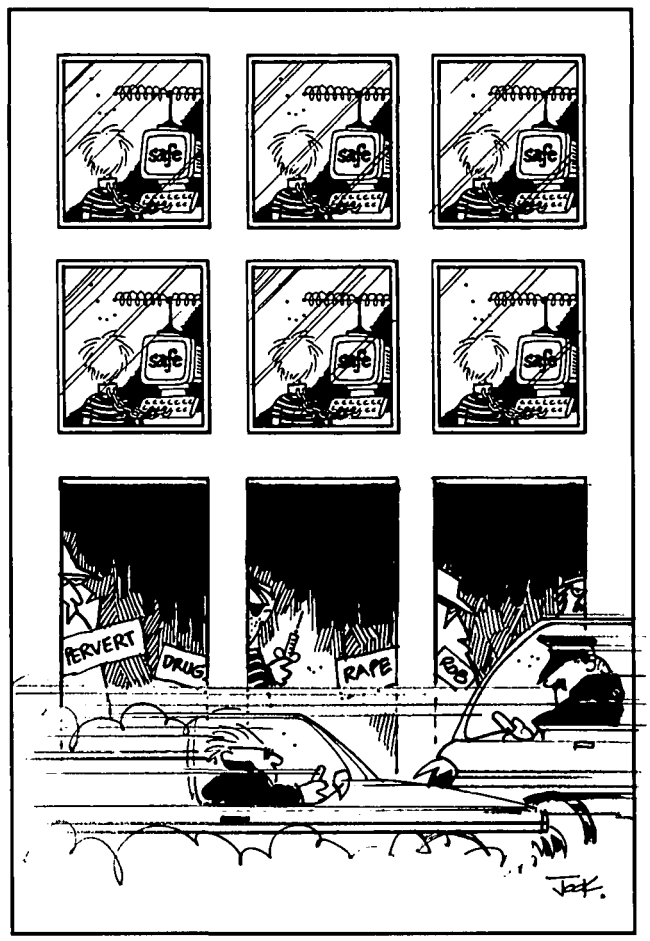
> The psychosocial benefits of informal games are derived from the fact that the children can experiment endlessly with game variations and relational interactions in their pursuit of such goals. This gives them the opportunity to gain experience in a variety of cognitive and emotional processes that parallel in a scaled-down form those needed for mature participation in the broader culture (p.214).

They go on to argue that informal games provide ideal opportunities for children to engage in consultation, negotiation and compromise because the participants are interdependent and 'mutual interests need to be coordinated' (p. 215). As Sluckin (1991) pointed out, during games children are able to initiate, discuss, influence and change rules in a way that just could not happen between child and adult.

Hart (1979), Moore (1986) and, more recently, Rivkin (1995) argue that it is not just that children deprived of outdoor play are likely to be less socially aware, less fit or less adept at perceptual motor skills, they are less aware of their natural environment. According to Rivkin (1995), 'children today know less about nature' (p.6), with the consequence that there is greater difficulty in educating them about the environment and why and how it should be preserved. Children need opportunities to play in the natural environment in order to develop a sense of understanding about it and their place within it.

The restrictions imposed on children by virtue of the built environment and the concerns about personal safety and traffic have meant that, for many, their free time outside school hours is spent indoors playing with the electronic media or, if outdoors, involved in adult organised activities. Their freedom to play, in the sense of organising their own games in their own space and time, has been severely curtailed – hence the question, 'where do the children play?'

The restrictions, which Hillman and Adams (1992) found, had a number of consequences for children's play. It meant that there were fewer opportunities to travel independently to school or to play any distance from home. They found a decline in the number of activities children engaged in on weekends. This lead to fewer opportunities to exercise their mind and bodies in self-directed activity, acquire and practice social skills and develop independence and a sense of adventure. Furthermore, by virtue of the restrictions, home had become a more significant part of children's leisure and yet, for many, it was not a place which was conducive to outdoor play.



Much has been said about the amount of time children spend watching television and playing on computers and the fact that it is essentially passive entertainment, giving rise to concerns about the consequences of inactivity. (The issue of what children watch and the effects on attitudes and behaviour will not be considered here. Readers are referred to the work of Gunter, 1998). Physical inactivity has been identified as an important public health concern for children and youth. In the Foreword to the resource manual 'Planning for Action' recently published by the Australian Council for Health, Physical Education & Recreation (1999), Dr. Adrian Hurley remarked that

> participation in regular physical activity is no longer the normal way of life for many children at school, or even out of school hours. Sedentary activities and other priorities compete for our children's time.

The manual refers to numerous studies which reveal the low levels of fitness and the poor fundamental motor skills of Australian children. It is reasonably well accepted that the foundations for many adult health problems are developed in childhood (Dishman & Dunn 1988).

Perhaps what is of most concern is that it is the electronic media to which children turn because they often have few other options. We now live in a society where there are an increasing number of two parent and single parent working families many of whom don't get home from work until well after their children come home from school. Unless special provision is made, such as attending after-school care programs or going to a friend's house, children are being asked to remain at home until their parent(s) returns from work. The concern about personal safety has lead parents to restrict children to the home environment and yet, as I noted earlier, the home environment is often not conducive to active outdoor play.

According to research the number of children left home alone or in the company of siblings is growing. This is one of the 'crises' of contemporary childhood, according to Steinberg and Kincheloe (1998). A report in the (Melbourne) *Herald Sun* newspaper (14 September, 1997, p.23) told of young children, most between ages 10 and 14, calling the national Kids Help Line to chat with someone because they were home alone or caring for siblings. Almost 1000 calls a week were being made and most fell between 3.30 and 7.00pm.

Television, video games and computers are what Kleiber (1999) calls 'an electronic form of in loco parentis' (p.44). While it is recognised that children are not necessarily passive viewers (Factor 1988; Gunter 1998), it is difficult not to accept the argument that, for many children, television viewing occupies time they might otherwise have spent outdoors playing. Kleiber goes on to argue that

> when children have some freedom and independence and are not tethered to the television or computer, they are likely to involve siblings and peers in the creation of their own play worlds (1999, p.44).

The key word here is 'tethered'. There have been studies (Creasy & Myers 1986) that have found that television and video games do not necessarily lead to a decrease in children's leisure activities when it is a matter of choice. But the situation we often find today is that children are confined to home until the arrival of a parent and television (and video and computer games) is one of the few options they have to occupy their time. This is particularly so for children whose home environment does not permit backyard or street play. Not surprisingly we hear of young children watching 30-40 hours of television each week, almost more time than they spend at school.

The idea of spontaneous games, where children gather together, pick teams and play till dark, is rapidly becoming a thing of the past. What the various restrictions have done is to make children more reliant on adults. Such is the concern about personal safety and the hazards of traffic that if they want to go to the park or to a friend's place to play after school or on weekends, they will probably have to get an adult to take them. Nothing is more likely to kill spontaneity than having to rely on a parent to get you to the game. Parents get home late, they are busy people and requests to go to a friend's house or to the playground to play may fall on deaf ears.

So, if not in backyards, streets and parks, where do the children play? For many their free time outside school hours is now taken up with adult organised activities. We have seen a growth in the provision of before and after school care programs and a proliferation of under-age sports and recreation activities. One might say that the decline in children's spontaneous self-directed game culture has been parallelled by a growth in adult organised sports and games. However we shouldn't be deceived into thinking that they are a substitute. The adult-organised activities are very different from the games which children devise themselves and no-one has better illustrated this than Coakley (1994).

Coakley has made some interesting comparisons between the formal (adult-organised) and informal (child-initiated) games children play. He found that the rules and structure of the informal games resembled closely those used in organised games but with some important adaptations. In the player-controlled games the aim was to maximise and maintain action and personal involvement while keeping the scores close. The players were willing to stop the game and change the rules in order to maintain it as a challenging contest. The skilled players were handicapped to prevent them dominating the game while the less skilled were given generous concessions to keep them involved.

By contrast the adult-controlled games were more serious and focused on the outcome rather than the process.

> The most apparent aspect of these games was that the action, the personal involvement, and the behaviour of the players were strictly regulated by specialised rules (Coakley 1994, p.108).

These rules were devised and enforced by adults with little or no contribution from the players. The major purpose of the rules was to standardise the competition, control player behaviour and preserve the authority of the coach and the referees. The primary objective of the game was to win and win by as big a margin as possible to reinforce a team's dominance. By contrast, in the player-controlled games, the objective was to maintain the game action which they did by constantly adapting the rules and changing the teams as they went to ensure an 'even' contest. This meant that the players themselves had to deal with some quite complex management problems. By doing this children 'develop an elaborate repertoire of social skills' (Kleiber 1999, p.72). Such contexts, Kleiber argues, are ideal for learning organisational skills 'such as the ability to manage diversity of membership, adjudicate disputes, and work for collective goals' (p.72).

What is worrying is that the decline of children's spontaneous game culture has come about with very little resistance. As Sutton-Smith (1975) argued some time ago, there is a widespread indifference to children's play. In fact there is a pervasive view that adult-organised activities are 'better' for children. This comes about, in part, because of the association of play with idleness and the perception that it is essentially a trivial pursuit engaged in by children when there is nothing better to do. Hence the widely held view that it is only when play is structured, such as in organised sport, that it is thought to be 'useful'. This is consistent with the belief that it is only in the presence of adults that worthwhile learning takes place. Our obsession with order, purpose, goals and outcomes is better catered for in adult-organised activities than children's pick-up games which have an element of chaos about them which adults find hard to tolerate.

Kleiber (1999) makes the rather interesting observation that children whose free time is always organised and structured for them (by adults) 'are more likely to feel bored and helpless on the rare occasions when they are unsupervised' (p.44). This is not unlike the conclusion reached by Opie and Opie (1969) some 30 years earlier. They wrote:

> ... if children are given the idea that they cannot enjoy themselves without being

> provided with the 'proper' equipment, we need blame only ourselves when we produce a generation who have lost their dignity, who are ever dissatisfied, and who descend for their sport to the easy excitement of rioting, or pilfering, or vandalism (p.16).

In a study of the nature and purpose of school recess, I found some evidence which lends weight to Kleiber's point (Evans 1997). From a survey of 58 primary schools, 46 (79%) were found to have reduced the length of time they allowed children to play during the long lunch break. Why? Primarily because teachers believed that children couldn't occupy themselves for longer than about 30 minutes before they began to get into trouble. Beyond about 30 minutes teachers noticed an increase in the number of disputes requiring their supervision and intervention. Many of these disputes involved bullying and fighting.

Further to this, the study found that a number of schools, concerned about the incidences of bullying behaviour and what they perceived to be the 'aimless' play of children, had decided to organise activities for the children during lunch breaks. In the belief that children couldn't seem to organise their own games without dispute, teachers stepped in and did it for them. In some schools people were even brought in to 'teach' children traditional games such as marbles, jacks, hopscotch, etc. The schools concerned reported fewer behavioural problems in the playground. No-one, however, was questioning whether or not this simply created an even greater culture of dependency. It might be drawing a long bow to make the connection between Kleiber's point and the reasons for the children's apparent inability to play happily for any longer than 30 minutes, but the possibility of a link suggests that further research is needed and justified. As Opie and Opie (1969, p.16) observed,

> in the long run nothing extinguishes self-organised play more effectively than does action to promote it.

Bengtsson (1979) was of a similar mind when he wrote that

> sport and recreational activities are of great importance in today's society, but organised activities cannot without serious consequences replace free and creative play, where the children exercise their own initiative (p.450).

To sum up, it is important that children have the opportunity to play outdoors and we should be concerned about social and environmental trends which restrict their opportunity to engage in self-directed activities.

At the heart of the problem is a failure to understand the importance of play in children's lives.

WHAT CAN BE DONE ABOUT IT?

I am mindful of the point made by the Opies (1969) that 'the belief that traditional games are dying out is itself traditional' (p.14). Ward (1978, p.89) similarly argued that

> every generation assumes that the street games of its youth have been destroyed by the modern city. Yet they survive, changing their form in innumerable adaptations to exploit environmental changes.

I would not disagree that children continue to play and that they adapt in creative and innovative ways to their environment, however impoverished it might be. However the research of Hillman and Adams (1992) and of Blakely (1994), among others, lends considerable weight to our anecdotal evidence that life is very different for children today. Even June Factor (1988), a vocal critic of the notion of a dying game culture, acknowledged that

> there is evidence that increasing traffic and other dangers have made street play more hazardous, and parents more reluctant to permit their young unsupervised access to these once much-loved play areas (p. 215).

There are powerful arguments for preserving children's capacity to engage in self-directed play. What is more problematic is just how this can be done. In terms of traffic, Hillman (1993) believes that there are two options.

> Either we can continue to withdraw children from the growing threat that is posed, and inculcate fear in parents and children about the risks, or we can withdraw that threat from the children by 'taming' traffic (p.18).

By 'taming' traffic he is referring to the possibility of diverting vehicles from residential streets, reducing speed limits and eliminating curb-side parking. Other suggestions include making footpaths wider and building bike paths to schools and playgrounds which aren't on the verges of roads where they compete with traffic. He suggests that, when building new schools, parks and playgrounds, local authorities should take into account the ability of children to travel to them safely and independently. Rivkin (1995) suggests that what we need are 'greenways' which are pathways or trails which link streets, parks and playgrounds.

We could do much to preserve play if people would give careful thought to maintaining space in and around the home so that children could play games outdoors in the safety of their own backyard. The research clearly shows that children want to play near home and parents want children to play near home. It is a concern, however, when they are prevented from doing so because there is little or no space around home, or priority is given to the appearance of the garden rather than its value as a playground. We cannot, on the one hand, express concern about the amount of time children spend in front of a television or computer if, on the other, we place all sorts of restrictions on their play outdoors.

If adult-organised activities are going to occupy a large part of children's free time, as seems to be happening, then we need to look closely at how these activities are organised. As Coakley (1994) points out,

> since children have fun by emphasising action, involvement, close scores, and friendships in the games they create for themselves, it makes sense that organised programs should be restructured to emphasise these things. If this were done, children would have more fun and the programs would do a better job of meeting their interests (p.126).

Hellison (1995) is another who argues that, if we have the will, we can take many of the characteristics of children's games and include them in youth sport. In his opinion, helping children to take personal and social responsibility in part means sharing power and shifting decision making to them. It is here that a problem arises. Most adults are reluctant to change the rules of games, let alone involve children in the decision making process. They might be persuaded to make changes in the interests of safety (eg, using helmets in cricket, baseball and softball) but they are less inclined to change rules, particularly in the more traditional games such as cricket, netball, tennis and football. This is precisely why we need to preserve the games in street and playground. Once adults become involved they invariably assume control. In a sense they become the 'players' and the children become the 'pawns' in their game.

If children's self-directed games are important and if the natural play environments where these games traditionally took place are now less accessible, then where will they get the opportunities to engage in active outdoor play in a peer setting? One obvious domain is school recess. The periodic breaks in the school day are rapidly becoming one of the few remaining times when and places where children are relatively free to engage in such play. The school playground, according to Factor (1988), has become something of a 'refuge' because during recess and lunchtimes children have the space and freedom to engage in games of their own making with only minimal supervision by adults. Blatchford (1996) makes the point that, for some children, the school playground may now be just about the only place where they play outside. Depending on their home environment it might also be one of the few opportunities to play with other children of their own age. If this is so then the school playground becomes a very important place for many children.

Play at recess is not without adult presence but it is supervision at a distance. It is deliberately non-intrusive so children have the opportunity to make decisions and assume roles which they are excluded from doing in organised settings such as sport and physical education. At recess teachers actually want children to be independent, to make their own decisions and play together with as little adult intervention as possible. As Sutton-Smith (1990) pointed out, with smaller families and less street play many of the social and physical skills once taken for granted as being acquired in children's free play are not so readily available. That being the case schools are one of the few remaining places where there is access to other children and to space and resources which facilitate physically active play. It is therefore increasingly important that we look to preserve school recess and see it as much more than just a 'break' (Evans, 1999; Blatchford, 1996).

The lyrics from Cat Stevens' song, penned around 1970, are just as applicable today, perhaps more so, and the reasons lie not only with the changes taking place in our built environment. At the heart of the problem is a failure to understand the importance of play in children's lives. The safety of children is a natural and, indeed, essential matter but we need to balance the need for safe play with the need to allow children some degrees of freedom to devise their own games in their own time and place. It has been said on many occasions that play is children's way of learning. If we truly believe this to be so, then we have a responsibility to preserve and restore their right to play in a range of stimulating indoor and outdoor settings. □

References

Bengtsson, A. (1979) 'Children's play is more than physical education', *Prospects*, 9(4), 450-457.

Blakely, K. (1994) 'Parents' conceptions of social dangers to children in the urban environment', *Children's Environments*, 11(1), 16-25.

Blatchford, P. (1996) 'Breaktime in school: Why it is important', *Institute of Education Society Newsletter*, Spring, 17-20.

Coakley, J. (1994) *Sport in Society: Issues and Controversies*, 5th edn, Mosby, Chicago.

Creasy, G. & Myers, B. (1986) 'Video games and children: Effects on leisure activities, school work and peer involvement', *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly*, 32(3), 251-262.

Dishman, R. & Dunn, A. (1988) 'Exercise adherence in children and youth: Implications for adulthood', in R. Dishman (Ed), *Exercise Adherence: Its Impact on Public Health*, Human Kinetics, Illinois.

Evans, J. (1997) 'Rethinking recess: Signs of change in Australian primary schools', *Education Research and Perspectives*, 24(1), 14-27.

Evans, J. (1999) 'Playtime: More than just a break', *Topic*, 22, 1-4

Factor, J. (1988) *Captain Cook Chased a Chook*, Penguin, Melbourne.

Gunter, B. (1998) *The Effects of Video Games on Children: The Myth Unmasked*, Sheffield Academic Press, Sheffield.

Hart, R. (1979) *Children's Experience of Place*, Irvington, New York.

Hellison, D. (1995) *Teaching Responsibility Through Physical Activity*, Human Kinetics, Illinois.

Herald Sun, 14 September, 1997, p.23.

Hillman, M. (Ed) (1993) *Children, Transport and the Quality of Life*, Policy Studies Institute, London.

Hillman, M. & Adams, J. (1992) 'Children's freedom and safety', *Children's Environments*, 9(2), 10-22.

Kegerreis, S. (1993) 'Independent mobility and children's mental and emotional development', in M. Hillman (Ed), *Children, Transport and the Quality of Life*, Policy Studies Institute, London, 28-34.

Kleiber, D. (1999) *Leisure Experience and Human Development: A Dialectical Interpretation*, Basic Books, New York.

Mann, D. (1996) 'Serious play', *Teachers College Record*, 97(3), 446-469.

Moore, R. (1986) *Childhood's Domain: Play and Place in Child Development*, Croom Helm, London.

Opie, I & Opie, P. (1969) *Children's Games in Street and Playground*, Oxford University Press, London.

Australian Council for Health, Physical Education and Recreation (1999) *Planning for Action*, WA Branch.

Rivkin, M. (1995) *The Great Outdoors: Restoring Children's Right to Play Outside*, National Association for the Education of Young Children, Washington.

Shields, D. & Bredemeier, B. (1995) *Character Development and Physical Activity*, Human Kinetics, Illinois.

Sluckin, A. (1991) 'The culture of the primary school playground', in A. Pollard (Ed), *Children and their Primary Schools*, Falmer Press, London, pp150-164.

Steinberg, S. & Kincheloe, J. (1998) *Kinder-Culture: The Corporate Construction of Childhood*, Westview Press, Colorado.

Stevens, Cat (c.1970) 'Where Do the Children Play', Freshwater Music.

Sutton-Smith, B. (1975) 'The useless made useful: Play as variability training', *School Review*, 83(2), 197-214.

Sutton-Smith, B. (1990) 'School playground as festival', *Children's Environments Quarterly*, 7(2), 3-7.

Ward, C. (1978) *The Child in the City*, The Architectural Press, London.