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**A PHENOMENOLOGICAL HERMENEUTIC STUDY OF
THE IMAGINATIVE PLAY OF YOUNG CHILDREN
STAYING AT A SHELTER FOR ABUSED WOMEN**

Isabelle Marie Christine Geraets

May, 2001

**A Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of the
University of Ottawa in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to families who have been affected by violence against women and the people who work in shelters for abused women.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Thank God that those close to me, in general, remained healthy throughout the last few years. I could never have completed this thesis if any of them had become seriously ill or had died.

I am fortunate to have had a thesis advisor like Dr. Bertha Mook who is as much a philosopher as she is a practicing clinical child psychologist, clinical supervisor of child and family therapy and professor of psychology. I have greatly benefitted, as has the present dissertation, from her knowledge and original contributions in each of these areas of expertise. It is our love of children, interest in their imaginative play and conviction that phenomenology provides an excellent foundation for a rigorous and systematic method of researching lived experience which brought us together. The process of completing this doctoral dissertation has been a lengthy and challenging one. It is wonderful to see these shared interests and convictions come to fruition in this manner. Thank you Dr. Mook.

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independent analyses, which then enabled me to calculate the inter-judge reliability of this step of the data analysis.

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to work on this dissertation every weekday for the last year and complete it.

ABSTRACT

This qualitative study of the imaginative play of four young child witnesses of marital violence staying at a shelter for abused women used a phenomenological hermeneutic method to conduct a rigorous and systematic analysis, description and interpretation of their play in relation to their experiences. The data for each of the two boys and two girls came from three one hour play sessions and an interview with their mothers. Studies which have conducted thematic analyses of the imaginative play of child witnesses of marital violence have tended to reduce the play to a few predetermined general categories of play. The current discovery-oriented study used a phenomenological method to describe play themes in a manner which tried to remain faithful to the naturally unfolding play as a whole. The following play themes were found in the imaginative play of most of the children: physical aggression, no communication between parents, defensive preparations in anticipation of physical threats, and dealing with physical threats and being homeless. The themes of destruction and the consistent presence of a father in the family were only found in the boys' play. The themes of needing a caring mother, mothers unable to protect their children and being separated or losing someone were only found in the girls' play. In clinical case studies of mostly male child witnesses of marital violence, play therapists' interpretations of their imaginative play have been primarily influenced by psychodynamic theories. The present study used a hermeneutic method to bracket the influence of play theories and personality theories on the interpretation of the play themes in relation to the children's experiences. The researcher discovered patterns in the meanings of the children's play themes which could be related to shared and unique experiences and their gender. The present study increases our understanding of the imaginative play of young boys and girls staying at a shelter

for abused women and indirectly provides insights into what these children might feel and think about their past and present experiences.

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PREFACE

As someone who worked in the field of child recreation prior to entering graduate studies in clinical child psychology, I have always been interested in the imaginative play of children. My first introduction to marital violence was through a child client whose mother moved to a shelter for abused women. Within a week of moving into the shelter, the child began weekly play therapy sessions with me. During my internship at the Alberta Children's Hospital in Calgary I had weekly play therapy sessions with another child staying at a shelter. The internship program director Dr. John Pearce and my clinical supervisor Dr. Carol Brewis made it possible for me to do a minor external rotation at the Calgary Native Women's Shelter. I was welcomed by the staff and residents of the shelter to participate in their children's program which consisted of a healing circle, therapeutic group exercises and free play. In Ottawa, when my thesis proposal was accepted, the friendly staff of a local shelter for abused women called Interval House consented to help me conduct my study. The executive director of the shelter, Lyallen Hayes and the child worker, Erin Lee-Todd, were instrumental in making the study a reality. I was privileged to have the consent of three mothers to be interviewed about their child(ren) and their experiences and will always remember them. The quality and quantity of the imaginative play of the two boys and two girls who participated in this study surpassed my expectations. I owe these children a great deal for playing so much and so freely with my play materials in my presence while being videotaped.

INTRODUCTION

In the year 2001, there are still women being abused by their husbands or partners. The abuse of women can take on many forms including physical, emotional, sexual, and financial abuse. The terms violence or physical abuse have been used in the literature to refer to any physical assault against a woman regardless of the severity of her resultant physical injury. The terms psychological and emotional abuse have been employed in the literature to describe the abuse experienced by a woman when her husband or partner controls her movements and her access to social supports, threatens her and her children and frequently insults and degrades her (Graham-Bermann, 1998; Johnson, 1998; Kashani & Allan, 1998; Sudermann & Jaffe, 1999). Researchers have found that whenever there is violence against a woman it tends to occur in the immediate context of her verbal and psychological abuse (Graham-Bermann, 1998; Jouriles, Norwood, McDonald, Vincent & Mahoney, 1996; Sudermann & Jaffe, 1999).

Various terms such as family violence, domestic violence, spousal violence, wife assault and battering, marital violence and marital aggression have been used to refer to a mother's abuse by her husband or partner and their fights. Recognition in Canada of such abuse and its impact on all family members is exemplified in the establishment of the National Clearinghouse on Family Violence (NCFV) in 1982 and the federal funding of an interdepartmental Family Violence Initiative which began in 1991. The NCFV is a national resource centre for all Canadians seeking information and solutions to violence within the family. Family violence is a broad term which includes violence between spouses, siblings, an adult and elderly parent, and a parent and child. Marital violence is the term used in the present study to refer to a woman's physical and/or emotional, sexual or financial abuse by her husband or partner and their verbal and physical

fights. Hester, Pearson and Harwin (2000) referred to “domestic violence” as “including both directly violent and more indirectly abusive behaviours such as physical, sexual, emotional and verbal abuse” (p. 14). In Canada, the 1993 Violence Against Women Survey estimated that nearly 4 in 10 women who experienced violence reported that their children witnessed it (Fitzgerald, 1999). Fantuzzo, Boruch, Beriama, Atkins and Marcus’ (1997) secondary analysis of police arrest data from five American cities found that children were directly involved in marital violence incidents from 9 % to 27 % of the time (depending on the city studied) and that younger children were disproportionately represented in households where the assaults occurred.

In most studies of abused women, the Conflict Tactics Scale (CTS; Straus, 1979) has been administered to the women to determine the type and frequency of their abuse. The CTS includes items representing verbal aggression (e.g., insults, swearing, throwing, smashing, hitting or kicking something) and physical aggression (e.g., throwing something at the other person, using a knife or gun to injure the other). Mertin (1992) adapted the CTS for use with women in shelters for abused women and added items representing sexual and financial abuse, and items referring to threats experienced. It is Mertin’s adaptation of the CTS which was used in the present study.

In addition to being exposed to the physical and emotional abuse of their mothers by their fathers and witnessing its aftermath, children may also experience the stressors of living in a household where there is maternal stress, parental substance abuse, and/or poverty (Fantuzzo, Boruch, Beriama, Atkins & Marcus, 1997; Spaccarelli, Sandler, & Roosa, 1994; Wolfe, Jaffe, Wilson & Zak, 1985). Some children not only witness the abuse of their mothers by their fathers but are also abused by their fathers (Hughes, 1988; Hughes & Luke, 1998; Hughes, Parkinson &

Vargo, 1989; Jouriles & Norwood, 1995; Mathias, Mertin & Murray, 1995; Moore & Pepler, 1998; O'Keefe, 1994; Rossman, 1998; Sternberg, Lamb, Greenbaum, Cicchetti, Dawud, Cortes et al., 1993) and sometimes their mothers (Holden, Stein, Ritchie, Harris, & Jouriles, 1998; Smith, Berthelsen, & O'Connor, 1997).

Some women will flee from the abusive relationship with their children and seek refuge in shelters for abused women. In 1998, a Transition Home Survey of 422 shelters for abused women across Canada was conducted (Fitzgerald, 1999). The shelters indicated that they had 2,918 women who were accompanied by 3,197 dependent children. Over the course of the following year, 47,962 women and 42,830 children were admitted to these shelters. Of those women escaping abuse (77 % of the women in shelters), 78 % were fleeing psychological abuse, 67 % physical assault, 48 % threats, 42 % financial abuse, 38 % harassment and 26 % sexual assault. The majority of women escaping abusive situations (56 %) were admitted to the shelters with children.

Children whose mothers seek refuge in a shelter for abused women to flee from an abusive relationship have to deal with stressors unique to this situation (Lehmann & Mathews, 1999; Osofsky, 1998; Peled, 1994; Sudermann & Jaffe, 1999). These children are forced to separate from their fathers, leave the familiarity of their home and leave behind some of their personal belongings including toys and pets. The move to a shelter is typically hurried and without preparation and implies a change of neighborhood, school and social environment. Living in a shelter is obviously very different from life at home as the family lives with other mothers and children fleeing abusive relationships in conditions which tend to be crowded. They must follow shelter rules and there are safety measures provided by the shelter. Unfortunately at

this time when children most need their mothers, they tend to be too tired, stressed and overwhelmed to be emotionally available to their children (Henderson, 1993; Ericksen & Henderson, 1998). There has been a great deal of research on the behavioral and emotional impact on children of witnessing the abuse of their mothers, their parents' fights, and staying at a shelter. Many researchers hope that this knowledge will lead to effective clinical interventions with boys and girls who might become victims of abuse or abusers as adults.

The present qualitative study of the imaginative play of four young children staying at a shelter for abused women used a phenomenological hermeneutic method to describe and interpret this rich and revealing form of play, thereby enabling a deeper understanding of the children's play and indirectly their experiences of witnessing marital violence. The children's imaginative play was first described in detail, as it naturally unfolded, using a phenomenological method of analysis. Then there were phenomenological reflections on the meanings of the children's imaginative play. The common and unique play themes which emerged from these reflections were then interpreted with reference to the children's experiences using the hermeneutic method and any patterns in the meanings of the children's play themes were discussed. The phenomenological hermeneutic method was well suited for describing and interpreting the imaginative play of child witnesses of marital violence staying at a shelter for abused women in a systematic and rigorous manner. The term phenomenological hermeneutic was selected to indicate that this was primarily a phenomenological study to which a hermeneutic dimension was added in view of the nature of the phenomenon of imaginative play.

The first chapter of the present dissertation reviews the literature on children whose mothers have been abused by their fathers. In the reviews of different types of research on these

children any significant age and gender differences between the children are presented. Reviews include literature on mothers' reports of the behavioral and emotional problems of their children, others' observations of the impact of marital violence on the children and the use of self-report questionnaires and clinical interviews with the children. There is also a review of studies in which children are interviewed about their experience of witnessing marital violence, their thoughts and feelings about it and their ways of coping with it.

The second chapter of the present dissertation addresses children's imaginative play and stories. Theories and views of imaginative play are described and developmental research on the imaginative play of children is reviewed. There is a review of the themes and gender differences in the imaginative play of non-clinical children and a review of the imaginative play of children who have been maltreated and those who witnessed violence in the community. There is also a review of developmental research on the imaginative stories non-clinical children tell and the themes and gender differences in their stories. Studies on the imaginative play and stories of children whose mothers were abused by their fathers are also reviewed.

The third chapter is the method chapter of this dissertation on the imaginative play of four young children staying at a shelter for abused women. The phenomenological hermeneutic method used in the present study is introduced by describing the relevant phenomenological and hermeneutic philosophical foundations of the method. Descriptions are provided of the study setting, the participants, the materials used to conduct the study and the procedure followed. The phenomenological hermeneutic analyses of the data are also described.

The fourth chapter of the dissertation consists of the results of the phenomenological hermeneutic analyses of the imaginative play sessions. Phenomenological reflections on the

meanings within play sessions while retaining the flow of the play as a whole led to the description of a situated meaning-structure for each play session. The themes which emerged from a comparative analysis of the children's situated meaning-structures are presented in the results chapter of the thesis.

The final chapter is the discussion of the study results. Using a hermeneutic method of interpretation, there is a discussion of how the children's common and unique play themes might be related to their experiences and patterns in the meanings of the children's play themes are also discussed. Then these hermeneutic interpretations of the themes and patterns which emerged from the children's play in relation to their experiences are discussed in relation to the empirical literature on child witnesses of marital violence and the theories used to try to understand these children's behaviors, thoughts and feelings. There is an evaluation of the qualitative research strengths and limitations of the present phenomenological hermeneutic study. Finally, suggestions for future research are provided and the possible clinical implications of this study are discussed.

LITERATURE REVIEW

I. Child witnesses of marital violence

Children's behavioral and psychological adjustment

Mother's reports of children's behavior problems using the Child Behavior Checklist

In the present dissertation, only studies in which mothers reported their children's behavioral and emotional problems using the Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL; Achenbach & Edelbrock, 1983) were reviewed to facilitate comparisons between study results. Most studies compared mothers' ratings of their children while they were staying at shelters with maternal reports of children from families where no abuse was reported (Christopoulos, Cohn, Shaw, Joyce, Sullivan-Hanson, Kraft et al., 1987; Holden & Ritchie, 1991; Hughes, Vargo, Ito & Skinner, 1991; Jaffe, Wolfe, Wilson & Zak, 1985, 1986a, 1986b; Wolfe, Jaffe, Wilson & Zak, 1985). A few studies did not compare child witnesses of marital violence in shelters with other groups of children (Stagg, Wills & Howell, 1989; O'Keefe, 1994; Jouriles & Norwood, 1995). Two studies compared children staying at shelters who had been abused to those who had not been abused (Davis & Carlson, 1987; Lyons, 1992). Another study compared children staying at shelters to children from intact families where no abuse was reported, to children from single-mother families living in a home, and those residing in housing hostels, half of which reported a past history of marital violence (Cummings, Pepler & Moore, 1999; Moore & Pepler, 1998).

In the four following studies, the researchers studied child witnesses of marital violence who were not staying at shelters for abused women. One study compared children living with their mothers in the community who had witnessed marital violence to children from families where no abuse was reported (Graham-Bermann & Levendosky, 1998). Another study compared

children whose mothers had a history of marital violence and were separated from the abusive partner to children from families with no history of marital violence (Mathias, Mertin, & Murray, 1995). Fantuzzo, DePaola, Lambert, Martino, Anderson, and Sutton (1991) conducted a study which compared children staying at shelters for abused women to children from intact families whose mothers were verbally but not physically abused by their partners, and children from intact families where no abuse was reported. Sternberg et al. (1993) conducted a study which compared children from intact families in which there were no reports of abuse, physical child abuse was reported, marital violence but no child abuse was reported, to intact families in which both physical child abuse and marital violence were reported.

The results from the studies of preschool children are reviewed first, followed by studies of school-aged children. Most reviewed studies tended not to provide any descriptive data on the particular behavioral problems reported by mothers referring instead to the broad scales of externalizing, acting-out behaviors (e.g., aggression) and internalizing behaviors (e.g., anxiety, depression). Whereas four studies of preschool children (Fantuzzo et al., 1991; Graham-Bermann & Levendosky, 1998; Holden & Ritchie, 1991; Hughes et al., 1991) did not find any gender differences, two studies found preschool boys staying at shelters to be significantly more affected than the girls (Davis & Carlson, 1987; Stagg et al., 1989) according to their mothers' reports on the CBCL. In Stagg et al.'s (1989) study, the boys were rated by their mothers as having more internalizing and externalizing behavior problems than the girls. Davis and Carlson (1987) found significantly more boys than girls in their study with clinical levels of CBCL-rated depression and aggression. Stagg et al. (1989) found that a third of the preschool children in their study were rated by their mothers as having clinical levels of behavior problems.

Fantuzzo et al. (1991) found that preschool child witnesses of marital violence, regardless of whether they were staying at shelters or living in the community, had significantly more often clinical levels of externalizing but not internalizing behavior problems than children from families where no abuse was reported. Preschool children exposed to the verbal but not the physical abuse of their mothers showed higher levels of behavior problems than children from families where no abuse was reported, but these behaviors did not fall within the clinical range. Fantuzzo et al. (1991) found that preschool child witnesses of marital violence staying at shelters were the most affected of the three clinical groups, followed by those living in the community, and finally children who were exposed to their mother's verbal but not physical abuse. Graham-Bermann and Levendosky (1998) found that preschool children who had witnessed the emotional and physical abuse of their mothers and were living with their mothers in the community had significantly more behavior problems than children from families where no abuse was reported. A third of the child witnesses of marital violence were rated by their mothers as having clinical levels of internalizing problems compared to none of the children from families where no abuse was reported. Graham-Bermann and Levendosky also found that 43 % of the child witnesses had clinical levels of externalizing problems compared to 20 % of the children from families where no abuse was reported.

The following two studies compared children staying at shelters who had been abused to those who had not been abused. Davis and Carlson (1987) found that the preschool and school-aged children in their shelter sample who were abused had significantly more internalizing but not externalizing behavior problems than those who were not abused. In his study of school-aged boys in a shelter, Lyons (1992) found that boys who had been physically abused by their fathers

had significantly higher internalizing and externalizing scores on the CBCL than those who were not abused. The physically abused boys had higher scores on the Depressed, Uncommunicative, Obsessive-compulsive, Social Withdrawal, Hyperactive, and Aggressive subscales of the CBCL than the other boys in Lyons' study. Jouriles and Norwood (1995) compared school-aged children in shelters who had witnessed different degrees of marital violence and found that boys but not girls who witnessed "more extreme" levels of wife assault were rated by their mothers as having significantly more externalizing behavior problems than those who witnessed "less extreme" wife assault.

When school-aged children in shelters were compared to children from families where no abuse was reported, two studies found that the children in shelters had significantly more internalizing but not externalizing behavior problems (Christopoulos et al. 1987; Holden & Ritchie, 1991) and three studies found that they had both more internalizing and externalizing problems (Hughes et al. 1991; Jaffe, Wolfe, Wilson & Zak, 1986a; Wolfe et al. 1985) than the children from families where no abuse was reported. The percentage of school-aged children in shelters whose mothers reported them as having clinical levels of overall behavior problems was 27 % (Holden & Ritchie, 1991; Wolfe et al. 1985), for internalizing behavior problems it was 32 % (Christopoulos et al. 1987; O'Keefe, 1994) and for externalizing problems it ranged from 22 % to 32.5 % (Christopoulos et al. 1987; O'Keefe, 1994).

Whereas six studies of school-aged children in shelters and in the community found no gender differences in the mothers' ratings of their children's behaviors on the CBCL (Christopoulos et al., 1987; Holden & Ritchie, 1991; Hughes, Vargo, Ito & Skinner, 1991; Mathias, Mertin & Murray, 1995; O'Keefe, 1994; Wolfe et al., 1985), the following five studies

did. Two studies of school-aged children in shelters found that boys were more affected than girls (Jaffe et al. 1985, 1986a) and three other studies found the reverse to be true (Cummings et al. 1999; Davis & Carlson, 1987; Moore & Pepler, 1998). Jaffe, Wolfe, Wilson and Zak (1985) found that boys who were staying at shelters were reported as having significantly more behavior problems than the girls in shelters, who in turn, did not differ from the children living in families where no abuse was reported. Jaffe, Wolfe, Wilson and Zak (1986a) found that school-aged boys who were recent or current residents of shelters had higher scores on both internalizing and externalizing behavior problem scales than children from families where no abuse had been reported. The girls who were recent or current residents of shelters were significantly more likely than the comparison children to be described by their mothers as having internalizing problems related to depression and anxiety rather than externalizing behavior problems.

Three studies found that school-aged girls who had witnessed marital violence and were staying in shelters or living in the community were more affected than boys. Sternberg et al. (1993) found that school-aged girls in intact families in Israel who had witnessed marital violence had significantly more externalizing but not internalizing behavior problems than the boys. Davis and Carlson (1987) and Cummings et al. (1999) found significantly more girls than boys who had witnessed marital violence and were staying in shelters or living in the community had clinical levels of internalizing and externalizing problems. Cummings et al. found that the percentages of girls with clinical levels of internalizing and externalizing behavior problems were 42.6 % and 27.6 % respectively compared to 9.6 % on both scales for the boys.

In the Cummings et al. (1999) study, school-aged children in shelters were compared to children from intact families and single-mother families where no abuse was reported, and

single-mother families residing in housing hostels (homeless). Half of the homeless mothers reported a past history of abuse. The children in the shelter and those who were homeless did not differ from one another but were rated higher on overall behavior problems and internalizing problems in particular than the intact and single-mother families in the community in which no abuse was reported. Moore and Pepler (1998) made the distinction between homeless children in this sample who had previous exposure to marital violence and those who did not and called them respectively the homeless violent and homeless nonviolent groups. They found that 53 % of the shelter girls and 68 % of the girls from the homeless violent groups had scores within the clinical range on overall behavior problems, compared to 12 % and 21 % of the boys, respectively. One third of the boys and girls in the homeless nonviolent group had ratings on the CBCL which fell within the clinical range for overall behavior problems.

It appears that on average, a third of preschool and school-aged witnesses of marital violence have clinical levels of mother-reported behavior problems as rated on the CBCL. Although most studies provided the percentages of children with clinical levels of behavior problems, only the following two studies reported the percentages of children whose scores fell within the normal adjustment range. O'Keefe (1994) and Hughes and Luke (1998) found that a quarter of school-aged children in shelters were rated by their mothers on the internalizing and externalizing behavior problems scales in the normal adjustment range. This review of the literature on mother's reports on the CBCL of their children's behavioral problems points to the heterogeneity of this population. The children's behavioral and emotional adjustment, as reported by their mothers using the CBCL, varied according to their experiences of witnessing marital violence, being physically abused, staying at a shelter, or living in the community. There is a

need for more research comparing the behavioral adjustment of both preschool and school-aged children because there are some indications that the impact of marital violence may differ according to the children's age (Holden & Ritchie, 1991). The reviewed studies provided information on the prevalence and severity of certain types of behavior problems in various samples as reported by the children's mothers. These studies tended not to provide any descriptive data on the particular behavioral problems reported by the mothers and referred to the broad categories of internalizing and externalizing behavior problems. The reviewed studies did not provide insights into the children's thoughts and feelings about their experiences and how they coped with having witnessed the physical abuse of their mothers and their parents' verbal fights.

Others' observations of the impact of marital violence on children

Child witnesses of marital violence in shelters and in the community have been observed by child workers, researchers, and their mothers. In a study conducted by Copping (1996), 7 professional female Child Support Workers observed the behaviors of 75 children (half boys and half girls) of all ages (the majority of which were in the 3 to 6 year-old age group) staying at shelters. The four main categories of behaviors identified were Physical, Physiological, Verbal and Feelings expressed through "I" statements. The majority of the children who exhibited the highest frequency of problem behaviors were exposed to marital violence for most of their lives. Some of the most frequently displayed negative behaviors were physical aggression, excessive talking, demands made by the children and high physical activity. Boys expressed two to three times more behaviors than girls in the following behavior categories: Physical, Verbal and Feelings expressed through "I" statements. Compared to the boys, the girls exhibited twice as

many Physiological behaviors such as pulling hair, under/over eating, chewing fingers or bed wetting.

Graham-Bermann and Levendosky (1998) conducted an observational study of 21 preschool children from families living in the community in which mothers were abused by fathers and 25 preschoolers from families where no abuse was reported. The researchers observed the children interacting in a small group play setting and interacting with their caregiver. Children in the two groups did not differ in their expression of positive emotions or the amount of mutual playing, sharing, taking turns, and engaging in conflict, or in their ability to join others in play. However, the child witnesses of marital violence were observed to have higher rates of expression of sadness, depression, worry and frustration in comparison to their peers. They expressed more anger and were more likely to rely on physical means to express anger and frustration (e.g. through hitting, biting, or slapping others). Their physically violent behaviors appeared to be unprovoked by others. These preschool children also had higher rates of insulting, name calling, and putting down their peers.

Smith, Berthelsen and O'Connor (1997) conducted a retrospective qualitative study of 54 women and their preschool children who were living independently in the community and were former shelter residents. The mothers reported a variety of responses by their children to witnessing marital violence. Half of the children were reported to have been afraid during a violent incident. Their emotional distress at this time tended to be expressed through crying and screaming. A third of the children tried to intervene to protect their mother by either angrily yelling at the partner not to hit their mother or physically hitting the partner. Smith et al. found that 15 % of the children were reported to withdraw to a safer place (e.g. their room) and 9 %

acted out (possibly to get their parents' attention and distract them from their conflict).

Gullette (1987) conducted a qualitative study of 36 school-aged children from maritally violent intact families. Based on information the parents gave about their children, things the children said about themselves, and observations of child-parent interactions, Gullette developed a list of roles which could be applied to most of the children in the study. The two most common roles, each portrayed by 8 children, were those of the Scapegoat who presented enough problems that the family could avoid focusing on other problems, and the Parent who protected, maintained, organized or nurtured family members in a role typically filled by an adult parent. Among the various other roles, Gullette noted that the 5 Mascots who provided the family with distractions to reduce tension in the family were all under 7 years of age. The 4 Isolates who provided relief to the family by simply not being a burden were all girls.

In addition to providing information on children's internalizing and externalizing behavior problems, Jaffe, Wolfe, Wilson and Zak (1986b) reported mothers' responses to various items on the CBCL. The items from mothers' reports which differentiated girls recently or currently residing in shelters from those living in families where no abuse was reported, included the following: clings to adults or too dependent, feels she has to be perfect, feels or complains that no one loves her, is stubborn, sullen or irritable, teases a lot, is unhappy, sad or depressed and worries. The CBCL items which differentiated school-aged boys currently or recently residing in shelters from the comparison group of boys included: argues a lot, can't concentrate, can't pay attention for long, can't sit still, is restless or hyperactive, shows cruelty, bullying or meanness to others, is impulsive or acts without thinking, likes showing off or clowning around, teases a lot, has temper tantrums or is hot tempered, and is unusually loud.

The descriptive data from observations of child witnesses of marital violence by child workers, researchers and their mothers contribute to our understanding of the impact of marital violence on them. However, in these reviewed studies, the voices and perspectives of the children themselves were not heard.

Children's self-reports

Three studies compared school-aged children's self-reported behavioral problems on the Youth Self-Report form (YSR; Achenbach & Edelbrock, 1981) of the CBCL and their scores on other standardized inventories (Hughes & Luke, 1998; Sternberg et al., 1993; Tang, 1997). Sternberg et al. (1993) found that children from intact families who were physically abused and those who witnessed marital violence and were also physically abused reported themselves as having significantly more internalizing and externalizing YSR behavior problems than children from families where no abuse was reported. One quarter of the child abuse victims, including those who had also witnessed marital violence assigned themselves internalizing scores in the clinical range. The YSR scores of children who witnessed marital violence but were not themselves abused were higher than those of children from families where no abuse was reported, but the differences were not significant.

A study conducted in China compared self-reports of anxiety (Chinese translation of the Anxiety-State subscale of the State-Trait Anxiety Inventory for Children; Spielberger, Edwards, Lushene, Monturoi, & Plaztek, 1973) and depression (Chinese translation of the Depression Self-Rating Scale; Asarnow & Carlson, 1985) and mothers' ratings on the aggression subscale of the CBCL (Chinese translation) of school-aged children living in a shelter to children in the community from maritally discordant intact families and children from families in which there

was no reported abuse of the mother (Tang, 1997). The children staying at a shelter reported themselves to be significantly more depressed than the children of discordant intact families but they did not differ on their self-reported levels of anxiety nor on their mothers' reports of aggressive behavior problems.

In a study which Hughes and Luke (1998) conducted in shelters, school-aged children completed self-reports of anxiety (Revised Children's Manifest Anxiety Scale; Reynolds & Richmond, 1984), depression (Children's Depression Inventory; Kovacs, 1983) and self-esteem (Pier-Harris Children's Self-Concept Scale; Piers, 1984 and McDaniels-Piers Young Children's Self-concept Scale; McDaniel & Piers, 1976). Both the children and their mothers reported on the children's externalizing and internalizing problems (Eyberg Child Behavior Inventory; Eyberg & Ross, 1978). Half of the children were physically abused. Hughes and Luke used cluster analysis of this data to identify subgroups of school-aged children in shelters with different patterns of adjustment. Variables which did not differ significantly among the clusters included the gender and age of the children and whether they were physically abused or not. Hughes and Luke found that 26 % of the children in shelters were in the Doing Well cluster, as they reported few behavior problems, no anxiety and high levels of self-esteem. Thirty-six percent of the children were in the Hanging In There cluster, reporting an average number of problems, some mild anxiety symptoms and an average level of self-esteem. The remaining 38% of the children were described by their mothers and reported themselves to be experiencing emotional or behavioral difficulties. Children in the High Behavior Problems cluster were characterized by their mothers as having high levels of behavioral difficulties, but they reported themselves as having low anxiety and moderately high self-esteem. In the High General Distress

cluster, both the mothers and their children reported behavioral and emotional problems and the children themselves reported high levels of depression and low self-esteem. In the Depressed Kids cluster, both mothers and their children reported low levels of behavior problems but the children reported emotional distress with moderately high anxiety and very high levels of depression. Hughes and Luke found that the mothers of children in the High Behavior Problem and High General Distress clusters were more depressed and used more verbal aggression against their partners than the mothers of children in the other subgroups.

The three reviewed studies which used children's self-reports on standardized questionnaires contributed to an understanding of how school-aged children perceived the general emotional and behavioral impact on them of witnessing marital violence and moving to a shelter. However, the findings were limited to school-aged children and restricted to the issues addressed in questionnaire items.

Clinical interviews and questionnaires to determine psychiatric diagnoses

Several researchers have attempted to determine the percentage of child witnesses of marital violence meeting diagnostic criteria for Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) who were staying at shelters (Landis, 1989; Lehmann, 1997) and/or were living in the community (Graham-Bermann & Levendosky, 1998; Kilpatrick & Williams, 1997; McCloskey & Walker, 2000). Lehmann (1997) found that 56 % of school-aged children in shelters met diagnostic criteria for PTSD based on their self-reports of trauma symptoms experienced over the previous month. Landis (1989) found that half of the school-aged children in his study who were staying at a shelter displayed symptoms of PTSD which he described as severe. These symptoms included re-enactments or recurring thoughts of the event, avoidance of details or symbols associated with

trauma, feelings of being scared or upset, feelings of post-traumatic guilt and impaired ability to pay attention. Kilpatrick and Williams (1997) found that almost half of school-aged children in their sample from the community who had witnessed marital violence had a severe level of PTSD symptomatology. These researchers used the Child Post-Traumatic Stress Reaction Index (Pynoos & Nader, 1993) to determine the frequency with which PTSD symptoms occurred in relation to witnessing marital violence.

Using their own inventory and psychiatric diagnostic interviews to assess PTSD symptoms, McCloskey and Walker (2000) found that 15 % of school-aged child witnesses of marital violence recruited from both shelters and the community met the symptom criteria for PTSD. The children with PTSD were likely to also show elevated symptoms of phobias, separation anxiety and oppositional disorder by their own reports and depression by their mothers' reports. Employing their own list of questions to determine child traumatic symptoms, Graham-Bermann and Levendosky (1998) found a similar percentage of children with PTSD. In their study, 13 % of school-aged children living in the community who were exposed to the physical and emotional abuse of their mother by their father or their mother's partner qualified for a diagnosis of PTSD. These researchers found that 52 % of the children suffered from intrusive re-experiencing, 42 % had traumatic arousal symptoms and 19 % displayed traumatic avoidance reactions to the violence. There were no significant differences in the frequency of PTSD symptoms between children who had been physically abused and those who had not. Graham-Bermann and Levendosky found that children who experienced posttraumatic stress symptoms had higher internalizing CBCL scores than children without these symptoms. Children with intrusion and arousal symptoms scored significantly higher on externalizing behavioral

problems. Those children who had intrusion symptoms were more likely to have witnessed a greater number of violent events.

These reviewed studies determined the prevalence of PTSD amongst school-aged child witnesses of marital violence staying at a shelter and those living in the community and did not find any gender, age, or child abuse history differences between children with and without PTSD. The findings were however limited to school-aged children and restricted to diagnostic information obtained through questionnaires and in interviews.

Children's thoughts and feelings about their experience and ways of coping

Retrospective accounts

Ammon (1989) conducted a phenomenological study of the experience of 8 adults who as children witnessed the physical and emotional abuse of their mothers by their fathers. They reported that during their childhood, their lives were in almost constant turmoil. Little nurturance, validation, or support was provided to them by the important adults in their lives and they learned to repress feelings and constrict themselves emotionally and interpersonally.

Berman (2000) conducted open-ended interviews with 16 children who witnessed war-related violence and left war-torn countries, and 16 child witnesses of marital violence who were no longer living with their mothers' abusive partners. The children in Berman's study ranged from 10 to 17 years of age. Using techniques for the analysis of narrative data (Mishler, 1995; Riessman, 1992), Berman analyzed the children's narratives about their lives amid violence and their lives since coming to North America and since their mothers left their abusive partner(s). Whereas the children who witnessed war-related violence viewed war as an aberration compared to the safety and security of their family and prewar community, the child witnesses of marital

violence did not have any safe and supportive place or time of reference with which to contrast their experiences. These children portrayed their homes as places marked by constant fighting, silences and little joy and they experienced profound pain, sadness and shame as they shared their stories. Whereas for the children of war, violence represented a sudden, but temporary interruption to previously peaceful lives, child witnesses of marital violence experienced violence as a defining feature of family life. Both groups of children told of persistent feelings of loneliness, eating and sleeping difficulties, recurrent headaches, intrusive thoughts and fears. Berman found that although much of what both groups of children heard and saw was similar, the child witnesses of marital violence were forced to endure their pain and sorrow in secrecy and silence, isolated and alone. The children of war, on the other hand, experienced violence communally and collectively with the people they loved and who loved them in return. The child witnesses of marital violence never knew what it meant to live in a home where needs were met, where positive emotions were openly expressed and encouraged, or where there was order and predictability.

As the phenomenological studies conducted by Ericksen and Henderson (1992, 1998) and Peled (1994, 1998) are of particular interest to the present study, the results will be described in more detail. In these two studies, the researchers interviewed children about their experience of marital violence months to years after witnessing the physical abuse of their mothers by their fathers. In Peled's study, the 14 children were between the ages of 10 and 13 years and had participated in a therapeutic-educational family violence group prior to being interviewed by her. Two of the children witnessed their mothers being physically abused during the year of the study, seven 2 years preceding the study, and five children 4 to 7 years before the study. In Ericksen and

Henderson's study, the 13 children between the ages of 3 and 10 years were living with their mothers in second-stage housing (temporary independent housing following their stay at a shelter) at the time of the study and their mothers had left their abusive partners sometime in the last year and a half.

Peled (1994, 1998) described older school-aged children's reported experiences of their exposure to marital violence. During the period of living with ordinary fights, there was little communication about abusive incidents with, or in the presence of the children. Neither parent defined the fights as abuse to the child and abusive incidents were hardly discussed with people outside of the family. The children described themselves as living with a routine of fights between their parents. Several children remembered only the first time they witnessed their mothers being physically abused by their fathers. The first violent event witnessed made the children aware of their father's potential for violence and they experienced worry and fear during later verbal fights. During an abusive incident, most children reported that they were afraid or worried and tried to distance themselves from the fight or not interfere with it. Many children tried to leave the scene once fights had started, used distractions, and/or tried to push conflict-related stimuli from their consciousness (e.g. pretending nothing happened, trying to forget about it). Children were more likely to think about interfering in a fight than actually doing so. When children did get involved in an abusive incident by calling the police or interfering in the fight they were protecting the abused parent, preventing harm when the situation looked dangerous, and/or alleviating their own feelings of anxiety, distress, and helplessness.

When children were forced to leave their home, separate from their fathers and move to shelters they had to adapt to new surroundings and schools. Shelters provided safety as well as

emotional and material support for both the children and their mothers. Mothers were under considerable emotional and functional stress which reduced their capacities to fully satisfy their children's emotional, and sometimes physical needs. The children and their mothers in Peled's study participated in family violence programs which helped to improve child-mother communication in the long-term aftermath of violence.

The most significant aspect of the past violence for many of the children was the resulting separation from their fathers. On the one hand, children witnessed the violence or heard about it from their mothers and learned in groups that abusive behavior is wrong and the fault of the abuser. On the other hand, most children loved and were attached to their fathers - the men who behaved abusively, hurt their mothers, and violated social rules and norms. Very few of the children managed to accept the seemingly contradictory sides of their fathers. Rather, they chose to either see their fathers as bad or found ways to de-emphasize their father's violent behaviors. They turned him into a sick father who needed understanding, sympathy and care, they assigned some of the responsibility for the violence to drinking, they suggested he had changed or was cured of the abuse, they forgave him, minimized the abuse, and even forgot the abuse. Most children expressed love and care for their fathers and emphasized their good qualities.

The children between the ages of 3 and 10 years in Ericksen and Henderson's study (1992, 1998) not only perceived that violence was normal and acceptable but they were unaware of alternate methods of handling anger and conflict other than through violence (e.g. hitting). Ericksen and Henderson (1992) described the children's experiences of exposure to marital violence. All of the children reported witnessing their fathers' acts of violence against their mothers and expressed fear for themselves and their parents. Some children felt powerless

because they wanted to stop the fighting but felt unable to do so. Children coped with the violence by trying to stop the fighting, going to their room or somewhere else, and talking to and hugging their stuffed animals.

The children expressed relief at living away from the violence and enjoyed being at the shelter (with the exception of one child). The children expressed a desire to protect their mothers - no longer from physical harm, but from emotional discomfort. They were too concerned about their mothers' feelings to be able to freely express their own emotions to their mothers. The children expressed sadness because they missed their fathers and their mothers were emotionally unavailable. They felt uncertain and sad about the future of their family. Many were also sad because of the many losses they had experienced moving from their homes (e.g. loss of toys, friends, schools). Most of the children felt powerless and used solitude, fantasy, disengagement and avoidance as mechanisms to cope with their experience. Several children seemed to be trying to be model children by being helpful and good, other children coped by talking things over with a friend, some continued to express their feelings to their stuffed animals and one boy avoided sharing his feelings about his father.

These qualitative studies addressed the children's experiences from their own perspectives and provided rich and insightful findings. These retrospective studies enabled participants to more easily and comfortably recount their thoughts and feelings about the marital violence, their stay in a shelter and their ways of coping because they were in less stressful circumstances than they had been during their stay at the shelter. However, their perceptions of their experiences may have changed over time due to various influences, including participation in group treatment for family violence (Peled, 1994). The following studies in which children

were interviewed during their stay at shelters for abused women provide a current account of their experiences, thoughts and feelings and ways of coping.

Interviews with children staying at shelters

Ornduff and Monahan (1999) conducted a qualitative analysis of the transcripts of a social worker's interviews during initial intake and weekly individual counseling sessions with 100 children ranging in age from 3 to 14 years old staying at a shelter. Ornduff and Monahan reviewed the transcripts and selected segments which provided insights into the children's feelings about the abuse and the abuser, their strategies for coping with aggression and conflict in their families, their understanding and feelings about the shelter placement, and their hopes for the future. The interview segments in their article were drawn from the counseling sessions of 56 (21 boys and 35 girls) of the children. Ornduff and Monahan found that most children expressed feelings of personal safety and comfort at being in the shelter. The children frequently expressed feelings of fear and loss and many expressed a desire for reunification of the family unit, although there was often a sense that meaningful change was a precondition for a reunion to occur. Children reported using mental and behavioral disengagement during maritally violent episodes (e.g. they made up songs, put their head into a pillow). Whenever action-oriented approaches to coping with marital violence were expressed they tended to involve fantasies of rescue or revenge. It is interesting to note that only boys who were quoted in the article described rescue and revenge fantasies.

Some researchers (Christopoulos et al. 1987; Hughes & Barad, 1983; Landis, 1989) have found that when parents fought, children of all ages staying in shelters reported that they felt scared, mad and sad. When Landis (1989) asked 20 school-aged children why they felt this way,

the children explained that they were afraid that their mother would be hurt by their father, they felt angry at their father for hurting their mother, angry because they were helpless to prevent his assault and sad because they didn't like the fighting. Graham-Bermann (1996) and Humphreys (1991) found that school-aged child witnesses of marital violence in shelters reported being worried and concerned about the vulnerability and safety of their mothers and siblings and worried about the potential for harm by their fathers. Younger school-aged children in Graham-Bermann's sample tended to worry more about their own vulnerability than older children. In Humphreys' (1991) study older school-aged children staying in shelters frequently reported experiencing uncertainty about their mother's situation and a fear of abandonment.

Landis (1989) found that three quarters of the school-aged children in his study reported having actively distanced themselves from involvement in their parents' fights by leaving the scene, staying away or engaging in something else primarily for their own safety. Some children suggested going to someone for help (e.g. neighbor or police), talking to someone, or removing their siblings and mother from the home. Others suggested trying to stop the fighting by telling their father to stop hurting their mother or getting in between them to prevent them from hitting each other. One boy poignantly expressed his feelings of helplessness when he was asked for recommendations on coping with the marital violence and said, "I don't really know because there's nothing I could do". The children had difficulty dealing with feelings of anger. One child recommended that other children cope with their angry feelings about the marital violence by "keeping back your anger and not let it out and if you can't control your anger lie down and calm yourself and try to go to sleep".

Lyons (1992) interviewed 30 school-aged boys and their mothers who were staying at a

shelter (20 of the boys were caucasian, 9 were of native Indian heritage and 1 was of East Indian heritage). The boys completed the Coping Inventory Child's Form (CI-CF) and their mothers completed the Coping Inventory-Mother's Form (CI-MF). These coping inventories were taken from the Life Events and Coping Inventory (LECI, Dise-Lewis, 1988). Lyons was interested in the boys' ways of coping with father-related stressors and stressors associated with their parents' relationship. Half of the boys were physically abused by their fathers in addition to witnessing marital violence. However, Lyons found that the fathers' emotional abuse of the boys (e.g. messages of rejection, inordinate criticism, verbal abuse and interference in their peer relationships) was a more prevalent theme than the boys' physical abuse. There were reports of a lack of interaction of fathers with their sons even though some fathers had doted on them as toddlers. The fathers were reported to abuse alcohol, at times resulting in their sons' maltreatment, extended absences from the family, and financial neglect.

Many mothers in Lyons' study described the family atmosphere as tense as a result of the marital violence. Their husbands were also described as controlling in their marital relationship, often restricting their wives' social and work lives, their access to money, their emotional expressions and general decision-making. The mothers reported that they often felt their mental, emotional and physical exhaustion rendered them ineffective as parents. A number of boys expressed distress about the physical violence between their parents, but were equally distressed about the verbal fighting they had been exposed to.

Mothers often reported that their sons reacted to father-related stressors by expressing fear, worry and sadness. Much of their fear was in reaction to their fathers' intimidating presence and unpredictable nature. Some boys frequently manifested their fear in the form of tears, others

expressed their worries about possible consequences of their fathers' behaviors, and others expressed a sense of helplessness in relation to their father. The boys themselves often reported experiencing sadness in response to the father-related stressors, particularly their fathers' rejection of them. The most prominently experienced negative emotion of the boys while living with their fathers was reportedly that of intense anger and frustration towards their fathers. Some of the boys directly expressed this anger towards their fathers but most often the boys were too intimidated and vented their anger onto their siblings in the form of physical aggression, put-downs, and name-calling, or onto their mothers in the form of temper outbursts, blaming, and rudeness. A commonly reported coping response by the boys was that of emotional repression, including an unwillingness to express feelings about their fathers, emotional withdrawal from the family, or attempts to avoid interacting with their fathers. There were however numerous reports in which boys desired and/or pursued closeness with their fathers despite their awareness of their fathers' contributions to the stress in their lives. There were some examples of boys whose preferred coping response was to deny the stress their fathers caused in order to maintain a sense of closeness with their fathers.

Lyons found that the boys commonly reported responding to the parental relationship stressors by physically withdrawing, either to another room in the house or to the outdoors in order to avoid becoming involved. Other frequent responses were emotional repression (e.g. refusing to talk to anyone about the parental conflict) and denial (e.g. denying any effects of the parental conflict). On the other hand, there were reports of boys outwardly expressing emotional unrest in response to parental conflict, primarily in the form of worry, fear and sadness. It was fairly common for boys to become actively involved once a fight began by sitting next to their

mothers, siding with them, telling their parents to stop fighting, and finding ways to distract them. After the conflict subsided it was very common for the boys to try to comfort their mothers. Lyons determined from both sets of interviews that many boys actively sought to enhance their relationships with their mothers during periods of non-conflict, often communicating a need to be close. However, there were also times when some of the boys treated their mothers poorly by placing excessive demands on them, intimidating them or defying them. According to the boys they were reacting to situations in which their mothers were not meeting their needs. There were many reports of boys blaming themselves for the parental conflict, and some reports of boys actively encouraging their parents to make up. Lyons found that the 17 boys who blamed themselves for their parents' fights were rated by their mothers as significantly more anxious, depressed, obsessive-compulsive, socially withdrawn, hyperactive, and aggressive on the CBCL than the 13 boys who never blamed themselves.

Roy (1988) interviewed 146 children (93 girls and 53 boys) 11 to 17 years of age who had been exposed to high levels of marital violence. The majority were staying in shelters with their mothers, the next largest group were in group homes or protective homes for children and some were living at the home of a friend or relative. Roy met with these children in groups, initially, to discover which issues were important to them. She then conducted in-depth individual interviews guided by the issues and concerns which had been brought forward in the group meetings. Roy developed categories from the interview data to establish the frequency with which children had endorsed certain categories. Roy found that about 10 % of the children tried to protect their mothers from being beaten mostly by physically intervening. Only girls reported trying to protect their mothers from assault by taking care of the household. All of the boys 15 years of age and

older tried to protect their mothers from being beaten by intervening during the assaults. Half of the younger boys (ranging in age from 11 to 14 years) reported that they had fantasies about fighting back and retaliating when they became bigger and stronger. Roy found that about 20 % of the boys joined their fathers in victimizing their mothers (including some of the boys who at one time intervened to protect their mothers). The girls, on the other hand, tended to be more passive in their resistance to the violence in the home.

In Roy's study, many of the children complained about feeling frustrated, helpless and hopeless because they were unable to stop the violence in their homes. Roy found that 80 % of the children referred to frequent moves which created stress and anxiety for them and triggered feelings of anger and resentment at their parents for the situation they were in. The majority of the children had doubts about their parents' ability to provide them with physical and emotional nurturance. These children reported trying to hide their emotions rather than express them.

Critical evaluation of the reviewed studies of child witnesses' adjustment

Studies of children's behavioral and psychological adjustment to witnessing marital violence, their thoughts and feelings and their ways of coping with their experiences have been reviewed. The majority of the studies of child witnesses of marital violence provided information on the prevalence and severity of behavior problems as reported by the children's mothers on the standardized Child Behavior Checklist (CBCL; Achenbach & Edelbrock, 1983). Boys and girls of different age groups were compared with one another on this measure and children in shelters were compared to those in intact maritally violent families. There were also comparisons made between children who witnessed different types of abuse of their mothers, and children with additional experiences, e.g. being physically abused. Mothers reported that their children had

behavior and emotional problems, but the voices and perspectives of the children themselves on their thoughts, feelings and ways of coping were not heard.

There were a few studies reporting the observations of child workers, researchers and mothers on the impact of marital violence on child witnesses. Although these studies contributed to our understanding of the impact of marital violence on these children, once again, others were reporting on the children's thoughts, feelings and ways of coping. A few studies compared children's self-reports of behavioral and emotional problems using standardized questionnaires to those reported by their mothers. Some studies used clinical interviews and questionnaires to determine psychiatric diagnoses. However the findings from the aforementioned studies were limited to school-aged children and restricted to the issues addressed in questionnaire items and the diagnostic interviews.

The studies which interviewed children about their experiences, feelings, thoughts and ways of coping addressed these children's experiences from their perspectives. The findings arising from retrospective accounts and interviews with children while they were staying at shelters were rich and insightful. However, most of these studies were conducted with school-aged children. There is a need for qualitative research on the thoughts, feelings and ways of coping of younger child witnesses of marital violence. Previous studies have used observation and interviewing as ways of gathering data on young children. The present phenomenological hermeneutic study uses children's imaginative play to indirectly gain insights into their experiences, thoughts, feelings and ways of coping.

The following literature review on the imaginative play and stories of children will describe theories of imaginative play and review research on the development and content of

imaginative play and the stories children tell. There will be an examination of the play and stories of children of both genders who are non-clinical and those who have been maltreated, have witnessed community violence and marital violence.

II. The imaginative play and stories of children

The imaginative play of children

The phenomenon of imaginative play

Vermeer (1955) conducted a ground-breaking phenomenological study of the individual play of 600 children between the ages of 4 and 10 years. She engaged in participant-observation with these children, entering into the child's play-world. Mook (1989) summarized the principal findings of this Dutch researcher's study and her formulations of this study follow. Vermeer developed a typology including four types of play with their static components lying closer to reality and their dynamic aspects closer to fantasy. All four types of play constituted a play-world. The most advanced type of play was imaginative play which included the static aspect of composing scenes and the dynamic aspect of developing themes and an unfolding thematic play narrative. The phenomenon of play was considered ambiguous and unstable as its structure was simultaneously anchored in both fantasy and reality. The toys or playthings in imaginative play had a double meaning consisting of the real meaning of the objects and the meaning the child assigned to them in the play-world.

Vermeer differentiated three other less developed types of play within a play-world, i.e. handling, aesthetic and sensopathic play. Handling play included the static aspect of grouping and clustering playthings and the dynamic aspect of manipulating and moving playthings. The child's handling play gave rise to a manageable play-world. This type of play could lead to imaginative play when images became evoked through the handling of playthings. Aesthetic play consisted of the static aspect of forming, building and ordering playthings with the emphasis being on the outer appearance and aesthetic aspects of the playthings. The child's aesthetic play

gave rise to a stable and static aesthetic play-world which tended not to lead to imaginative play but rather constructions and artistic creations/arrangements. Sensopathic play occurred when the child engaged in playful contact with the material characteristics of playthings (their form and texture) through his/her sense of touch. The child's sensopathic play gave rise to a bodily play-world. This type of play could lead to imaginative play when images became evoked through feeling and sensing of the playthings. The children in the present study played at the most advanced level, engaging in imaginative play along with handling, aesthetic and sensopathic play at various times throughout their play sessions.

Applying the philosophy of Merleau-Ponty to the phenomenon of imaginative play, Mook (1998) described how "in the child's stance of receptive openness, he/she enlivens the play objects with feelings and movements in resonance with his/her own lived body... From within his/her own sedimented layers of experience, the child's lived body discovers and ascribes meaning to his/her evolving playworld" (p.239). Mook sees imaginative play as "an imaginative expression rooted in the child's lived body which has the power of signification, transcendence, and expression" (p.238). Cattanaach (1992), a play therapist, also suggested that "when the child can experiment with make-believe play and can assign a variety of functions and roles to objects and people, there is the possibility to transcend and transform experience" (p.19).

Vandenberg (1998) described play as exciting because it "flirts with an existential dichotomy of being and not being, real and not real" (p.303). He argued that past events emerged in children's play because of the way they influenced, constrained, and structured children's anticipations of their future. According to him, "past, present and future are intimately linked to an organic temporality whereby children's playful involvements reflect their present, indwelling

projections about their future that is based on their experience” (p.303).

Only individual children’s imaginative play facilitated by an adult researcher or therapist will be considered in the present dissertation. There is a significant body of research on the social pretend play of children (dyadic or amongst a group of children) examining its development, process (Corsaro, 1985; Forbes & Yablick, 1984; Goncu, 1993; Kane & Furth, 1993; Packer, 1994; Sawyer, 1997; Schwartz, 1991) and content (Alessandri, 1991; Farver & Shin, 1997; Gottman, 1986; Hetherington, Cox & Cox, 1979; Jordan & Cowan, 1995; Kramer & Schaefer-Hernan, 1994). However, in social pretend play, the process and content of the play is influenced by many children, whereas in individual play with an adult facilitator or therapist, it is the child who controls the process and content of the play with very little, if any, influence by the adult. Individual imaginative play with an adult facilitator or therapist can be likened to imaginative story-telling with play figures and props. Therefore, studies of the imaginative stories children tell will also be reviewed.

Theories of imaginative play

Freud (1950) was the first to propose that a child’s play could not only arise from wanting to repeat pleasurable experiences, but also and especially from the child wanting to repeat unpleasurable experience which made a great impression on him in real life in order to make himself master of the situation. According to Freud (1925), “every child at play behaves like a creative writer, in that he creates a world of his own, or rather, re-arranges the things of his world in a new way which pleases him” (p.143). Freud (1950) indicated the necessity of establishing the principle of repetition compulsion to override the pleasure principle in order to explain why children sometimes repeated unpleasurable experiences (e.g. traumatic experiences) in their play.

According to Freud (1950), in play, children repeated these experiences “so that they can master a powerful impression far more thoroughly by being active than they could by merely experiencing it passively” (p.45).

According to Erikson (1977) “dramatic play in childhood provides the infantile form of the human propensity to create model situations in which aspects of the past are re-lived, the present re-presented and renewed, and the future anticipated” (p. 44). Erikson felt that in order for a psychoanalyst to understand the meanings of the child’s play the analyst needed to carefully note the play’s content and form, accompanying words and visible affects, and needed to explore the details of the child’s life as they might pertain to the meanings of the play. He believed that the child’s play reflected the organization of the child’s ego. Erikson (1963) was the first to mention that a child’s play could be disrupted by playing out themes which aroused too much anxiety in the child. Under the influence of Freud and Erikson, most psychodynamically-oriented therapists interpret children’s play from within the child’s age-appropriate stage of psychosexual development (e.g., oral, Oedipal stage) and/or psychosocial development (e.g., trust versus mistrust, autonomy versus shame and doubt, initiative versus guilt). Children’s play was considered by both Freud and Erikson to be a symbolic expression of children’s unconscious conflict, their anxieties and traumatic experiences.

Winnicott (1971) suggested that “it is in playing and only in playing that the individual child or adult is able to be creative and use the whole personality, and it is only in being creative that the individual discovers the self” (p.54). Winnicott, a psychoanalyst, proposed that during the child’s creative playing experience the therapist should play with the child in order to facilitate the child’s discovery of his self, rather than focussing exclusively on the play content in

order to interpret it psychoanalytically. Based on his observations of hundreds of mothers with their infants, Winnicott “posited the gradual emergence of an intermediate area of experiencing between the baby and the mother (caregiver)” (Mook, 1988, p.13) which he named the intermediate play area. There were two phenomena in a child’s relations to its mother (caregiver) which enabled it to establish this play area. On the one hand, the mother’s adaptation to the infant’s needs must be good enough so that the baby will to some extent experience omnipotence. On the other hand, there must be a periodic absence and return of the mother. Only when an infant experienced a bearable absence of the mother could it generate the illusion of re-experiencing the good mother-child relationship with transitional phenomena such as holding or sucking a blanket, and later with a transitional object such as a soft, cuddly toy. The transitional object, “the infant’s first ‘not-me’ possession, becomes of vital significance to him/her, and then loses its meaning when the intermediate area of experiencing widens out into the realm of play and other creative expressions” (Mook, 1988, p.13). According to Cattnach (1992), “Winnicott suggested that through playing in therapy the child can dare to reach back for what he lost or was never given, or for what was too painful to be absorbed” (p.14).

Piaget (1962) proposed that “unlike objective thought, which seeks to adapt itself to the requirements of external reality, imaginative play is a symbolic transposition which subjects things to the child’s activity, without rules or limitations” (p.87). The ludic symbol in symbolic play provided the child with the means whereby he could “assimilate reality to his desires or interests” (p.119). In symbolic play, the child expressed himself and assimilated freely without or with minimal accommodation to reality. Piaget (1962) classified symbolic play into three stages and described their evolution from the second year to the seventh year of the child’s life. In the

first stage of symbolic play, there was a projection of symbolic schemas borrowed from the child's own activity and from models which have been imitated. In the second stage, there was the simple identification of one object with another and the identification of the child with other people or things. The third stage was the most advanced level of symbolic play and consisted of simple, compensatory, and liquidating symbolic combinations. In simple combinations, the child reproduced real scenes for the "pleasure of exercising his/her powers and recapturing fleeting experience" (p.131). In compensatory combinations the child corrected reality in play, "taking revenge on reality" (p.134) (e.g., neutralizing a fear through play, or doing in play what he/she would not dare to do in reality). In liquidating combinations, the child reproduced a disagreeable situation "in which the ego ran the risk of failure, thereby enabling it to assimilate it and emerge victorious" (p.134).

Piaget made a distinction between symbols whose significance a child understands (conscious or primary symbols) and those he/she does not understand ("unconscious" or secondary symbols). He formulated three groups of secondary symbols: those related to interests connected with the child's own body, those related to elementary family feelings, and those related to anxieties about the birth of babies. According to Piaget, "when secondary symbols are expressed it is a matter of intimate concerns, of secret and often inexpressible desires" (p.175). He proposed that the main secondary symbols arise from an affective schema which was a blending of the various feelings aroused by all those with whom the child lives.

The development of imaginative play

Wolf, Rygh, and Altshuler (1984) and Wolf and Hicks (1989) conducted a longitudinal study of the imaginative play of 9 children (3 boys, 6 girls), visiting them in their homes weekly

between the ages of 1 and 3 and bimonthly between the ages of 3 and 7. The children were provided with human play figures and props to play with. Wolf, Rygh, and Altshuler (1984) found no gender differences in the age of onset for each level of representation of human action in the children's play. They found that although at one and a half years of age these children could treat figures as if they were a representation of a human being, the figures were passive recipients of the child's actions. At two years of age the children could describe human play figures as independent agents, ascribing speech and action to them. Around two and a half years of age they could ascribe sensations, perceptions, physiological states, emotions, obligations, simple moral judgements and social relations to the figures. About three and half years of age these children could ascribe cognitions like thinking, planning, wondering, and knowing to the figures.

Wolf and Hicks (1989) found that at three years of age, children's play could be multivocal, involving the weaving together of the distinct voices of stage-managing, character dialogue, and narrative. Stage-managing occurred when children focussed their attention away from the scene of the story, fixing it instead on the researcher or objects in their surroundings. Dialogues occurred when children focussed their attention on the play figures and simultaneously provided speech characteristic of direct speech by a participant in an ongoing event. Narratives occurred when children focussed their attention on characters, speaking in the third person and depicting play events as an observer. Wolf and Hicks (1989) found that between the ages of 3 and 6, children's play dialogues and narrations became more lengthy. Between the ages of 5 and 6, children elaborated their understanding that any voice could carry any type of information in a new direction.

Benson (1996) found that the most commonly used narrative structure in the play of 40 four and five year-old children was sequential narrative (69 %), followed by descriptions (20 %), and primary plotted narratives (11 %). A sequential narrative referred to the temporal sequence of events; a description had no temporal sequence; and a primary plotted narrative consisted of a state of equilibrium, the disruption of that equilibrium, action(s) to counter the disruption, and a new state of equilibrium. Benson (1996) found that 11 of the 12 primary plotted narratives were produced by the older children (5 years old). Fein (1984) found that “the play of young children is more concerned with expressiveness than with story line and then by ages five to seven, children switch to more narrative presentations” (p.78).

Gender differences in the general features of imaginative play

In their longitudinal study of 9 children (3 boys and 6 girls), Wolf et al. (1984) found that the girls typically ascribed more experiences and internal states to play figures than boys did. Relative to the girls, the boys emphasized how characters acted: where they went, what they said, what they accomplished, and how they coped with obstacles. Wolf et al. suggested that these results could either indicate that girls saw the relevance of psychological information or that they simply felt more comfortable discussing internal states. The data also suggested that girls were more likely to exhibit intimacy with play characters, frequently speaking through them to create a first-person conversational style, whereas boys were more likely to assume greater distance from their characters speaking about the figures as an outside observer, using a third-person narration.

Tarullo (1994) conducted a longitudinal study of the individual imaginative play of 52 children, ages 5 through 7, from a public school in a working-class urban neighbourhood. The children enacted a fictional story with human play figures and props. The boys' play was marked

by a high use of references to conflict, especially physical conflict, a lack of motivation for conflict, and a tendency to resolve conflict negatively or not at all. In contrast, the girls' play was characterized by a high use of dialogue, a low use of references to conflict, explicit motivation for conflict (mainly psychological), and positive conflict resolution.

Themes and gender differences in the imaginative play of non-clinical children

Marans, Mayes, Cicchetti, Dahl, Marans and Cohen (1993) and Fein (1995) developed categories of play themes in order to study the thematic content of children's imaginative play. Marans et al. (1993) developed 30 coding categories to study the thematic content of the individual play of children in one hour play sessions with a clinician. One of the developers of this instrument (Dahl, 1993) used it to analyse the individual play sessions of 10 non-clinical children 3 to 5 years of age (6 boys and 4 girls) who had no reported history of abuse or exposure to marital violence. Dahl found gender differences in the themes of their play. The boys' play contained wishes to be big and powerful and to attack, damage and destroy. A typical story of a boy's play included themes of bodily integrity and bodily damage, wishes for the transformation of the body to increase potency or repair damage and the goodness or badness of wielding destructive power over others. The girls' play contained themes of birth and babies, bodily functions, the loss of objects, and the comings and goings of significant others. In contrast to the boys' play in which there was a virtual absence of family members, the girls' play included family members. A common theme in the girls' play was family members hiding from, teasing and excluding other family members. In contrast to the boys' play, in the girls' play the theme of destruction was virtually absent.

Fein (1995) examined children's play stories for the following two general themes: "lack-

lack liquidated” and “villainy-villainy nullified”. “Lack” referred to the absence or loss of a person or object and a need which was unfulfilled. When the “lack” was “liquidated” the need was fulfilled, there was no longer a loss and the missing person or object returned. “Villainy” referred to any source of threat and danger and when it was “nullified” the threat was eliminated in some way. Fein elicited two play stories each from 26 four-year old children attending a child-care center (half boys and half girls) using two sets of play figures. The first set included an adult male and female, a boy and a girl, a baby and a dog. The second set contained the same figures plus an alligator. She found that regardless of the set, girls told more stories. Girls’ stories with the original set of play figures were likely lack-lack liquidated stories in which characters got lost and wanted to go home. When the set included the alligator, more than half of the girls told lack-lack liquidated stories whereas only one of the boys did.

Themes in the imaginative play of maltreated children and those exposed to community violence

Farver and Frosch (1996) took advantage of a rare opportunity to explore aggression in the individual play of a large sample of 4-year-old children from low-income inner-city neighbourhoods (half girls, half Mexican-American/half Anglo-American) one week after the Los Angeles riots of 1992 had subsided. The samples consisted of 64 children who had direct exposure to the L.A. riots and a matched comparison group of 128 children who came from other cities and had no direct exposure to these riots. Children played individually with Smurf and Sesame Street characters, a car, 4 family play figures, 2 horses, farm animals, and various sized Lego blocks in any way they wished for 20 minutes. Farver and Frosch found that the play stories told by children who were directly exposed to the riots had more overall aggressive thematic content, aggressive words, unfriendly figures, characters engaging in physical aggression to

master situations, and negative outcomes than the play stories told by the children in the comparison group. They found that three-quarters of the play stories told by the children who were directly exposed to the riots had aggressive content. In the play stories told by the children who had direct exposure to the riots, there were references to weapons used (e.g. shootings and stabbings), theft, buildings on fire, and characters physically harming others for no apparent cause (i.e., hostile aggression). In contrast, in the few aggressive stories told by the children who were not exposed to the riots, the story line and character behaviors were generally tied to the actual figures (e.g., “Smurf got in a fight with the Cookie Monster because the Smurf took his candy away and he wanted to get it back”). Farver and Frosch did not find any gender differences in the number of play stories with aggressive content.

To the researcher’s knowledge, there was only one study of the themes in the individual play of clinical children (Harper, 1991). Harper compared the sand play with human play figures of the following four groups of 10 children each between the ages of 3 and 10 years: children who had been sexually abused, physically abused, both physically and sexually abused, and children with no reports of abuse. She found that the play of nonabused children contained domestic and wish fulfilment themes. Sexually abused children were reluctant to tell a story about their play. There was an absence of fantasy in their play as the themes focussed on sexuality and the need for protection and nurturance. Physically abused children were more action-oriented in their play displaying considerable aggression and disorganization in their play in the form of fights, wars and sudden disasters. Their play themes were concerned with conflict, chaos and wish fulfilment. The children who were both physically and sexually abused displayed considerable aggression in their play and their play themes were very diverse.

The imaginative stories children tell

Developmental research

Botvin (1977) found that at around three to four years of age, children began to explicitly state events and actions when they told imaginative stories. At this age, their narratives, however, still tended to be somewhat incoherent and fragmented. According to Saracho and Spodek (1998), gradually young children's stories included sophisticated narrative characteristics such as dramatic tension or a problem and its resolution. These researchers found that as children reached 5 and 6 years of age, they were likely to communicate clearly about the perspective from which a story was told, and what the principal characters thought and felt.

General features and themes in the imaginative stories of non-clinical children

Nicolopoulou, Scales and Weintraub (1994) conducted an interpretive analysis (Geertz, 1973) of 582 imaginative stories that 28 four-year old children individually dictated to their teacher over the course of their school year. The stories were read aloud by the teacher on the day they were created while the child-authors and others acted out the story in front of their classmates. These researchers considered the children's stories to be "meaningful texts which could reveal the ways in which the children grasped the world and social relationships" (p.106). They sought to "elucidate or decode the structures of meaning that the stories embodied and expressed, reconstructing the surface meanings of the stories and deeper patterns that organized and informed them" (Nicolopoulou et al., 1994, p.106). The girls' stories tended to have a coherent plot with a stable set of characters (especially family members) and a continuous plot line. Whenever the boys' stories had a plot, it was frequently dominated by fighting and destruction. In the boys' stories there was an absence of stable social relationships and when

relationships were mentioned they were commonly friendships and tended to be tenuous.

Whenever order was disrupted or threatened, the girls tended to reestablish it before ending the story - most characteristically by absorbing any threatening elements within the family unit (e.g. a dangerous dinosaur became harmless and joined the family). Whereas the girls' stories contained relatively little description of action, particularly sudden or violent action, the boys' stories focussed on generating action and excitement and according to Nicolopoulou et al. (1994), the restless energy of their stories often overwhelmed their capacity to manage them coherently. The vigorous action that dominated the content of their stories was typically linked to an explicit emphasis on violence, conflict and the disruption of order. Unlike the girls, the boys' favorite characters tended to be big, powerful and often deliberately frightening (e.g. warriors, monsters and huge or threatening animals, including bears, tigers, and dinosaurs).

Nicolopoulou et al. (1994) determined the frequencies of the main themes of family group and active violence in the boys' and girls' stories. For a story to be coded as depicting a family group theme it required the explicit mention of a family situation involving at least a parent and child(ren). The theme of active violence was coded when characters in a story fought, hurt, killed, ate, actively threatened each other, or when they were depicted producing physical destruction. The theme of family group was found in 54 % of the girls' stories compared to 14 % of the boys' stories and the theme of active violence was found in 62 % of the boys' stories compared to 18 % of the girls' stories. Whenever girls mentioned violence they did so quickly rather than describing it in detail and their accounts tended to lack the enthusiasm characteristic of the boys' stories. Both boys and girls were preoccupied with issues of danger and disorder but in their stories they dealt with these threatening and disruptive elements differently. Earlier

support for this finding came from a study conducted by Sutton-Smith, Botvin, and Mahony (1976). These researchers collected the imaginative stories of 60 non-clinical children with no reported history of maltreatment or exposure to marital violence. There were equal numbers of boys and girls with 20 in each of three age groups (5-7 years, 6-8 years and 9-10 years). Sutton-Smith et al. found that there was a gender difference in the type of solutions portrayed in stories where characters faced a threat. Whereas in the boys' play the threat was more often nullified (i.e., eliminated) or rendered powerless by having a hero overcome the villain, in the girls' play the threat was removed or rendered powerless through an alliance (i.e., getting help from another).

VonKlitzing, Kelsay, Emde, Robinson and Schmitz (2000) conducted a study of the play narratives (stories) of 652 non-clinical twins who were 5 years old using the MacArthur Story Stems (Bretherton, Oppenheim, Buschbaum, Emde, & the MacArthur Narrative Group, 1990). These children were told the beginnings of stories (story-stems) and were asked to finish the stories in any way they chose, including using human play figures and play furniture to tell their story. The story-stems covered a wide range of events including childhood transgressions (e.g., spilling juice, stealing a cookie), separation from parents, parental fighting, loss of the pet dog, and moral dilemmas. The researchers coded content themes as present or absent. These themes included aggression, escalation of conflict, verbal and physical punishment, reparation/guilt, affiliation, empathy/helping, and affection. The boys' imaginative narratives were found to have less coherence, more aggressive themes and fewer affection themes than the girls'.

The imaginative stories of child witnesses of marital violence

Two researchers administered the Roberts Apperception Test for Children (RATC;

McArthur & Roberts, 1982) to child witnesses of marital violence staying at a shelter (Gallo, 1997; Lyons, 1992). The children told imaginative stories about 16 RATC cards with drawings on them devised to elicit stories on certain themes. Some of the cards could evoke the themes of family confrontation, maternal support, parental affection, family conference, physical aggression toward peers, fear, and parental conflict/depression. Lyons (1992) administered the RATC to 30 boys, 8 to 12 years of age, staying at a shelter, half of which were physically abused by their father. Lyons found that relative to a group of non-clinical children assessed by the authors of the RATC, these boys had significantly higher scores on four out of five clinical scales (aggression, depression, rejection and unresolved) and significantly poorer adaptive resources in coping with interpersonal situations as measured through the adaptive scales of the RATC. Compared to a clinical group of children assessed by the RATC authors, the boys in the shelter had group scores significantly higher on the aggression and depression clinical scales. The scores of the boys in the shelter more closely approximated those of the clinical group than the non-clinical group. The RATC scores of the boys who were physically abused by their fathers were not significantly different from those boys who were not abused.

Gallo (1997) administered the RATC to 20 school-aged boys and 20 girls staying at a shelter who witnessed marital violence, half of which were abused. Consistent with Lyons' (1992) findings, Gallo (1997) found no significant differences in the RATC scores of boys and girls staying in a shelter who had been abused and those who had not. Gallo provided the following illustration of how qualitatively different stories can receive the same score on the RATC Aggression scale: A 10 year-old abused boy at the shelter told the following story in response to card 4 depicting two girls, one standing and the other lying on the floor: "The

daughter sees the mom on the floor because the dad hit her real hard, she knocked out, went unconscious and the daughter is looking at her and she's all, mom why did you...why did this happen? She's thinking that in her mind and stuff." A 9 year-old boy at the shelter who was not abused told the following story in response to the same card and was given the same score as the other boy: "She probably fell or something, but then she probably pushed her down, made her fall and she's probably mad that she did it, that she threw her down". Gallo (1997) proposed shifting away from the scoring system in its current state and focusing more on thematic content.

The imaginative play of child witnesses of marital violence

Thematic analyses of the play of children in play therapy

Kot, Landreth and Giordano (1998) conducted a study on the effectiveness of child-centered play therapy sessions every day for two weeks for 11 child witnesses of marital violence staying at a shelter (6 girls and 5 boys, 4 to 10 years of age). The 11 children who received play therapy sessions were compared to 11 children who did not receive therapy. Both groups received basic educational and recreational shelter services during the two-week period. Kot (1995) developed and used the Children's Play Session Behavior Rating Scale (CPSBRS) to rate play behaviors during the first play session and the last play session to determine the effectiveness of the play therapy intervention. The play themes were categorized as nurturing, constructive, creative and conflictual. The children who underwent intensive play therapy demonstrated a significant improvement in their physical proximity to the play therapist during sessions, and their play themes compared to those who did not undergo play therapy. There was an increase in nurturing, constructive and creative play themes and a reduction in conflictual play themes. Those who underwent play therapy demonstrated a significant reduction in their overall

behavior problems, in particular their externalizing behaviors as rated by their mothers on the Child Behavior Checklist.

Tyndall-Lind (1999) also conducted a study on the effectiveness of play therapy with child witnesses staying in a shelter but the children in her study underwent intensive client-centered play therapy with their siblings rather than individually (Kot et al., 1998). In her study, 10 child witnesses of marital violence received 12 forty-five minute sibling group therapy sessions within a two week period in addition to basic educational and recreational shelter services. When Tyndall-Lind compared her data with that of Kot (1996), she found no significant differences in the effectiveness of intensive sibling play therapy and individual play therapy. In comparison with the control group of 11 children from Kot's study who received no treatment intervention in addition to basic shelter services, Tyndall-Lind found that the children in her study demonstrated a significant reduction in internalizing and externalizing behavior problems, aggression, anxiety and depression (as reported on the CBCL) after having undergone sibling play therapy.

Tyndall-Lind found that many of the children in her study were preoccupied with safety and self-preservation. Play themes typically revolved around shielding oneself from harm and gaining mastery and control over an otherwise frightening situation. A theme played out consistently throughout all of the sibling group play therapy sessions was that of a symbolic reassurance of safety. Most of the children engaged in elaborate play with weapons and shields or they established secret, protected hiding places.

Holmberg, Benedict, and Hynan (1998) conducted an archival study of 44 children with attachment disturbances, 3 to 6 years of age, who had undergone individual play therapy. Half of

these children were also exposed to violence. The data for their study came from the Thematic Play Therapy archival database which is made up of case progress notes from play therapy sessions. The label of attachment disturbance was based on indications in the case history of the loss of a caregiver, prolonged separation from the primary caregiver, or multiple changes of caregiver. A designation of exposure to violence was based on indications that the child was witness to murder, extra-familial violence or was exposed to marital violence or physical abuse. Although these children witnessed or experienced physical aggression, their experiences were very different. A limitation of this study was that the researchers grouped these children's data together. The Benedict Play Theme Analysis System (BPTAS) developed by Benedict, Hynan, Wooley, Shelton, Narcage, McGee, McCain and Holmberg (1998) had 32 play theme codes and 7 process codes. The play themes included aggression, death, power (emphasis on strength and power over others), seeking help, constancy (play related to a need for assurance, stability and security), separation (characters being taken from, leaving or separating from others), nurturing, broken (characters being broken, sick or hurt), fixing (something broken or sick is repaired including all doctoring), instability (characters or objects placed in precarious places or actually falling down), safety and containment, rescue, and escape. Raters coded themes as either present or absent for the child for each session. The proportion of sessions in which the child played a particular theme established the basis for comparison among the different groups.

The boys in this study were found to exhibit a significantly higher percentage of aggressive themes than the girls. Compared to the other children, the boys with a history of attachment loss and exposure to violence played the highest percentage of aggressive themes. The boys who were also exposed to violence were found to have a greater proportion of sessions

with themes related to failed nurturing and safety than the other boys and a higher proportion of sessions with instability themes than the girls who were exposed to violence.

Holmberg et al. (1998) found that girls were significantly more likely than boys to have a high percentage of sessions with positive nurturing themes. There were virtually no gender differences for the theme of safety and most of the children played scenes where safety could be attained and reinforced. The researchers explained that this was perhaps because all of the children in the study were struggling with the lack of emotional comfort, stability, and reassurance normally associated with the positive attachment to a caregiver. Ambivalence or doing and undoing play scenarios were played more frequently by children exposed to both attachment loss and violence. According to the researchers, when these children rapidly changed the thematic valence of the play it was presumably due to ambivalence, anxiety and/or insecurity related to playing that theme.

The three reviewed studies which conducted thematic analyses of the imaginative play of child witnesses of marital violence reduced the children's play to predetermined play categories. These play theme categories were used as outcome measures for client-centered play therapy in Kot and Tyndall-Lind's studies. Although the play themes codes used in Holmberg et al.'s study were more numerous and specific compared to Kot's four general play categories, study raters only coded them as present or absent. Tyndall-Lind's study is the only one in which a description of a theme is presented with illustrations.

Clinical case studies of children in individual play therapy

The case studies of six child witnesses of marital violence who underwent individual play therapy have been reported in the clinical literature. They mostly consist of boys ranging in

age from two (Davies, 1991), three (Radford, 1995), four (Webb, 1991), eight (Silvern & Kaersvang, 1989) to ten years of age (Robinson, 1991), with the exception of one 7 year old girl (Rosenberg & Giberson, 1991). They were typically seen in therapy at least 6 months after their mothers had left their abusive husbands/partners. When the therapists who employed play as part of the child's treatment interpreted the child's play content, they considered the child's background, behaviors and their own theoretical approach in making their clinical interpretations.

Davies (1991) described a treatment approach he had successfully used with 12 male toddlers who had witnessed marital violence. He interpreted the boys' behavioral difficulties as arising from a disruption of their attachment relationship with their mother and conducted attachment theory-influenced play therapy with the toddlers and their mothers. The goal of this play therapy was to help mothers understand their children's behaviors as reactive to the violent events they have both experienced so that they can begin to provide the understanding and reassurance that would allow the mother-child attachment to be restored. Davies illustrated his treatment approach with the case of a two year-old boy. The initial themes in this boys' play were the crashing of a truck, placing a baby in a dangerous position and it getting hurt. When the mother recounted a violent incident in which her husband kicked in a door and the broken glass sprayed all over her and her son, cutting them, the boy lowered a roaring dinosaur into the baby's crib, saying "Monster bite baby". Then the dinosaur repeatedly broke down a play door and bit the baby inside. The therapist commented that the child was showing them that he had experienced his father as a frightening monster and was worried that something like that incident could happen again and he would be terrified and hurt. Davies suggested that the boy's play about vehicles crashing and things getting broken reflected his experience of seeing his father

throw and break dishes, lamps and other objects. The mother was encouraged by Davies to put the boy's fears expressed through his play into words.

However, the mother was unable to see her son's aggression as a symptom of the fear and anxiety he felt and instead had begun to see him as violent and mean, worrying that he was imitating his father or had inherited his father's aggressiveness. She was repelled by his aggression, unable to set limits on it and whenever he hit her she would tell him how sad she felt instead of restraining him. Her own inability to stop his aggression against her contradicted any assurances that violence would not occur again in their family. Davies told the mother that her son must have been extremely frightened when he witnessed her vulnerability and passivity when his father attacked her. According to Davies, the child felt, as had been learned from his play when the monster bit the baby, that he too could become the object of his father's beatings and that she would not be able to protect him. Now, when he sensed vulnerability in his mother, he would attack her. Her response of not protecting herself would scare him even more, and this anxiety would increase that aggression. Once the mother recognized that she had projected aspects of her relationship with her husband onto her son, she could empathize with his fear and be a more active parent. She reported success in physically restraining his attacks and in talking with him about his worries. Her firmness and responsiveness allowed her son to relax his alert, aggressive defence so that he didn't have to be threatening in order to feel safe. Her new firmness signalled to him that he did not have to constantly test her ability to be protective. At the termination of treatment, Davies reported that the mother saw her son not as the uncontrollable and violent embodiment of his father but as a little boy who needed limits and protection.

A three and a half year-old boy underwent Freudian psychoanalytic treatment five times

weekly over a period of three years with Radford (1995). This child had witnessed his father's violent acts against his mother, was separated from his father and was afraid for his own and his mother's safety. The day after his first session with Radford, the boy's father kidnapped him but his maternal grandparents were able to rescue him with the help of the police. In the playroom, as the boy attacked Radford and engaged in destructive behaviors, she verbalized her understanding of the boy's feelings of physical terror, loss and helplessness. According to Radford, the boy felt a lack of safety and was certain that no one could or would protect him from danger. There were serious problems with supervised access visits of the child with his father over the next three years. Radford used Freudian psychoanalytic terms throughout the description of psychoanalytic treatment of this boy. She described the boy as an orally sadistic aggressor physically attacking her, acting out a role to defend against his terror. Radford also noted that the boy's Oedipal conflict was intensified both by the power of his own wishes and by his mother's behavior (i.e. his mother shared her bed with him because of his nightmares of a violent burglar). Radford suggested that the boy was struggling with phallic wishes and castration fears as he cut plasticine and paper into penises and persistently told her the dangers of electricity and fire. She also proposed that the boy had a wish to be like his aggressive superman father and replace him but had fears of possible retaliation.

Webb (1991) described her art and play therapy treatment of a four year old boy whose memory of his traumatic experience witnessing his father's physical violence towards his mother was reawakened when he witnessed an argument between his father and his girlfriend. The initial art therapy phase of this boys' treatment consisted of 8 sessions of animated drawings of war and violent destruction in which the bad character almost always defeated the good. The boy then

underwent play therapy with Webb using a doll family. In the second play session, the boy played out a family scene in the kitchen in which a mother suddenly “slammed the lunch (for a little girl) apart and kicked it off the table” even though she was purported to be happy. The mother and father then engaged in a lengthy physical struggle knocking down furniture and the little girl “punched him (the father) on the tush and fell down”. The little boy and girl engaged in fighting to “knock their brains out”. Then the mother and father began to fight with each other again this time saying “Do you want a bash in the mouth?” The little girl was then placed in a shark’s mouth and the adults were helpless to rescue her. Although a creature with cannons attacked the shark and the little boy punched the shark, he was also placed in the shark’s mouth with the little girl.

According to Webb, this 4 year old boy expressed primitive oral aggression in his play. He had likely felt helpless and powerless in witnessing his parents fighting when he was a toddler and still felt this way as a preschooler. Play enabled him to identify with powerful, destructive figures and reenact and play out his experience of aggression and helplessness. This boy was in the Oedipal stage, facing the task of affirming his male identity with a father who physically hurt his mother and frequently disappointed him with erratic visits. However, for this boy, affirming his male identity implied hurting others thereby putting him in conflict with the adults he most wanted to please (e.g. his mother and teachers). According to Webb, this paradoxical situation and the insecure attachment to his father created intense anxiety and feelings of insecurity which, in turn, provoked rage in the boy. Webb (1991) interpreted the boy’s imaginative play as his identification with the aggressor (his father) to compensate for his psychological vulnerability (helplessness and powerlessness) and the sublimation of his anger against his father. The clinical

interpretation of this boy's play was, therefore, influenced by traditional psychoanalytic concepts of identification, compensation and sublimation in play.

An 8 year-old boy who witnessed his father choking his mother when he was 5 years old underwent play therapy with Silvern and Kaersvang (1989). The authors described how this boy engaged in repetitive imaginative play in which an avenging superhero stopped bad guys from setting off violent explosions with the assistance of snakes who choked their enemies to death. In their clinical interpretation of the case, the boy's repetitive play was considered to be posttraumatic play. Through his imaginative play, the boy transformed the situation in which he had been powerless (when his father was choking his mother) into one in which the avenging superhero had control over the choking snakes (symbolic of his father's choking hands) and used force only to prevent harm from being done. The clinical interpretation of this boy's play was influenced by the traditional psychoanalytic principle of repetition compulsion and the concept of ego mastery.

A 10 year-old boy who had witnessed his father's physical abuse of his mother when he was 5 years old and staying at a women's shelter for awhile underwent play therapy with Robinson (1991). Robinson (1991) described how this boy engaged in aggressive play sessions in which his small army overwhelmed and slaughtered the superior forces assigned to the therapist and a captain soldier single-handedly defeated any and all adversaries. According to Robinson's clinical interpretation, this 10 year old boy was unable to enter the latency stage because of his fixation on unresolved Oedipal issues due to his witnessing marital violence at 5 years of age. Robinson indicated that the need to assert power and to control the powerful other are the emotional dynamics of the 3 to 5 year old Oedipal child. Robinson interpreted this boy's

imaginative play as his identification with the aggressor (his father) to compensate for his psychological vulnerability and the sublimation of his accumulated anger against his father. The clinical interpretation of this boy's play was influenced by the traditional psychoanalytic concepts of fixation at a psychosexual stage, identification, compensation and sublimation in play triggered by the memory of a traumatic experience.

The clinical interpretations made by Radford (1995), Webb (1991), Silvern and Kaersvang (1989) and Robinson (1991) were primarily of a psychoanalytic nature. These therapists interpreted the play content of child witnesses of marital violence from within their theoretical framework thereby biasing their interpretations in favour of psychoanalytic theory.

A 7 year-old girl who witnessed the physical abuse of her mother by her father and lived with both parents underwent a play evaluation as part of a comprehensive assessment (Rosenberg & Giberson, 1991). Even though her play characters tried to be careful in order to avoid tragedies and accidents, they tended to experience a variety of destructive outcomes. At times, in her play, people were miraculously saved (e.g., children who were run over by cars were spared; meals appeared magically just before characters starved). In one instance, after several traumatic events occurred in the play one after another, a character exclaimed "I can't rescue all these people all by myself, I'm only a little kid!" The play characters' behaviors tended to be explained in magical terms, e.g., "he was put under a spell by an evil wizard" and "he drank a magic potion and became a different person".

According to Rosenberg and Giberson, this girl's playing out of sudden tragedies and accidents revealed that she saw the world as a dangerous place, full of unpredictable events. When characters in her play were able to save people in miraculous ways, the girl revealed a

feeling of responsibility to make things better for others. She also revealed a sense of powerlessness when a play character expressed her inability to prevent several traumatic events on her own due to her young age. When play characters' negative behaviors were explained in magical terms the girl revealed her experience of adult emotions and moods as unpredictable and confusing. The confusion in her play mirrored her feelings about her father and his rapid mood swings from warmth to aggression. In this case study, the girl's play tended to be interpreted as an indirect expression of her feelings about herself and her experience of witnessing marital violence and the impact it had on her perceptions of adults and her environment.

Critical evaluation of the reviewed studies of child witnesses' imaginative play

The studies which conducted thematic analyses of the play of child witnesses in shelters undergoing individual play therapy tended to reduce the imaginative play to a few predetermined general categories of play in order to statistically calculate the effectiveness of the play therapy intervention. The present phenomenological hermeneutic study describes play themes which emerge from the play in a manner which tries to remain faithful to the naturally unfolding play. In the clinical case studies of child witnesses of marital violence who underwent individual play therapy, the interpretations of their imaginative play were primarily influenced by psychodynamic theories. The present study strives to bracket the influence of play theories and personality theories on data analysis and the interpretation of play themes. Following the reviews of the empirical and clinical literature on child witnesses of marital violence and the presentation on the phenomenon, theories and development of imaginative play, the phenomenological hermeneutic methodology used in the present study will be presented.

METHOD

A human science research approach was used in the present study. Van Manen (1990) distinguished human science from natural science in the following manner: “Natural science tends to taxonomize natural phenomena (such as in biology) and causally or probabilistically explain the behavior of things (such as in physics)” (p.4). “When the natural science method has been applied to the behavioral social sciences, it has retained procedures of experimentation and quantitative analysis. In contrast, the preferred method for human science involves description, interpretation, and self-reflective or critical analysis. Human science aims at explicating the meaning of human phenomena and at understanding the lived structures of meaning” (p.4). Van Manen (1990) defined human science as “the study of meaning: descriptive-interpretive studies of patterns, structures and levels of experiential and/or textual meanings” (p.181). (For an exhaustive history and extensive critique of psychology as a natural science and a formal presentation of psychology as a human science see Giorgi, 1970). The human science approach used in the present study to analyse the imaginative play of young children staying at a shelter for abused women will be introduced by presenting the philosophical foundations of the phenomenological hermeneutic approach to psychological research. In the present psychological dissertation, the term phenomenology refers to the study or “rediscovery of lived experience” (Merleau-Ponty, 1962) and hermeneutics is “the theory and practice of interpretation” (Van Manen, 1990).

Relevant phenomenological and hermeneutic philosophical foundations of the method

The German philosopher Edmund Husserl (1859-1938) wanted the fields of philosophy and psychology to move away from quantifying and abstracting everyday experience (Husserl,

1962). He called for “going to the things themselves” to investigate the world of everyday experience (the “life-world”) as lived by a person and expressed in everyday language. According to him, the life-world is given directly and immediately in human experience and is prior to any reflective interpretation or explicit theoretical conceptions. He pointed out that we are never merely conscious but are always conscious of something. A person’s consciousness is intentional because it always has an intended object and is essentially oriented towards emergent meaning.

Husserl developed a phenomenological method for understanding human phenomena through intentional consciousness. He suggested that investigators in philosophy and psychology begin by applying the phenomenological reduction to the phenomenon under investigation. This phenomenological reduction consists of making explicit the researcher’s theoretical preconceptions and presuppositions about the phenomenon and then trying to suspend or “bracket” them in order to be faithful to the phenomenon as it appears in everyday life. After the reduction, the phenomenological researcher describes the phenomenon as it reveals itself to consciousness and uses the method of free imaginative variation to intuit the essence, the invariant and essential meaning-structure of the phenomenon through its many diverse appearances. Phenomena, as they are perceived in the life world, reveal themselves in different ways depending on how we look at them from varied perspectives. The phenomenon has the same essential meaning when perceived over time in many different situations, regardless of which of the phenomenon’s variations are revealed at any given time. Using imaginative variation, the investigator can systematically alter, vary and eliminate characteristics of the psychological phenomena in order to discover its necessary and sufficient constitutive features.

The German philosopher Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) critiqued Husserl’s tendency to

trace all phenomena back to human consciousness (Heidegger, 1962). He proposed that a person's existence (Dasein) was a "Being-in-the-world". The world does not exist without a subject and no subject exists without a world. The individual and his world co-constitute one another, are in dialogue with one another, and it is through one another that their respective meaning emerges. Heidegger thus extended Husserl's phenomenology to include the existential dimensions of human existence. Through his interpretation of the nature of human existence, Heidegger achieved a deeper understanding of the Being-in-the-world of Dasein. He concluded that the possibilities of existence are always implicitly present, existence is particular and finite, the possibility of non-existence is always impending, and being is inherently relational. Heidegger suggested that it is in words and language that things first come into being and are. He indicated that there is no being without language.

The French philosopher and child psychologist Maurice Merleau-Ponty (1908-1961) extended existential-phenomenology by considering the person to be an embodied subject-in-the-world (Merleau-Ponty, 1962). A person's body was not seen as a physical organism but rather a lived-body. According to him, the lived-body has the power of expression and gives rise to meaning. He extended intentionality from consciousness to the lived-body's pre-reflective preverbal intentionality. Merleau-Ponty rejected Heidegger's assertion that there is no being without language, thereby enabling children's expressions through their lived body and words to be considered equally revelatory of their being-in-the-world.

The primary hermeneutic philosophers relevant to the present study are Hans-Georg Gadamer and Paul Ricoeur. In the modern hermeneutics of Gadamer (1982) and Ricoeur (1981), interpretation is required when the meanings of written and spoken words, actions, and cultural

products are not immediately understandable due to a surplus of possible meanings. The object of interpretation is the text, the written description of the words and actions that make up the phenomenon of interest, e.g. imaginative play. Gadamer's (1982) philosophical hermeneutics seeks to bring the phenomenon of understanding itself to light rather than address the practical problems of formulating the methodological principles for interpretation. Gadamer proposed that art and experience cannot be understood through methodically cutting and dividing it as a separate object nor through separating form from context. He suggested that an understanding of art, play or conversation as a whole comes from engaging in a dialogue in which openness to the phenomenon leads to disclosure of its meaning. Following Heidegger, Gadamer proposed that understanding and interpretation are based on presuppositions or pre-understanding which are always historical, linguistic and dialectical. Gadamer (1982) viewed children's imaginative play as a meaningful and autonomous phenomenon with its own structure and thematic horizon.

Whereas Gadamer tended to disregard problems of method, for Ricoeur (1981), with his epistemological interests, problems of method were considered central to the achievement of understanding of human phenomena, particularly when there was a surplus of meanings or multiple levels of meaning, such as symbolic expressions which require interpretation. He sought a systematic analysis and critique in his theory of textual interpretation and his application of the hermeneutic circle to texts. Ricoeur differentiated an event from its meaning, indicating that the event of saying or doing something was surpassed by the meaning of the statement or the action which endured after the fleeting event and could subsequently be understood.

Central to Ricoeur's theory of the text is the concept of text which includes the dialectics of event and meaning, and of sense and reference. In the process of distancing, the meaning of

an event (a statement or action) is fixated in writing thereby becoming an object for interpretation, i.e. a text. This text is autonomous and can therefore be interpreted and understood apart from the intention of the original author/actor. The fixation of the meaning of an event (statement or action) in the writing of a text enables it to be read and therefore potentially understood by the reader. The dialectic of sense and reference is expressed in the essential relationship between what the text says and means as a whole and its reference or relation to the world. According to Ricoeur, a text is a structured totality whose meaning must be construed as a whole and cannot be reduced to its separate sentences. He suggested that in trying to understand and interpret a text, the hermeneuticist attempts to grasp and explicate its structure of meaningful interrelated parts through the application of the hermeneutic circle in which parts and the whole of the text clarify each other.

Ricoeur (1976) proposed a theory of interpretation of the text which consisted of two phases of interpretation and the hermeneutic circle. According to Ricoeur, most times only the first phase of interpretation of the text is required. It is only when metaphors and symbols and their multiple levels of meaning are expressed in the text that there is a need to move to the second phase of interpretation for a depth interpretation. In the first phase of interpretation the reader of the text gains an understanding or grasp of the partial meanings of the text as a whole enabling him to explain the text, i.e. to ex-plicate or unfold the range of meanings of the text (Mook, 1994). When a deeper level of understanding is sought due to multiple possible levels of meaning of a text (e.g. in the imaginative play stories of children), the hermeneuticist will enter the second phase of interpretation. Initially, the hermeneuticist abstracts the text from its actual reference to the world and transfers himself into the place where the text stands so that different

possible meanings can be explicated or disclosed in front of the text. The hermeneuticist then makes a depth interpretation of the text of symbolic expressions, such as a child's imaginative play, with reference to the child's past experiences and life-world. Interpretations are put forth and determined to be more or less probable in light of the text and what is known about the life-world of the child. During the second phase, interpretations of parts of the text are still made and clarified within the context of the whole text. All interpretations may be challenged but some are more probable than others. The procedures of validation of interpretations have more affinity with a logic of uncertainty and qualitative probability than empirical verification (Hirsch, 1967; Ricoeur, 1976). Ricoeur (1981) sought to prevent the hermeneutic circle from becoming a "vicious" circle in which the reader projects his self and beliefs in the interpretation. Packer (1989) indicated that although there is a necessary pre-understanding of the text, common misconceptions and personal prejudices can be avoided if they are identified prior to and during the reading of the text.

According to Ricoeur (1981), to interpret is to explicate and appropriate the type of being-in-the-world unfolded or revealed in front of the text. The text projects a possible world of its own which we appropriate for ourselves leading to self-understanding. To understand ourselves in front of the text is to let the work and its world enlarge the horizon of understanding we have of ourselves. According to Mook (1994), through imaginative play, new possibilities of being-in-the-world are opened up within everyday reality as the meaning of the text is revealed.

Study setting

The study was conducted in Ottawa at Interval House, an emergency shelter for women and their children who are fleeing abuse. Interval House is a twenty-bed residential facility which

has provided shelter for women and children since it opened in 1976. From March 31, 1998 to April 1, 1999, Interval House provided safe shelter to approximately 150 women and 200 children. The staff at the shelter provide crisis counselling to women staying at the shelter and those in the community through their crisis line. There are in-house meetings and focus groups to help the women understand the effects of abuse and begin the healing process. The women staying at Interval House are supported every step of the way, i.e. in their search for safe and affordable housing, accessing community and legal resources, and making the transition from the shelter to the community. Interval House is a child-friendly place. The child worker's office is welcoming, there is a cheerfully decorated and well equipped indoor play area, and there is even a playground on the grounds. The children's program at the shelter consists of crisis counselling, referrals to agencies and community resources, and weekly children's meetings to help the children understand the effects of abuse and to begin the healing process. The child worker and other staff also advocate for and support the children as they develop techniques which will help keep them safe. The study was conducted in a room normally used for children's meetings with the child worker.

Study participants

Selection of participants

The researcher initially met with the director and child worker of the shelter to discuss the study and request their consent to conduct it at Interval House (Appendix A). Upon receiving consent, the researcher introduced herself to shelter board of directors and staff at a meeting and briefly described the study to them. It was decided that the researcher would make a brief presentation about the study to the shelter residents at their weekly meeting and that anyone

interested in participating would tell the child worker about their intentions. A cover letter, consent forms, and photographs of the play materials were provided to the shelter board of directors, staff and residents, for their information. The child worker notified the researcher about interested mothers. The researcher contacted these mothers and set up a time to meet with them at the shelter without their child. The researcher reviewed the consent form with each interested mother and answered any questions (Appendix B). If the mother still felt that her child would be interested in participating in the study, the child was welcomed into the room and the researcher proceeded to explain the study in an age-appropriate manner (Appendix C) and show the child the play materials. Upon receiving the informed consent of both the mother and child, times were set up for the three individual play sessions with the child and the interview with the mother.

There were four child participants in the present study, two of which were sisters. Only children 4 to 6 years of age who were not sexually abused and had no severe developmental delays were included in the present study. One mother was interested in the study but her child was 3 years of age. Another mother's 4 year-old daughter refused to participate because she did not want to be apart from her mother. Mothers and their children were remunerated for their participation. The 8 year-old brother of the two sisters in the present study wanted to participate in the study. The researcher conducted three play sessions with him but did not include his data in the study due to his age.

Description of participants

There were four child participants in the present study ranging in age from 4 years 3 months to 6 years 11 months old. Fictional names for the children and their mothers are used throughout the dissertation. The following information about these children was obtained from

an interview with their mother (Appendix D) and their mother's responses on the Violence Questionnaire, Mertin's (1992) adaptation of the Conflict Tactics Scale (Appendix E). For the most part, the information is presented using the mothers' own words.

Melissa

Melissa was 5 years 9 months old at the time of the study. When her mother Cynthia was asked for the age at which Melissa achieved various developmental milestones she was unable to provide this information. She was not present for most of Melissa's early development because she had to go back to work for long hours when Melissa was 3 weeks old. Melissa's father took care of her until she was 3 months old, at which time her mother hired a babysitter to care for her. Cynthia described her as a very quiet and easy baby. She indicated that Melissa currently has mild asthma and tends to be socially withdrawn, shy with others, is easily tired and seems to lack energy for physical activities. Prior to her move to the shelter, Melissa lived in the country on a hobby farm with her mother, father, 6 year-old sister and 9 year-old brother. Cynthia reported that Melissa had not experienced neglect, sexual or physical abuse but had been emotionally abused by her father. According to her mother, Melissa's father tended to yell at Melissa, often insulted her by telling her she was fat, and teased her when she whined. She is reportedly nervous and anxious around her father. When asked to describe any negative and frightening experiences Melissa has had in addition to witnessing marital violence, her mother did not report any.

Although Cynthia reported that Melissa tends to be withdrawn and shy with others, she has an open relationship with her mother. According to Cynthia, Melissa tends to stand close to her in new situations with other people. However, when she is in her own environment, with her

mother, she is more secure, gets along well with Cynthia and tells her anything. Melissa collects precious little objects (such as rocks and flowers) and gives them to her mother. Cynthia reported that Melissa is quite attached to the animals on their hobby farm, particularly the chicks and puppies, and misses them greatly. Melissa reportedly likes to play with small real and stuffed animals (e.g. her Beanie monkey) and her favourite movies are Lion King and Little Foot. Cynthia reported that Melissa is often teased by her older brother and sister. They tell her she is fat and often insinuate that she is hogging all of the food or has eaten everything. She reaches out to them and sometimes they play with her.

According to Cynthia, violent incidents between her and her husband have occurred throughout Melissa's life. When asked to provide some examples of incidents of marital violence which Melissa witnessed or overheard, her mother began by describing an incident which occurred when Melissa was almost 4 years old. Cynthia had left her husband to stay with her own mother for a few days without her children. Upon her return to the home, Cynthia's mother and her husband fought. Cynthia once again left her husband but this time she took the children with her. According to Cynthia, her husband threatened to kill himself if she did not return to him with the children and did, in fact, attempt suicide by overdosing on pills. His suicide attempt triggered in Cynthia suicidal feelings of her own for a few days and she sought treatment for these at a hospital. Although it was unclear from the interview with her mother whether Melissa was aware of her parents' suicidal feelings and thoughts at that time, the researcher thought that it must have still been a very stressful period for Melissa. Four months later, when Melissa was 4 years of age, there was a physical fight between her maternal uncle and her father who were both drunk. During this fight, her maternal uncle is reported to have punched her mother in the face,

knocking her unconscious. Soon after, the Children's Aid Society (CAS) became involved and Melissa's parents lost custody of their children. Melissa and her siblings lived in foster care for one year. Cynthia reported that there was a 5 month marital separation when the children were placed in foster care, then the relationship seemed to improve greatly, but in the past year it has reportedly again deteriorated.

During the year prior to her move to the shelter, Cynthia reported that her husband controlled the finances, leaving the family without enough money to pay the bills during the last six months. During the year prior to her move, he frequently yelled and screamed at her, calling her "stupid" and "ugly" and blamed her for all of his problems. She reported that her husband frequently threatened her safety and threatened to take the children. During the previous year, he slapped her from 11 to 20 times, grabbed her approximately 6 to 10 times, and on one occasion each, he threw something at her, hit her with his fist and beat her up. Sometimes when her parents were fighting Melissa would whine, ask why they were fighting again and why her father was angry. Over the year prior to the move to the shelter, Cynthia reported that her husband frequently destroyed things which belonged to her (e.g. plants) and she believes that he killed her bird and shot her dog.

Cynthia reported that she moved to the shelter following a fight with her husband. They were reportedly fighting in the "smoking room" when their son opened the door to the room and saw his father hitting his mother in the face. Cynthia reported that her husband tended to become angry and abusive whenever he could not control her, e.g. whenever she opposed him or threatened to leave him. Later that day she told her husband she was going to return some movies to the video-rental store but instead drove with the children to the family cottage hoping to find

her brother there. She was driving around late at night, unsure where to go, when the police noticed her and her children and brought them to the shelter.

Melissa, her mother, sister and brother had been residents of the shelter for 5 weeks when they began participating in the study. Cynthia reported that she is concerned about the impact of the current marital separation on Melissa. Melissa reportedly cried and told her mother that she would like to see her father and that she hopes her family will be reunited. Cynthia reported that although Melissa seems to miss her father a great deal, she tends not to express herself in front of him. She is concerned about the impact on Melissa of the instability in the marital relationship during the previous two years.

Jennifer

Jennifer was 6 years 10 months old at the time of the study. Her mother Cynthia reported that she achieved various developmental milestones on time. During her pregnancy with Jennifer, her mother's relationship with her husband was poor, she worked 14 hour shifts, she had colitis (i.e., she threw up and had diarrhea), and did not gain any weight. Jennifer was born 7 weeks early and her father lost his job 2 days prior to the birth. Cynthia was hospitalized for 9 days following Jennifer's birth due to a blood infection. Cynthia described Jennifer as a very quiet baby who ate and slept well.

When Jennifer was 3 weeks old, Cynthia experienced post-partum depression and left the home for a while. She reported that she had felt socially isolated because of the great distance between her and her family at that time. Jennifer's father was alone with Jennifer and her 2 year-old brother. Upon Cynthia's return, her husband reportedly pushed her onto a bed, pinned her arm behind her back and told her that if she ever left him again or took away the children, he

would kill her. At that time he also threatened to take the children from her. Cynthia reported that Jennifer had not experienced neglect, sexual, physical or emotional abuse. Cynthia did not report any additional negative and frightening experiences for Jennifer. Prior to Jennifer's arrival at the shelter, she lived in the country on a hobby farm with her mother, father, 5 year-old sister and 8 year-old brother.

Cynthia reported that Jennifer was her father's favourite child. According to Cynthia, he called Jennifer "sweetie", told her she was beautiful and pretty, and watched television with her. Cynthia reported that Jennifer was careful what she did when her father was around. Jennifer reportedly gets along very well with her mother. Cynthia reported that Jennifer is very sensitive, senses her mother's emotions and is protective. She described Jennifer as a "little mom" because she likes to solve other people's problems and is comforting. She reported that she encourages her daughter to express her feelings even though she herself does not cry. Jennifer likes to be the boss when she is with her younger sister but when she is with her older brother she accepts that he is the boss. She has a temper and is reported to quit playing if she does not win or does not get her way. According to Cynthia, Jennifer likes to please everyone and tends to be outgoing. She enjoys putting on nail polish, doing things with her hair and dressing up. Her favourite movie is the Spice Girls movie and her favourite television show is the Magic Schoolbus.

Jennifer is one year older than her sister Melissa and they witnessed the same maritally violent incidents their mother described during the interviews. Therefore, the reader can refer back to the descriptions of Melissa's and her mother's experiences with marital violence and add one year to Melissa's age to determine Jennifer's age at the time of the incident(s). Sometimes when Jennifer's father yelled at her mother, Jennifer would tell him "don't talk to mother like

that". When her parents fought, Jennifer's mother reported that Jennifer seemed nervous and would quietly sit on the stairs waiting for them to finish. Jennifer and her mother had been residents of the shelter for 5 weeks when they began participating in the study. Cynthia indicated that Jennifer might have a lot of confused feelings about her father, loving her father but knowing that he did some things wrong. She reported being concerned about the impact on Jennifer of the many moves and transitions to new schools over the last two years. Jennifer's mother would like her to show her true feelings and stop feeling that she needs to please everyone.

Marc

Marc is a French-speaking boy whose mother is of Ethiopian background. He was 6 years 11 months old at the time of the study. According to his mother Chantale, Marc's developmental milestones were reportedly achieved on time. She described him as an easy baby. Chantale reported that he had not experienced neglect, sexual, physical or emotional abuse. When asked to describe any negative and frightening experiences Marc has had in addition to witnessing marital violence, she did not report any. Prior to his arrival at the shelter, Marc lived in a small town with his father, mother and one year old brother.

According to Chantale, Marc and his father used to play together, go to the park, take walks and listen to music together. However, during the last year his father ceased engaging in these activities with Marc. According to Chantale, her husband frequently contradicted the limits she set for the children. He reportedly promised Marc presents (e.g. a bicycle) for such things as a good report card but did not follow through, thereby upsetting Marc. Marc reportedly gets along well with his mother. She expects him to respect her and listen to her but also considers herself to be a friend with whom he goes on outings, plays cards and video games. Chantale reported that

Marc gets along well with his one year-old brother and tries to comfort his brother whenever he cries. She described him as a sociable, talkative boy who likes to have fun and make jokes. She considers him to be a helpful, agreeable and obedient child who is at times mischievous and a bit self-centred. Marc enjoys playing with lions, tigers, Beasties (armed human figures which can transform into wild animals), and water guns. His favourite movie is Power Rangers.

When Marc was almost 2 years of age, his father began threatening to kick Chantale out of their home and get involved with another woman. He went out with the car until very late every weekend when Marc was between 3 and 5 years of age. Whenever Chantale complained that her husband would go out a lot, he was reported to have responded that she could leave if she was not satisfied. However, her husband would not permit her to learn to drive and she reported being physically and socially isolated due to her lack of transportation and the great distance between her and her family and friends.

Chantale reported that Marc heard and most of the time also saw how his father abused her. His father often insulted her calling her a “bitch”. She indicated that her husband tended to become angry and abusive whenever she opposed him and defended herself from his insults. She reported that her husband spat in her face and slapped her forehead, being careful not to leave any physical marks of abuse. Marc would react to his parents’ fights by telling them to stop and calm down. His father would sometimes tell Marc that she is not his mother and that he wants to get rid of her so he can replace her with another woman. Marc’s father would get Marc to come and look for the house keys with him so that they could lock Chantale out of their home. Marc tried to hide the house keys a few times in order to thwart his father’s intentions. In one instance his father changed the alarm code to get into the house in order to lock his wife out of the house.

Marc is reported to have told his mother what the new combination was.

Marc's mother reported one particularly violent incident which occurred when Marc was almost 4 years old. Her husband had lost his job and had been unemployed for 3 months. He reportedly threw all of her possessions down the stairs, pulled her down the stairs and then pushed her into the car. According to Chantale, this violent incident only ended because Marc was crying so much. During the year prior to the move to the shelter, she reported that her husband controlled the finances. During this period he frequently yelled and screamed at her, insulted her, and told her she was a hopeless mother. She reported that during that time, her husband frequently threatened her safety and threatened to take the children. During the previous year, he pushed, grabbed or shoved her from 6 to 10 times and threw something at her 3 to 5 times.

One day, Marc's mother decided to leave her husband and in his absence, she quickly left their home with her children and a few belongings with the assistance of a relative who drove her to a shelter in Quebec. Two days later they moved to the Ottawa shelter Interval House. Upon arriving at the first shelter, Marc reacted to his mother crying about her situation by telling her that he will help her. At this time of crisis, Marc locked himself in the playroom and later explained that he had done so in order to calm himself down. When Marc reportedly told someone at the first shelter that they were there because his back hurt, his mother wondered whether he felt responsible for them leaving his father and their home. She reported that at the shelter, in a group meeting with other children, Marc admitted to being afraid of his father when he was angry.

Marc and his mother had been residents of the Interval House shelter for 2 weeks when

they began participating in the present study. Chantale reported that Marc had told the child worker of the shelter that he would like to stay here (at the shelter) forever. According to his mother, Marc misses the toys he left behind. She reported being concerned that he avoids talking about his father and his experience, and that he is afraid of the dark.

Daniel

Daniel was 4 years 3 months old at the time of the study. His mother Mary reported that he achieved various developmental milestones on time. She described him as a good baby who ate and slept well and did not cry a lot. Mary reported that Daniel had not experienced neglect, sexual, physical or emotional abuse. When asked to describe any negative and frightening experiences he has had in addition to witnessing marital discord, she did not report any. Prior to his move to the shelter, Daniel lived in a townhouse with his mother, father and one year old brother (1 year 9 months old at the time of the study). A male friend of both parents lived with the family for one year when Daniel was 3 years old and another male friend occasionally stayed with them one week at a time.

According to Mary, Daniel became close to his father when she was pregnant with his brother. Since the birth of his brother, however, his father was reportedly less involved with Daniel. Mary reported that since that time, Daniel became closer to her and she finds him helpful. She reported that he currently gets along well with her and his brother. He reportedly sometimes throws himself on the floor in response to limits set by her. Mary indicated that she is concerned that he may become rebellious and resist the limits she sets. She described him as a happy and smart boy who can at times be stubborn. Daniel enjoys playing with tigers, cars, and Power Rangers. He also plays with Barbies and other dolls with his brother. His favourite TV show is

Power Rangers and his favourite movie is Peter Pan.

Mary reported that she and her husband abused drugs and that drug dealers visited the home on occasion. She reported that they were often “clued out” due to smoking “weed and hash”. She indicated that they tended to move to another room in the house when they abused drugs, telling Daniel that they would be in a meeting. When he was three and a half years of age, his father began fighting with his mother when they were both high on drugs. During the year prior to her move to the shelter, she reported that her husband controlled the finances, often leaving the family without enough money to buy food or pay the bills. During this period, he frequently yelled and screamed at her, calling her a slut, a bitch and accusing her of being a bad mother and housekeeper. On two occasions, he threw an object during a fight. Most of the time he blamed her for all of his problems. According to Mary, whenever Daniel was present during fights between his parents he would tell them to stop yelling.

Mary reported that she moved to the shelter following a fight with her husband. She reportedly wanted to go to an employment centre but he was high on drugs and would not let her go. Mary reported that according to Daniel they were in a shelter because his daddy was bad, i.e. he did drugs and yelled at his mother. Daniel, his younger brother and his mother had been residents of the shelter for 5 weeks when he began participating in the study. His mother indicated that Daniel seemed to be confused. He reportedly indicated that he wanted his parents to get back together again, seemed annoyed with his mother for leaving his father and told his mother that he wants to stay with her “forever and ever”.

Materials

Play materials

In order for imaginative play to best manifest itself, the children in the present study were only provided with access to play materials which tend to encourage this type of play (Appendix F). Therefore, board games, balls, construction and arts and craft supplies were not included in the play materials. The human play figures consisted of Caucasian and Black family members (including babies and their bottles), people of various sizes and races, armed Indians and military figures. There were all sorts of vehicles made available, including cars, trucks, fire trucks, ambulances, and a tank. There were farm and wild animals including dinosaurs and baby animals. A wooden doll house with a ground floor and stairs up to the second floor contained furniture for each room including beds, couches, kitchen and bathroom appliances. This house was open on one side, had a door on the other side which could be opened and it had windows. Blocks, fences, small trees and wooden houses, a school, prison, church and hospital were also made available to the children. There was a large square wooden tray which contained couscous instead of sand for sandplay and a puppet theatre with an assortment of puppets (including a king and a queen, animals and a family). The play materials were tidied up between play sessions and any couscous on the floor was vacuumed up with a Dustbuster. The play materials were presented to all of the children in the same manner (e.g. play figures in their respective boxes).

Videotaping equipment

The play sessions were videotaped using a camcorder which was set up on a stand and was pointed at the general play area. Due to the non-verbal nature of play in addition to the verbal, videotaping rather than simply tape recording was the chosen method of recording the

children's play.

Semi-structured interview protocol

In order to acquire some background on the children in the present study, their mothers were interviewed. The researcher asked the mother each item of the questionnaire and noted her responses. During the semi-structured interview with the mothers (Appendix D), the researcher asked about their child's development, health, personality, interests, and relationship with family members. Mothers were asked to report whether their child had ever been neglected, sexually, physically, or emotionally abused, what they were most concerned about with respect to their child, and what negative or frightening experiences their child has had in addition to witnessing marital violence or discord. Mothers were also asked to share some examples of incidents of marital violence their child had witnessed or overheard and to describe how their child reacted to these incidents.

Procedure

Interview with mother

The researcher met with mothers for a one hour interview in the room where the play sessions were to take place. During the interview with their mothers, the children were typically supervised by another mother or someone doing a placement at the shelter who was receiving training in Early Childhood Education from the Mothercraft agency. Mothers decided whether they wanted to complete the questionnaire or do the interview first. The researcher read the questions on the Violence Questionnaire to the mothers and their responses were noted on the form. Mothers' responses to the researchers' questions in the semi-structured interview were noted on the protocol.

Play sessions with the children

The one hour play sessions with the child participants of the present study took place in a room in the shelter which was relatively quiet. Mothers were required to remain in the shelter for the duration of the play sessions in case their children needed them or wished to end the session prematurely. At the beginning of each play session, children were told that they were free to play whatever they wanted during the play session. The play materials were briefly introduced to the children. The child was told that the researcher would observe and say what she saw as the child played, or, if the child wanted her to, she would play, but the child was in charge and had to tell her what to play. The following limits had to be followed in the playroom: the child could not hurt the researcher or him/herself and the researcher could not hurt the child. In the beginning of the first play session the researcher showed the child the video-camera, briefly tested it and in age-appropriate language, explained how the taped materials would be kept confidential and what the limits of confidentiality were (i.e., mandatory reporting of child abuse and suicidal ideation to their mother and the child worker). At the onset of the first play session, the children were provided the opportunity to ask any questions about the study and told in age-appropriate language that they were free to withdraw from the study at any time or could refuse to participate without any adverse effects. During the play sessions, none of the children reported any child abuse or suicidal ideation.

Feedback meeting with mothers

A brief meeting was arranged with the mothers, following their child's last play session. At this meeting, the researcher provided general feedback on how the child interacted with the researcher, the child's preference for certain types of play materials (e.g. dolls, animals) and any

positive impressions the child made on the researcher. The researcher did not tell the mother any of the play themes expressed in the child's play. The researcher subsequently sought clarification of any information provided by the mother during the semi-structured interview. The researcher gave each mother a postage paid postcard she could mail to the University of Ottawa with her new address if she was interested in receiving a summary of the study results. The summary would be sent to the mother's address upon request.

The phenomenological hermeneutic method of data analyses

Steps taken prior to the analyses of the present study's data

In order to determine how phenomenological hermeneutic analyses could be employed to analyse children's imaginative play, a pilot study was conducted. With consent, a client-centred play therapy session with a child client staying at a shelter for abused women was videotaped and analysed. In the present study, the analyses completed for the pilot study were extended and further articulated. Writing the proposal for the present study provided the researcher with information about child witnesses of marital violence and their parents and an understanding of the theories of play. The researcher agrees with Morse's (1994) view that it is better for qualitative researchers to review the literature and become familiar with theories used to explain the phenomenon of interest than to go into the research process "blind" as some have suggested. This knowledge and understanding along with the researcher's awareness of her personal biases and assumptions enabled her to subsequently strive to "bracket" her theoretical preconceptions and knowledge about the meanings of the play of children staying at a shelter for abused women (Giorgi, 1994; Husserl, 1962) and be open to the phenomenon of the children's imaginative play as it unfolded naturally.

In her prior experience playing imaginatively with children, the researcher became aware of her own preferences in playing and was able to suspend these during the present study in order to facilitate the child's play rather than lead it in her desired direction. Facilitation of the child's imaginative play consisted of the researcher describing play events in a play-by-play manner and asking for elaboration (i.e. feelings and thoughts of characters), clarification, and plot development (i.e., asking what will happen next) of the child's play. The researcher avoided using leading questions or expressing her opinion through reactions, questions and evaluative statements. The researcher did not conduct therapy with the children and avoided interpreting the play as related to the children's experiences, thereby creating an atmosphere conducive to the children playing whatever they wanted.

Description and illustrations of the phenomenological hermeneutic method of analysis

1. The transcription of play sessions

Packer (1985) proposed that the videotaping of human phenomena permitted the human science researcher to return to the original action and words to check out and correct the text and its interpretation. A similar procedure was followed in the present study as videotaped play sessions were reviewed numerous times each in order to produce a faithful and exact transcript of the total play sessions which included the verbal and non-verbal content of each session and any emotions expressed by play characters or the child. The play sessions were transcribed in the present tense and maintained the temporal unfolding of the play. The letter "S" was used to denote a child participant in the present study and the letter "R" referred to the researcher. Rather than placing actions and words in separate columns (as in Corsaro, 1985; Schwartz, 1991), within the natural flow of the play session, square brackets and italics were used to denote

actions (Farver & Shin, 1997; Packer, 1994) and the tone of voice. Whenever a statement was unclear in the transcript, a clarification followed in rounded brackets. The researcher's thesis supervisor reviewed videotaped segments of each play session for the four children to verify that the children's actions, words, and tone of voice in the play sessions were accurately transcribed.

2. Discriminated meaning units in the transcript

The central tenants of Husserl's phenomenology and his method were applied by Giorgi (1985) to researching psychological phenomena. Typically, researchers have applied Husserl's phenomenological method to adults' written descriptions of a psychological phenomenon (e.g. learning) as they concretely lived and experienced it. In the present study, Giorgi's method was modified in order to apply it to young children's play. The researcher received training in the phenomenological research method and practised analysing a few written descriptions of psychological phenomena as part of her preparation for the study. Following Giorgi's method, the researcher read the entire transcript for a play session a few times to get a sense of the whole session. Then the researcher read the transcript again and determined that there was a new meaning unit whenever there was a shift in what was being played and/or a different meaning was being expressed through the play. These meaning units were "discriminated" from one another and numbered.

3. Translation of the transcript into text

The transcript with its conversational quality was translated into corresponding text with some illustrative quotes. This text retained the full concreteness of the transcript but was easier to analyse than the original and lengthy transcript. This step in the data analysis was not described by Giorgi in his phenomenological method but proposed by the thesis supervisor Dr. Mook and

added by the researcher to translate the complex data of the transcript into a text form amenable to further analysis. During the process of writing the play session text, the researcher regularly returned to the play session transcript to ensure its faithfulness to the transcript. The translation of the transcript into text and its numbered meaning units facilitated a systematic and rigorous further analysis.

4. Transformation of the text

A first level of transformation of the meaning units was then conducted (Appendix G) following Giorgi's phenomenological method. The researcher reflected on the psychological meaning of each meaning unit of the text. The psychological meanings which were implicit in the children's play sessions were made explicit. The researcher used imaginative variation to explore, reflect on and vary possible psychological meanings of meaning units. Then she sought the right words to express the psychological meaning of a particular meaning unit. There was a reduction of the content of the meaning units whenever a meaning unit underwent this first level of transformation. Some meaning units did not have any psychological meaning but were retained in order to provide the context and details necessary for comprehension of the children's imaginative play.

Inter-judge reliability of the transformed text

A practising clinical psychologist, Dr. Laurinda Cudmore, who completed a doctoral dissertation using Giorgi's (1985) phenomenological research approach under the supervision of the researcher's thesis supervisor independently analysed part of each play session for every child (with the exception of Jennifer's first play session). Play segments were selected by the researcher for independent analyses according to the following criteria: 1. The segment had to

contain an entire play story including its beginning, middle and end. 2. The researcher thought the play story might be related to a child's experience witnessing marital violence or the researcher had difficulty determining the psychological meaning of a meaning unit in the play segment. Cudmore was aware that the children were staying at a shelter for abused women. She was not provided with any additional information other than the age and gender of the child prior to her analysis of the child's play segments. The proportion of meaning units which were analysed independently ranged from 25 % to 40 % of the total meaning units and depended on the length of the child's play stories.

In order for Cudmore to familiarize herself with the study, she was provided with a summary of the thesis rationale and method as well as illustrations of the application of the phenomenological method to play session data from the pilot study. Subsequently the researcher submitted to her thesis supervisor (an authority on phenomenological research and its theoretical and philosophical foundations) the first level of transformation of the selected play segment from Jennifer's first play session (the transformed text) for her to verify that it fully captured the meanings expressed in it. Cudmore was provided with only the discriminated meaning units in transcript and in text for this play segment from Jennifer's first play session. Then, the researcher, thesis supervisor and Cudmore had a first meeting which was primarily held for training purposes. The thesis supervisor provided detailed feedback on the researcher's analysis and answered any of Cudmore's questions about the independent analyses she would be doing.

Cudmore was then provided with the complete transcripts of all of the children's play sessions to read prior to analyses of a child's play segments for context. She was also given the discriminated meaning units in transcript and in text of a selected play segment from Jennifer's

second play session and asked to complete the first level of transformation of these meaning units (the transformed text). At the second group meeting we discussed the results of the researcher's and Cudmore's independent analyses for the play segment. This became a training meeting as we further clarified what was required for this level of analysis and discovered that we had poor inter-judge reliability (67 %). It should be noted that following this training period, the researcher returned to Jennifer's first two play session texts and re-analysed them.

The inter-judge reliability of the first level of transformation was determined by the researcher's husband. He was provided with the results of the analyses of Cudmore and the researcher in column form (side by side) without any indication as to who completed which results. Each meaning unit was broken down further whenever there was any change in the meaning in order to facilitate the detailed comparison of the independently analysed results. The researcher's husband was asked to indicate for each meaning in every meaning unit whether it was similar, different or missing in one person's analysis and present in the other. The play segment of Jennifer's second play session was used as a training session for the researcher's husband. The researcher calculated the percentage of similar meanings out of the total possible meanings or the inter-judge reliability for each play segment (with the exception of Jennifer's first and second play sessions which were used for training). The inter-judge reliability for play segments ranged from 67 % to 100 % and the mean of the 10 play segments was 83 %. The rates of inter-judge reliability improved slightly from the first child's play segment (Jennifer's 3rd play session was 75 %) to the second child's play segments (Marc 67% to 80 %), the third child's (Melissa 84 % to 89 %) and the last child's play segments (Daniel 84% to 100%).

Achieving consensus regarding the final version of the transformed text

Cudmore, the researcher and her thesis supervisor met weekly or bi-weekly for 6 months to discuss the results of the independent analyses of the play segments of the four children. Cudmore was always provided the discriminated meaning units in transcript and in text of a selected play segment and asked to complete the first level of transformation of these meaning units (the transformed text). At every group meeting, the respective results for each discriminated meaning unit were discussed. Whenever there was a discrepancy between results, the group referred back to the transcript and individuals were required to point to the evidence in the transcript for the proposed transformation (Hill, Thompson & Williams, 1997). In these situations, the group members always read what preceded and followed the meaning unit in question for context. Discrepancies were resolved as the group members worked together to achieve consensus. Illustrations of the results of the independent analyses of the researcher and Cudmore and the final version agreed upon following group discussions with the thesis supervisor are provided (Appendix I). The discrepancies were mostly minor such as adding a qualitative detail (e.g. adding “impatiently” to Jennifer’s meaning unit 111, describing a particular play figure for Jennifer’s meaning unit 108) and providing relevant detail (e.g. adding “for the third time” for Marc’s meaning unit 89). The following is an illustration of a rare major discrepancy. The researcher initially perceived Daniel’s placing of a couch in front of the main door as “barricading” the door (meaning unit 110). When the group referred to the text, Daniel’s emotional tone and actions made it apparent that he was just placing a couch in front of an unused door, unlike Marc (meaning unit 40) who, in his play, barricaded the main door of the house as part of defensive preparations made for an attack. The group discussions and regular

reference to the transcript helped ensure that the researcher's pre-conceptions and pre-suppositions about these children's play were recognized by herself and/or group members and then consciously set aside.

5. Situated meaning-structures of the play sessions

The first level of transformation of the meaning units led to further phenomenological reflections on their meanings within the play while retaining the flow of the play as a whole and are presented in situated meaning-structures (Appendix H). In Giorgi's (1985) phenomenological method, transformed meaning units are related to each other when the researcher synthesizes and integrates the insights contained in the transformed meaning units into a situated structural description of a concrete lived experience described by an adult. In the present study, the children did not describe a particular lived experience but rather played out numerous imaginative stories. Although the term situated meaning-structure was employed throughout the present dissertation, the structure or the inherent interrelatedness between these meaning units was not articulated as a single coherent structure due to the particular nature of children's imaginative play. The imaginative play stories of the children in this study resemble more a series of narrative structures than a single structure.

The researcher applied Ricoeur's (1981) first phase of the hermeneutic method of interpretation to the transformed text of the children's imaginative play. In this phase, the researcher temporarily suspended any consideration of the play text's reference or relation to the child's life and experiences and focussed exclusively on what the play text said and meant as a whole, i.e. the sense of the play text. In this manner, the researcher "transferred herself to where the text stood" (Ricoeur, 1981, p.216). The researcher used the technique of imaginative

variation to explore, reflect on and vary possible meanings. The hermeneutic circle was applied throughout the process of describing the situated meaning-structures as parts of a play session clarified the whole session and vice versa.

The description of situated meaning-structures was a lengthy process involving the following steps. The text of the transformed meaning units was broken down into distinct numbered imaginative play stories written in a narrative format to make them easier to read and follow. Following further reflection, below each story, the researcher placed numbered descriptions of the psychological meanings of aspects of the stories (the numbers of corresponding meaning units were in brackets). These meanings were cut out with scissors and taped onto a large laminated memo poster which made it possible for the researcher to move them around. At this time, the researcher began to reflect on common and unique themes in the children's play. The researcher was then encouraged by her thesis supervisor to return to analysing the situated meaning-structures of the individual children's play sessions. The researcher moved away from a higher level of abstraction and the search for commonalities and differences amongst the children, back to the individual children's play story narratives. This process enabled the researcher to integrate these deeper reflections on the meanings of the play into the descriptions of the children's imaginative play sessions and thereby create situated meaning-structures.

6. Comparative analysis of the situated meaning-structures

The psychological meanings (and their corresponding numbered meaning units in brackets) described in these situated meaning-structures of the children's play sessions were then cut out with scissors and taped to another large laminated memo poster which made it possible

for the researcher to move them around, thereby noting any similar, recurrent and unique meanings in the children's play. The researcher reflected on the common and unique meanings and then searched for suitable words to describe the themes which emerged from this reflection. The thematic comparative analysis of the situated meaning-structures was the third level of transformation of the meaning units. The themes which emerged from this comparative analysis are presented in the results chapter of the dissertation.

7. Discussion of how the children's play themes might be related to their experiences

The researcher applied the second phase of Ricoeur's (1981) hermeneutic method of interpretation to the results of the thematic comparative analysis of the situated meaning-structures of the children's play sessions. In this phase, the researcher made interpretations of the children's imaginative play sessions with reference to their experiences. Interpretations were put forth and determined to be more or less plausible in light of the play texts and what was known about the children's experiences. The researcher used the hermeneutic method to bracket the influence of play theories and personality theories on the interpretation of the play themes in relation to the children's experiences. During this second phase, interpretations of parts of the play texts were still made and clarified within the context of the whole play texts.

8. Patterns in the meanings of the children's play themes

Upon further reflection, the researcher discovered patterns in the meanings of the children's play themes which could be related to their gender and their shared and unique experiences (e.g. staying at a shelter, witnessing their mother's physical abuse, being verbally abused by their father).

RESULTS

Themes which emerged from a comparative analysis of situated meaning-structures

A phenomenological hermeneutic reflection on the situated meaning-structures of the play of two boys (Marc and Daniel) and two girls (Melissa and Jennifer) staying at the shelter was carried out, looking for common and unique themes. Every theme emerged from the context of the whole play sessions and the situated meaning-structures. Although the themes are presented separately, there is an inherent interrelatedness between them which could not be articulated due to the complex nature of children's imaginative play. Some themes were common to the play of most of the children in the study. When a theme emerged from the play of only two of the children, it was also presented. Although there were two girls and two boys in this study, the girls were sisters and therefore any consideration of findings unique to the girls would need to keep this in mind. It is also important to remember that Daniel's mother reported emotional, financial and sexual abuse but did not report being threatened or physically abused by her husband as did the other mothers. The themes which emerged from the comparative analysis were grouped under the main headings of aggression and destruction, family relationships, in the face of physical threat, other types of threats (i.e., being trapped or controlled, being separated and losing someone, and being homeless), the presence of death, overcrowding in the home, and desirable qualities, relationships and situations. It should be noted that following the description of a theme, corresponding meaning units are in square brackets.

Aggression and destruction

Physical aggression

In the play of all of the children in the study, there was physical aggression of varying intensity and frequency. In the boys' play, physical aggression was unprovoked or occurred in revenge for an attack. In Marc's play there was a striking preponderance of physical fights between individuals [3,4,5,6,12,15,23,24,25,26,37,38,48,49,52,53,60,61,64,65,82,99,100] and battles between various groups [9,10,11,14,27,42,43,50,51,54,56,67,81]. Four main battles were fought between household members (including soldiers and dinosaurs) and intruders (including a big gorilla, other wild animals, and Indians) [38, 42, 43,65,67,81,82]. At least once in each play session, a large tyrannosaurus rex dinosaur faced a threatening big gorilla who was a fierce and resilient opponent [26,41,114] whom everyone feared [65]. The dinosaur aggressively defended himself and others and succeeded in defeating the big gorilla every time [24,38,64,82].

Unlike Marc, Daniel expressed disapproval of physical aggression. He stated that he himself does not fight because he is "not supposed to fight" [13] and it is bad to fight [13]. In his play, characters were labeled bad if they attacked others without provocation. Punishments for physical aggression consisted of imprisonment [39,42,43], aggressive retaliation [10,11,78], and in one instance there was the threat of being disciplined with a "time out" [68]. On three occasions in Daniel's play, females reacted passively to witnessing or experiencing male-initiated physical aggression. In his first play session, a mother was portrayed as passive in response to repeated physical attacks against her and her husband [10]. Later, a young girl was beaten by three bad guys and ended up with no hair and "no place to live" [28] until she was given a permanent place to stay. In his second play session, a woman who was frightened by two men

physically fighting in the house chose to stay in bed and not get involved in the fight [54].

Although the theme of physical aggression only appeared in Jennifer's third play session, it was repeatedly enacted during this session, with the victims reacting passively to unprovoked physical aggression and threats, as did the females in Daniel's play. A threatening adult lion pair (particularly the adult female lion) repeatedly terrorized vulnerable and helpless animals by invading their territory and aggressively attacking them [84,86,88,89,91].

In Melissa's play, some physical aggression was unprovoked or occurred in retaliation for an attack, and at other times reasons were provided for the aggression (e.g. hunger). In Melissa's first play session, snakes engaged in characteristic predatory behaviors by repeatedly stealing and eating the eggs of other animals (particularly those of a mother turtle) [12,18]. Their aggressive predatory behaviors were subsequently punished and they were buried in a prison-like "home" [18]. In Melissa's first play session, a young animal desperate to have its needs met, resorted to physically aggressive methods of forcefully extracting milk from its father which in turn angered him [31]. In Melissa's second and third play sessions, when a bunny and a bear had to wait together until they could go home [86,125], the bunny was verbally and physically aggressive with the bear, vigorously and repeatedly jumping on him without provocation [87,127,128,130]. In Melissa's third play session, a dinosaur started a fight with a crocodile by pouring water on him. The physical fight between them rapidly escalated to violence as the crocodile and dinosaur viciously retaliated for each attack on one another, until the fighting abruptly ceased [115,116]. Melissa concluded her last play session with the unprovoked violent slaughter by Indian hunters of all of the wild animals and soldiers in the sandbox, regardless of their size or their attempts to escape or hide [144,145].

Verbal aggression in the home

In their play, Marc and Melissa each described yelling in the home and how children or young animals reacted to it. In her second play session, Melissa sang a rhyming story of a little bear who was confused and overwhelmed by inexplicable yelling in his home [63]. He wanted to resolve the situation but was helpless to do anything himself and did not get any help from others [64]. In Marc's third play session, two male parents were verbally aggressive towards their two male children when, on three separate occasions, they yelled "Yaaaaa!" in a terrifying way at them in the house [87,88,89]. Each time, the children jumped and screamed with fright [87,88,89,90]. When these male parents repeatedly terrorized their children in this manner, in the home, everything in the children's surroundings, ranging from the furniture to other household inhabitants, became increasingly chaotic and out of control leading to disorder and disintegration [88,90]. The two male children were helpless to prevent their parents from terrorizing them and subsequently enjoyed living in the house alone when their parents finally disappeared [90,91]. In Melissa's second and third play sessions, a bunny repeatedly and rudely ordered a bear around displaying verbally aggressive behavior [85,86,87,124,129,130,131]. The bear was helpless as he tried to please the bunny by complying with his orders but could do nothing right.

Destruction

Only in the boys' play were there aggressive acts involving various vehicles and aircraft leading to the destruction or damaging of objects and buildings [Marc:28,29,30,31,32,95,96,97], including a church and emergency rescue vehicles [Daniel: 28,38,99,100]. In the boys' play, sometimes it was agents of societal protection such as a fire engine and police car which engaged in the aggressive and destructive acts [Daniel:38; Marc:29,31,95,96,97].

Family relationships (human and animal)

No communication between parents

It is striking that in almost all of the children's play, human and animal parents did not communicate with one another. They did not express any positive or negative feelings towards one another, either verbally or non-verbally. Only in Jennifer's second play session did the father demonstrate physical affection towards the mother, but it seemed forced [71].

The absence or presence of a father in the family

Whereas fathers were always present in the two-parent families represented in the boys' play, in the girls' play, families included those with single mothers in addition to those with both parents. The girls each at least once even explicitly excluded fathers from their play with families [Melissa:35; Jennifer: 68,72,102]. Melissa almost exclusively played with single-mother families [2,37,40,49,59,50,101] with one exception [108]. Jennifer played with two-parent families slightly more often [9,19,25,39,40,45,59] than single-mother families [68,85,87,102]. It was only in Jennifer's play and not the play of the other children that there was any indication of marital problems. There were two occasions when there was separation and distancing in the parental relationship [7,8,62] and in one of these instances she brought the parents back together following their separation [9].

The unavailability of parents

In the play of Daniel and Melissa, parents were sometimes portrayed as physically unavailable. On two occasions in Melissa's play, children and young animals were hungry and frustrated because their mothers were still asleep and therefore unavailable to go out and get a snack for them or feed them [42,105]. On one of these occasions, when children expected their

mother to make breakfast for them and she remained unavailable, the responsibility for feeding them fell upon the eldest daughter [105]. In Melissa's first play session, a hungry young animal resorted to unusual and aggressive methods of forcefully extracting milk from its father which in turn angered him [31]. When this young animal took what it needed from its father, feeding itself, it implied that in the past the father had been unavailable and had not met the needs of his young. On one occasion in Daniel's play, both parents were present but asleep and therefore unavailable to help their three babies. The babies climbed into their crib unassisted and were soon facing ordinary and unusual challenges together whilst holding hands [109,113]. Daniel referred to these babies as friends who "don't hurt each other" and instead help each other. They ended up in a dangerous situation, hanging off the roof, still poignantly holding hands. Although the house was full of people including their parents, no one was aware of their plight and they were fortunately able to climb down the roof using a fire engine's extended ladder [114].

Whereas in Melissa's play, children were frustrated that their parents were unavailable to feed them, in Daniel's play, the babies did not seem to be upset by their parents' unavailability. Whereas in Melissa's play the children reacted to their parents' unavailability by feeding themselves, in Daniel's play the babies acted independently of their parents, facing ordinary and unusual challenges together without the help of any adults.

Needing a caring mother

Only in the girls' play did children and young animals reveal their dependency on their mother and their need for her care. In the girls' play, at times, young animals and children were dependent on their mothers and needed them, sometimes actually calling out for their mothers [Jennifer: 57; Melissa, 39,101]. Most of the time, in Melissa's play, the young wanted to be with

their mothers [5,42,54]. For example, in Melissa's first play session, young animals needed their mother to feel safe outside of the house [42]. In Jennifer's first and second play sessions, her reference to young girls as babies indirectly revealed the girls' dependency and neediness [3,5,8,9,57,61]. Mothers cared for their children and young by preparing their beds [Jennifer: 96; Melissa: 2], bathing them [Jennifer: 47] and reassuring them when they were frightened [Melissa: 96,103].

Mothers unable to protect their children

It was only in the girls' play, that mothers, who were supposed to protect their young, were unable to fulfill this role. The mothers were at times portrayed as being powerless and helpless to protect themselves and their young from external threats such as attacking creatures [Melissa: 12,18; Jennifer: 84,86,88,89,90,91].

Autonomy from parents

In all of the children's play, there were times when young animals and humans enjoyed being independent from their parents. In the Jennifer and Marc's play, parents who were previously present suddenly disappeared or left the house leaving the children alone in the house. In Jennifer's play, a young girl was content to be alone in the house, caring for her pet lions [73]. In Marc's play, two male children slept undisturbed and enjoyed playing in the house without their parents [90,91].

Melissa's play revealed children's ambivalence towards their mothers. In her play, sometimes children clearly needed their mothers and were dependent on them and at other times they did not need them and sought autonomy from their mothers. In Melissa's play, on two occasions, the young indicated that they didn't need their mothers [5, 92]. In her third play

session, three piglets sought autonomy from their mother when they moved out of the house they shared with her. These resourceful and resilient piglets built their own homes and rebuilt them when dinosaurs inadvertently destroyed them [57,58]. On two occasions in Melissa's play, three babies enjoyed being alone in the house, playing together [100] and sleeping comfortably [122]. Whereas in the aforementioned instances in Melissa's play the young were autonomous, in Daniel's play children acted independently, mostly in the presence of their parents. On one occasion, three babies who lived in a house with their parents repeatedly depended on each other when they faced both ordinary and unusual challenges together [109,113,114]. On another occasion, a boy happily went to church alone [24].

In the face of physical threat(s)

Defensive preparations in anticipation of physical threat(s)

In the play of almost all of the children (with the exception of Daniel), attempts to set up physical barriers to keep threat(s) out of the house or territory and away from the main characters met with varying degrees of success. In Jennifer's first play session, a fence kept a dangerous lion family apart from a pair of kangaroos, providing them with some protection from the lions [27]. In her second play session, Jennifer once again kept the threatening lions separate from the kangaroos and their friends by erecting a fence between them [36]. These lions were isolated from the community of animals for the protection of the others. In her third play session, the lions were once again isolated from the community of animals and a fence separated them from the others. However, this time, the fence provided no protection as the lions easily jumped over it, repeatedly terrorizing and victimizing the vulnerable and helpless animals [84,86,88,89,91].

In Marc's play, defensive preparations made in the house to protect and defend the

inhabitants from an attack by the big gorilla and other wild animals not only included installing armed surveillance throughout the house and posting a large dinosaur on the roof for surveillance, but also barricading the main door [40] and stationing military vehicles in the house [41]. These physical preparations were however ineffective in preventing the threatening intruders from getting into the house. In Melissa's first play session, a puppy was supposed to have locked all of the doors and windows of the house where a mother pig and her young were living, to keep threatening wild animals outside [46], but the determined animals unfortunately got into the house through an unlocked window [48]. In Melissa's second play session, the mother pig and her young were afraid of a menacing snake-like creature coiled around a tree but felt safer when there was a fence between them and the creature [59,60].

In the play of almost all of the children (with the exception of Jennifer) others were available to try and provide the main characters with protection in case of a threat. In Marc's play, those who were available to try and provide the main characters with protection from attacks by a big gorilla and other wild animals had varying degrees of success. In Marc's first play session, it was a dinosaur family which was in constant danger of being attacked. In the first attack, soldiers who were supposed to provide them with surveillance and protection were ineffective and it was the eldest brother dinosaur who actually protected them from harm [36]. In the second attack, the armed surveillance was only briefly effective and the big gorilla and other wild animals got through and made the family and friends prisoners in their own home [40]. In Marc's second and third play sessions, soldiers inhabited the house (instead of the dinosaur family from the first play session) and by stationing a large dinosaur on the roof or at the top of the stairs they were better prepared to defend themselves from attacks by the big gorilla and the

other wild animals [64,76,77,78,80].

In Daniel and Melissa's play, others were available to provide the main characters with protection, but in their case, potential threats did not materialize. In Melissa's first play session, for their protection, animals of the same species lived together [9]. Later in this session, some vulnerable young animals were protected from possible threat by living with a few powerful animals of another species [15,16]. In Daniel's first play session, a policeman parked his car in front of the house and briefly lived in it for the protection of the household members [39]. In his second play session, Daniel announced that a big gorilla was available for the other animals "in case they need him" [81]. In Daniel's play, on a few occasions, vehicles were made available in case of a fire, emergency or death [72,96,98] but were not used.

In Daniel and Melissa's play, on one occasion each, a human or animal with aggressive tendencies was excluded from the house for the protection of its inhabitants. In his third play session, Daniel excluded from the house a man who was known to be aggressive in order to protect its inhabitants from potential harm [94,95] and instead welcomed a "nice guy" to "live in the house forever" [95]. In Melissa's third play session, she excluded gorillas from the house and removed a threatening snake from it in order to protect a two-parent pig family [116,117].

Dealing with physical threat(s)

In the play of almost all of the children (with the exception of Marc), there were attempts to contain/imprison threatening animals and humans to prevent them from harming anyone. In Daniel's first play session, a small muscular man who killed some men, and a big bad gorilla who attacked a good guy, were jailed as punishment for their aggressive acts and for the protection of others [39,42,43]. In Melissa's first play session, snakes who had repeatedly stolen

and eaten the eggs of other animals (particularly those of a mother turtle) [12,18] were buried in a prison-like “home” [18] so that they could no longer get out to eat children and eggs [19]. When the snakes were imprisoned, some of the animals who had fled returned because they felt safer [22,24]. Although the snakes soon escaped through a wall in the prison-like “home” to return to their own home, it was without incident [25]. In Jennifer’s first play session, a threatening snake-like creature was contained in a large cage for the protection of the other animals [23]. Although it soon escaped from its cage, it posed no harm because Jennifer promptly removed it from the play scene [26].

In Marc and Melissa’s play sessions there were at least four occasions each in which a saviour (person or animal) single-handedly removed the threats facing others. In Marc’s first play session, one soldier was able to defeat many Indians single-handedly [27]. Later in this session, the eldest brother dinosaur of a family of five became the saviour and protector of his family and friends [38]. Although there was intense and violent fighting between the threatening attacking big gorilla and this protective eldest brother dinosaur, his parents, siblings and friends did not become involved in the fighting. Single-handedly, the son defeated the gorilla thereby removing the main threat to the safety of his family and friends. Soon after, a soldier also became the saviour of the family when he single-handedly threw threatening Indians and the big gorilla down the stairs and removed them from the house where the dinosaur family and their guards (the soldiers) had become prisoners in their own home [43]. In Marc’s second play session, when soldiers and Indians were in a desperate situation in the house as the big gorilla and other wild animals moved to attack them and the dinosaur they had called to help them was unavailable, a saviour was introduced in the form of a muscular chief who single-handedly forced them to

retreat [67].

Whereas the saviours in Marc's play consisted of strong and powerful figures (i.e., a dinosaur, soldiers and a muscular man), in Melissa's play, it was a dog who consistently emerged as the saviour. In Melissa's first play session, the dog single-handedly expelled threatening intruders (wild animals) out of the house [45,46,49] thereby saving and protecting two vulnerable single-mother families living in the house (pigs and humans). In Melissa's second play session, the dog once again expelled threatening wild animals from the house [118,120] thereby saving and protecting a two-parent pig family.

Almost all of the children (with the exception of Daniel) positively transformed the expected outcome of one play story each, in which a person or animal alone faced overwhelming threats against him/her. In Jennifer's first play session, she created a scene in which Pocahontas, an Indian girl, appeared to be in danger as she was surrounded by armed Indians pointing their guns at her. Jennifer however avoided this apparently threatening situation by transforming the warriors into harmless family members who were entertained by Pocahontas dancing amidst them [15].

Whereas in Jennifer's play story, she transformed the threatening forces into harmless family members, in their stories, Marc and Melissa introduced protective forces and rescuers to come to the aid of the lone animal/person facing overwhelming threats. In Marc's first play session, when an Indian faced threatening armed vehicles and soldiers alone, his extreme vulnerability led Marc to quickly transform the situation into one in which he was no longer alone but rather joined by others in facing these threats [9]. In Melissa's first play session, a young horse's environment was "a dangerous place" which became even more threatening when

snakes were introduced to it. The vulnerable young horse faced these overwhelming threats alone. Then Melissa transformed the situation by introducing rhinoceroses which forced the threatening snakes to flee by stepping on them [6,7].

In the play of almost all of the children, there were times when physical or emotional support in dealing with a threat was not forthcoming. In Daniel's play, there were no such occasions because the characters, in particular the three babies in the third session, were independent and resourceful and helped each other rather than seek outside help [109,113,114]. In Marc and Melissa's play, on a few occasions, when someone called for help, it was not forthcoming and they had to manage on their own [Marc: 64,65,67; Melissa: 64,94].

In Jennifer's third play session, when two kangaroos were repeatedly terrified by a snake-like creature they told an adult female lion about their frightening experiences, possibly seeking emotional support, validation, and help in dealing with it. On three occasions, she did not believe them and denied the creatures' existence [109,110,111]. Then she minimized the frightening nature of the creature [114] when it was in fact the "scariest ghost in the world". At the end of this scene, the kangaroos, who received no physical or emotional support from the adult female lion, were still terrified of the creature, whereas she expressed no fear of it [113].

Other types of threats

In the children's play, there were other types of threats faced by characters, in addition to physical threats. The threat of being trapped or controlled and the threat of being homeless were portrayed in the play of almost all of the children. The threat of being separated and losing someone was only present in the girls' play.

Being trapped or controlled

In the play of almost all of the children (with the exception of Jennifer), on a few occasions, the movements of animals and humans became restricted when they were trapped or controlled by others. In the Daniel and Melissa's play, those who were trapped either freed themselves or were rescued. In Melissa's second play session, a substitute mother of the three piglets (a female horse) suddenly disappeared, became trapped and called the piglets for help. However, they could neither see nor hear her and she fortunately succeeded in freeing herself [94]. Soon there was another frightening disappearance as bad guys kidnaped a piglet while her siblings and substitute parents were sleeping and placed her in a trap. The piglet was fortunately rescued by its substitute parents [95]. In Daniel's second play session, a monster emerged throwing blocks on imaginary people thereby trapping them under the blocks [58]. A fire engine started to rescue the helpless victims but after the first block was removed, Daniel abandoned the scene [59,60].

In the following play segments from Marc and Melissa's play, those who were powerful controlled and restricted the movements of the vulnerable and the young (animals/humans). In Marc's first play session, armed soldiers repeatedly ordered Indians and animals to freeze in an attempt to control them [10]. Later, the dinosaur family and their guards, the soldiers, became prisoners in their own home, under the control of the Indians and the threatening big gorilla [42]. In Melissa's first play session, a dangerous pair of lions briefly controlled the movements of young animals, with the exception of the kangaroos [28]. In her second play session, the piglets were briefly ruled by a lion and elephants [93]. In Melissa's second and third play sessions, a bear was powerless in an abusive relationship with the bunny who controlled everything ranging

from the games they played and their outcome to what the bear did and where he could sleep [88,90,126,129,130,131]. In Melissa's third play session, the father pig disapproved of his young wanting to play outside and they had to return to the house [121].

Being separated and losing someone

Only in the girls' play were people and animals lost, separated, or missing. In most of their play stories, the scenes of separation (for whatever reason) concluded with a reunification. In Melissa's second play session, piglets lost their mother but she soon found them and they returned home together [54]. Later, the piglets' substitute mother disappeared, was caught in a trap but fortunately escaped and they were reunited [94]. Soon after, a piglet was kidnaped from its home and caught in a trap but was rescued by its substitute parents and reunited with its family [95]. In Jennifer's first play session, a rabbit searched for his friend and then they found each other and returned home together [12]. In Jennifer's play, there were two occasions when there was separation and distancing in the parental relationship [7,8,62]. In one instance she brought the parents back together following the separation [9] and in the other they remained distanced from one another [62].

Being homeless

In the play of almost all of the children (with the exception of Marc), homeless characters were portrayed searching for a home, preferably a permanent one. In Melissa's third play session, the bunny relegated the bear to sleeping on a dirty floor and then forced him to find accommodations elsewhere [131]. The bear was homeless and whenever he sought a place to sleep he was rudely turned away or expelled from the house [132,133]. The bunny took pity on the bear and helped him to get some temporary accommodations [133]. When the bear was once again

expelled from the house [134], the bunny found a room for them to share [135]. Daniel and Jennifer were the only children in whose play, friends, and those in need, were welcomed to stay in a home forever [Daniel:5,28,95; Jennifer:101,103,104]. In Daniel's first play session, a young girl who had been beaten up by three bad guys and had "no place to live" was welcomed into a home to stay there forever [28]. Towards the end of Jennifer's third play session, a previously terrorizing mother lion unexpectedly took in a lone piglet, gave him a safe and permanent home and the freedom to do whatever he wanted [101,103,104]. The piglet told his friends that the mother lion "let me stay here forever" [103].

In Melissa's second and third play sessions, the importance of having a home was revealed indirectly through the need to go home. Animals expressed a great need to go home, particularly the bunny and the bear, who even pleaded to go home [79,83,84,85] and when this was not possible he became impatient [72,75,80,133]. Most animals soon returned home but promises made to the bear and the bunny for their return home were repeatedly broken and their return was delayed without reason [79,83,84,85]. They were increasingly disappointed and saddened that they could not go home yet [79,83,84,85] but finally did go home [90].

The presence of death

In almost all of the children's play death occurred. In Marc's play, there were no deaths although there was a preponderance of fights and battles between individuals and various groups. Jennifer, Melissa and Daniel each dealt with death differently in their play. On at least one occasion each, in Melissa and Jennifer's play, animal mothers expressed sadness and anger at the death of one of their young [Melissa: 12,18; Jennifer: 51].

In Melissa and Jennifer's play, even though there were occasions when death seemed

inevitable it tended to be reversible. In Melissa's second play session, animals died whenever they engaged in habitual movements or made characteristic sounds [69,70,71]. Even a bunny who did not want to die, ended up dying as a result of hopping too high [70]. However, in Melissa's play, death was immediately reversible for almost all when they were given medicine by the doctors, with the notable exception of a bunny and a bear which doctors struggled to revive [72,73,74,75,76] and which in the end were magically awakened (cured) by the lick of a puppy [78]. In Jennifer's first play session she almost ended the session with the drowning death of kangaroos by torrential rains [33], but instead created a positive ending denying their death, in which they "just came up again" with the rising sun [34]. In Jennifer's second play session, a son who was supposed to have died as a result of some risk-taking returned to his mother alive [52].

In Melissa and Daniel's play, at times, those who died remained dead. In his play, Daniel frequently simply announced the death of various people [37,40,88,116] and indicated that we pray for those who have died, including Jesus who was nailed on the cross [37,64,88]. Melissa began her first play session and ended her third play session with death. There was however no prayer mentioned in her play and these particular deaths were final. She began the first play session by announcing that some animal mothers had died, thereby explaining their absence [1]. She ended her last play session with Indian hunters easily slaughtering all of the wild animals and soldiers in the sandbox, regardless of their size or their attempts to escape or hide from them [144,145].

Overcrowding in the home

Only in the Daniel and Melissa's play was there ever any overcrowding in the house. In Jennifer and Marc's play, although the house was at times full, people and animals had enough

space and adequate sleeping accommodations. In the first play session, Melissa twice briefly experimented with adding people and other animals to the house already inhabited by families and it became overcrowded [33,34,35,36]. The first time, she promptly removed the newcomers leaving only a single-mother family of pigs in the house [37] and the second time two single-mother families (human and pig) and a puppy remained in the house [40]. In her third play session, the house became overcrowded with wild animals and the puppy expelled them leaving only a two-parent family of pigs in the house [118].

Whereas Melissa experimented with adding new people and animals to the house but then removed most of them to retain only families in the house, Daniel consistently kept the house overcrowded with people and animals thereby making it a community shelter rather than a family home. In Daniel's play, due to the overcrowding, sleeping arrangements had to be shared and unusual resting places found for newcomers [21,23,26,29,34,35,106,107]. The various households always included children, particularly babies [4,12,55,77,102,103,104,106]. Even though the house was consistently overcrowded, in his play, Daniel still revealed a preference for including almost everyone in it [48,107].

Desirable qualities, relationships and situations

In the play of almost all of the children (with the exception of Jennifer), small animals and children who one would expect to be weak demonstrated great strength and power. In his first play session, Daniel transformed helpless little human babies into frightening monsters who could defend themselves and were powerful enough to fight off any intruders into the house [17,44]. In Melissa's second and third play sessions, three human babies were surprisingly powerful. In the second play session, when wild animals discovered the babies sleeping alone in

the house they were so frightened by them that they fell down in a panic and fled from the house [99]. In her third play session, the babies easily expelled a pig family from the house [122]. In Marc's first play session, a small turtle and a small gorilla revealed surprising strength and power as they initiated fights with powerful opponents and defeated them [6,12,15]. In particular, a small gorilla vigorously and repeatedly kicked a big gorilla [14] who had been previously considered invincible [11,13,14].

Almost all of the children (with the exception of Marc) cared for needy and vulnerable babies and young animals in their play by imaginatively meeting their physical needs of food and rest. In her first play session, Jennifer responded to a baby crying alone in the house by feeding it with a baby bottle, putting it to rest in a crib and covering it with a blanket [2]. In her second play session, Jennifer fed a young girl with a bottle like a baby [61]. She concluded this play session by providing a mother lion and her cubs with maximum comfort when she put them to rest inside a soft bear puppet [80]. In her first play session, Melissa responded to piglets and three babies crying for their mother by feeding them with a baby bottle [39]. In his first play session, Daniel gently put babies to rest in a crib [12]. He described the babies' vulnerabilities by explaining that they are unable to defend themselves due to their small size [14]. In his second play session, Daniel prepared juice in bottles for the babies, stored it in the fridge and later fed some to a baby [105]. In addition to meeting the physical needs of babies and animals, Melissa also met the emotional needs of a bunny in her second play session. When a helpless and vulnerable bunny was unable to get up or speak, Melissa cradled him in her arms [77]. She also comforted the bunny who was repeatedly disappointed and saddened that he could not go home by rocking him to sleep in her arms and hugging him [82,84].

In the play of all of the children, friendships were portrayed between people and animals and between similar and different animals. Friends slept over [Jennifer: 61; Marc: 35; Daniel: 5] and it was sad when they had to leave [Jennifer: 65]. In Jennifer's play, animal friends wanted to be together [11,12] and tended to live together [12,38,43,85,87,103,104,106]. Pet "real lions" lived with a young girl [73,74] and at times also with her family [67,68]. In Melissa's play, on two occasions, a puppy who lived with a mother pig and her young [40, 49] was their protector. In Daniel's third play session, three babies who lived together in an overcrowded house were close friends. Daniel described their friendship as a caring relationship in which they help each other and "don't hurt each other" [113,114].

Whereas Jennifer and Marc described situations in which characters had freedom, Daniel and Melissa indicated who could have freedom and why. According to Melissa only those who are dangerous and do not need the protection of others are free to go wherever they want [9]. Daniel indicated that you had to be older to have the freedom to go wherever you wanted without supervision [31]. In Marc's third play session, when terrorizing parents finally left their children alone in the house, the children took advantage of their freedom and enjoyed sliding off the roof [92]. In Jennifer's second play session, a girl who took care of pet lions gave them the freedom to do whatever they wanted in the house and they were thrilled with it and engaged in typical animal behaviors [74,76,77,79]. In her third play session, a mother lion gave a piglet she had welcomed into her home (territory) the freedom to do whatever he wanted [104]. Only in Jennifer's play did young and small animals daringly choose to take dangerous risks [28,48,49,93,97,98], sometimes with negative consequences [50,99,100].

It was only in the girls' play that people or animals indicated that they wanted to play.

Young animals played alone or with others, particularly in Melissa's play [Jennifer: 43; Melissa: 8,52,110,111,112,113]. In Jennifer's second play session, young animals tried to play hide and seek together [48,49]. Playing was however not always enjoyable for everyone involved as is illustrated in the following play stories. In Jennifer's play, on three separate occasions, one animal attacked another animal under the pretense of inviting the other to play [53,54,90]. In Melissa's second and third play sessions there were two instances when a bunny invited a bear to play hide and seek but controlled the outcome of the game in his favor [88,126].

DISCUSSION

A brief synopsis of the background information on the study participants will first be provided to contextualize the discussion of the themes. At the time of the data collection, the ages of the children from eldest to youngest were as follows: Marc was 6 years 11 months old, Jennifer was 6 years 10 months old, Melissa (Jennifer's sister) was 5 years 9 months old, and Daniel was 4 years 3 months old. There are striking commonalities amongst the themes in the play of Marc, Melissa and Jennifer. It should be kept in mind that the mothers of these three children were both physically and emotionally abused by their husbands whereas Daniel's mother reported verbal abuse but not physical abuse. The mothers of Jennifer, Melissa and Marc reported low levels of physical abuse (e.g. being pushed, grabbed, shoved) during the previous year. The mother of the sisters Jennifer and Melissa was reportedly slapped and hit by her husband on one occasion during the past year. All of the mothers in the present study indicated that, at times, they had tried to resist their husbands' attempts to control them and they had verbally fought with their husbands. They all reported experiencing verbal abuse, sexual abuse and financial abuse. The high to very high levels of emotional abuse reported by the mothers consisted of their husbands insulting their intelligence, appearance, ability as mothers, and blaming them for their problems. The mothers left their homes with their children and moved into a secure shelter for abused women. The children were forced to leave behind their home, father, friends and school. The mothers and their children could only stay at the shelter temporarily and at the time of data collection there was uncertainty about where they would go from there.

Discussion of how the children's play themes might relate to their experiences

There will be an exploration of how the common and unique themes in the children's play might be related to their experiences using the hermeneutic method described in the methodology. During the process of imaginative variation in which various possible interpretations of the play themes' relation to the children's experiences were considered, the researcher resisted making psychodynamic interpretations. Whenever possible, the researcher considered whether play themes might be related to events in the child's life other than marital violence. The interpretations made in the present discussion of the results are tentative. It is possible that if the children had been interviewed about their experiences, the additional information they would have provided might have led to different interpretations in some instances. The tentative interpretations aim to stimulate further qualitative research on child witnesses of marital violence with larger sample sizes and comparison groups which might in turn provide support for these interpretations or challenge them.

The play themes will be compared to the themes and gender differences found in the previously reviewed studies of the imaginative play and stories of clinical and non-clinical children, in order to begin to throw light upon which play themes might be unique to young children staying at shelters for abused women. The play themes will be discussed under the following main headings previously used to present the results: aggression and destruction, family relationships, in the face of physical threats, other types of threats (i.e. being trapped or controlled, being separated and losing someone, being homeless), the presence of death, overcrowding in the home, and desirable qualities, relationships and situations.

Aggression and destruction

Physical aggression

Studies of the imaginative play of non-clinical children have found more physical aggression in boys' play compared to girls' play, as was the case in the present study. However, it was unusual for there to be such a variety of scenes of physical conflict in the girls' play in the present study. Girls in studies using non-clinical samples (Dahl, 1993; Nicolopoulou et al., 1994; Tarullo, 1994; Von Klitzing et al., 2000) tended not to portray physical aggression in their play. However, when boys and girls witnessed physical violence in the community (Farver & Frosch, 1996) or were physically abused (Harper, 1991) there were no longer any gender differences in the amount of aggressive content in their play. The physical conflict in the girls' play in the present study may have been related to their exposure to their mothers' physical abuse.

When Marc and Daniel's play were compared, some important qualitative differences were revealed, possibly related to their different experiences. Whereas Marc's mother reported that he witnessed her being physically abused by his father on one occasion when he was four years old, Daniel's mother did not report experiencing any physical abuse. In Marc's play, there was a striking preponderance of physical fights between individuals and battles between groups. At times, rage was verbally expressed in angry growls by characters during physical fights. The frequent physical conflict, occasional violence and rage expressed in Marc's play through a variety of characters may be related to the conflict in his parents' relationship and in particular his father's physical and verbal abuse of his mother. The fact that Marc focussed primarily on enacting power struggles between various forces and play characters and that those he animated tended to be victorious in battle is a common finding in boys' play and stories (Dahl, 1993;

Nicolopoulou et al., 1994, Sutton-Smith et al., 1976).

In Marc's play, four main battles were fought between household members and threatening intruders (including a big gorilla) into the home. This play could indicate that in the past, present and even in the future, Marc perceives his family as being under threat of harm and that no house can provide them with safety. At least once in each play session, a large tyrannosaurus rex dinosaur faced a threatening big gorilla who was a fierce and resilient opponent whom everyone feared. The dinosaur aggressively defended himself and others and succeeded in defeating the big gorilla every time. On one occasion, Marc seemed to identify with this eldest brother dinosaur as he himself is the eldest brother in his family. This eldest brother dinosaur became the saviour and protector of his family and friends. The aforementioned play may reveal Marc's desire to save and protect his mother and siblings from any actual or potential harm, possibly posed by his father.

Whereas in Daniel's play, physically aggressive acts directed against others without provocation were labelled bad (congruent with the results of a study of non-clinical children conducted by Dahl, 1993), in Marc's play there was no overt evaluation made of such aggressive acts. In contrast to Daniel, in whose play, punishment for aggression could be imprisonment, there were no societal consequences to the aggressive acts in Marc's play. Perhaps witnessing his own father physically abusing his mother made Marc hesitant to label aggressive behaviours as bad or warranting the societal punishment of imprisonment. In Daniel's play, a mother and a young girl responded passively to being victimized by male-initiated physical aggression against them and a woman frightened by two men physically fighting each other in the house stayed out of the fight by remaining in her bed. Whereas in Marc's play no females were ever involved in

physical conflict, in Daniel's play females are only introduced as passive victims of physical aggression or frightened witnesses who try to keep at a distance from the fight. Daniel's imaginative play may reveal that he perceived his mother as frightened and passive in her interactions with his father when he verbally abused her.

The sisters, whose mother reported having been physically abused by her husband, played out a variety of scenes in which there was physical aggression. Whereas in Jennifer's play there was only one lengthy scene in which there was repeated physical aggression, in Melissa's play there was physical aggression of varying types and intensity throughout her play. In Jennifer's play, a threatening adult lion pair repeatedly terrorized vulnerable and helpless animals by invading their territory and aggressively attacking them. This play reflected the theme of powerful aggressors terrorizing and harming vulnerable and helpless victims who cannot keep them out of their territory. This play could indicate that at times, in the past, present and future, Jennifer perceived her family as being unsafe and under threat, possibly posed by her father.

In Melissa's play, most physical aggression took place between non-family members (human and animal). However, in one case a young animal repeatedly jumped on its' father's belly thereby angering him. Although Melissa indicated that this young animal's motivation was hunger, this scene may reveal some angry feelings towards her father for various reasons. Once, in Melissa's play, a physical fight was started between two animals because of one animals' harmless action and it rapidly escalated to reciprocal violence and after awhile abruptly ceased. This sequence of events in which a conflict was easily started, rapidly escalated to physical violence and concluded with no resolution of the conflict was possibly related to how Melissa perceived her parents' fights. Melissa concluded her last play session with the unprovoked

slaughter by Indian hunters of all of the wild animals and soldiers in the sandbox, regardless of their size or their attempts to escape or hide. This play may reveal a fear that one can easily become a victim of indiscriminate violence.

In the boys' play, physical aggression was unprovoked or occurred in retaliation for an attack. This result was in agreement with Tarullo's (1994) findings that in non-clinical boys' play there tended to be a lack of motivation for any conflicts and the negative resolution of conflict (e.g., retaliating in a physically aggressive manner). In the girls' play, explicit motivation for conflicts and positive conflict resolutions were expected according to the findings of studies of non-clinical girls (Nicolopoulou et al., 1994; Tarullo, 1994). However, in the play of the girls in the present study, most of the physical aggression was unprovoked, occasionally occurred in retaliation for an attack, or was motivated by hunger. Unlike non-clinical girls who may have gained an understanding of why their parents fight and how they resolve disputes, the play of these girls possibly reflected a lack of understanding of the reasons for their parents' fights and their mother's abuse by their father.

Verbal aggression in the home

In the play of Marc and Melissa, there was yelling in the home and the reactions of children and young animals were described. Whereas in Melissa's play, there was only a general reference made to yelling in the home and no one in particular was portrayed, in Marc's play, male parents yelled at their children. In the play of both children, no particular words were articulated during the yelling and there seemed no justification for it. The yelling in these two children's imaginative play could be related to verbal fights between their parents, their father's verbal abuse of their mother and/or their parent(s) yelling at them (the children). Regardless of

who was to be the intended recipient of the yelling, Marc and Melissa's play characters tried to cope with the verbally aggressive atmosphere in the home yet felt helpless. In Melissa's play, a little bear was confused and overwhelmed by the yelling, wanted to resolve the situation, asked for help but did not get any. This play could indicate that Melissa herself felt confused and overwhelmed by her parents' yelling in the home, wanted it to stop but felt helpless to do anything on her own. In Marc's play, children helplessly screamed with fright when their male parents yelled (at them) repeatedly and the home atmosphere was not only verbally aggressive but also became chaotic and out of control as everything became disordered. This play may reveal that Marc felt very frightened, overwhelmed and helpless whenever his parents yelled in the home.

Destruction

Consistent with the imaginative play and stories of non-clinical children, in the present study the theme of destruction was only present in the boys' play (Dahl, 1993; Nicolopoulou et al., 1994). There were aggressive acts involving various vehicles and aircraft leading to the damage or destruction of objects and buildings. Mostly in Marc's play and on one occasion in Daniel's play, agents of societal protection such as a fire engine and police car sometimes engaged in these aggressive and destructive acts. This play may represent Marc's imaginative expression of his father's transformation from protector to aggressor within the family.

Family relationships (human and animal)

No communication between parents

In almost all of the children's play, parents did not express any positive or negative feelings towards one another, either verbally or non-verbally. Only on one occasion in Jennifer's

play did the father demonstrate physical affection towards the mother, but it seemed forced. This play possibly revealed Jennifer's desire for her father to interact positively with her mother and perhaps that her parents reunite. It may be too distressing for the children to enact through play the marital disagreements they witnessed and overheard which led their mothers to leave their fathers and homes to stay in the shelter. Their loyalty to both parents may also have prevented them from playing out any negative interactions between parents. Perhaps the children avoided enacting any positive interactions between parents in their play because the negative interactions they witnessed were prominent in the relationship and any portrayal of the parents' relationship might have led them to play out some negative interactions.

The absence or presence of a father in the family

Fathers were always present in the families represented in the boys' play, and at least on one occasion each, both parents were male. This play likely revealed how important it was for the boys to have a father in the family. The forced separation from their fathers perhaps made it difficult for them to play with families without fathers. In contrast, in the girls' play, fathers were at times absent from families. The girls, each at least once, explicitly excluded fathers from their play with families. Their play was representative of the current situation in which they were living apart from their father with their mother in a shelter. Their play may reveal that the mother-daughter relationship was especially important to them under these circumstances. Melissa almost exclusively played with single-mother families with only one exception and Jennifer played with two-parent families slightly more often than single-mother families. On two occasions in Jennifer's play, there was separation and distancing in the parental relationship and in one of these instances she brought the parents back together following their separation.

Perhaps Jennifer's play revealed an awareness of her parents' relationship and a desire for their reunification and an intact family.

The unavailability of parents

In the play of Melissa and Daniel, parents were sometimes portrayed as unavailable. In Melissa's play, parents were unavailable to feed their children and in Daniel's play they were unavailable to supervise and help their children. In Melissa's play, on two out of three occasions, children were hungry and frustrated because their mothers were still asleep and therefore unavailable to feed them. This play possibly revealed how the fatigue experienced by Melissa's mother in the shelter and her occasional unavailability to meet her daughter's needs was frustrating for Melissa. On another occasion, in Melissa's play, a young animal resorted to forcefully extracting milk from its father. Perhaps Melissa's play in which children were frustrated by their parents' unavailability to feed them revealed Melissa's dependence on her parents to meet her own basic need for nurturance.

In contrast to Melissa's play in which the children needed their parents and were frustrated when they were unavailable, in Daniel's play, babies were not upset by their parents' unavailability but instead acted independently of them, facing ordinary and unusual challenges together. In Daniel's play, three babies were unsupervised and ended up in a dangerous situation. However, they were not helped by their parents who were unavailable and unaware of their plight. In contrast to Melissa's play, in Daniel's play, the babies did not seem to expect their parents' help, acted independently and were therefore not frustrated by their unavailability. Possibly this play reflected his parents' actual unavailability at times due to their drug abuse. Although both Melissa and Daniel needed their parents to meet their basic needs for food and

safety, their imaginative play about these needs and relationships with parents differed greatly. Whereas the boy's play gave the impression that children did not need their parents and could easily cope without them, the girl's play revealed how much children needed their parents' nurturance in particular.

Needing a caring mother

In the girls' play, at times, young animals and children were dependent on their mothers and needed their care. In Melissa's play, the young also needed their mothers for safety and reassurance when they were frightened. Although both boys and girls need their mothers to care for them, only in the girls' play was this need and any dependency on mothers expressed. This play likely revealed that particularly during their stay at the shelter, the girls needed their mothers' care and reassurance. The fact that in the boys' play none of the young expressed any dependency or neediness with respect to their mother may indicate that the boys chose not to express their needs, or in their imaginative play, they perceived themselves as independent of their mothers.

Mothers unable to protect their children

In the girls' play, mothers were, at times, portrayed as being powerless and helpless to protect themselves and their young from external threats. The sisters' play possibly revealed their past, present and future concerns that their mother who was physically and verbally abused by their father may be unable to protect herself or her daughters from harm. Whereas in the girls' play, children and young animals sometimes depended on their mothers to protect them, in the boys' play, the young did not depend on their mothers for protection but rather defended themselves.

Autonomy from parents

In all of the children's play, there were times when young animals and humans enjoyed being independent from their parents. In Marc and Jennifer's play, when parents suddenly disappeared or left the house, their children were content to be alone in the house and enjoyed themselves. Possibly through their play, these older children were revealing a desire for more autonomy and the freedom to do what they wanted. In Melissa's play, sometimes children clearly needed their mothers and were dependent on them and at other times they did not need them and sought autonomy from their mothers. Her play possibly reflected some feelings of ambivalence towards her mother, i.e., feeling dependent and at other times seeking autonomy from her mother. In Daniel's play, there was no ambivalence and the young consistently acted independently of their parents who were unavailable. It is possible that this boy's play revealed that he had to act independently in the past when his parents were unavailable or perhaps he wished he could.

In the face of physical threat(s)

Defensive preparations in anticipation of physical threat(s)

In the play of all of the children, some defensive preparations were made in anticipation of physical threat(s) with varying degrees of success. In the play of those children whose mothers were physically abused by their fathers, main characters set up physical barriers (e.g., erecting a fence, barricading the door, locking doors and windows) to keep threats out of the house or territory and away from them. It is possible that this play related to the threats these children experienced when their mothers were physically abused by their fathers and to these children's desire to protect themselves and their family from any future threats. In the secure shelter,

barriers similar to those in the children's play were present to prevent the entry into the shelter of fathers who previously abused their wives and still posed a threat to their families.

In their play, the children revealed varying levels of confidence in the efficacy of barriers in keeping out threats. In Jennifer's first two play sessions, a fence kept a dangerous lion family apart from other animals, thereby providing them with some protection. In her last play session, however, the fence no longer provided protection and the lions easily jumped over it, repeatedly terrorizing and victimizing the other animals. In Melissa's play, there were times when barriers provided some protection from threats and at other times they did not. It is possible that this play revealed that Jennifer and Melissa feel threatened and need protection but experience uncertainty about the ability of the shelter to protect their family from threats. In Marc's play, extensive physical defensive preparations were consistently ineffective in preventing threatening intruders from getting into the house. The extensive efforts made to keep out threatening elements and the lack of success may reveal that Marc feels very threatened and concerned that protection from threats is not possible for him and his family.

Whereas in Marc's play, others available to provide the main characters with protection tended to be ineffective in dealing with threats, in the Daniel and Melissa's play, protectors were available but the threats did not materialize. In Marc's play, soldiers were stationed throughout the house to provide surveillance and protection for a dinosaur family which was in constant danger of being attacked. However, these protective forces tended to be ineffective, and on one occasion, it was the eldest brother dinosaur who saved and protected his family from the threatening intruders. Marc's play once again revealed how he perceived the threat of harm to his family to be great and constant and at times felt overwhelmed in the face of it. In his play, the

dinosaur's heroic fight may also reflect his great desire to protect and save his mother and brother from harm.

In Daniel and Melissa's play, the presence of others available to provide the main characters with protection if needed, provided the main characters with some feelings of security. Living together with animals of the same species, living with powerful animals of another species, living with a policeman, knowing emergency vehicles are available, all contributed to making Daniel and Melissa's main play characters feel more secure. The play of these younger children may reveal that they would feel more secure if powerful others who could protect and save them were available to themselves and their mothers. In their play, on one occasion each, a human or animal with aggressive tendencies was excluded from the house for the protection of its inhabitants. Their play may reveal feelings of protectiveness towards their families of which they have become more aware since living in a protective shelter.

Dealing with physical threats

In the play of almost all of the children (with the exception of Marc), threatening animals were contained in cages and dangerous animals and humans were imprisoned for the protection of others. In their play, these children may reveal that they feel safe when those who pose a threat or a danger were no longer free but were contained, thereby preventing them from harming anyone. This play also possibly revealed that these children do feel safer staying at the secure and protective shelter.

In Marc and Melissa's play there were a few occasions each in which a saviour (person or animal) emerged to single-handedly remove the threats facing others. Consistent with the findings of studies of non-clinical boys, in Marc's play, threats were often removed by a hero

(Sutton-Smith et al., 1976) who tended to be strong and powerful (e.g., a dinosaur, soldiers and a muscular man) (Nicolopoulou et al., 1994). It is possible that this play revealed Marc's desire to be strong and powerful in order to save and protect himself and others from threats. Unlike most non-clinical girls in the Sutton-Smith et al. study, in Melissa's play there was a hero. In Melissa's play, it was a dog who consistently emerged as the saviour of single-mother and two-parent families. Perhaps this play revealed her wish that her family had a protector who could remove any threats.

In the play of all of the children whose mothers were physically abused by their fathers, there was a situation in which a person or animal faced overwhelming threats against him/her and the expected outcome of the play story was positively transformed. Such scenes were absent from Daniel's play. The extreme vulnerability of the lone person or animal which was portrayed in these children's play stories was perhaps related to their personal experiences witnessing the physical and verbal abuse of their mothers by their fathers. These children may have felt extremely vulnerable as they witnessed their mothers' abuse possibly perceiving it as overwhelmingly threatening. Whereas in Jennifer's play story, she transformed the threatening forces into harmless family members, Marc and Melissa introduced protective forces and rescuers to come to the aid of the lone animal/person facing threats. Marc and Melissa's play stories likely revealed their need for help from others in coping with what they experience as overwhelming threats. In her play, similar to the stories non-clinical girls told, Jennifer, the eldest girl, seemed to have incorporated the threatening elements into the family unit (Nicolopoulou et al. 1994). Her play revealed that she may cope with feelings of extreme vulnerability by denying these feelings.

In the play of the children whose mothers were physically abused by their fathers, there were times when physical or emotional support in dealing with a threat was not available. In Marc and Melissa's play, on a few occasions, when someone called for help, it was not forthcoming and they had to manage on their own. Their play possibly reflected their need for physical help which at times had not been available. In Jennifer's play, vulnerable animals repeatedly sought emotional support, validation and help in dealing with a frightening snake-like creature. However, the adult female lion they told about their frightening experiences did not believe them, denied the creatures' existence and minimized the frightening nature of the creature. The vulnerable animals received no emotional or physical support from the adult female lion and were still terrified of the creature. Possibly in her play, Jennifer, the eldest girl, revealed that she has at times felt a lack of emotional support from adults in dealing with whatever frightened her. In contrast to the play of the other children whose characters were at times resourceful and managed on their own to deal with the threats when help was not forthcoming, in Jennifer's play, the characters were left feeling terrified and unsupported in dealing with the threat. Possibly this play revealed that Jennifer has a great need for emotional support and feels unable to cope without it.

Other types of threats

Being trapped or controlled

In Melissa and Daniel's play, those who were trapped either freed themselves or were rescued. Whereas in Daniel's play there was only one brief scene in which a monster trapped imaginary people under blocks, in Melissa's play, there were two stories in which characters disappeared, were trapped, and either freed themselves or were rescued. These play stories

involved the sudden disappearance of a substitute mother, the kidnapping of a young animal by bad guys, and the threat of being trapped and therefore unable to return to loved ones. Melissa's mother was physically and verbally abused by her husband and Melissa and her siblings at one time lived with foster parents for a year. Melissa's play possibly reflected her fear that she may be removed from her mother's care again or be separated from her family in some other way.

In Marc and Melissa's play, at times, those who were powerful controlled and restricted the movements of vulnerable animals and people. Whereas in Marc's play, it was through the soldiers' and Indians' use of their weapons that they threatened and controlled others, in Melissa's play, it was through their way of interacting with others that those who were powerful and those in authority could control others. Whereas in Marc's play, weapons gave one the power to control others, in Melissa's play, those who were big, verbally and physically abusive, or an authority figure had the power to control others. Possibly their play reflected the power wielded within their families as they witnessed their fathers trying to control their mothers by physically and verbally abusing them.

Being separated and losing someone

In accordance with the findings from non-clinical studies, only in the girls' play were people and animals ever lost, separated from one another, or missing (Fein, 1995; Dahl, 1993). Congruent with a study of the imaginative stories non-clinical girls tell, in the play of the girls in the present study, scenes of separation (for whatever reason) concluded positively with reunification (Nicolopoulou et al., 1994). Whereas in Melissa's play, it was the young and mothers who were separated from one another because they were lost, disappeared suddenly or were kidnapped, in Jennifer's play, those who became separated from one another were friends

and parents. Perhaps the youngest girl's play revealed her concern that she may suddenly become separated from her mother for whatever reason. The eldest girl's play, on the other hand, may have reflected her concerns with her parents' relationship rather than her own relationship with her mother. Possibly her play revealed a desire for her parents' reunification and therefore for her family to be united again. Her play also may reveal her need to be with friends which she may have had to leave behind when she moved to the shelter.

Being homeless

In the play of almost all of the children (with the exception of Marc), homeless characters were portrayed searching for a home. In the play of Daniel and Jennifer, friends and those in need (e.g. a recently beaten young girl) were welcomed into a home and told they could stay there forever. Perhaps this play revealed these children's need for the stability and security of having a permanent home. In Melissa's play, a bear was relegated to sleeping on a dirty floor, then he was forced to find accommodations elsewhere but was repeatedly turned away or expelled from other places because he snored. Finally, someone took pity on him and gave him a place to stay. Melissa's imaginative play was possibly related to her move to the shelter and may reveal her uncertainty and concern about future accommodations. In Melissa's play, animals expressed a great need and an impatience to go home and when promises were broken and their return home was repeatedly delayed without reason, they experienced great disappointment and sadness. Perhaps Melissa's play reflected how difficult it was for her to be away from her familiar home and apart from her pets, her father and her toys, particularly because it was uncertain when and if she would be able to return home.

The presence of death

In the play of almost all of the children (with the exception of Marc) death occurred. Whereas in both of the girls' play, animal mothers expressed sadness at the death of one of their young, in Daniel's play, no feelings were expressed but people prayed for the dead. Possibly the girls' play imaginatively reflected their feelings of sadness over their various losses (e.g., loss of father, intact family, home, and friends). In Jennifer's play, deaths as a result of natural disaster and dangerous risk-taking were consistently reversible. Her play may reveal a tendency for her to cope with difficult situations (e.g. loss, overwhelming threat) by denying the problem. In Melissa's play, on the other hand, there were struggles to survive, death was at times undone by taking medicine and at other times by the magical lick of a dog, and death was also at times final and inevitable. Perhaps Melissa's play revealed her confusion and uncertainty about her future and the future of her family, as her feelings ranged from hope that their situation will improve to hopelessness.

Overcrowding in the home

Only in Melissa and Daniel's play was there ever any overcrowding in the house. In Jennifer and Marc's play, although the house was at times full, people and animals had enough space and adequate sleeping accommodations. Whereas Melissa experimented with adding new people and animals to the house but then removed most of them to retain only families in the house, Daniel consistently kept the house overcrowded with people and animals, resembling a community shelter rather than a home. When the house was overcrowded, Daniel still revealed a preference for including almost everyone in it. Perhaps Melissa and Daniel's play reflected imaginatively some of their ambivalent feelings about their stay at the shelter which they shared

with other mothers and children. Melissa's play may reveal that she has difficulty with staying at the shelter as she first included and then excluded outsiders and only accommodated a family in the home. In contrast, Daniel's play perhaps reflected his enjoyment in sharing accommodations with others but also some confusion about family membership as family boundaries seem blurred in his play. His play may be partly influenced by his past experience of having an adult male friend live with his family for a year.

Desirable qualities, relationships and situations

In the play of almost all of the children (with the exception of Jennifer), small animals and children, who one would expect to be vulnerable, demonstrated great power. In Melissa and Daniel's play, normally helpless human babies were powerful and frightening enough to keep intruders out of the home simply by their presence. It is possible that this play revealed Melissa and Daniel's desire to be powerful and frightening to others so that they can protect and defend themselves from threats and therefore feel safe. In Marc's play, small, typically weak animals, revealed surprising strength and power as they initiated fights with powerful opponents and defeated them. On one particular occasion, a small gorilla vigorously and repeatedly kicked a big gorilla who had previously seemed invincible. Marc's play may reveal his desire to be strong and powerful. However, his play in which a young gorilla overpowered and defeated a seemingly invincible adult gorilla may also reflect this boy's anger at his father for abusing his mother and perhaps his desire to overpower and defeat his father whom he may perceive as powerful and threatening.

Almost all of the children (with the exception of Marc) cared for needy and vulnerable babies and young animals in their play by imaginatively meeting their physical needs of food and

rest. Their enactment of these behaviours within the play may reflect their capacity to consider and attend to the needs of others. It is possible that Marc did not engage in any of these caring behaviours because they were incompatible with the pervasive physical aggression present throughout his play. Perhaps Marc's preoccupation with aggression and destruction as revealed in his play did not enable him to consider and attend to the needs of others in his play. In her play, Melissa met the emotional needs of a helpless and vulnerable bunny by physically comforting him when he was unable to speak or get up and when he was repeatedly disappointed and saddened that he could not go home. Perhaps Melissa, like the bunny, also felt helpless, sad and disappointed that she could not return home and needed someone to comfort her.

In the play of all of the children, friendships were portrayed positively between people and animals and between similar and different animals. In their play, these children revealed the importance of friends and pets in providing company. Moreover, in Daniel and Melissa's play, friends and pets also provided protection, help, and support in facing various challenges and difficulties. Possibly this play reflected how important and helpful the social support of friends and pets can be, particularly for the younger children.

In Jennifer and Marc's play, there were descriptions of how enjoyable it was for children to have freedom to do what they want in the absence of their parents. In Daniel and Melissa's play, however, children did not have the freedom to do what they wanted because they were not old enough and they still needed the protection of adults. Whereas the older children considered freedom from adult restrictions and limits to be desirable and thrilling, the younger children may not have considered it an option perhaps because they felt less secure and more dependent on

their parents.

Only in the girls' play did people or animals indicate that they wanted to play. It is unclear why there were no instances of playing in the boys' imaginative play. Particularly in Melissa's play, play was portrayed as mutually enjoyable for participants. In the eldest sister's play, play was not always enjoyable and on three occasions one animal attacked another under the pretense of inviting the other to play. This play may point to some difficulties she may have experienced in her friendships.

Discussion of patterns in the meanings of the children's play themes

Commonalities and variations amongst those children whose mothers were physically abused

Patterns emerged from an examination of the meanings of the children's play themes in relation to their experiences. Occasionally, particular play themes within these patterns were consistent with the play themes found in previously reviewed studies of the imaginative play of child witnesses of marital violence. However, a great number of the play themes in this study were not found in the clinical literature on imaginative play and stories and therefore represent a unique contribution. The patterns in the meanings of the play themes of Jennifer, Marc and Melissa showed striking commonalities and differed from those in Daniel's play. The three children shared the common experiences of witnessing and overhearing their parents' verbal fights and their fathers' attempts to exert power over their mothers and control them through verbally and physically aggressive means. Unlike the other mothers, Daniel's mother did not report any physical abuse by her husband. The results show that Jennifer, Marc and Melissa's experiences of marital violence had a tremendous impact on them as revealed through their play. In their play, these children explored various issues arising from their experiences. They revealed

an awareness of the use of power in attempts to control and/or harm others. Marc and Melissa described the impact of yelling in the home on children and young animals in their play. Feelings of helplessness were expressed by the young when there was a verbally aggressive atmosphere in the home. In Melissa's play, confusion was also expressed when no reasons were provided for such yelling and in Marc's play, the children were overwhelmed and very frightened by the yelling of their parents. In various play themes, Jennifer, Marc and Melissa expressed a great need for safety and protection from harm for themselves, their mothers and siblings. Feelings of uncertainty and worry about ever being safe were also expressed in their play. There is support for these findings from the following two studies of children exposed to marital and other types of violence.

Similar to the children in this study, in Tyndall-Lind's study (1999), many of the children in a shelter who had witnessed marital violence were preoccupied with safety and self-preservation. The play themes of these children typically revolved around protecting oneself from harm through the use of shields and weapons and staying in secret, protected hiding places. In the archival study conducted by Holmberg et al. (1998), boys with a disturbed attachment history who were also exposed to various types of violence (including marital violence, murder, and extra-familial violence) engaged in a higher proportion of safety and aggressive play themes than the girls who were also exposed to violence and the children who were not exposed to violence but had an attachment disturbance. The safety play themes in Holmberg et al.'s study included the building of cages and containers for characters, objects or self, keeping things clearly in or out of spaces, protecting, keeping characters or things safe, needing to be kept safe, invincibility, and hiding to be safe. In the present study there was also a higher proportion of safety and

aggressive play themes in Marc's play versus the girls' play.

Unique findings for the boy whose mother was emotionally abused by his father

Different patterns in the meanings of Daniel's play themes compared to the other children were possibly related to him only witnessing the emotional abuse of his mother by his father (no physical abuse). Unlike the other children in the study, in Daniel's play, physically aggressive acts directed against others without provocation tended to be labeled "bad" and societal consequences for these aggressive acts included imprisonment. It may be that unlike the other children, Daniel could maintain societal beliefs about physical aggression because he did not witness the physical abuse of his mother by his father. This abuse can be seen as violating personal and societal standards and expectations. Unlike the other children in the study, in Daniel's play the children did not seek any physical help or emotional support from any adults and coped with their parents' unavailability by acting independently and taking care of themselves, revealing a striking independence. Possibly his parents' drug abuse and occasional unavailability was related to the self-sufficiency of the children in his play. Only in Daniel's play were females introduced as passive victims of physical aggression or frightened witnesses who tried to keep at a distance from fights. Through his play, Daniel revealed that he may have perceived his mother as a frightened and passive victim of the emotional abuse of his father.

Unique findings for the girl who was reportedly emotionally abused by her father

Although the girls in this study are sisters and both lived apart from their parents for one year in foster care, their relationships with their father were different. Whereas the father reportedly favoured the eldest girl Jennifer, telling her that she was beautiful, he reportedly often insulted the youngest girl Melissa, telling her that she was fat and he also tended to yell at her

and tease her whenever she whined. Unlike Jennifer, Melissa in her play revealed a fear that she would be removed from her mother's care and a fear that she would be separated from her family. These separation fears may be mostly related to her different relationship with her father and her experience of living in foster care. The age difference between the girls may also have influenced how they expressed their fears and other feelings. In her play, Melissa revealed confusion and uncertainty about her future and the future of her family and her feelings about their situation ranged from hopeful to hopeless. Melissa, unlike her sister, revealed ambivalent feelings in relation to her mother which ranged from expressing a great need for her nurturance and a need for her reassurance when facing threats to a desire for some autonomy from her. Unlike Jennifer who played slightly more often with two-parent families than single-mother families, Melissa almost exclusively played with single-mother families. Possibly her father's physical and emotional abuse of her mother and his emotional abuse of her led Melissa to exclude the father in her play with families.

Commonalities and variations in the play themes of the children staying at the shelter

In the play of all of the children, except Marc, the need for the stability and security of a permanent home was expressed. Only in Daniel and Melissa's play was there any overcrowding in the home. Melissa's play revealed some difficulty with staying at the shelter as she retained only family members in the home. Daniel revealed some confusion about family membership and a blurring of family boundaries in his play, possibly related to staying at the shelter and having an adult friend live with his family for a year. In Melissa's play, there was great uncertainty about future accommodations and feelings of helplessness, sadness and disappointment were expressed at not being able to return home yet. In the play of all of the children, except for Marc, there were

expressions of the need for the physical and emotional support of friends and pets and the need to care for others. The absence of the mothers' reports of overt abuse or neglect in these children may be related to the finding of positive play themes such as caring for the needy and the vulnerable and the importance of friendships.

Differences between the boys and the girls

Any differences between the play of the boys and girls in this study should be considered tentative as the girls were from the same family. In the boys' play, families were portrayed as intact including the father. In the girls' play, the father was, at times, excluded and the need to be with the mother and be cared for by her characterized their family play. This difference between the play of the boys and the girls may reflect the boys' need for their fathers' presence in the family.

Jennifer, Melissa and Marc differed in how their play characters coped with various threats. In Marc's play, ways of coping with constant and serious threats tended to be heroic and aggressive. Strong and powerful individuals took on the responsibility of defending themselves and others from harm and tended not to depend on others for protection and help. In Marc's play, the need for protection and safety seemed to override any other needs, such as the need for a permanent home, nurturance, and the need to care for others. In the clinical literature, the play therapy cases of boys ranging in age from two to ten years of age who witnessed marital violence support the aforementioned findings for Marc. However, in these studies, play characters' aggression and destructive ways of coping with threats tended to be interpreted by the therapists as a compensation for, defense against, or a symptom of, the boys' feelings of vulnerability, helplessness, fear and anxiety (Davies, 1991; Radford, 1995; Webb, 1991; Robinson, 1991;

Silvern & Kaersvang, 1989). Some therapists interpreted aggression in the play as the boys' identification with the aggressor (the father) (Radford, 1991; Webb, 1991; Robinson, 1991).

In the imaginative play of Jennifer and Melissa, those who were supposed to protect characters were, at times, unable to protect them. In the face of various threats without the protection of others, the characters in the girls' play felt vulnerable, helpless, and unsafe. In Melissa's play, powerful others were needed and made available for the protection of those who were vulnerable. In Jennifer's play, when under threat and terrified, the lack of protection and emotional support from others may have led to a tendency to cope with the presence of difficulties and threats in the play by subsequently denying their existence. This finding received some support from the clinical case of another girl of almost the same age as Jennifer (Rosenberg & Giberson, 1991). In this girl's play, unlike the boys' play, at times, people were miraculously saved (e.g. children who were run over by cars were spared and meals appeared just before characters starved). In her play, as in Jennifer's play, there was a tendency to cope with the presence of difficulties by subsequently denying their existence through some miraculous intervention.

Dialogue with the empirical literature on child witnesses of marital violence

The situated meaning-structures of the play sessions and the commonalities and variations in the children's play themes cannot be discussed in relation to the empirical literature on child witnesses of marital violence because unlike these other studies, the children in this study were not actually interviewed about their experiences. The hermeneutic interpretations of the themes and patterns which emerged from the children's play in relation to their experiences will be discussed in relation to the empirical literature on child witnesses of marital violence and the

specific theories and approaches used to try to understand these children's experiences and feelings, but one has to keep in mind the tentative nature of these interpretations. The following discussion points to the heterogeneity of the population of children in shelters for abused women and the possibility that children's gender may influence their thoughts, feelings and ways of coping with their experiences as expressed through their play and in interviews.

The present study's finding that through their play, the children whose mothers were reportedly threatened and physically abused revealed an awareness of the negative use of power in attempts to control and/or harm others, reflects the controlling and threatening aspects of their father's abuse of their mother (Graham-Bermann, 1998; Johnson, 1998; Lyons, 1992). In the present study, the children's beliefs and values about the use of control and threats in relationships were not specifically examined and their interactions with peers were not observed. Those studies which did examine child witnesses' values and peer interactions have raised concerns about their social learning of the use and appropriateness of power, control and threats in same-sex and cross-sex relationships (Graham-Bermann & Levendosky, 1998; Marshall, Miller, Miller-Hewitt, Sudermann & Watson, 1995; Massachusetts Coalition of Battered Women Service Groups, 1995; Spaccarelli et al., 1995).

In almost all of the children's play in the present study, parents did not express any positive or negative feelings towards one another, either verbally or non-verbally. It was previously suggested by the researcher that they may have avoided enacting marital disagreements in their play because it was too distressing for them and their loyalty to both parents prevented them from doing so. They may have avoided enacting any positive interactions between parents because the negative interactions were prominent in the relationship and any

portrayal of the parents' relationship might have led them to play out negative interactions.

However, it may also be the case that there actually was little parental communication, either positive or negative, between fights, as has been reported by child witnesses of marital violence in two qualitative studies (Berman, 2000; Peled, 1994, 1998).

During their stay in the shelter, the girls in this study indirectly expressed a need for their mothers to care for them, help them feel safe and offer reassurance and comfort when they were afraid. Although in other studies boys and girls reported that they particularly needed their mothers at this time (Ericksen & Henderson, 1998; Henderson, 1993), the boys in the present study did not indirectly express any dependency or need for their mother.

Jaffe, Wolfe and Wilson (1990), from a family systems perspective, proposed that wife abuse creates an atmosphere in which children not only face the immediate threat of danger, fear, and unpredictable adults, but must also learn to cope with the "fallout" from the conflict, such as parental ineffectiveness. In the present study, there is some support in the girls' play for the finding that during their stay at the shelter mothers tend to be too tired and stressed to be emotionally available to their children, as reported by the children in interviews (Ammon, 1989; Ericksen & Henderson, 1998; Henderson, 1993; Lyons, 1992; Peled, 1994, 1998; Roy, 1988). Through her play, Melissa indirectly revealed how her mother's occasional unavailability to provide her with nurturance due to fatigue frustrated Melissa who needed her at this time. In Jennifer's play, she revealed that she may have, at times, felt a lack of emotional support from adults (possibly her mother) in dealing with whatever frightened her. In Daniel's play, sleeping parents were unavailable, but in contrast to the girls' play, the young in his play did not seem to be bothered by their parents' unavailability and instead acted independently of them, facing

ordinary and unusual challenges together. Once again, the boys' play gave the impression that they do not need their parents and can cope without them whereas the girls' play revealed how much they needed their parents.

Through their play, the children whose mothers were physically abused by their fathers, indirectly revealed that they felt threatened and had a great need for safety and protection from harm for themselves, their mothers and siblings. Unlike these children, Daniel, whose mother had not been physically abused, did not express in his play a great need for safety and protection from harm. When Daniel was included, the children's play revealed that their common exposure to marital conflict of a verbal nature and their move to the shelter posed threats to the future stability and unity of their family, where they will live, and their relationship with their father. Although not all of the children expressed each of these threats in their play they likely shared these concerns but to varying degrees. There is support in the empirical literature for these children's worries and hopes for the future safety and unity of their family (Graham-Bermann, 1996; Humphreys, 1991; Ornduff & Monahan, 1999) and their relationship with their father (Ericksen & Henderson, 1992; Peled, 1994, 1998).

It should be noted that although occasional physical abuse of the mother by the father is distressing for children, frequent verbal fights between their parents can also have an important negative impact on them (Fantuzzo et al., 1991; Lyons, 1992). In this study, Marc and Melissa through their play revealed that they tried to cope with a verbally aggressive atmosphere in the home yet felt helpless, confused, frightened and overwhelmed. According to James (1989), "trauma refers to overwhelming, uncontrollable experiences that psychologically impact victims by creating in them feelings of helplessness, vulnerability, loss of safety, and loss of control"

(p.1). James (1989) noted that child victims of trauma may superficially appear symptom-free. This may be the case for the children in this study whose mothers did not report any major concerns about their children's behaviors and emotional state but who indirectly expressed feelings of helplessness, vulnerability and loss of safety through their play. In the empirical literature, child witnesses themselves, their mothers and clinicians have reported that they learned to hide their feelings (Ammon, 1989; Ornduff and Monahan, 1999; Landis, 1989; Roy, 1988; Lyons, 1992; Roseby & Johnston, 1995). It may be that the children in this study also learned to do this, but through their imaginative play they indirectly revealed some of their unexpressed feelings.

The children whose mothers were physically abused expressed different ways of coping with physical threats in their play. In his play, Marc possibly revealed a desire to cope with threats himself in a heroic and aggressive manner using strength and power to defend himself and others from harm rather than depending on others for protection and help. In contrast, the girls' play indirectly revealed their need for the protection of others and when it was not forthcoming they may have felt vulnerable, helpless, and unsafe. The two girls differed in the way they dealt with threats and coped with these feelings in their play. In her play, Melissa made available powerful others to provide protection in case of threat, thereby providing some security and Jennifer had a tendency to deny the presence of difficulties and threats. Although in Marc's play there was rarely any expression of helplessness, in interviews with child witnesses of marital violence both boys and girls reported feeling helpless and powerless because they wanted to stop the fighting but were unable to do so (Erickson & Henderson, 1992; Landis, 1989; Roy, 1988).

Support for the apparent gender differences in the present study in the children's ways of

coping with threats to safety in their play comes from Gottman's (1986) qualitative study of the tape-recorded social imaginative play of 16 dyads of 4 to 5 year-old best friends (same-sex and cross-sex relationships) playing at home together. He found that pairs of boys dealt with frightening threats in their play through mastery, i.e. they pretended to be the fearful person or creature or pretended to devour, kill, or conquer it. In contrast, when two girls explored fears in their play they used reassurance and comfort. Gottman's (1986) results and this study's findings lead one to consider whether the psychoanalytic theories with their focus on mastery over unpleasant experiences in play may have greater relevance for the play of boys than girls.

In the empirical literature, there is some indication that these apparent gender differences in ways of coping with threats in play may reflect actual gender differences in the ways children cope with marital violence in their home. In interviews with Roy (1988), all of the boys who were 15 years and older tried to protect their mothers by intervening during the assault. Half of the younger boys (ranging in age from 11 to 14 years of age) reported that they had fantasies about fighting back and retaliating when they became bigger and stronger. In contrast, only girls reported that they tried to protect their mothers from being beaten by taking care of the household (Gullette, 1987; Roy, 1988). Ornduff and Monahan's (1999) large study of children in shelters does not indicate whether any comparisons were made between the genders, however it is interesting to note that only boys quoted in their article described rescue and revenge fantasies.

In this study, gender differences found in the children's imaginative play were discussed in relation to the empirical and clinical literature on child witnesses of marital violence. Maccoby (1988) and Benenson (1996) have evaluated various models and factors to try to explain the origins of these gender differences. They argue that both biological processes and socialization

influence the play styles and social behaviors of boys and girls. Much more research is needed into gender differences and similarities in children's play, behavior, thoughts, feelings and ways of coping.

Evaluation of the qualitative research strengths and limitations of this study

The validity and the reliability of the study findings were enhanced by the recognition and handling of the following potentially problematic areas qualitative researchers must deal with: the researcher's role, the research setting, the selection of participants, and the methods of data collection and analysis (Le Compte & Goetz, 1982). Prior to this study, the researcher received training in facilitating children's play in order to let the phenomenon of imaginative play emerge. The children controlled the process and content of their imaginative play with very little, if any, influence by the researcher. The researcher met with the mothers and their children in a private room in the shelter and her relationship with the children and mothers was one of openness and respect for their experiences and play.

The study participants were self-selected from among the residents of the shelter for abused women. Although the children in this study were child witnesses of the emotional and/or physical abuse of their mothers, they shared some unique features which may differentiate them from the majority of child witnesses. According to their mothers, none of the children experienced maltreatment or had major behavior problems and all of them got along well with their mothers. The mothers of Jennifer, Melissa and Marc reported low levels of physical abuse and all of the mothers in the study reported high to very high levels of verbal abuse. Only one quarter of all child witnesses are reported to have no behavioral problems (Hughes & Luke, 1998; O'Keeffe, 1994) therefore placing the children in the present study in the minority. Their

lack of behavior problems may be related to the protective factor of a reportedly positive relationship with their mother (O'Keefe, 1994) and the lower level and frequency of physical aggression and violence they have witnessed (O'Keefe, 1994; Wolfe, Jaffe, Wilson & Zak, 1985, 1988). It is possible that these conditions may have played a role in the children's readiness to reveal imaginative play. There are some indications that children have difficulty playing imaginatively when they have insecure attachments with their mothers (Slade, 1987), when their mothers are aloof and critical (Alessandri, 1992) and when their parents consider play to be a task or have developmentally inappropriate expectations of their child (Moran, 1987). Some psychologically distressed children are reported to be unable to engage in imaginative play as they repeat actions with little creative variation, make groupings of objects and place objects randomly (Gordon, 1993).

In this study, there were some differences between the children which could be perceived as limitations. Daniel's unique family history which included the verbal abuse of his mother by his father differed from the other children whose mothers were also physically abused and experienced a threat to their safety and that of their children. A limitation of the study was that the findings on the play of boys who have witnessed physical marital violence are only based on Marc's play. What is unique about Daniel's background may also be considered an asset because by comparing his play with the play of the other children, it may throw some light on the unique differences between children who have witnessed physical and verbal abuse versus only the verbal abuse of their mothers by their fathers.

The fact that the two girls in this study were sisters can be considered both a limitation and an asset. Some of the play themes these girls have in common may not be typical of most

girls who have witnessed marital violence and may be influenced by their shared experiences, including their one year stay with foster parents. On the other hand, comparing the play of these sisters of different ages who had different relationships with their father revealed how differently siblings in the same family could experience events and express their feelings, thoughts and ways of coping through play.

Unlike the other children, Marc is a French-speaking Black boy (his mother is of Ethiopian background) who had only been at the shelter for 2 weeks as compared to the 5 weeks for the other children. The shorter duration of the boy's stay at the shelter at the time of the study and his different cultural background are factors which may have influenced the results in some way. Only one study could be found in which there were significant cultural differences in play themes. Danger play themes were significantly more common in the social pretend play of Anglo-American than Korean-American children (Farver & Shin, 1997).

Unlike most qualitative studies on child witnesses of marital violence (see critical review by Mohr, Lutz, Fantuzzo & Perry, 2000), the methods of data collection for this study were thoroughly and clearly described and the methods used to analyze the data were rigorous, systematic and specified in sufficient detail with illustrations at each phase to enable other researchers to conduct similar research. In this study, inter-judge reliability was established for the results of an important phase in the data analysis. The identification of the philosophical foundations of the phenomenological hermeneutic research approach and methods of analysis used in this study further strengthened the study's validity.

Suggestions for future research

Future studies could apply the present study's phenomenological hermeneutic method of the analysis of children's play to the videotaped imaginative social play of children, or the individual imaginative play of clinical children undergoing play therapy (Cattanach, 1997). The phenomenological hermeneutic method of analysis could also be applied to the imaginative stories and drawings of child witnesses of marital violence. Imaginative stories could be elicited by presenting the Roberts Apperception Test for Children (RATC; McArthur & Roberts, 1982) to children staying at shelters (Gallo, 1997; Lyons, 1992). Children could be asked to tell any imaginative stories or complete the MacArthur Story Stems (Bretherton, Oppenheim, Buschbaum, Emde, & the MacArthur Narrative Group, 1990). The drawings could be elicited by asking them to draw anything they want or in particular a house, tree and person and tell the researcher about their drawing(s) as Malchiodi (1990) and Pappalardo (1991) have done with children in shelters. When the children's play, stories and drawings are completed, a semi-structured interview with the children could be conducted about their experiences, behaviors, thoughts, feelings, beliefs and hopes. As in the present study, the mothers would also need to be interviewed. Additional studies of the imaginative play, stories and drawings of child witnesses of marital violence with larger samples in which information is obtained from both the children and their mothers through interviews would provide support or challenge some of the present study's findings (the description and interpretation of the children's play themes).

Future phenomenological hermeneutic studies could explore the possibility that there may be gender and age differences in the imaginative play of child witnesses of marital violence by having equal numbers of preschool and both younger and older school-aged boys and girls.

Providing child witnesses of marital violence staying at a shelter and other groups of children with the same play materials and comparing their imaginative play situated meaning-structures and themes could help clarify which themes are specifically related to witnessing marital violence and staying in a shelter. Possible comparison groups include homeless children (Baumann, 1995; Heusel, 1990; Hunter, 1993), children whose parents have divorced (Gendler, 1984; Wood, 1982), child witnesses of marital violence living with both parents and children from two-parent families reporting good marital relations. Future phenomenological hermeneutic studies of imaginative play could compare children exposed to different types and levels of severity of marital violence who have not been abused and those who have different histories of maltreatment (including neglect).

Mothers and their children (when they are old enough) could respectively complete the Child Behavior Checklist (Achenbach & Edelbrock, 1983) and Youth Self-Report form of the CBCL (Achenbach & Edelbrock, 1981) to determine the levels, frequency and types of reported behavior problems. A comparison between children with CBCL-rated behaviour problems in the clinical range and those in the normal adjustment range would provide support or challenge some of the present study's findings, in particular the presence of positive play themes in the play of the children in the present study whose mothers did not report any major behaviour problems. Using a longitudinal design, researchers could follow children when they leave the shelter with their mothers to either return to their husbands or move into independent housing and then follow-up on these children over the next few years. Such findings would increase our understanding of the long-term impact on the children of witnessing marital violence and staying at a shelter.

Clinical implications

Although the most wide-spread interventions with child witnesses of marital violence are group counseling programs (Crockford, Kent & Stewart, 1993; Gruszinski, Brink & Edleson, 1988; Peled & Edleson, 1995; Ragg, 1991; Wilson, Cameron, Jaffe, & Wolfe, 1989), play therapy can be a complementary intervention, particularly for preschoolers. Individual and sibling client-centred play therapy with child witnesses of marital violence staying at shelters has been found to be effective in reducing the children's overall and externalizing behavior problems (Kot et al., 1998) and their anxious and depressed feelings (as reported on the CBCL) (Tyndall-Lind, 1999). Although play therapy or simply play facilitation can help child witnesses of marital violence staying at shelters, group treatment for the children is also needed to deal with major issues, acquire skills (e.g. anger management, safety skills) and challenge their beliefs about the use of violence and gender stereotypes (Crockford, Kent & Stewart, 1993; Gruszinski, Brink & Edleson, 1988; Peled & Edleson, 1995; Wilson, Cameron, Jaffe, & Wolfe, 1989). The techniques, content and goals of these groups can vary according to the age of the participants (Ragg, 1991). Parenting groups or other avenues of support for mothers and fathers are also an important component in treatment.

The present study increases clinicians' and parents' understanding of the imaginative play of young boys and girls staying at a shelter for abused women and indirectly provides insights into what these children might feel and think about their past and present experiences. Children, in particular boys, need to be given the opportunity to talk to their mothers about whose responsibility it is to protect the family. Although young children may not display major behaviour problems, they are likely to be affected by marital violence and staying at a shelter and

need to express their feelings and thoughts through direct and indirect means (e.g. play, stories and drawings). They may express feelings (e.g. sadness, fear, anger, frustration, helplessness) and thoughts about the marital violence, their multiple losses as a consequence of the move to the shelter (including pets and friends) and the uncertainty in the future of their family (e.g. whether their parents will reunite, where they will live). It is important to acknowledge and not minimize the feelings expressed by these children, in particular their fear(s).

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APPENDIX A

Consent Form for Responsible Staff of the Shelter

In the last decade, interest has been growing in play therapy as a suitable intervention amongst others for child witnesses of domestic violence. This study aims to increase our understanding of these children's experiences and their expression of these experiences through play. This is an in-depth qualitative study of the play of young children who are staying at a shelter and have witnessed the abuse of their mother by her husband/partner. The results of this study could help parents and professionals to better understand these children and help them. The study findings could also make a contribution to the treatment of child witnesses of domestic violence through play therapy.

This study is being conducted by Isabelle Rose, a doctoral student in clinical psychology and professor Dr. Bertha Mook, her thesis supervisor, both of whom are affiliated with the School of Psychology at the University of Ottawa.

If we agree to participate in this study, our participation will consist of permitting Isabelle Rose to:

- a) Briefly tell resident mothers about the study in a group meeting or
Review general information about the study with a staff member who would then tell resident mothers about the study,
- b) Meet interested mothers and their child(ren) to further explain the study, review the consent form and show them the play materials,
- c) Conduct a semi-structured interview with participating mothers at the shelter and
- d) Conduct videotaped play sessions with child participants at the shelter.

We understand that Isabelle will study the play of children 4 to 7 years of age staying at the shelter. We realize that for this study she will need a minimum of 3 child participants if they each engage in 3 play sessions. It may be necessary for her to see a few more children depending on the quantity and quality of the data obtained from the children.

We understand that participation in the study is voluntary for us and study participants. Mother and child are free to withdraw from the study at any moment or refuse to participate without penalty.

If a mother and child agree to participate in this study, the child will spend one hour at a time playing with toys in a room at the shelter under the supervision of Isabelle and with her facilitation. During play sessions the child will be free to play whatever he/she wants in a sandbox, with a doll house or with puppets. A child participating in this study can engage in a maximum of 3 play sessions of one hour each.

If a mother agrees to participate in this study, her participation will consist of completing a brief questionnaire and a semi-structured interview. The interview will take about 45 minutes and the questionnaire which will be read to the mother will take approximately 15 minutes to

complete. The questionnaire deals with the type and frequency of violence a woman has experienced in her relationship with her husband/partner. During the interview, the mother will be asked to describe her child, his/her relationship with family members, overall development and general health, and any concerns she currently has about him/her. She will be asked to describe any negative and frightening experiences her child has had. She will also be asked to provide some examples of incidents of family violence her child overheard or witnessed and describe how her child reacted. We understand that mothers are told that if they are uncomfortable with any particular question they may refuse to answer without penalty.

In general, play is an enjoyable activity children engage in. However, sometimes it can reflect their personal experiences and evoke a negative emotional response in them. If this were to happen during a play session, mothers have been assured that Isabelle will make every effort to minimize its impact on the child. We understand that mothers will be asked to remain at the shelter and notify Isabelle of their whereabouts during the play sessions in case their child would like to see them or end a play session early. If therapeutic intervention is indicated in light of observations made during play sessions, Isabelle will discuss it with the child's mother and a responsible shelter staff member and will provide a list of professionals which could be of assistance.

We understand that Isabelle will not provide psychological assessments or do play therapy with any of the children participating in this study. If, during play sessions, any child discloses suicidal thoughts and/or experiences of neglect, sexual, physical and/or emotional abuse, the mother and a responsible shelter staff member will be informed immediately and the Children's Aid Society will be notified.

We understand that in participating in this study mothers will share some personal information which could evoke a negative emotional response. If this were to happen, mothers have been assured that Isabelle will make every effort to minimize its impact on them. If a mother experiences any distress, she will advise Isabelle who, in consultation with a responsible shelter staff member, will arrange a suitable referral for her.

We understand that in order for Isabelle to conduct an in-depth qualitative study of children's play she will need to videotape play sessions so she can accurately describe them. Videotaping not only captures children's verbal language but also their body language through which they express themselves and their feelings (e.g., facial expressions, gestures).

We have been assured that all raw data (consent forms, videotapes, questionnaires and content of the interviews) obtained during the course of this study will remain strictly confidential. This data will be kept in a locked filing cabinet in Isabelle's office. Only Isabelle and Dr. Mook, her thesis supervisor will have access to any of it.

We have also been assured that the names of mothers and children participating in this study will not appear on any study data (videotapes, questionnaires and interview notes) and will

APPENDIX B

Consent Form for Mothers Staying at the Shelter

In the last decade, interest has been growing in play therapy as a suitable intervention amongst others for child witnesses of domestic violence. This study aims to increase our understanding of these children's experiences and their expression of these experiences through play. This is an in-depth qualitative study of the play of young children who are staying at a shelter and have witnessed the abuse of their mother by her husband/partner. The results of this study could help parents and professionals to better understand these children and help them. The study findings could also make a contribution to the treatment of child witnesses of domestic violence through play therapy.

This study is being conducted by Isabelle Rose, a doctoral student in clinical psychology and professor Dr. Bertha Mook, her thesis supervisor, both of whom are affiliated with the School of Psychology at the University of Ottawa.

If my child and I agree to participate in this study, my child will spend one hour at a time playing with toys in a room at the shelter under Isabelle's supervision and with her facilitation. During play sessions my child will be free to play whatever he/she wants in a sandbox, with a doll house or with puppets. A child participating in this study can engage in a maximum of 3 play sessions of one hour each.

If I agree to participate in this study, my participation will consist of completing a brief questionnaire and a semi-structured interview. The interview will take about 45 minutes and the questionnaire which will be read to me will take approximately 15 minutes to complete. The questionnaire deals with the type and frequency of violence a woman has experienced in her relationship with her husband/partner. During the interview, I will be asked to describe my child, his/her relationships with family members, overall development and general health, and any concerns I currently have about him/her. I will be asked to describe any negative and frightening experiences my child has had. I will also be asked to provide some examples of incidents of family violence my child overheard or witnessed and describe how my child reacted. I understand that if I am uncomfortable with any particular question I may refuse to answer without penalty.

In general, play is an enjoyable activity children engage in. However, sometimes it can reflect their personal experiences and evoke a negative emotional response in them. If this were to happen during a play session, I have been assured that Isabelle will make every effort to minimize its impact on my child. I consent to remain at the shelter and notify Isabelle of my whereabouts during the play sessions in case my child would like to see me or end a play session early. If therapeutic intervention is indicated in light of observations made during play sessions, Isabelle will discuss it with me and a responsible shelter staff member and will provide a list of professionals which could be of assistance.

I understand that in participating in this study I will share some personal information which could evoke a negative emotional response. If this were to happen, I have been assured that Isabelle will make every effort to minimize its impact on me. If I experience any distress, I will advise Isabelle who, in consultation with a responsible shelter staff member, will arrange a suitable referral for me.

I understand that in order for Isabelle to conduct an in-depth qualitative study of children's play she will need to videotape play sessions so she can accurately describe them. Videotaping will not only enable her to capture children's verbal language but also their body language through which they express themselves and their feelings (e.g., facial expressions, gestures).

APPENDIX B

Formulaire de consentement pour les mères restant au centre d'aide

Durant les dernières dix années, les chercheurs se sont intéressés de plus en plus à la thérapie du jeu comme intervention thérapeutique pour aider les enfants qui ont été témoins de violence familiale. L'objectif de cette étude est d'avoir une meilleure compréhension des expériences de ces enfants en faisant une analyse qualitative de leur jeu. Les résultats de cette étude pourraient aider les parents et professionnels à mieux comprendre et venir en aide à ces enfants. Ils pourraient également contribuer au traitement de ces enfants par la thérapie du jeu.

Cette étude est menée par Isabelle Rose, étudiante au doctorat en psychologie clinique à l'Université d'Ottawa, sous la supervision du Dr. Bertha Mook, professeure en psychologie à l'Université d'Ottawa.

Si mon enfant et moi acceptons de participer à cette étude, mon enfant passera une heure à jouer avec des jouets dans une chambre ou salle du centre d'aide sous la supervision et les encouragements d'Isabelle et ce, à plusieurs reprises (au maximum trois fois). Pendant les sessions de jeu, mon enfant sera libre de jouer à ce qu'il/elle voudra avec une maison de poupées, des marionnettes ou dans un carré de sable.

Si j'accepte de participer à cette étude, je consens à remplir un bref questionnaire et à accorder une entrevue à Isabelle Rose. Le temps requis pour ces deux parties de l'étude sera d'environ une heure. Le questionnaire comportera des questions sur la fréquence et le type de violence que j'ai subis dans ma relation avec mon mari/conjoint. Durant l'entrevue, on me demandera de décrire mon enfant, ses relations avec les membres de sa famille, son développement et sa santé en général même que les soucis que je pourrais avoir à son sujet. On me demandera aussi de décrire n'importe quelles expériences négatives et effrayantes que mon enfant aurait pu vivre. Isabelle me demandera également de lui fournir quelques exemples d'incidents de violence familiale que mon enfant aurait pu entendre ou voir et de décrire comment il a réagi face à ceux-ci. Je comprends que si je me sens mal à l'aise face à n'importe quelle question durant l'entrevue, je peux refuser de répondre à la question sans conséquences négatives pour nous.

De façon générale, le jeu est une activité agréable pour les enfants. Toutefois, il arrive que le jeu évoque chez eux une réaction émotive négative puisqu'il est susceptible de refléter leurs expériences personnelles. Isabelle m'a assurée que si cela arrivait à mon enfant, elle tentera de minimiser l'effet que cela pourrait avoir sur lui. Je consens à rester dans le centre d'aide et à aviser Isabelle de l'endroit où je me trouverai durant les sessions de jeu au cas où mon enfant demanderait à me voir ou voudrait terminer la session plus tôt que prévu. Si, à la lumière de ses observations, Isabelle constate qu'une intervention thérapeutique serait indiquée, elle en discutera avec moi ainsi qu'avec une responsable du centre d'aide et me donnera les coordonnées de professionnels pouvant nous venir en aide.

Je comprends qu'en participant à cette étude, je vais révéler certaines informations personnelles qui pourront évoquer chez moi une réaction émotive négative. Isabelle m'a assurée que si cela arrivait, elle tentera de minimiser l'effet que cela pourrait avoir sur moi. Si j'éprouve de la détresse au cours de l'entrevue, j'en aviserai Isabelle qui, en consultation avec une responsable du centre d'aide, me référera à des professionnels pouvant m'aider.

Je comprends que pour pouvoir mener cette étude qualitative sur le jeu des enfants, Isabelle aura besoin d'enregistrer sur cassettes-vidéo les sessions de jeu avec mon enfant afin d'en effectuer une description précise par la suite. L'enregistrement sur cassettes-vidéo lui permettra non seulement de saisir

APPENDIX C

Explanation of Study for Children Staying at the Shelter

My name is Isabelle Rose. I am a student at the University of Ottawa. I am studying how children who are staying here (in this shelter) play. My teacher at the university Dr. Bertha Mook is helping me learn more about children's play. I talked with your mother and she told me it would be alright with her if I told you about my study so you can decide if you want to be in it.

In my study, kids play with all kinds of toys with me in this room. You can play whatever you want. You can tell your mother what you played if you want to. Each kid in my study will play with the toys three times for one hour each time. I need to videotape you playing so my teacher and I can better see and remember what you played. The videotape will be locked up. Only my teacher and I are allowed to look and listen to what the kids play.

In my study I also talk to mothers about their kids and the things that have happened in their family. I give mothers \$10.00 and I give kids \$10.00 every time they come to play to thank you for helping me with my study.

Do you have any questions about anything I told you?

(Pause) (Answer any questions)

Would you like to see the toys? (Briefly show the child the sandbox, dollhouse, animal and human play figures, and the puppet theatre and puppets).

Would you like to be in my study and play with the toys with me three times?

(Pause. If the answer is "no", the child is politely told, "Thank you".)

(If the answer is "yes", the mother is given the consent form and both sign it or the mother signs for the child if he/she cannot do it him/herself).

APPENDIX D
Semi-Structured Interview with Shelter Residents

1. How old is your child?
2. Who was living in your household before you came to the shelter? Who is in your family?
3. Can you describe your child for me?
4. In general, how was your pregnancy,
your child's birth?
5. How would you describe your child as a baby?
6. At what age did your child first crawl, say a few words, take first steps, eat by self with spoon,
dress self?
7. Now, how is your child in terms of verbal, social, motor and daily living skills?
8. How is your child's health?
9. How do you get along with your child?
10. How did your partner get along with your child?
11. How does your child get along with his/her siblings?

12.Can you describe any negative and frightening experiences your child has had?

**13.Has your child ever been sexually abused? physically abused? emotionally abused?
neglected?**

14.With respect to your child, what are you most concerned about?

**15.Can you share with me some examples of incidents of domestic violence and/or threats
against you which your child has witnessed or overheard?**

16.How did your child react to these violent behaviours and/or threats? What did your child do?

17.How old was your child when the first violent incident and/or threat occurred?

18. What does your child like to play? What is your child's favorite movie and TV show?

APPENDIX E

VIOLENCE QUESTIONNAIRE

When you were living with your partner, over a one year period,
on average how often did the following occur?

How often has your partner:

1. told you you're stupid/crazy/ugly, etc.:	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X
2. told you you're a hopeless mother?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X
3. blamed you for all his problems?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X
4. yelled and screamed and								
(i) threatened your safety?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X
(ii) threatened to take the children?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X
5. How often did he keep all the money to himself?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X
6. How often were you without money to buy								
enough food, pay bills, etc.?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X
7. wanted sex when you didn't?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X
8. woken up in the night and demanded sex?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X
9. thrown or smashed or hit or kicked something?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X
10. thrown something at you?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X
11. pushed, grabbed or shoved you?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X
12. slapped you?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X
13. kicked or hit with fist?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X
14. hit or tried to hit with object?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X
15. beaten you up?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X
16. threatened with knife or gun?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X
17. used a knife or gun?	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	X

where 0 = Never

1 = Once

2 = Twice

3 = 3 - 5 times

4 = 6 - 10 times

5 = 11 - 20 times

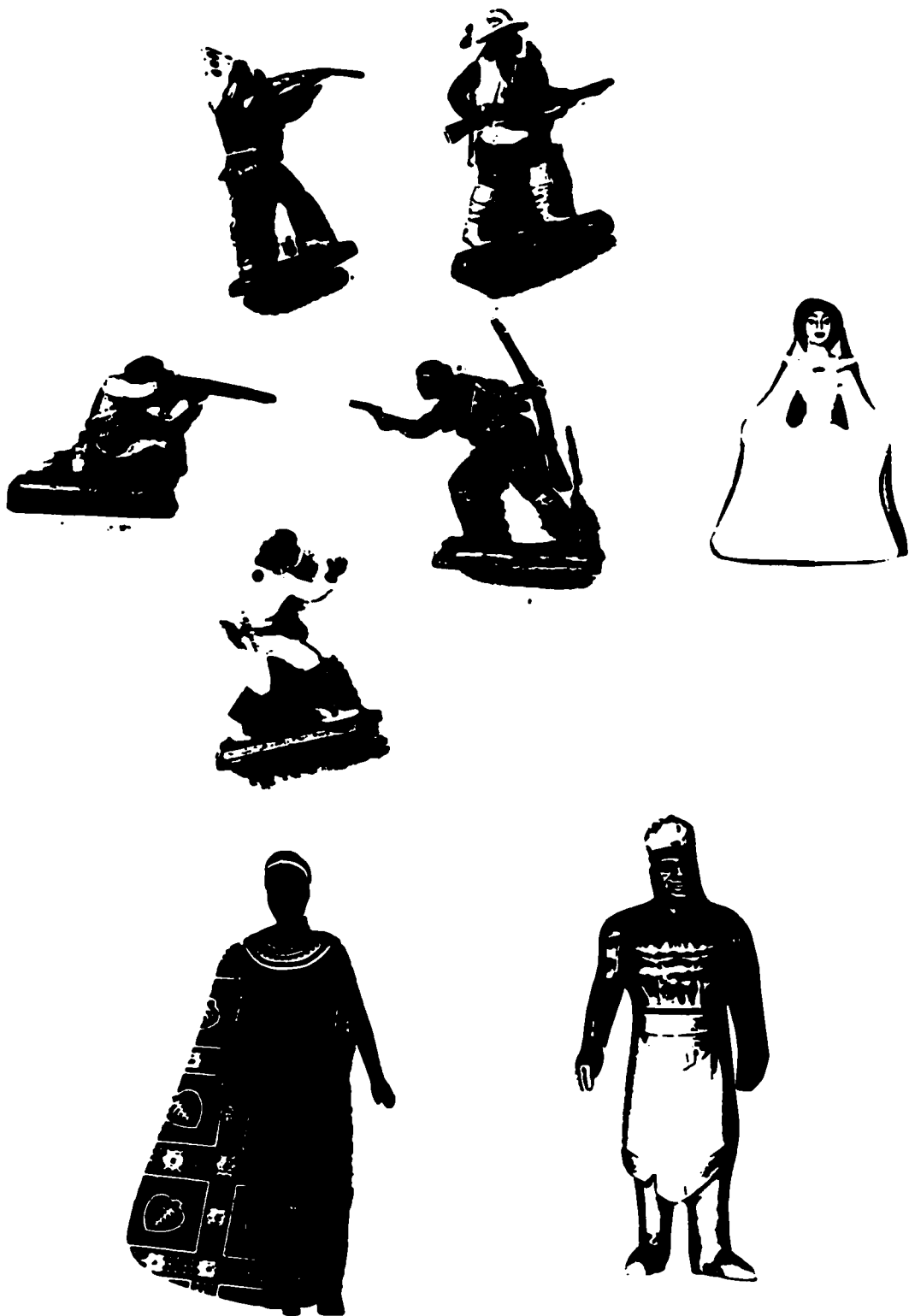
6 = more than 20 times

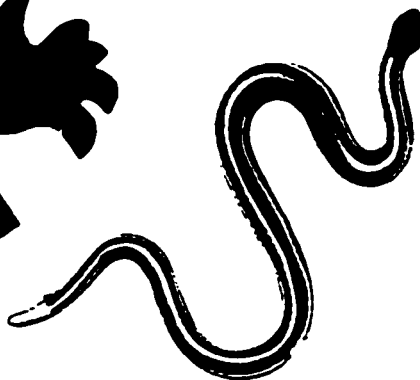
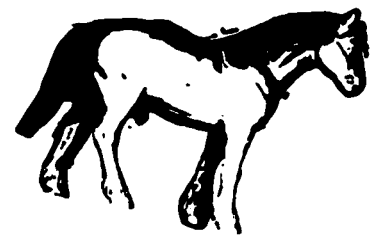
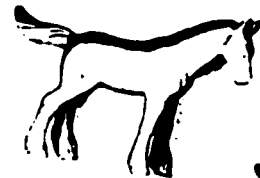
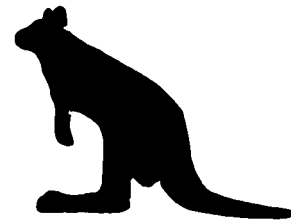
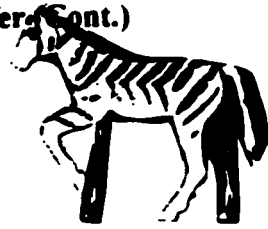
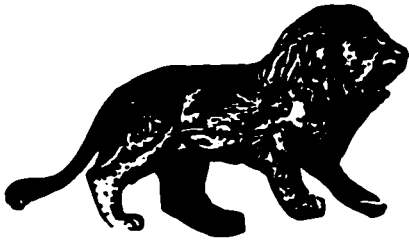
X = don't know

Selection of Play Materials Used by Jennifer

Family Figures



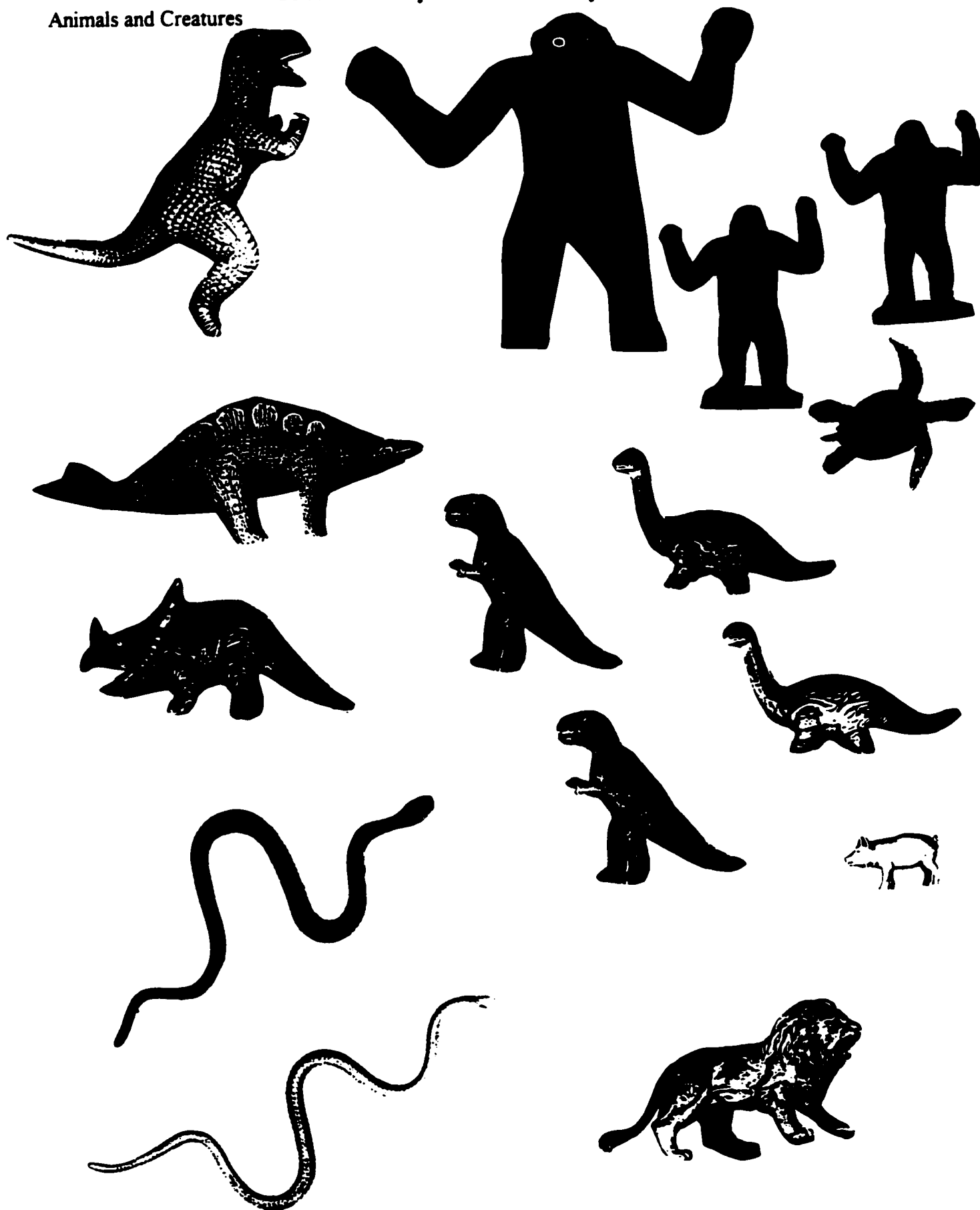
Selection of Play Materials Used by Jennifer (Cont.)**Other Human Figures**

Selection of Play Materials Used by Jennifer (Cont.)**Animals and Creatures**

Selection of Play Materials Used by Marc

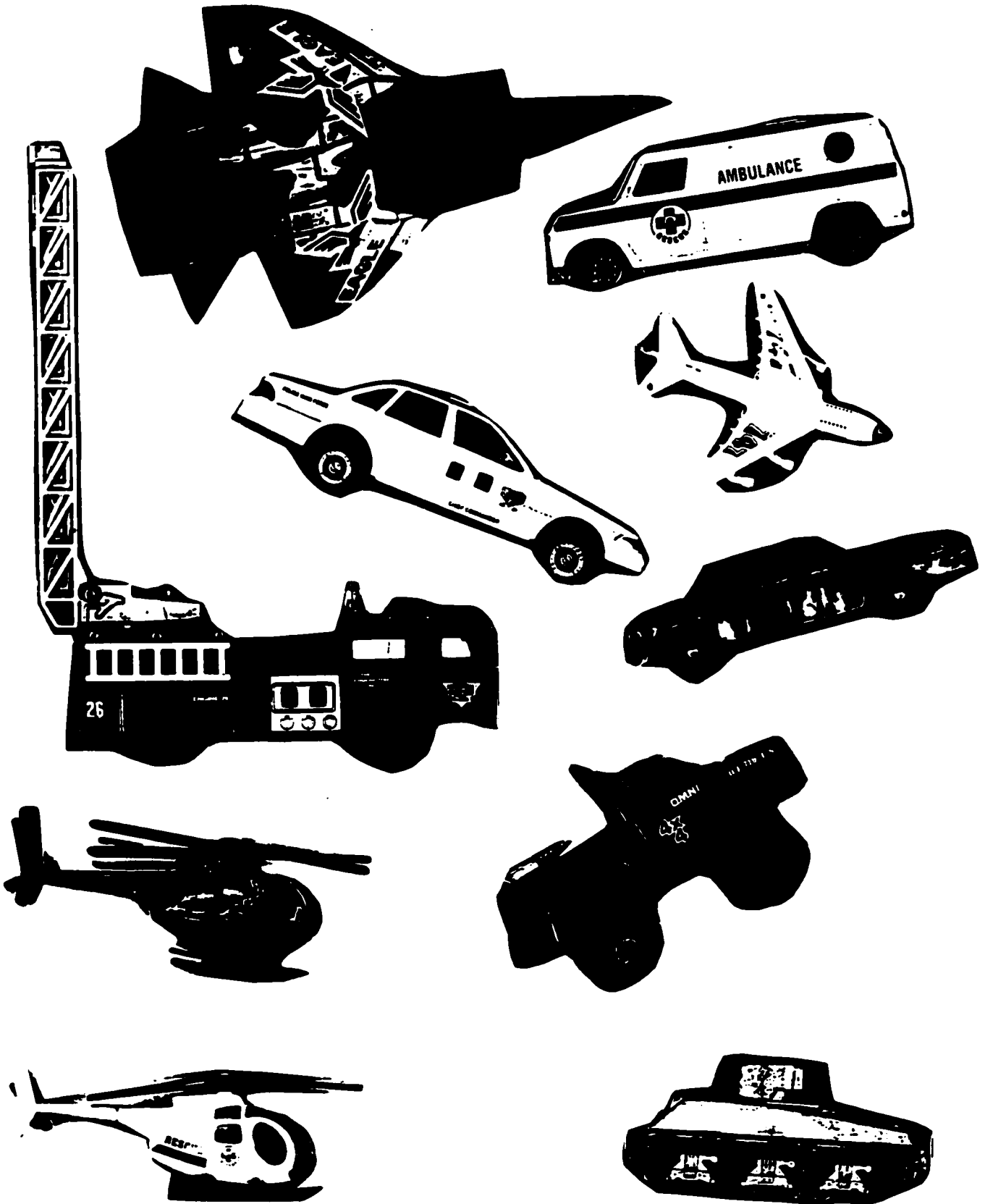
Human Figures



Selection of Play Materials Used by Marc**Animals and Creatures**

Selection of Play Materials Used by Marc (Cont.)

Vehicles



Selected Play Segment from Melissa's 2nd Play Session

Discriminated meaning units in transcript	Discriminated meaning units expressed in text form	Transformed text
69. S: Once upon a time. [<i>Loudly</i>] I'm the bunny rabbit right I hop. He's the crocodile and he does that. Every time he does that then he dies. R: Every time he slithers he dies. S: Every time the monkey does hou hou he dies. R: What about the bunny? S: The bunny every time he hops so high he dies. R: What about these guys? S: [<i>Casually tells R</i>] The king whenever he says something he dies. Every time the bear growls he dies. Every time wolf whoo he dies. R: Where do we play this? S: The bunny rabbit hops right. It's called hompy-dompy-toppy. That's what the game is. R: Where are we playing this? 70. S: [<i>In sing song voice</i>] Once upon a time a bunny rabbit came and then the alligator came (slithers) and went like that (fell over) and he died [<i>S smiles whenever an animal dies</i>] so the other one (monkey) came and he said hou hou he died. And the bunny rabbit was hopping so low he didn't want to die. R: That's right when he hops really high he dies. S: Whenever he (bunny) dies he goes like that (lying down). R: Who? S: The the this one. R: The bunny. Is he still alive? Cause he was jumping low. S: He was jumping high. R: So he died so he's just lying there.	69. S loudly announces that she is a bunny rabbit (puppet) which hops. S indicates that whenever a crocodile puppet slithers, he dies. S indicates that every time the monkey makes "hou hou" he dies. In response to R's inquiry about the bunny, S explains that every time the bunny hops "so high" he dies. Whenever the king says something he dies, every time the bear growls he dies, and every time the wolf makes "whoo" (howls) he dies. S calls the game "hompy-dompy-toppy". 70. S tells a puppet story in a sing song voice in which a bunny rabbit arrives, an alligator slithers and dies, and a monkey makes the "hou hou" sound and dies. The bunny hops low because it doesn't want to die. After demonstrating what the bunny would look like if he died, S decides that the bunny jumped too high and therefore died.	69. S proposes to play a game in which puppet animals and a king die whenever they engage in habitual movements (an alligator slithers, the bunny hops very high) or make characteristic sounds (a monkey makes "hou hou", a king speaks, a bear growls, a wolf howls). 70. The alligator and the monkey are the first to die as the alligator slithers and the monkey makes "hou hou" sound. Initially, the bunny hops low because he doesn't want to die but then he dies from hopping too high.

S = Child Participant

R = Researcher

71. S: [<i>Calmly</i>] And then the doctor came and picked these dead persons up [<i>S smiles at R</i>]. R: And then what did he do? S: He put them in the hospital. There's the hospital. R: This one died he went hou hou (monkey). This one cause he was slithering around (crocodile). S: You guys are only left. You (R) have to do like I told you. Every time the bear growls he dies. every time king says he dies. every time wolf whoof he dies. R: Growl (bear). They all die. Whoof (wolf). S: Now you bring them to hospital with mine. R: Put them in hospital. All dead. Maybe doctor can do something? S: You're the doctor of yours I'm the doctor of mine. R: They died. 72. S: So you open their mouths and give them medicine. R: We need 2 bottles. Pretend these are the medicine bottles. You put them (medicine bottle) in their mouths. S: [<i>Crocodile loudly says</i>] Yow I want to get out of the hospital. R: He's (crocodile) alive. S: Hey I want to get out of this hospital too. But this one still died (bunny). R: The bunny's still dead. S: The bear died and these 2 were still alive. R: Bear and bunny still dead but the rest are alive and want to get out. S: Still can't get out because they're still sick. [<i>Loudly</i>] I (crocodile) want to get out. 73. S: So they slept a little while like they're supposed to. So they slept cause there was a sleeping bottle. [<i>Sadly</i>] But the bunny died anyway. [<i>In serious tone</i>] You have to give them lots of medicine. To make sure don't die.	71. A doctor comes. picks up the 3 dead animals and puts them in the hospital. Then the bear growls and dies. the king says something and dies. and the wolf howls and dies. These animals and the king are also brought to the hospital. S announces that S and R are the doctors of their respective puppets. 72. The doctors (S and R) open the mouths of the animals and the king and feed them medicine out of a bottle. The crocodile is resuscitated and loudly says "Yow I want to get out of the hospital". Others also express a desire to get out of the hospital. The bear and the bunny are dead whereas the rest of the animals and the person are alive but can't leave the hospital yet because they are still sick. Once again the alligator loudly expresses his desire to get out of the hospital. 73. The animals slept a little as an expected result of having been fed with a "sleeping bottle". Unfortunately "the bunny died anyway". S informs R that (as doctors) they need to give the sick a lot of medicine "to make sure they don't die".	71. When the bear growls. the king says something. and the wolf howls. they all die. S and R are the doctors of their respective puppets and they bring the dead to the hospital. 72. The king and the animals are given medicine by the doctors and all revive with the exception of the bunny and the bear. Recovering animals are impatient to be released from hospital and must remain until they have fully recovered. 73. Having received a sedative medicine. the animals sleep. Unfortunately. even though the bunny was given medicine. he still died.
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74. R: You giving medicine to the bunny. Is it working? S: [<i>Quietly</i>] No. He's alive. [<i>R starts feeding monkey</i>]. Only supposed to give it to him (bear) cause he's still not waking up. [<i>Bunny moves a bit and whimpers a little</i>]. He's (bunny) having a dream. [<i>Quietly</i>] I think he's still alive but he's still having a dream. I think he's (bunny) still dead cause he's not moving anything not even his ears. R: Not this one (bear) either. S: Not this one either. [<i>Concerned and loud</i>] Something's wrong here. [<i>Loudly</i>] Oh we forgot something. The covers. That's why they are dreaming. You have to put them over their mouths so they can breathe. And tomorrow they might be alive. If they don't wake up tomorrow they'll be dead. R: We'll just have to wait for tomorrow. But anyway. 75. S: Then the bear moved his ear. R: Did I see that? S: [<i>Loudly and excitedly</i>] Still moving. R: Is the bunny moving his ear at all? S: No. [<i>Surprised</i>] Still moving! But he's not breathing! But he's breathing in his mouth. Something's wrong here huh! R: Something really wrong. S: The medicine's gone. [<i>Monkey loudly says</i>] I want to get out of here. We have to get you medicine tomorrow then you can get out of here. R: The monkey wants to get out. We don't have any medicine today. S: [<i>Matter-of-factly</i>] We can buy some (medicine) tomorrow or can buy some today.	74. S feeds medicine to the bunny who is now alive but is still not awake. As the bunny moves his head a little and whimpers. S indicates that he is having a dream. S wonders whether the bunny might still be dead because he is no longer moving. In a concerned voice S loudly declares that "something is wrong here". The problem is that the doctors forgot to place (plastic) "covers" over the bear and the bunny's mouths to enable them to breathe. S declares that tomorrow they might be alive. If they don't wake up tomorrow they will be dead. S announces that they have to wait for tomorrow. 75. The bear moves his ear. Initially it seems as if the bunny is not breathing. but then S announces that he is breathing through his mouth. S suddenly declares that there is something wrong here when the medicine is gone. The monkey loudly expresses a desire to leave the hospital and is told that he can leave tomorrow once the doctors get medicine. S indicates that the doctors can buy medicine today or tomorrow.	74. The bunny is administered more medicine but some almost imperceptible movements make it unclear whether he is still dead. S loudly declares that "something is wrong here" when she realizes that the doctors forgot to administer part of the procedure for the resuscitation of the bunny and the bear. 75. When the procedure is completed, the bunny and the bear begin to show signs of life through almost imperceptible movements. But then S announces that "something is wrong here" when she discovers a shortage of medicine. This problem is however resolved when it becomes possible to buy new medicine anytime. A monkey loudly expresses his desire to leave the hospital.
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76. S: But then the bunny moved his ear. [*Giggles happily*] Ha. He's moving his ear.

R: What do you think? You're the doctor. He's not just moving his ear. He's waking up I think?

S: I think he's dreaming. I think this is a medicine bottle for dreaming. That's why they keep on dreaming. Now wake up bunny wake up! [*Bunny whimpers*] Uh uh. He's not waking up!

R: What can we do to wake him up?

S: I don't know.

R: Scream?

S: No. I think I know what I could do.

R: Putting the plastic (bag) over his (bunny's) mouth.

S: I know what I'm doing. I'm giving him air pressure so he can wake up. He's moving. [*Surprised and pleased*] Hey he (bunny) took off the bag! [*Bunny moves, whimpers loudly*] Aaah. [*Happily*] I think he's dreaming.

R: Wake up bunny. We gave you this thing for your air pressure.

S: I think this medicine bottle is a medicine dreamer bottle.

77. S: [*S feeds the bunny medicine in a baby bottle and says*] Hey (bunny) stop eating the medicine bottle. [*S feeds wolf medicine*] Even this guy cause he's thirsty so much. Got to watch out for this one (wolf) cause he has big jaws.

R: So how is everyone doing?

S: Ooo Oooo. Bunny moves.

R: That sounded like he was awake.

S: He's (bunny) awake cause his eyes are open. [*In high pitched voice*] He's awake! [*Bunny moves with great difficulty as he tries to get up*] He's trying to tell us get up. I can't get up.

R: He's lying on his tummy.

S: I think we should (cradle him).

R: You're carrying him. Is that better?

S: He still can't say something.

R: At least he's awake.

76. S cheerfully notes that the bunny is moving his ear, explaining that he was dreaming because of the medicine he received. S tries to awaken the bunny by shouting "Wake up". In a sleepy tone the bunny says "Uh uh" but does not fully awaken. S, initially unsure how to awaken the bunny then gives it air pressure (by placing a plastic bag over his mouth). S expresses surprise and pleasure as the bunny moves and then removes the bag from its mouth. S explains that the bunny was dreaming because of the medicine he received.

76. The bunny's ear moves slightly as he dreams while asleep. S tries to awaken the bunny by shouting but it whimpers and falls back asleep. The bunny is finally awakened when it receives an additional supply of air (pressure).

77. As S feeds the bunny medicine in a baby bottle. S tells it in an annoyed voice to "stop eating the medicine bottle". S carefully feeds medicine to the wolf who has big jaws. When the bunny moves and opens his eyes. S excitedly announces that he is awake. As the bunny lies on its front and moves with great difficulty as he tries to get up he says "I can't get up". S cradles the bunny in her arms. In response to R's inquiry about the bunny. S announces that the bunny still can't speak.

77. When the bunny is revived, he is unable to get up or speak. S cares for the helpless and vulnerable bunny by cradling him in her arms.

78. R: What about this guy (bear)? S: [<i>In quiet, serious solemn voice</i>] He's going to die for a week. R: Not even as lucky as bunny. S: [<i>In serious voice</i>] Bunny's not lucky. [<i>Louder</i>] He's way past yours. [<i>Louder with greater emphasis</i>] He (bunny) will die for 100 days. 100 weeks. Only if we find a little puppy he can lick it (bunny) and probably he'll wake up. I think it's (dog) over there (by the doll house). R: Here's puppy. S: And now he'll lick it. [<i>Pleased</i>] And now it's awake. [<i>Bear and bunny yawn</i>]. 79. R: Hey what's going on? S: [<i>Bunny says in a high pitched voice</i>] Can we still go home? I'm tired. right bear? R: [<i>Bear says</i>] Ya. I want to go home too. I'm sleepy. Can we go home? Eh bunny? S: [<i>Curtly</i>] No. What about the rest of them? [<i>In high pitched voice</i>] They're going home tomorrow. We're not going home tomorrow. [<i>Loudly</i>] We're going home next week! R: What? S: Cause we're (bear and bunny) tired. R: We're going to stay in the hospital? S: Yes. But the rest of them [<i>in high pitched voice</i>] get to go home. R: Really? S: Yup. [<i>In high pitched voice, bunny says to puppy</i>] Cause I wake you up. Puppy. move it. R: He's telling puppy to move it. What about the rest of these guys? S: They're going home.	78. In response to R's query about the bear. S states in a solemn voice that the bear is "going to die for a week". In response to R's comment that the bear is not as lucky as the bunny (who is alive). S loudly emphasizes that the bunny is not lucky as it will die for 100 days. 100 weeks. The only thing that can wake up the bear and the bunny is if they are licked by a little puppy. S finds a puppy who licks them and they awaken. 79. The bunny and the bear are tired and the bunny wants to go home and leave the hospital. Unfortunately they have to stay in the hospital because they are tired. They can go home in a week. The other animals can go home the following day. The animals are awakened and they go home whereas the bunny and the bear stay in the hospital.	78. When R asks about the bear's condition. S announces that the bunny and bear are dead again. although this time their death resembles a deep sleep (as in the fairy tale of Sleeping Beauty) from which they are magically awakened by the lick of a puppy. 79. The bunny and bear express a desire to go home but they are tired and therefore must remain in the hospital for one week. The other animals on the other hand go home the following day.
80. S: Except this guy (monkey) he wants to stay at the hospital. He's (monkey) climbing. [<i>In high pitched voice</i>] Help I'm falling. [<i>Firmly</i>] Now you stay right there. R: He wants to stay in hospital. What about the crocodile? S: The crocodile wants to go home right now but he has to go home tomorrow. But he's eating the blanket. [<i>Loudly</i>] Get that out of his mouth! R: Where is home? What is home? S: I don't know. It's the house over there. I know what could be the home. Get this puppet thing off and that's their home. R: Why does the monkey want to stay in the hospital? S: I don't know. Cause he wants to see the bear and the bunny.	80. A monkey who wants to stay in the hospital to be with the bunny and the bear climbs the walls and falls. The crocodile "wants to go home right now" but can only go home the following day. When S notices the crocodile eating its blanket she orders that it be removed. In response to R's inquiry about a location for a home. S proposes the puppet theatre structure.	80. The crocodile announces that he wants to go home immediately but he must remain in the hospital for one more day.

81. R: The bear and the bunny. are they going home sometime?
S: They're going home next. Um. I don't know. Maybe more weeks.
R: What about the king?
S: [*Firmly*] These guys are going home. Even the king.
R: The king. wolf. crocodile and monkey are going home.
S: Yup.
R: Should I bring them home now?
S: [*Loudly*] Not now. tomorrow!

82. S: You have to rock them asleep til they go to sleep. Then if you put them down they cry. There's yours (the bear). [*Bunny quietly says*] I'm tired of this hospital.
R: [*Whispering*] Dog is sleeping right on the bunny. Rock them asleep. It works. They're asleep. [*Bunny whimpers and his head moves*]. Is he dreaming?
S: No. He's trying to get up.
R: He's trying to get up. That's a good sign.
S: Ya. Now I have to rock him back to sleep. [*Quietly*] Now he's going in the quiet room. [*S strokes the bunny and quietly says*] So he can sleep.

83. S: He's (dog) going home.
R: The dog's going home too. When do we go home?
S: [*Loudly*] Tomorrow! [*Firmly*] You have to fall asleep.
R: Crocodile. wolf. king. monkey and dog are asleep.
S: [*Bunny says*] Is it time to go home now? He was still asleep. he woke up. Now it's tomorrow. [*Excitedly and in high pitched voice*] It's time to go home!! It's time to go home!! [*Loudly*] Not right now! Not right now? 5 o'clock. Oh my god. [*In high pitched voice*] It's past 5 o'clock. [*S tells R to*] Drop them off at home.
R: Let's go home guys. [*Crocodile, wolf, king and monkey go to the puppet theatre*].
S: The bunny sleeps there and so does he (bear) sometimes.
R: So this is tomorrow and so they went home.

81. S is unsure when the bear and the bunny can go home and says "maybe more weeks". S firmly announces that the king. wolf. crocodile and monkey are going home tomorrow.

82. S explains to R that the bunny and the bear need to be rocked until they fall asleep (respectively in S and R's arms) and that they will cry if they are put down. The bunny quietly says that it is "tired of this hospital". In S's arms. the bunny whimpers and his head moves as he tries to get up. S explains that she "has to rock him back to sleep". S strokes the bunny and gently places him in "the quiet room" so that he can sleep.

83. S announces that the dog is also going home. S loudly declares that the other animals will go home tomorrow and firmly tells them to sleep. As the bunny wakes up it is tomorrow and he excitedly exclaims "It's time to go home"! but S decides that it is not time yet. The crocodile. king. wolf and monkey on the other hand are dropped off at home.

81. S expresses uncertainty about when the bear and the bunny can go home stating "maybe more weeks". In contrast. the king. wolf. crocodile and monkey are definitely going home the following day.

82. The bunny and the bear need to be cradled and rocked asleep to prevent them from crying. The bunny is tired of being in the hospital away from home and S comforts him by gently rocking him to sleep and then placing him in a quiet room.

83. The animals who are going home tomorrow are told to go to sleep. Upon awakening the next morning. the bunny expresses great excitement at the prospect of going home. However. when the other animals are released from the hospital. the bunny is firmly told he cannot yet go home.

84. S: No. not them (bunny and bear). Next week. *[Bunny asks]* Is it next week? Not yet. *[Bunny sounds disappointed]* Oh. *[S hugs bunny]*. *[Bunny quietly asks]* Now it's next week? 2 more days. *[Bunny asks]* Now it's next week? 1 day. *[Bunny asks]* Now it's next week? At 5 o'clock. Yay 5 o'clock! *[In high pitched cheerful voice]* Time to go home! Time to go home!

85. R: He (bunny) looks a lot better.
S: *[S smiles]* No he doesn't. I was tricking him. *[Bunny says in whining voice]* I want to go home. I want to go home. *[Firmly and in deep voice]* You've got to stay in bed.
R: So when is next week?
S: *[Loudly]* Next week is four more weeks.
R: You are tricking him. *[S giggles]*.
S: *[Bunny sadly says]* Four more weeks.
R: He (bunny) doesn't sound very happy. Look at that. *[Bunny struggles to move]* He can hardly move.

86. S: *[In annoyed voice bunny says to bear]* Hey stop looking at me.
R: What's happening to this one (bear)?
S: *[Bunny jumps on bear and says in a high pitched voice]* Hey. Time to wake up. Time to wake up.
R: What are you doing?
S: *[In high pitched voice]* It's time to go home. It's time to go home.
R: *[Bear says excitedly]* Yay! It's time to go home. Let's go. Yippee!
S: *[Bunny curtly says]* It's not 5 o'clock.
R: We have to wait until 5 o'clock. Maybe we can play til 5 o'clock. You want to get up?
S: *[Firmly]* No.
R: I won't push you.
S: *[Bunny says in annoyed voice]* Be quiet! I'm trying to sleep. *[Bear snores lightly]*. *[In grouchy high pitched tone of voice bunny says]* Stop snoring! *[When bear stops snoring]* It's too quiet!
R: Boy, you're never happy. *[S smiles broadly]*.
S: *[In high pitched voice]* It's too noisy.

84. The bunny and the bear are told that they will be going home next week. The bunny asks if it is time to go home and is disappointed when he cannot yet leave. S hugs the bunny when he is told that it is "not yet" time for him to go home. Each time the bunny asks if it is time to go home, it gets closer and closer to the promised next week until the time is 5 o'clock that week and the bunny cheerfully exclaims "Time to go home!"

85. In a whining voice the bunny says "I want to go home". Smiling S reveals with amusement that she was tricking the bunny and the bunny is told in a deep voice that he has to stay in bed in the hospital. The previously promised next week becomes four more weeks until the bunny can go home. Sadly the bunny tells himself "four more weeks" and struggles to move.

86. In an annoyed voice, the bunny orders the bear to "stop looking at me". Suddenly the bunny jumps onto the bear and tells him in a high pitched voice that it is time to wake up and go home. The bear excitedly says he is ready to go home. The bunny curtly tells the bear that "it is not 5 o'clock" implying that they can't go home yet but have to wait until that time. The bear suggests that they play until 5 o'clock. The bunny in an annoyed voice orders the bear to be quiet because it is trying to sleep. The bear starts to snore lightly and the bunny in a grouchy voice yells at him to "Stop snoring!" and then yells "It's too quiet!" when the bear is no longer snoring. The bear (R) notes that the bunny is never happy and then the bunny in a high pitched voice says "It's too noisy".

84. The bunny and the bear are told that they will be going home next week. S physically comforts the bunny when he is disappointed that the time to go home has not yet arrived. The anticipation of going home builds for the bunny as the promised time approaches and finally arrives.

85. Pleading, the bunny whines "I want to go home". Smiling S reveals that she deceived the bunny into thinking he would soon be released and orders it to remain in its bed in the hospital for four more weeks. This news proves too much for the bunny and his extreme disappointment and hopelessness are expressed through the sadness in his voice and his lack of energy to move.

86. Then the bunny turns against the bear and orders the bear to stop looking at him. The bunny orders the bear to stop snoring and when he does the bunny complains that it is too quiet and then too noisy. The bunny tells the bear it is time to go home but when the bear expresses excitement at going home, he curtly informs the bear that it is not yet time to go home.

87. S: <i>[Bunny vigorously jumps on bear a few times and says]</i> Ah ah ah ah. Time to wake up! R: I can't do anything to make you happy. S: At 2 o'clock we are going home. Aaah <i>[S sighs]</i>. <i>[In annoyed voice]</i> Stop snoring! Stop! <i>[Bunny vigorously jumps onto bear]</i> I said stop looking at me! <i>[Bear turns away from bunny]</i>. Now. 88. S: Whew! Is it almost 2 o'clock? 1 o'clock. Whew. <i>[Seriously]</i> I want to play. Wake up! <i>[Enthusiastically]</i> I want to play! I want to play! R: You told me to be quiet. Not look at you. Now you ask me to play with you. <i>[Frustrated]</i> What do you want? S: <i>[In high pitched voice]</i> I want to play! And it's 1 o'clock. R: What do you want to play? S: <i>[Bunny in high pitched voice]</i> I want to play hide and go seek. But where can we hide? I'm counting 1.2.3. 4.5.6. Ready or not here I come. Ah bear steps (tracks). Ah I found you. You forgot to wash your paws. Your turn. R: <i>[Bear says]</i> 1.2.3. Where is bunny? <i>[Bear checks under couch and behind S]</i>. S: Oh you're tickling me shoo. No. R: <i>[Quietly]</i> I give up. S: You give up? <i>[In high pitched voice]</i> Hahahah. R: Where were you hiding bunny? S: I'm here. <i>[In high pitched voice]</i> Hahaha. <i>[Bunny jumps onto bear]</i>. R: I had no idea where you were. What else do you want to play? 89. S: We're both it. R: How do we do that? S: Let's find a ghost. <i>[S laughs]</i> Ha ha <i>[In high pitched giggling voice]</i> tricked you. Tricked you. R: You're definitely a tricky bunny. 90. S: Let go of me. I'm sleepy now. R: That bunny is complicated. S: <i>[Firmly and in annoyed voice]</i> Stop sleeping beside me. I'm sleeping right here (next to S). R: You're sleeping far away. Is it 2 o'clock now? S: I said 1 o'clock. Is it 1 o'clock yet? Yup it is. Yay. We can go home? <i>[In high pitched voice]</i> Ya it's 1 o'clock. It's past 1 o'clock. It's 2 o'clock. Let's go home. Come on. R: Yipee. Let's go home.	87. The bunny vigorously jumps on the bear a few times and then tells him to wake up. The bunny announces that they are going home at 2 o'clock. The bunny suddenly yells in an annoyed voice at the bear to "Stop snoring! Stop!" and then vigorously jumps onto the bear and says "I said stop looking at me!" 88. The bunny announces that it is 1 o'clock (almost 2 o'clock) and excitedly repeatedly exclaims "I want to play!" In a high pitched voice the bunny tells the bear that it wants to play hide and go seek. The bunny counts while the bear hides and then he searches for the bear. The bunny finds the bear by following its tracks because the bear had forgotten to wash its paws. The bear counts while the bunny hides. however he searches but then gives up on finding the bunny. Laughing. the bunny comes out of hiding and then jumps onto the bear. 89. The bunny suggests they are both "it" for the next game and tells the bear that they have to find a ghost. In a high pitched voice the bunny laughs while telling the bear "tricked you". 90. The bunny announces he is sleepy and in an annoyed voice tells the bear to stop sleeping next to him. It is 1 o'clock and the bunny and the bear go home.	87. The bunny vigorously and repeatedly jumps on the bear telling him they will be going home soon and ordering him to stop snoring and stop looking at him. 88. The bunny wants to play a game and they hide and seek while waiting to go home. The bunny easily finds the bear. but the bear is unable to find the bunny. much to the bunny's delight. 89. The bunny misleads the bear. this time over a game which does not exist. 90. Then the bunny lies down to rest and orders the bear to stop sleeping next to him. Finally. both the bunny and bear leave the hospital and go home at the promised time.
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Discriminated meaning units in transcript	Discriminated meaning units expressed in text form	Transformed text
85. S: You can have more animals you know. R: How about you? S: Nah. <i>[Giggles]</i> Cause the lions eat the animals. R: Cause the lions eat the other animals. S: How about change animals for these <i>[S replaces zebras with kangaroos]</i>. R: So this one (zebra) got scratched. The mom lion just jumped right over. We thought those fences were really high. Do these guys (kangaroos) hop? S: Ya. R: Hop hop. S: You almost hopped over the fence. R: It's a hot day. Let's just sit in the water. S: Want some more (animals)? R: Sure. Oh. What's this? A giraffe. Has long neck. So kangaroos can jump pretty high. The giraffes have long necks. 86. R: <i>[Adult male lion jumps over fence onto the kangaroo's side]</i> Oh my goodness. How did this guy (lion) get here? What is this. S: <i>[Calmly]</i> A lion. <i>[S smirks]</i>. R: And you're smirking. Do these guys (kangaroos and giraffes) know he's (lion) there? S: No. <i>[S moves lion back to own side]</i>. 87. R: Who is this guy (elephant)? S: Elephant. R: Another elephant here. How do these guys get along with each other? They're all in the same place. S: Well. R: Hey let's get a drink at the water. Boy, it's still hot. Look over on other side. There's a daddy, mommy lion, and 2 baby lions. The giraffes can see really far cause they have long necks. S: Look there's more (animals). R: Who is this? S: A rhinoceros. R: Hello hello. Hi. Ooooh. Another elephant. 3 elephants and one rhino. <i>[S gets rid of one elephant]</i> Two elephants and one rhino. Are these mommies, daddies, and babies? S: They're moms (giraffes and kangaroos). Two babies (elephants). R: What's going to happen? Some sitting in the water. <i>[Sand falls on the animals except for the lions]</i> Oh it's raining. Do they like that? S: No more raining. R: <i>[S grins at R as part of the fence is knocked down]</i> You tell me what's going on. The fence just got knocked down. <i>[Puts fence back in place]</i>.	85. The zebra are replaced by the kangaroos used during both previous play sessions. The kangaroos share their space with giraffes. The lions, on the other hand, do not share space with other animals because they will eat these animals. 86. Unnoticed, an adult male lion jumps over the fence into the kangaroo's domain and then returns to its own side. 87. The kangaroos and giraffes are joined by two elephants and a rhinoceros. The two elephants are babies and the kangaroos and giraffes are mothers. It briefly rains on the aforementioned animals but then ceases. The fence separating them from the lions is knocked down but then quickly put back in place.	85. The zebras are replaced by two kangaroos. They share their territory with a giraffe. The lions on the other hand are alone in their domain because they would eat any animals which entered their territory. 86. Unnoticed, the adult male lion jumps over the fence into the kangaroos' side and then returns to its own side. 87. According to S, the kangaroos and giraffes are mothers and they are joined by two elephant "babies".

88. R: <i>[The adult female lion jumps over fence and attacks an elephant]. [Frightened sounds]</i> Hoo Hoo. What happened? The lion jumped right over and what happened to the elephant? S: Scratched her (elephant). R: Just jumped right over the fence. We've got to watch out. These guys (lions) can jump right over the fence. 89. R: Here comes daddy lion jumping right over. <i>[The adult male lion knocks over two animals]</i>. Who did he knock over, both? S: He (adult male lion) missed. R: He missed. 90. S: Hi guys <i>[lion cubs jump over fence]. [Calmly and friendly]</i> Can we play with you? R: What do they (kangaroos) say? S: Ya. R: Sure you can play with us baby lions. So what shall we play? S: <i>[Calmly]</i> Probably scratch. R: What kind of game is that? S: You scratch people. R: Who scratches people? S: Me. R: You mean you guys (lion cubs) scratch people. S: <i>[In self-evident tone]</i> Of course. R: Do we want to play? S: <i>[Quietly]</i> Ya. R: That sounds like fun. S: Aah Whooo <i>[Scratching sound as lion cubs scratch animals]</i>. R: What kind of game is that? S: <i>[Loudly]</i> It's scratch. R: One giraffe scratched, one kangaroo scratched by babies (lions).	88. The adult female lion jumps over the fence, scratches an elephant and returns to her side. 89. The adult male lion jumps over the fence and almost knocks over two animals but misses. 90. The lion cubs jump over the fence and ask the other animals in a friendly voice if they can play with them. The other animals agree to play with the lion cubs. However, the lion cubs suggest they play a game in which they "scratch" the other animals. S directs the other animals to agree to play this game and a few animals are scratched by the lion cubs.	88. Once again, the adult female lion jumps over the fence and this time she scratches an elephant before returning to her own side. 89. The adult male lion jumps over the fence and tries to knock over one of the animals but misses and returns to his own side. 90. The lion cubs jump over the fence purportedly to play a game with the other animals but instead scratch them before returning to their own side.
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91. R: And the daddy lion flew over the fence. [*The adult male lion knocks over two animals and leaves*]. This fence doesn't seem to be keeping the lions out. [*The adult female lion jumps over the fence, hits an animal and slowly jumps back to her side*].

S: Just hit him.

R: I just got knocked over by a mommy lion who just flew right over the fence. How do these guys feel about the situation? Oh my god, here comes another one. Daddy lion [*The adult male lion bites the giraffe and jumps back over the fence*].

S: [*Smiling S cheerfully says*] He bit his leg.

R: He bit his leg?

S: Yup.

R: This one's pretty injured (giraffe).

And daddy lion bit leg of giraffe.

S: He's (giraffe) out (of the sandbox).

R: What do you mean by out? They're injured/out of here or what?

S: Ya. They're injured.

R: Kangaroo. This one got knocked over. Whoa. What was that anyway? Hey what happened to (giraffe)? I'm starting to get a bit nervous. What is going on? [*Other kangaroo is face to face with the adult male lion*] Whoa. Yikes. What happened? What did daddy lion do to the kangaroo?

S: Nothing. Nothing.

R: Well. I would think that would have scared the kangaroos a little bit. Don't you think. He was looking right at his face. How do little kangaroos feel on their side?

S: [*Abruptly quickly*] OK. You can have. Can I dump all of it? [*Dumps out all animals from the box*].

R: What happened to baby lions and mommy lion? Little kangaroos are watching. Now you can see what you want. [*S places big horse and little horse on kangaroo's side*]. [*Then S places a lion on the kangaroos' side*]. [*Giggling S looks at R*]. You just tell me what's going on. [*Suddenly*] And the lion's gone. [*R sounding confused*] Lions keep appearing and then they're just gone.

91. Suddenly the adult male lion jumps over the fence, knocks over two animals and returns to his own side. Then the adult female lion jumps over the fence, hits an animal and returns to her own side. Then the adult male lion jumps back over the fence, bites the leg of a giraffe and returns to his own side. Suddenly the adult male lion returns to the kangaroos' side, faces a kangaroo and then returns to its own side. In response to R's inquiry, S abruptly indicates that the kangaroos felt fine about this encounter. S adds one large and one small horse to the kangaroos' side. Once again an adult lion appears in the kangaroos' area but then returns to its own side.

91. The adult male lion jumps over the fence, knocks over two animals and returns to his own side. The adult female lion jumps over the fence and hits an animal before returning to her own side. The adult male lion jumps once again over the fence but this time he bites giraffe's leg before returning to his own side. Following this attack, he jumps back over the fence and on two consecutive occasions appears on kangaroos' side but then returns to his own side without harming any animals.

92. R: [<i>Naming what S moves into sandbox</i>] Then little piglet, a chicken, oh a snake, a turtle. A bull with a ring. S: No. Bull is out. This one and this one. [<i>S removes horses, bull and little turtle</i>]. R: The horses are out. The bull is out. Little turtle is out. Who is left? Two kangaroos. Mom, dad, brother, sister? S: They're brother and sister. R: We've got one piglet. Two kangaroos and one piglet. Hi.	92. S adds a piglet, chicken, snake, turtle and bull to the kangaroos' side but then removes most of them keeping only a piglet on their side.	92. S adds some animals to the kangaroo's side but then removes most of them keeping only a piglet on their side.
93. R: [<i>Piglet plays in water</i>] Look at that he's (piglet) rolling around getting cooled off. S: Mud. R: I bet piggy likes that. Look at him go. Cute. [<i>Kangaroo says</i>] Hi. Look at him (piglet) roll. Oh my goodness. He (piglet) just leapt right over the fence. [<i>Kangaroos watch</i>]. S: [<i>Smooths sand. Piglet is covered by the sand</i>]. The lions didn't know that he was there.	93. The piglet playfully rolls in the mud. The piglet jumps over the fence into the lions' side. The piglet then covers itself in sand so well that the lions are unaware of its presence.	93. The piglet is briefly playful as he rolls in the mud. He then takes the risk of entering the lions' territory and hides there under the sand.
94. S: Now I want to play (puppets). R: So piglet's hiding under the sand. S: Once upon a time there was a little um little um wolf and then he saw a friend rabbit. [<i>Calmly</i>] And then he wanted to eat rabbit. [<i>Chewing sound as the wolf eats the rabbit</i>]. [<i>Matter-of-factly</i>] And then he did and then and that's the end. [<i>S sits down on couch</i>] I don't want to play this. [<i>Yawns</i>].	94. S briefly plays with the puppets. A little wolf puppet sees his friend the rabbit. The wolf wants to eat the rabbit and in fact does eat him.	94. A little wolf puppet decides to eat his friend the rabbit and proceeds to devour him.
95. S: [<i>Looking at dollhouse contents</i>] Who put it like that (toilet lying on its side)? R: I always leave it (furniture) a bit like this (messy). [<i>S straightens out bathroom and bedroom furniture</i>]. [<i>S assembles bunkbed. Places ladder</i>].	95. S notices the dollhouse furniture and straightens out the furniture.	95. S notices the dollhouse and straightens out the furniture.
96. S: I want to play with lions in there (sandbox). R: Mommy lion and baby lions. What's mommy lion doing? S: [<i>Quietly in friendly tone</i>] Making a bed (nest in sand). R: She sure is. Nice bed. [<i>S places lion cubs on the bed and their mother lies on top of them</i>]. What is she doing? Lying on top of them (babies). Oh she's going to make her own bed. Kangaroos are watching this from their side of the fence. S: [<i>Makes snoring sounds</i>] Sleeping.	96. S expresses a desire to play with the mother lion and cubs in the sandbox. The mother lion digs a bed in the sand and lies in it with her cubs. She then digs her own bed. The lions are sleeping.	96. The adult female lion takes on a maternal role as she digs a bed in the sand for her cubs and they sleep.

97. R: [<i>Kangaroos say</i>] Hey piggy (on top of fence). How's it going? [<i>Piglet hides under the sand on the lions' side</i>] Where did he go? I don't see him anymore. S: [<i>Whispers</i>] (Piglet) Hiding from lions. [<i>Whispers</i>] Do you (kangaroo) want to hide too? Come on. [<i>Urgency in her voice</i>] Go. R: So the kangaroos are hiding too. Can't see them just like you can't see little piglet. So now little piglet and kangaroos are in the lion's side of the fence. They're covered up. [<i>Snoring sounds</i>] And lions are sleeping. Mommy and baby lions are sleeping. 98. R: [<i>Piglet comes out of hiding, stands in front of the mother lion</i>]. [<i>S giggles</i>] He's cheeky. Now (piglet) hiding back again. [<i>Kangaroos are still hidden under the sand</i>]. 99. S: Hey guys (kangaroos) want to go with baby lions? R: Hey guys. want to go with baby lions? Alright let's do it. Mommy (lion) just growled right at kangaroos. S: Look what we (lions) got to eat (kangaroos). [<i>Throws one kangaroo back into its own territory</i>]. Another one. [<i>Throws the other kangaroo back to its own territory</i>]. No more (kangaroos). R: Mommy lion found us. And here's little piggy. Now we're on our side again. 100. S: [<i>Lion snores</i>]. R: Lions sleeping again. Mommy lion sleeping too. [<i>S moves the kangaroos over to the lions' side</i>]. One kangaroo jumped over. Second kangaroo jumped over and right over the fence right into lion territory. Oh, looks like piggy changed his mind (didn't go over the fence). S: [<i>Adult female lion snarls at the kangaroos and devours them</i>]. R: Yikes. Did she eat him (kangaroo)? S: Yup.	97. Suddenly the piglet comes out of its hiding place in the sand on the lion's side and stands on top of the fence. When the kangaroos ask him how he is doing, he (piglet) once again hides under the sand so that the lions do not see him. The piglet encourages the kangaroos to hide in the sand on the lion's side. The mother lion and cubs are sleeping. 98. The piglet comes out of hiding and S giggles as he briefly stands in front of the sleeping mother lion. The piglet returns to his hiding place under the sand. 99. With S's encouragement, the kangaroos come out of hiding to join the lion cubs. Unfortunately the mother lion awakens, growls at them and threatens to eat them but throws them back on their own side. The piglet joins them on their side. 100. The kangaroos jump over then fence into the lion's territory while they are sleeping. The piglet decided to stay on its own side. Unfortunately the mother lion growls at the kangaroos and eats one of them.	97. While the lions are asleep, the piglet briefly comes out of hiding to encourage the kangaroos to join him and they all hide in the sand on the lions' side. 98. The daring piglet takes the great risk of standing in front of the sleeping dangerous mother lion and then returns to his hiding place. 99. The kangaroos come out of hiding to interact with the lion cubs but the protective mother lion awakens, threatens to eat them and throws them back on their own side. The piglet also returns to the kangaroos' side. 100. When the lions are back to sleep, the kangaroos once again put themselves at great risk by jumping over the fence. However, this time, when the dangerous mother lion awakens she follows through her earlier threat and eats one of them.
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101. S: [<i>Mother lion moves to the piglet's side of the fence</i>] OK. I can go with you. R: What? You, the mommy lion? S: Oh, ya sure. [<i>Gentle and friendly</i>] You can come in our yard. R: Why would you let me, little piglet into your yard? [<i>Moves fences so that R has smaller area</i>]. Can't blame me for being surprised. OK. Sure. I'll go with you guys. S: It's big (the yard of the lions). R: It's a big yard. S: That's kangaroo's (area). R: Our yard shrunk (due to the fences being moved). Look where's piglet. He's in their yard. I wonder what that's like. I wonder if that's so safe. [<i>S gives R more room by moving the fence</i>] What's going on on the lions' side? Now I'm curious. 102. R: [<i>An adult male lion suddenly appears in front of the piglet</i>] Who's this? S: Nobody. [<i>Gets rid of the adult male lion</i>]. R: (Adult male lion) Showed up and almost got piglet but now gone. S: You can have more room [<i>S moves fence slightly</i>]. 103. R: [<i>Kangaroos say</i>] Hello little piglet. What are you doing there? S: [<i>Confidently</i>] She (mother lion) let me stay here forever. 104. R: [<i>Piglet moves to the kangaroos' side and the kangaroos ask him</i>] What's it like? S: It's cool. [<i>Pleased</i>] I can do what I want. R: Really. S: You can go and do what you want. [<i>Proudly</i>] We got a whole pool. R: Really. Boy that sounds good. Do you feel safe over there? S: [<i>Casually, nonchalant</i>] Oh ya. See. Look at our big pool. R: Wow. That's a big pool. S: Bye [<i>Piglet goes back to the lion's side</i>]. R: See you. S: Do you want to play with me? R: Sure. S: What do you want to play? Water fight. R: Piglets and little lions are going to have water fight. They're splashing water at each other. Looks like fun.	101. Unexpectedly, the mother lion is on the piglet's side of the fence and in a friendly tone invites him into her big yard and he accepts. 102. On the lions' side, an adult male lion suddenly appears in front of the piglet S announces that this was "nobody" and quickly removes him from the sandbox. 103. The piglet confidently tells the kangaroos that the mother lion "let me stay here forever". 104. The piglet visits the kangaroos on their side and proudly tells them that it is cool on the lions' side and emphasizes that he can go and do what he wants there. He has access to a big pool. In response to R's inquiry, the piglet casually indicates that he feels safe. The piglet returns to the lions' side and engages in a water fight with the lion cubs.	101. Unexpectedly, the mother lion then jumps over the fence and kindly invites the piglet into her big yard. 102. When the adult male lion appears in front of the piglet, S denies his presence and then removes him from the sandbox. 103. The piglet tells the kangaroos that the mother lion "let me stay here (on her side) forever". 104. The piglet tells the kangaroos that he feels safe living with the mother lion, is comfortable, has the freedom to do what he wants and even has new playmates (lion cubs).
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105. R: [<i>S makes a clearing in the sand for a pool on the kangaroos' side</i>]. What's this? S: A pool. R: Oh good. S: Lots of water. R: [<i>Mother lion slowly goes over the fence and into the kangaroos' pool and back into her territory</i>] She's strong. Jumped right over our border into our pool. S: [<i>Lion proudly says</i>] We have a lot more room than you. R: You sure do. S: We have two trees. R: And a pool. [<i>S moves fence over so the kangaroos can have a bit more space. Then S moves the fence back to original spot</i>]. 106. S: [<i>Mother lion in welcoming tone asks</i>] Do you (kangaroos) want to come over? R: Who is asking? Mommy lion. What are they going to say? S: Ya. [<i>Firmly</i>] Just come on over. R: O.K. Here goes. S: [<i>Piglet says</i>] It's really fun in here eh. R: Ya this is great.	105. S creates a pool on the kangaroos' side. The mother lion views their pool briefly and returns to her own side. She declares that she has a larger pool than the kangaroos and two trees. 106. The mother lion invites the kangaroos over to her side. they accept and enjoy themselves with the piglet.	105. The lions have a larger pool than the kangaroos. 106. The mother lion also invites the kangaroos over to her side and they enjoy themselves with the piglet.
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16. S: On va faire une guerre. Toi (qui a les indiens) tu as moins de bonhommes. Alors tu peux avoir les voitures. Prend tes bonhommes (indiens). [<i>D'un ton ferme</i>] D'abord il faut enlever les animaux. On va choisir après les animaux. Mes soldats. Les soldats on les met là (hors du carré de sable). Prend toutes les voitures ça me dérange même pas si tu en as plus.	16. S tells R there will be a war. S notes that because R has fewer human combatants she can have some cars. S tells R to prepare her Indians for battle. S temporarily removes all the animals and soldiers from the sandbox.	16. S labels the upcoming battle a war. S adds cars to the Indians' side to ensure that there is more of a balance of power between combatants in the war.
17. S: Est ce qu'on peut prendre des bonhommes comme ça (se réfère à un sac de figures humaines)? R: Oui. S: [<i>S tient un petit homme musclé</i>] Lui il a des griffes. Est ce qu'il peut griffer? Est ce que je prends lui (grand homme blanc)? [<i>Replace homme blanc dans la boîte et garde le petit homme musclé</i>]. [<i>En regardant homme musclé portant deux couteaux</i>] Eh j'ai deux couteaux.	17. S notices a small muscular man with clenched fists holding two knives. S states that this man has "claws" and wonders to himself whether he can scratch with those claws. S considers selecting a tall white man but decides not to. S notices that the small muscular man holds two knives.	17. S notices a small muscular man with "claws" (clenched fists) holding two knives.
18. S: Si on (une figure) tombe dans le sable on va même pas se faire mal. On met le sable quelque part. [<i>S enlève tout le sable du carré de sable</i>]. R: Je peux pas le ranger entièrement. [<i>S enlève le sable du milieu du carré de sable</i>] Si quelqu'un tombe maintenant ils vont avoir mal. Mais s'ils tombaient sur le sable ils n'auraient pas mal. [<i>S donne à R une femme portant une robe blanche</i>].	18. S explains that the sand cushions a fall by play figures thereby preventing injury. S therefore removes sand from the middle of the sandbox pushing it to the sides. S assigns R a woman wearing a white robe.	18. The battlefield is prepared by clearing sand from the centre of the sandbox.
19. S: Si tu as un mort tu peux le remplacer. Ceux là comme remplacement. [<i>Amicalement</i>] Tu en veux? Tu peux avoir... [<i>Prend grand indien de R. Retient grand homme blond. R a 4 personnes. S en a 4 aussi</i>]. Il faut mettre les voitures en ligne. Il faut mettre un indien là et là [<i>Eviter qu'ils tirent l'un sur l'autre</i>]. Il tire et holà. R: J'ai mis voitures et avions en ordre. S: Moi j'ai toutes les armées (tous les soldats). R: On va voir.	19. S announces that if a combatant dies he can be replaced by someone else. S chooses the tall white man and a tall Indian figure. There is an equal number of people on either side. S announces that the cars must be lined up. S places the Indians in such a way that they are not pointing their guns at each other. S announces that he has all the soldiers.	19. Preparations for battle continue as S lines up the soldiers and their vehicles opposite the Indians and their cars.
20. S: [<i>S donne presque le grand indien à R, mais le garde</i>] Tu peux prendre le (grand) gorille [<i>Avale bruyamment</i>].	20. S almost gives R the tall Indian but decides to keep it. S swallows hard and instead gives R the big gorilla.	20. S reluctantly assigns R the big gorilla for the Indians' side.
21. S: Moi je suis pas prêt. Tu peux m'aider à les (soldats) placer? R: Où je les place? S: Place les comme tu veux, mais dans ma direction [<i>sinon ils se tirent dessus l'un l'autre</i>]. Il est pas droit (le fusil d'une figure).	21. S requests help from R to line up his soldiers so that they are pointing their guns at the Indians and not at each other.	21. Preparations for battle continue as S lines up the soldiers aiming their guns at the Indians.

22. S: On dirait que j'en ai plus. Tu as un animal (le grand gorille). Alors qu'est ce que je vais prendre? Ahh un (petit) gorille. Je vais prendre lui [<i>Prend grand dinosaure tyr. rex. au lieu du petit gorille</i>]. 23. S: [<i>Bataille entre soldat et indien</i>] Pow pow! [<i>Regarde soldat et remarque</i>] Pas de fusil mais couteaux. Il a un fusil. 24. R: [<i>S fait avancer le grand dinosaure mais ensuite le recule</i>] Ton dinosaure. il s'apprêtait à faire quelque chose. S: Il voulait les attaquer. [<i>D'un ton ferme et énergique</i>] Prends ton gorille. [<i>Dinosaure attaque gorille</i>] Grrr! Ai ya! [<i>S sourit lorsque le dinosaure jette le gorille</i>]. Il (gorille) est pas mort. [<i>Le montre comment il fait tomber gorille</i>]. Gorille est juste recouvert (de sable). R: Félicitations dinosaure. S: Mais tu (gorille) peux ressortir (du sable). Parce que moi (dinosaur) j'ai pas d'armes. R: Mais dents et griffes. 25. S: Choisis remplacement (pour gorille qui est recouvert de sable). [<i>S montre du doigt le grand indien</i>]. R: [<i>R choisit le grand indien</i>]. S: [<i>Le grand indien se bat contre le grand homme blanc. L' indien jette le grand homme blanc</i>]. En plus c'est un indien. Yaaa! R: Eh bien. Bravo! S: [<i>Soudainement S grogne</i>] Grrr. R: Ya il est fâché (grand homme blanc). S: Grrrrr [<i>Grogne</i>]. [<i>L'homme blanc enragé lance violemment le grand indien</i>]. Grrrrr! [<i>Grogne</i>] [<i>L'homme blanc jette violemment l'indien par terre</i>]. [<i>S sourit</i>]. R: Il est fort car il l'a lancé assez loin. S: Quand tu (le grand indien) l'a (grand homme blanc) lancé dans les animaux même pas fait mal parce qu'il avait une armure. Tes remplacements sont pas encore avec les indiens (mais plus tard). 26. S: Prends ton gorille. [<i>S est satisfait quand son char écrase le grand gorille</i>]. R: Oh là là. C'est (char) puissant ça. [<i>S lance du sable du char vers le gorille</i>] C'est des fusils? S: Des petites boules comme ça (de sable). [<i>Gorille renverse le char</i>] Ça fait whoa. Après il peut l'écraser (char).	22. S points out that R has the big gorilla. S initially selects a small gorilla but instead chooses the large tyr. rex. dinosaur. 23. Shots are fired as an Indian and soldier fight. S then notices that the soldier has a knife which he pretends is a gun. 24. The big dinosaur intends to attack but backs away. Then S firmly and energetically tells R to take the big gorilla and growling. the large dinosaur throws the gorilla to the ground and buries him. S assures R that the gorilla can get out of the sand. S indicates that the dinosaur has no weapons. 25. S suggests R select a tall Indian to replace the gorilla in battle. In the fight, the tall Indian throws the tall white man in the air. S expresses some excitement and notes that it's an Indian who did this. The tall white man growls and in retaliation he violently throws the tall Indian in the air and then on the ground. S smiles with satisfaction at this turn of events. S explains that the tall white man has not been hurt when the Indian threw him into the animals because he was wearing an armour. 26. S tells R to take her big gorilla and enjoys using his tank to run over the gorilla. The tank also projects little balls (sand) at the gorilla. The gorilla reacts by knocking over the tank and S notes that he could crush the tank.	22. S decides to choose the large tyrannosaurus rex dinosaur instead of the small gorilla which he briefly considered taking. 23. The battle begins with an Indian and soldier shooting at each other. 24. The large growling dinosaur attacks the big gorilla throwing him to the ground and burying him. 25. In a fight between R's tall Indian and S's tall white man, the Indian throws the white man in the air. Growling, the white man retaliates by violently throwing the Indian and defeating him. S smiles with satisfaction that the white man was victorious and explains that he was protected from injury by the armour he was wearing. 26. A tank runs over the big gorilla and then shoots at it but the gorilla survives and retaliates by overturning the tank.
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27. S: [<i>Un indien contre un soldat</i>] Pow ai. [<i>Ensuite le soldat attaque plusieurs indiens en les frappant l'un après l'autre</i>] Aya Aya! [<i>Fièrément</i>] Lui il est bon hein. R: Il en reste pas trop (d'indiens). S: Aiyai. [<i>Soldat tire sur tous les indiens</i>] Pow pow. R: Les deux (indiens) contre les deux (soldats). Oh les indiens. S: Les indiens sont morts. R: Est ce qu'il y a quelqu'un qui a survécu? S: Oui. Celui là et celui là. R: Trois soldats. S: Maintenant qu'est ce qu'on fait?	27. A soldier initially fights one Indian and then many others, knocking them down one after the other. S proudly declares that this soldier is really good. R notices that few Indians remain. When the lone soldier is joined by others in battle against the Indians. S announces that the Indians are dead and half of the soldiers have survived the battle.	27. A soldier fights a few Indians and defeats them single-handedly. The outcome of the battle is that all of the Indians are dead and half of the soldiers have survived the battle.
28. S: [<i>Enlève sable du milieu du carré de sable</i>]. [<i>Avion militaire</i>] Il en a des missiles. Moi j'en ai des missiles. [<i>S prend char, camions, hélicoptères</i>]. Prends ce que tu veux. [<i>R prend voiture de pompier et voiture de police</i>]. [<i>Bruyamment</i>] Attention. Oya Ya! Pow! Pow! [<i>Avion militaire s'écrase dans l'ambulance</i>]. [<i>L'ambulance est à l'envers</i>] T'es cassé.	28. S removes sand from the middle of the sandbox. S examines the military plane stating that it has missiles. S selects a tank, trucks and helicopters for his side and then tells R to take what she wants. R takes the fire engine and police car. Suddenly the military plane noisily crashes into R's ambulance knocking it over. S notes that the ambulance is broken.	28. S prepares for a new series of battles by selecting vehicles and planes. A military plane crashes into the ambulance, damaging it.
29. S: [<i>Helicoptère tient la voiture de pompier par son échelle</i>]. [<i>Très bruyamment</i>] Pow pow aya. Whoa! R: C'est (échelle) pour les incendies pour monter les maisons mais ça peut être utilisé pour n'importe quoi. S: Tu (voiture de pompier) peux frapper avec échelle (autres véhicules, i.e. char) comme ça [<i>son de fouet</i>]. [<i>S rigole en faisant tourner en rond la voiture de pompier en le tenant par son échelle</i>]. La police, je peux toucher (avec l'échelle) [<i>Voiture de pompier frappe voiture de police avec son échelle</i>]. [<i>Bruyamment</i>] Là je (voiture de pompier) suis énervé. [<i>En grognant</i>] Raaa! [<i>La voiture de pompier jette une voiture en utilisant son échelle</i>] Ya paff!	29. A helicopter grabs the fire engine by its extended ladder. S explains that the fire engine can strike other vehicles with its extended ladder. S laughs as he holds the extended ladder of the fire engine making it go round and round. S strikes the police car with the fire engine's extended ladder. S loudly announces that the fire engine is agitated. Growling, the fire engine uses its extended ladder to catapult a car in the air.	29. Then the fire engine uses its extended ladder to strike a police car and catapult another vehicle in the air.
30. S: [<i>Le dinosaure tient la voiture de pompier par son échelle</i>]/[<i>Très bruyamment en grognant</i>] Raaa! Raaa! [<i>Le dinosaure lance la voiture de pompier en l'air</i>]. R: Le dinosaure a accroché la voiture de pompier par son échelle et l'a lancé.	30. A dinosaur suddenly grabs the fire engine by its extended ladder and growling throws the fire engine in the air.	30. A dinosaur growls and grabs the fire engine's ladder and throws it into the air.
31. S: [<i>Avec fracas, le camion militaire fonce dans voiture jaune</i>]. Whoa! Ya ya ya. [<i>La voiture de police conduit de façon folle et imprudente et s'enfonce dans la voiture jaune</i>].	31. Noisily, a military truck crashes into a yellow car. Then a police car drives wildly and recklessly and also crashes into the same yellow car.	31. A military truck crashes into a car and then a police car driven in a wild and reckless manner also crashes into a car.

32. S: *[R fait voler avion blanc]. Maintenant qu'est ce que je vais prendre? [S prend un avion militaire. Avion blanc de passagers de R se bat contre l'avion militaire de S qui le frappe en l'air. L'avion passager tombe. Les avions résument leur bataille en l'air. Tous les deux tombent].*

33. S: *[D'un ton enthousiaste] On peut jouer aux soldats dans la maison?*

R: Oui.

S: On peut avoir des animaux?

R: Oui. N'importe quoi.

S: Toi tu as un gorille?

R: Si tu veux.

S: Tu veux jouer?

R: Si tu me dis quoi faire.

S: *[D'un ton ferme et d'une voix forte] Tu peux pas aller dans la maison parce que moi je vais dormir.*

R: Le dinosaure dors dans le lit.

S: C'est l'enfant (petit tyr. rex. dinosaure).

Toi tu dors *[Place petit dinosaure dans lit superposé].* Tu peux pas aller là (à côté de l'escalier, car le lit n'est pas à plat). Ça c'est (grand) lit des parents. Quand c'est le jour ils dorment, quand c'est le soir ils se réveillent pour manger.

R: Les dinosaures, ils mangent?

S: Des animaux. *[S explore meubles dans la cuisine]. [Découvre la porte et l'ouvre].*

R: Jour ou nuit?

S: C'est le jour parce qu'ils dorment. Tu (petit dinosaure brontosaurus) peux dormir ici (dans berceau). Maintenant je dois trouver les parents. *[Dans un premier temps, S place un grand dinosaure vert avec une corne sur son nez dans le grand lit]. [S prend un autre grand dinosaure similaire au précédent] Ça ça va être la maman. [En pointant le doigt vers le berceau, S dit] La maman est dans le berceau. [S rigole et fait un grand sourire mais ne place pas la mère dans le berceau]. Hi hi hi. [Place mère dinosaure dans le grand lit avec le père].* Lui, c'est le frère (grand tyr. rex. dinosaure). Ça c'est le bébé, ça c'est la maman. Mais les âges? (grand frère) 8, (petit frère) 4, (bébé) 1, (maman) 16.

R: Papa?

S: T'es qui?

R: On a maman et papa (dans grand lit), grand frère et petit frère (dans lit superposé) et bébé (dans berceau).

S: Maintenant c'est la nuit. Les parents, ils dorment.

32. There is a battle in the air between a passenger plane and a military plane. The military plane crashes into the passenger plane and it falls to the ground. The planes resume their battle in the sky resulting in both planes falling to the ground.

33. S enthusiastically asks to play in the dollhouse with the soldiers and the animals. S suggests R select a gorilla. S places a small tyrannosaurus rex dinosaur (a child) in a bunkbed and says: "I am going to sleep". S points out the large parent's bed. S explains that the dinosaurs sleep during the day and are awake at night so they can eat animals. S places a small brontosaurus dinosaur in a crib to sleep. S opens the door to the house. S places the father (a large green dinosaur with a horn on its nose) in the big bed. S selects another large dinosaur similar in shape to the previous one, labelling it the mother. S expresses amusement as he points to the crib and says the mother is in the crib. Smiling broadly, S laughs aloud and instead places the mother with the father in the big bed. S labels the largest dinosaur, a tyrannosaurus rex, the brother. S indicates that the older brother (the large tyrannosaurus rex) is 8, the younger brother 4, the baby is one year old and the mother is 16 years old. The two brothers sleep in the bunkbed with the older brother on the top bunk.

32. In an airborne battle between a military and a passenger plane, the military plane first crashes into the passenger plane and in the ensuing battle both planes fall to the ground.

33. S intends to play with soldiers and animals in the dollhouse. S sets the scene for a family of dinosaurs to live in the house. The dinosaur family consists of a baby, a little 4 year-old brother, big 8 year-old brother, a mother and a father lying in their respective beds (crib, lower bunk, upper bunk, parent's bed). The family members sleep during the day and awaken at night to hunt animals for food. The eldest brother is represented by the largest dinosaur in the family, a tyrannosaurus rex.

34. S: [<i>Le grand tyr. rex. dinosaure se lève</i>] C'est moi (grand frère). R: Le grand frère. S: Et le petit (frère) [<i>les frères tyrannosaurus rex se lèvent</i>]. C'est le soir. R: Ils se lèvent. S: Toi tu as 5 ans. R: [<i>En rigolant</i>] On descend les escaliers (grand et petit frère). S: Qu'est ce qu'on fait? Maman et papa sont encore endormi. S: Où est la télé? R: On peut utiliser ça. C'est le soir on regarde la télé. S: D'abord ils font à manger. R: On va manger. S: Qu'est ce qu'on mange? [<i>2 frères dinosaures vont à la toilette</i>] On a envie. Tout le monde est réveillé. C'est la nuit. 35. R: C'est des garçons, des filles (les 2 frères dinosaures)? S: Des garçons. [<i>Maman dit tranquillement d'un ton ferme</i>] Alors va chercher des amis va t'en. Maintenant il (grand frère dinosaure tyr. rex) amène des amis (petit brontosaurus dinosaure et petit gorille). [<i>Les place sur un divan pour 2 au salon</i>]. [<i>Deux nouveaux amis sont un petit homme musclé et un petit homme portant une robe de cérémonie blanche</i>]. Où ils vont dormir? [<i>Les place sur un grand divan qu'il place dans la chambre à coucher</i>]. R: Il a l'air confortable. S: Lui c'est l'ami de lui (essaie de clarifier qui est l'ami de qui mais très confus). [<i>S place un grand dinosaure avec des cornes sur sa queue sur un tabouret dans le salon</i>]. Lui (grand dinosaure sur tabouret) il va dormir tout seul en bas. R: Il y a de la place pour tout le monde dans la maison. Pourquoi est ce qu'ils dorment chez les dinosaures?	34. S says: "It's me" as the older brother gets out of bed. The small younger brother who is now 5 years old also gets up because it is night time. With their parents still asleep, the brothers go downstairs, watch some TV, wonder what they should have to eat and then go to the bathroom. It is night-time and soon everyone else in the family wakes up. 35. The mother dinosaur sends her eldest son out of the house to find some friends and with emphasis says "go away". The eldest brother (large tyrannosaurus rex dinosaur) brings home a small brontosaurus dinosaur and a small gorilla and then a small muscular man and a small man wearing a white robe. S expresses some concern about where they will sleep. S provides the small dinosaur and gorilla with a 2 person couch to sleep on in the living room. S places the two small men on a larger couch which S moves into the bedroom. S selects a large dinosaur with horns on its tail and places it on a foot stool which is in the living room. S says this dinosaur will sleep all alone.	34. The eldest brother rises first, followed by his younger brother. The brothers initiate their night-time routine and soon everyone else in the family is awake. 35. The mother dinosaur suggests her eldest son find some friends and he brings home a group of them (a dinosaur, 2 men, and a gorilla) to sleep over.
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36. S: Maintenant les soldats sont venus. Les soldats ils surveillent [<i>S avale fort</i>]. Ils surveillent la maison. [<i>D'un ton très sérieux</i>] Parce que des fois il y a des animaux qui viennent les attaquer. [<i>D'un ton sérieux</i>] Parce que les animaux ils viennent les attaquer. Le (grand) gorille. Raaa! R: C'est lui qui attaque? S: Oui. [<i>Hésitant S dit</i>] Il y en a deux qui sont reveillés (petit homme musclé et petit homme portant une robe de cérémonie blanche). R: Ce sont les seuls deux qui sont reveillés. S: Les indiens aussi ils attaquent. R: Il y a le gorille et les indiens qui attaquent. S: [<i>En se tournant le dos vers R, S dit d'un ton calme et sérieux</i>] Le gorille il attaque toujours. 37. S: Le plus fort c'est (un indien). [<i>Cet indien monte les escaliers</i>]. [<i>Fait son d'alarme</i>] Eh, il y a un indien (remarque qu'il monte les escaliers). Oh oh! Whoa. [<i>L'indien est frappé et tombe des escaliers</i>]. R: Le soldat l'a attrapé (l'indien). 38. S: Le (grand) gorille lui. R: Lui il va attaquer. Attention. S: Raaaa! Il (grand frère dinosaure tyr. rex) est sur le toit. [<i>Bruyamment</i>] Ya! [<i>Bataille du dinosaure contre le gorille</i>]. [<i>Le dinosaure qui était sur le toit saute sur le gorille</i>] Yaa. [<i>Soudainement le dinosaure lance le gorille contre le mur au deuxième étage de la maison</i>]. Boing Ya Ya! Ya ya! Iiya! [<i>S, en me souriant, fait que le gorille soulève et jette violemment le tabouret sur lequel reposait un ami dinosaure</i>]. Pow! R: Ils on vu tout ça? S: Ils ont entendu et ils sont tous (dinosaures) reveillés. Même les parents, même le petit frère. Maintenant c'est lui (grand frère tyr. rex) qui va chercher son ami (grand dinosaure qui vient d'être jetté du tabouret par le gorille). [<i>Le grand frère ramasse son ami qui était par terre et le ramène dans la maison</i>]. S: Oh ya! Ya! Ya! Il va le lancer [<i>Le grand frère dinosaure jette violemment le gorille contre la boîte dure à jeux</i>]. R: Le gorille a été vraiment lancé par le grand frère (dinosaure). S: [<i>Haletant</i>].	36. S places soldiers on the second floor of the house. S swallows hard as he says they "keep watch over the house". In a very serious tone. S says that they do so because sometimes the wild animals come to the house to attack them (the dinosaur family and friends). A big gorilla is one of the attackers. Most of the members of the household are asleep, with the exception of two human friends who are awake. S announces that the Indians also attack the house. S, with his back to R, announces in a calm but serious tone that "the gorilla always attacks". 37. S selects the strongest Indian to go up the stairs alone. A soldier notices him, sounds the alarm announcing that he spotted an Indian, and this Indian is knocked down the stairs. 38. The big gorilla approaches the house growling. The eldest brother (large tyrannosaurus rex) dinosaur jumps onto the big gorilla from the roof and then hurls the gorilla against the wall of the house. The gorilla lifts a stool with a friend dinosaur sitting on it and violently throws it. In response to R's inquiry about whether the others have witnessed this, S indicates that everyone in the household (even the parents and the little brother) has heard the noise and is now awake. The big brother dinosaur gently picks up his dinosaur friend who had been thrown by the gorilla and brings him back to the house. Then the eldest brother dinosaur hurls the gorilla against a hard toy box. S briefly pants following this intense and violent fighting.	36. S is very serious and concerned as he introduces soldiers in the house who provide armed surveillance and protection for the dinosaur family and friends against possible attack by Indians and wild animals, particularly the big gorilla who "always attacks". 37. The strongest Indian enters the house but is noticed by a soldier and knocked down the stairs. 38. When a growling gorilla approaches the house and attacks, the eldest brother alone attacks him repeatedly, thus defending his parents, siblings and friends who were all awakened by the fighting.
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39. S: Il n'y a pas trop d'espace. R: Toute la famille est à côté des soldats (dans la salle de bain). On va devoir finir dans 5 minutes. S: J'aime ça jouer. 40. S: Il faut maintenant que je fasse ça. [Enlève tous les meubles de la chambre à coucher. Place les meubles devant la porte]. Porte ouverte [S ferme la porte]. R: On peut pas entrer par la porte. On a mis tellement de meubles devant la porte. On peut pas entrer. S: Les autres surveillent hein. R: Les autres soldats qu'est ce qu'ils font?	39. The dinosaur family stands next to the soldiers in the crowded bathroom. S notes that there is not much room available in the house. R announces that in 5 minutes the session will end and S says he enjoys playing. 40. S announces that there is something he must do. He removes all of the furniture from the bedroom and stacks it against the main door which he closes. When R notes that no one can enter the house through the door, S reminds R that others are keeping watch.	39. The dinosaur family members stand next to the soldiers in the crowded bathroom. 40. S makes defensive preparations for an impending attack by barricading the main door of the house with furniture and notes that surveillance is in place.
41. S: Tu peux être les indiens et t'as le gorille. R: Rappelle moi. les indiens et le gorille attaquent. Ils passent par la porte ou quoi? S: Tu passes par l'escalier. Lui là (grand gorille) il défonce le mur. Pow. [Bruyamment] Pow! R: Ils sont prêts? [S prend les voitures et le camion militaire et les place au deuxième étage]. Pourquoi est ce qu'ils attaquent la maison? Qu'est ce qu'ils veulent? S: Ils (dinosaures et leurs amis) savaient pas pourquoi ils (gorille et indiens) venaient. R: Ils se préparent.	41. S assigns R the Indians and the big gorilla. Upon R's inquiry, S explains that the Indians will go up the stairs whereas the big gorilla will break down a wall to get into the house. S stations cars and a military truck on the second floor. S indicates that the dinosaurs and their friends are unaware of the reason for the impending attack.	41. S describes in frightening terms how the gorilla intends to break down a wall and the Indians intend to climb the stairs. S fortifies the house further with military vehicles. The dinosaur family and their friends are unaware of the reason for the impending attack.
42. S: [Un indien attaque] Un indien Oh là là oaaa. [Indiens montent les escaliers un à la fois. Soldats et dinosaures poussent indiens hors de la maison]. Il (soldat) l'a envoyé ahh. [Les indiens montent les escaliers]. Aya! [D'un ton ferme] Personne bouge. Personne bouge. Personne tire. Personne bouge. [Tous les indiens et le gorille sont montés au deuxième étage]. Eux (soldats) ils bougeaient pas. [Excité] Ils (soldats et dinosaures) savaient qu'ils (indiens et gorille) étaient là alors ils bougeaient pas. [S sourit].	42. An Indian climbs the stairs and a soldier sounds the alarm announcing that he spotted the Indian. The Indians climb the stairs one at a time but are pushed out of the house by the soldiers and dinosaurs. The Indians once again climb the stairs and when they are on the second floor, they order the soldiers and dinosaurs to freeze and not shoot. With rising excitement S indicates that the soldiers and dinosaurs did not move because they knew the Indians and the big gorilla were there.	42. The first attack by a group of Indians is successfully countered by the soldiers and the dinosaur family as they expel the intruders from the house. The Indians and the big gorilla attack a second time and order the soldiers and dinosaurs to freeze and they comply.
43. R: Personne bouge on vous a. S: [D'un ton de défi] Ah oui! [Un soldat jette les indiens et le gorille des escaliers]. Ou Playa. Ah oui! S: Même le gorille aussi. R: Il reste seulement un gorille et indien. Ils sont tous jeté des escaliers. S: Ah oui! Maintenant ils sont tous partis.	43. R repeats S's order for the soldiers and dinosaurs to freeze and adds "we've got you". In a determined tone, S says "Oh ya" and a single soldier throws the Indians and "even" the gorilla down the stairs. S declares that the attackers are all gone.	43. Determined not to be taken by the Indians and the big gorilla, one soldier single-handedly throws them down the stairs and removes them from the house.

Discriminated meaning units in transcript	Discriminated meaning units expressed in text form	Transformed text
89. S: [<i>S empties house of its furniture</i>] Have to take out all these things. I can make the house pretty. R: So you're taking everything out of the house to make it pretty. S: Fridge goes there. That chair was there. This chair was there. Are these chairs in the right spot? R: It's up to you what the right spot is. S: I'll pretend there's a little mat there. When people come through front door there's a little mat there they can wash their shoes. [<i>Seriously</i>] We don't want our shoes dirty cause the house is clean. This is the bathroom upstairs. It (crib) doesn't rock. This way it does (rock). Where does this bed go? Maybe here. Where can this part of the bed go? This bed they have to take off this pillow every time. And they have a washing machine pretend. You know why? Cause sometimes they're dirty so they have to clean it. R: So they clean the pillows cause they're dirty. S: This messed up if I make it bigger. Want to make it into bunkbed [<i>Puts bunkbed parts together</i>]. There's a stool just in case. Can even put feet on it if you want. Can't put your shoes on the couch or this. Maybe you could. Let's try one of these persons. See if their feet go on. 90. S: Where's the church? Here it is. The church is here. Whenever it's church day. [<i>Loudly</i>] Whenever it's Thursday. [<i>Loudly</i>] Always Thursday. When it's Thursday. When it's always Thursday. When it's always Thursday. That's the. That's the church day. 91. S: Look at the bed's going to be new. [<i>Loudly</i>] Know why? [<i>Enthusiastically</i>] Cause they move to the new house and this is new house and that's the old house (puppet theatre) and somebody is moving into that other house. R: So it's a new house. S: I know. Put that there. It's a good idea. This pillow goes there. [<i>Enthusiastically</i>] That goes to this bed. One pillow for that bed. I can use this pillow for that bed. [<i>Pleased</i>] I can do whatever I want to. I can put the mom and dad pillow like that. Kids don't like their pillow like that. How come it fell down?	89. S removes all the furniture from the house announcing that he intends to make the house pretty. S sets up furniture in the kitchen. S pretends that there is a mat by the front door. Anyone coming into the house can clean their shoes on this mat thereby ensuring that the house remains clean. S sets up furniture in the bathroom and the bedroom. S pretends that there is a washing machine which can clean the bed linen when it is dirty. S sets up furniture in the living room including a stool upon which you can rest your feet. 90. S looks for the church. sets it up and loudly declares that Thursday is the church day. 91. S announces that the bed will be new and enthusiastically explains that this is because the people have moved into a new house (the dollhouse) leaving behind their old house (the puppet theatre) for someone else to move into. S rearranges pillows on various beds and is pleased that he can do what he wants in the playroom.	89. S removes the furniture from the house and rearranges it "to make the house pretty". S tries to keep the house clean by pretending that there is a mat at the entrance where people can wipe their feet and a washing machine which washes dirty bed linen. 90. S looks for the church. sets it up and announces that Thursday is the weekly church day. 91. The dollhouse is a new house for people to move into who have left their old house.

92. S: [<i>S points to the living room</i>] That's the dining room. They're (kids) not allowed in the dining room. Know what room that is? That's the room (dining room) they're not allowed in without their mother or dad. R: That's the room (dining room) they're not allowed in without their mother or dad. How come? S: Cause.	92. S points to the living room and labels it the dining room. S announces that children are not allowed to go into this room without their parents.	92. Children are not allowed to go into the dining room without their parents.
93. S: We have to go to church. Know why? Cause it's church day. It's Thursday.	93. S announces that we have to go to church because it is Thursday which is the church day.	93. S announces that we have to go to church because it is the weekly church day today.
94. S: Hey policeman. Maybe another guy could be policeman. [<i>Notices a man with a hook for an arm</i>] Hey looks like captain. There's a hook. Captain Hook. Looks like captain. I don't think this guy (Captain Hook) should be in this house. R: You don't think so. S: [<i>Seriously</i>] Or else he'll hit everybody. R: Or else he'll hit everybody.	94. S looks for someone to be the policeman. S notices a man with a hook for an arm and calls him Captain Hook. S declares in a serious tone of voice that Captain Hook should not be in the house because "he'll hit everybody".	94. S decides to exclude a man with a hook for an arm from the house because "he'll hit everybody".
95. S: This guy is a policeman I think. Na. I think I'll use this guy (who is not a policeman). Maybe. Ya. I think I'll keep this guy. He's nice. And he lives in this house forever. [<i>Places him in bed</i>] And he sleeps up there. And when the mom tells them to wake up for school time or church day, he does.	95. S selects a man and indicates that he is nice and lives in the house forever. This man sleeps in the bedroom and when the mother tells the children to wake up for school or church, he does.	95. A "nice guy" is introduced into the house who lives there forever.
96. S: And that's the policeman (Playmobil figure wearing a black cap). Waiting for people when they're died [<i>Policeman stands up against the side of the sandbox</i>]. R: He waits for people when they die. What is he doing? S: He waits. The police car or fire truck might come.	96. S indicates that a man wearing a black cap is a policeman. This policeman waits for the police car or fire truck to bring him people who have died.	96. A policeman and two emergency vehicles are available in case someone dies.
97. S: Cross. On the church. We can pretend there's a cross right there. On the roof. Pretend I can see it there and there and there (from three different perspectives).	97. S suggests we pretend there is a cross on the roof of the church which can be seen from various perspectives.	97. S pretends that there is a cross on the roof of the church.
98. S: Here's emergency truck (tank with gun-loaded top) that belongs here (next to the sandbox).	98. S places an emergency truck (a tank with a gun-loaded top) next to the sandbox where it belongs.	98. An emergency vehicle (a tank with a gun-loaded top) is stationed by the sandbox.

99. S: [<i>S flies a plane</i>] Vroom. Vroom. This plane's (military plane) flying upside down. How did he flip over? He (passenger) didn't fall out of the airplane. He's inside the airplane. R: Vroom. He landed (white passenger plane). S: He's in the airplane (military plane). Vroom. R: [<i>Military plane almost lands on the passenger plane</i>] That was close. [<i>Military plane crashes into the ambulance</i>] Did it hit the ambulance? S: Vroom. Whoa. R: What did it do? S: It crashed. That was so fast it knocked down. R: It knocked down police car and fire truck. S: And it pushed that far. Want to do it again? Moved this too. R: Crashed into ambulance and fire truck. S: Everything. Let's try all the trucks. [<i>Enthusiastically</i>] Smash. R: Smashed into all of them. How come it's smashing. S: I don't know why it's smashing. 100. S: Vroom. Vroom. [<i>In the air the planes collide</i>]. R: Little plane hit the big one (in the air). Big one hit the little one. Vroom. Vroom. One of them (white passenger plane) fell. He's back. Whoa [<i>both planes crash into church cross</i>]. S: Fix the cross (which was moved a little when the planes fell on it). Don't put it (cross) too far. Vroom. Vroom. R: Whao (military plane made) nose dive. S: Know how he starts (how military plane takes off). He moves his wheels (lands on couch). R: He picked up speed. [<i>Military plane crashes into cross and church man</i>]. What happened? S: [<i>Smiling</i>] He moved (knocked) the church man down. [<i>Loudly</i>] That was so fast! 101. S: I wish they (people in house) had airplane. Ya they do. This airplane (military plane) belongs to them. R: The people are right next to you if you're wondering where they are.	99. S flies a military plane upside down noting that the passenger didn't fall out of the plane because he was inside the plane. S flies a white passenger plane and lands him. When S flies the military plane this time it almost lands on the passenger plane and then crashes into the ambulance. Then it flies so fast that it crashes into the police car and fire truck knocking them down. Enthusiastically S makes the military plane crash into the ambulance and fire truck and then all the trucks. In response to R's inquiry, S announces that he does not know why the plane is crashing into various vehicles. 100. S flies both planes and they repeatedly collide with each other. The white passenger plane falls initially and then both planes crash into each other in the air and then crash into the church cross. S moves the cross back to its original spot. The military plane makes a nose dive. S then demonstrates how this plane takes off by moving its wheels and picking up speed. Suddenly this plane crashes into the cross and a church man. Smiling, S loudly announces that the plane was flying so fast that it knocked down the church man. 101. S wishes that the people in the house had an airplane and provides them with the military plane which belongs to them.	99. A military and a passenger plane fly uneventfully. The military plane soon becomes destructive when it gains speed, loses control and crashes into three emergency vehicles (an ambulance, the police car and the fire engine). 100. Both planes repeatedly collide with each other and then crash into the church cross damaging it. S fixes the cross and subsequently demonstrates the control and speed of the military plane as it takes off and does a nose dive while flying. However, it soon flies destructively as it goes too fast and loses control crashing into the church and knocking over the nearby church man. 101. A plane (military) is parked in front of the house which belongs to household members.
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102. S: [<i>S places a boy on the toilet</i>] [<i>Giggling</i>] Hey look at this one. He is farting. [<i>Cheerfully</i>] When they're sitting down they're pooing. [<i>S pulls bunkbed parts apart</i>] It's tricky. That bed goes there. R: One person in bed and one person in the other part of bunkbed. Are they kids or grownups in the beds? S: They're grownups. They're not babies. Sleeps with the big brother. They have lots of kids. They have sisters. Kids. R: I see a brother and a sister. S: And one other brother. R: And another brother. There's two kids in each bed. S: Dump bag (to see what people are available). So much people. Babies. Check this bag. [<i>Excitedly</i>] Look at all these people. Look at all these people. There's the ladder. Under the beds just in case they need it. Just in case they make a bunkbed. Where can this girl sleep? No this girl sleeps there. R: She sleeps on the smaller couch. 103. S: There's two babies. Find some more. There's another little tiny (baby). There's another little tiny baby. [<i>Quietly</i>] These ones are little little little. 104. S: You know where the mom is? That's the mom. That's the mom (with the red dress) [<i>S places mother on a couch</i>]. And this is the sister [<i>S places her in the big bed</i>]. R: The mom with the red dress. The sister is upstairs in the big bed. S: [<i>Loudly</i>] This is the dad (<i>grey-haired man is placed in big bed with the sister</i>). R: The sister and the dad are in the big bed. The mom is downstairs on the couch. 105. S: Here's some bottles. Here's some bottles. Pretend I fill this one up in sink. That's juice. I put it in the fridge. Juice for the babies. R: Juice for all the little babies. S: [<i>S feeds baby with bottle</i>] Where's another baby bottle. R: There's only two bottles. You can pretend we have another baby bottle if you want.	102. When S places a boy on the toilet he giggles saying that the boy is farting and cheerfully explains that when he sits down he is pooing. S turns the bunkbed into two separate beds and places grownups in them. S intends for them to have many children. S places two children, brothers and sisters in each bed. Excitedly, S looks through a bag of people noting that there are many people available, including babies. S finds the bunkbed ladder and announces that it will be under one of the beds in case the bunkbed is assembled. S places a girl to rest on a small couch. 103. S finds three "little tiny" babies and places them in the house. 104. S places the mother on a couch. S places a sister in the big bed. S loudly announces the presence of the father (grey-haired man) in the house and places him next to the sister in the big bed. 105. S pretends to fill baby bottles with juice, puts some in the fridge and feeds a baby with the bottle.	102. S places brothers and sisters in beds. 103. S introduces three "little tiny" babies to the house. 104. The mother is on a couch downstairs, whereas the father and a sister share the big bed. 105. S takes on a maternal role as he prepares juice in a bottle for the babies, stores it in the fridge and then feeds some to a baby.
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106. R: [<i>S adds a few people to the big bed</i>] Oh my goodness how many people are in that (big) bed? S: Six. Everybody. R: Do they know each other? S: [<i>Firmly</i>] They all know everybody in this house. R: How come? S: Cause. R: Friends, family? S: Ya. [<i>Cheerfully, pleased</i>] They're a family. R: What a big family. How many people? Ten people piled up in one bed, three in one bed, three in another bed, two in one bed, three on the couch, two on the other couch. 107. S: S: [<i>S places a child on top of the pile of people in the big bed</i>] Little one. Little one. [<i>Smiling</i>] Little little one. R: Little one on top of the big bed. S: He stands. Holy smokes. R: He has to stand up (on top of pile of people in big bed). S: [<i>Loudly</i>] No more beds left. [<i>Loudly</i>] Way too much people! [<i>S explores options of where to place people</i>] Not there. On the table. R: Sleep on the table? S: No. Not on the table. R: Where are they going to sleep then? S: I don't know. Where can all these people sleep? R: You don't have to use all the people. S: [<i>Quietly</i>] I want to. Pretend all the people are up. They're all down the stairs. That's way too much people. R: So they're all up. Wake up. Wake up. Come downstairs. 108. S: All the kids are coming downstairs first. How about all of them sleep down there. R: All the kids sleep downstairs. S: Clean up. I have to take all the stuff out of living room. I'm putting the couches in first. This goes there. This goes there (on couch). This thing goes there. This thing goes there. That goes up here. R: OK. So there's a crib downstairs now, there's two couches. S: And these bottles. Some people sleep upstairs some people don't.	106. According to S, six people share the big bed. In response to R's inquiry, S cheerfully declares that the people in the house are a family. Beds in this house are shared by a minimum of two people to a maximum of ten people (for the big bed). 107. Smiling S places a small child standing on top of the pile of people sharing the big bed. S loudly remarks that there are no more beds available for newcomers because there are "way too much people" in the house. S briefly considers putting people to rest on the table. Even though S doesn't know where people can sleep he does not want to exclude anyone from the house. S notes that everyone is awake and moves them downstairs. 108. S decides that children will sleep downstairs. S clears all of the furniture out of the living room downstairs. S places a crib and two couches downstairs.	106. The house becomes overcrowded as more people are introduced and a minimum of two to a maximum of ten people have to share a bed. Everyone in the crowded house is a family member. 107. When a little child has to share a bed with a large group of people, S recognizes that there are "way too much people" in the house and no additional beds are available for newcomers. However, S refuses to exclude anyone from the house. 108. S makes room by rearranging the downstairs furniture.
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109. S: You know how the babies get in the crib? R: No. S: While their mom and dad are sleeping. They go onto couch, then on the thing (stool) and up into crib. The bottles are in the kitchen on the kitchen table. 110. S: Nobody comes in the door. [<i>Moves couch against the closed door</i>] That's why that's there. This couch is there so they have a soft back. This table can go here. R: There's a dog in the kitchen. S: [<i>Looking at dog</i>] I can bend his knees and let him sit (on the couch). So can this guy sit there. 111. S: Ohoh. That little kid is not going to run away. Cause he run away twice. So he's not allowed running away. away again. You know why? He ran right off the couch. Everyone was sitting down on the couch. And they didn't want anybody sit/anyone lying down or running away. There's a TV right there. This side that side. R: So they don't want anyone running away. So why did the little boy run away again? [<i>S does not respond</i>]. 112. S: Where do all these babies go? And these are all babies. This baby sleeps upstairs. This is the one that doesn't run away. R: He doesn't run away. S: No. Either do these guys. They don't. R: How come? S: Cause. 113. S: [<i>Quietly</i>] They're friends (three babies holding hands) they don't hurt each other. R: Look at that they're holding hands. Three little babies are friends and they're holding hands and they don't run away and they don't hurt each other. S: You know why they have to hold hands all the way up the stairs. Cause they'll fall backwards.	109. S describes how the babies get into the crib when their parents are sleeping. They climb on the couch, then onto a stool and from there into the crib. The baby bottles are on the kitchen table. 110. S places a couch against a closed door and places a table in the living room. 111. A little kid who ran away twice in the past is prevented from running away again and is forbidden to do so. He ran right off the couch instead of sitting on the couch like everyone else. S notes that there is a T.V. in the room. S does not respond to R's inquiry seeking clarification for the little kid's reason for having run away in the past. 112. S wonders where to put babies and places them in various beds. S notes that these babies don't run away. Upon R's inquiry, S provides no reason for why they don't run away. 113. S makes the three babies hold hands and quietly says "they're friends, they don't hurt each other". They hold hands as they go up the stairs so that they don't fall down backwards.	109. When their parents are sleeping the babies are able to climb into their own cribs unassisted. 110. S arranges the living room furniture and places a couch in front of an unused door. 111. S recounts how a child ran away twice with everyone watching television and is now forbidden from doing so again. 112. S announces that the babies don't run away. 113. S makes the three babies hold hands and quietly says that "they're friends, they don't hurt each other". They help each other when they climb the stairs by holding hands thereby ensuring that they don't fall down backwards.
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114. S: They're jumping upside down. We're all hanging on up on the roof. Know why? Cause we'll fall. R: They're hanging onto each other cause they'll fall. S: Pass me the fire truck and put up the ladder. R: The big (ladder) one. the little one? S: The big one. Whoaa! R: Little babies went down the fire truck ladder. S: Whoa [<i>fire engine ladder broke</i>]! R: What were they trying to do? S: Come down. R: The little babies came down. They got down off the roof. Did anyone know they were up there? S: No. R: The three little babies are in the crib downstairs now.	114. S illustrates how the babies can jump upside down while holding hands. The three babies. still holding hands hang off the roof because if they didn't they would fall. S asks R for the fire truck. The fire truck arrives. extends its ladder and even though the fire truck ladder broke. the babies still climb down to the ground and into the crib they share. In response to R's inquiry. S states that no one was aware of the three babies hanging off the roof.	114. Still holding hands. the babies together risk jumping upside down. As a result. they end up dangerously hanging off the roof and continue to hold hands to keep each other from falling. They are rescued by the fire engine and return to their shared crib. Although the house was full of adults and children. no one was aware of their plight.
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APPENDIX H

The situated meaning-structures of the children's play sessions

The situated meaning-structures of Melissa's play sessions

First play session

Melissa (5 years 9 months old) begins her first play session by searching amongst the animal play figures. When she does not find a mother alligator for two small alligators, she pretends that some mothers have died [1] thereby explaining their absence. In the sandbox, a mother turtle engages in the maternal behavior of making a nest for her young. When Melissa finds three piglets, she indicates that unlike other animals, they do have a mother [2]. Melissa finds a mother and a father brontosaurus dinosaur and explains the absence of a smaller dinosaur by saying that they don't have a baby yet. The lions on the other hand have two babies [4]. When the researcher asks her why some of the mothers are dead, Melissa sadly explains that it is "because they didn't want to have any children" [3]. Melissa later indicates that "they (young animals) don't want their mommies sometimes, and they (mothers) die" [5]. Melissa concludes this play segment by affirming that the mothers of the piglets and the lion cubs remain alive because the young are dependent on their mothers and want to be together with them [5]. This play reflects an ambivalent relationship between mothers and their young where they sometimes depend on their mothers and want to be together with them and at other times they need some autonomy from their mothers and don't want them around.

The sandbox is "a dangerous place" for a small horse because it is populated by dinosaurs, lions, alligators, in addition to pigs and a turtle. The environment becomes even more dangerous and threatening for the young horse when Melissa adds snakes [6] which are

poisonous and eat the animals [7]. Melissa soon removes the main threat by introducing rhinoceroses which force the snakes to flee by stepping on them [7]. The three piglets then playfully hide in the sand for a game of hide and seek under their mother's supervision [8].

Melissa then groups animals of the same species together saying that they "have to go together" for their own protection. Dangerous animals such as the elephants and alligators however do not need the protection of others and are therefore free to go wherever they want [9]. The poisonous snakes reappear and Melissa warns that they also eat the eggs in nests [11]. A mother turtle leaves her nest and her eggs are promptly eaten by a snake. When the mother turtle returns, she is saddened by the loss of her eggs [12] but resolutely makes more eggs and decides to stay on these eggs to try and defend them from the threatening snakes [12]. A crocodile threatens to eat dinosaurs' eggs but the father dinosaur vigorously and aggressively defends his eggs by repeatedly jumping onto the crocodile and devouring it, after which the other crocodile flees [14]. Melissa announces that it is time for bed and the animals in the sandbox prepare themselves to sleep. The turtle lies on her nest. Some vulnerable young animals are protected by a few powerful animals of other species. The three piglets lie between a powerful adult lion pair for protection from the threatening snakes [15] and a young donkey is protected by the powerful dinosaurs [16]. A poisonous snake out searching for eggs slithers under the turtle, snatches her eggs and eats them [18]. The mother turtle is helpless and powerless to defend her eggs. Her presence on top of the eggs did not deter a second attack nor did it provide any protection for the eggs. Melissa then announces that not only have the eggs from the mother turtle been eaten, but all of the other animals' eggs have disappeared. Initially, the mothers are saddened because with the loss of their eggs they will have no new children [18]. However, later, Melissa announces that

the turtle would rather not lay eggs and have children because she prefers being alone without having to listen to the stressful yelling and screaming of children which can give their parents headaches [27]. This play once again reflects an ambivalent relationship between mothers and their young where mother animals tend to want to have children, but at times experience them as annoying.

To protect the animals, a “home” is built out of wooden blocks for the snakes with high walls and no doors. When the snakes are buried in this prison-like home, they are angry that they cannot get out to eat children and eggs [19]. Some of the animal mothers fled from the snakes and now that the threatening snakes are imprisoned, they feel safe enough to return to their families [20] and animal family members are reunited [22, 24]. Unexpectedly, Melissa creates an opening in the wall of the snakes’ home and the snakes escape through it, leaving the sandbox and returning to their own home without incident [25].

In the sandbox, beds are constructed out of wooden blocks for the animal “children” (young animals) and their families (i.e. donkeys, cows, kangaroos, elephants, and gorillas). [26] Melissa then introduces a dangerous growling adult lion pair to the sandbox who are the “kings of the children”, controlling the movements of both young and adult animals by watching them and ensuring that none of them leave the scene. Only the kangaroos are out of the lions’ control because they can hop away from them [28]. Soon the lions cease ruling the other animals and instead playfully ski around [29]. Suddenly, a young gorilla repeatedly and vigorously jumps onto its father’s belly. This results in a messy release of milk for the young gorilla and his sibling, which in turn evokes the father’s anger [31]. The young gorillas need their father and demand his care by taking from him what they need through unusual and aggressive methods.

They vigorously and forcefully extract milk from their father (instead of feeding from their mother's breast). The father gorilla is "mad with his children" for taking what they need from him, against his will and in an aggressive manner.

Melissa turns to the dollhouse and gently places three piglets, the "babies" of the house, together in a crib. She then declares that "everybody is going to live in this house" [33] and proceeds to put various wild and farm animals to rest in the house. The house becomes overcrowded with sleeping accommodations including a couch for an elephant, a bunkbed for two cow, a bathtub for two young donkeys, a toilet for a long neck dinosaur and a big bed shared by two rhinos, a turtle and a mother pig [34, 35, 36]. Melissa chooses not to include a father in the pig family saying "there is no daddy" [35]. Upon recognizing that the house is overcrowded, Melissa vigorously removes most of them leaving only the mother pig and the three piglets in the house [37]. Then she adds three human babies to the house [38]. In the morning, the three piglets begin to cry for their mother, setting off the three human babies who also cry. Melissa enacts a maternal role as she feeds the needy human and pig babies with a baby bottle [39]. She briefly explores all of the available human play figures. Once again, she fills the house with them, and subsequently removes most of them, leaving the house inhabited by a human mother and her three babies, a puppy, and a mother pig and her three piglets [40]. Melissa wonders out loud where the human mother can sleep [41]. The puppy gets preferential treatment by Melissa as she puts him to rest in a bed whereas the human mother is relegated to sleeping on the floor. Two piglets indicate that they want to leave the house to get a snack. However, they don't leave the house alone because they are too afraid to go without their mother and she is exhausted and still asleep, and therefore unavailable to take them out [42]. The young piglets are dependent on their

mother for safety when they are outside of the house. They are however frustrated that she is unavailable when they need her to leave the house to get a snack.

While the mothers and their young are sleeping, a big gorilla, two dinosaurs and a kangaroo enter the house and try to get up the stairs but fall down unable to climb them [43]. The mothers and their young are awakened when a bad elephant succeeds in climbing the stairs and prepares to facilitate the other wild animals' access to the second floor bedroom by hanging a string down to the ground which they can climb up [44]. The dog of the house orders the intruding elephant to leave the house and throws him out [45]. When wild animals try to get up to the second floor bedroom seemingly intending to attack the mothers and their young, the dog protects them by expelling the intruder(s) from the house. The puppy locks the doors and the windows of the house to keep the wild animals out of the house [46]. The determined wild animals try again to get into the house, this time piling up furniture outside of the house and climbing on top of it to get to the second floor window. Unfortunately the defensive precautions are incomplete because the dog forgot to close a window, thereby enabling the wild animals to get through it to the second floor bedroom where the mothers and their young are [48]. In a show of strength, the dog single-handedly pushes all of the wild animals out of the house. The dog emerges as a powerful hero and saviour who protects the vulnerable mothers and their young from threatening outside intruders. Melissa ends the play session leaving the house inhabited by the protective dog, the human mother and her three babies, and the mother pig and her three piglets [49].

Second play session

Melissa begins the second play session by putting three piglet "babies", their mother, a

dog, and four wild animals to rest in the house [50, 51]. Soon it is morning and the dog, the pig and the piglets leave the house to play in the sandbox playground [52]. Unfortunately, the piglets leave the sandbox and lose their mother. They look for each other and are soon reunited when the mother pig finds them outside of the sandbox. The mother pig and her piglets return home together [54]. After awhile, the three piglets seek independence and move out of the house on their own even though they don't know where they will sleep. The resourceful piglets create their "own homes" (i.e., nests) by laying blankets and pillows onto the sand [57]. Unfortunately two dinosaurs try to get into the piglets' nests and inadvertently destroy it. The piglets however are resilient and rebuild their nests [58]. The three piglets are then joined by their mother in the sandbox. Melissa places the pigs in a fenced enclosure which is surrounded by trees including a dangerous tree with "a monster coming out of it" (a ghostly tree with a snake-like creature coiled around it) [59]. The mother pig and her piglets are afraid of the dangerous and threatening snake-like creature on the tree because they are vulnerable and it can eat them. The nearby elephants and dinosaurs on the other hand do not fear the snake or find it threatening because they are too big for it to eat [60]. Without incident, the threatening snake moves away and then disappears, freeing the piglets and their mother to leave their enclosure and go elsewhere [61].

Melissa turns to the puppets and sings a rhyming story of a little bear and a bunny. The little bear discovers that there is yelling in "his home" ("they yelled in the air"). A bunny asks why there is yelling in the house ("how come you're in there yelling like a tear [pronounced tair]?") but the little bear replies that he does not know ("I don't know because there's heads on my hair") [63]. When an alligator asks the bear what his problem is, the bear repeats that "there's heads on my hair" and expresses a desire to be rid of the problem ("I don't want that") but

acknowledges that he does not know what to do about it. When a royal couple ask the bear about his problem, the bear repeats his concern about there being “heads on my hair”, once again expresses his desire to be rid of the problem, but receives no help from them (“they do nothing”) [64]. Melissa’s rhyming puppet story reveals that when there is yelling in the little bear’s home, he becomes overwhelmed and is confused because he does not know why there is yelling in his home. He wants to resolve the situation but is helpless to do anything himself and does not get any help from others, including even the most powerful people (a king and a queen).

In a new puppet scene, the bunny cheerfully announces that today is its sixth birthday. In its absence, the bear and the royal couple prepare to surprise the bunny for its birthday by setting up balloons [65]. Upon its return, the bunny is greeted joyously by the others who wish him a happy birthday. The bunny however notices that there are no gifts and there is no cake and rudely leaves the scene [66]. The bunny demands not only special attention from the others but also concrete demonstrations of their affection for him in the form of food and gifts and when he does not get these he becomes rude and rejecting. Even though the bear is frustrated that the preparations to celebrate the bunny’s birthday were made in vain, they try again to surprise the bunny and celebrate its birthday by making a cake and getting presents. The bunny reacts rudely to this renewed attempt to please him and treat him in a special way, expressing annoyance and refusing to participate. The bear is frustrated and disappointed that the bunny twice responded by being overly critical of their efforts and rejecting them [67].

Melissa proposes to play a game in which puppet animals and a king die whenever they engage in habitual movements or make characteristic sounds [69]. The alligator and the monkey are the first to die as the alligator slithers and the monkey makes “hou hou” sounds. Initially the

bunny hops low because he doesn't want to die, but then he dies from hopping too high [70]. When the bear growls, the wolf howls and the king says something, they all die [71]. Although death is unavoidable for all, most deaths, with the notable exception of the bunny and the bear's, are immediately reversible as doctors in the hospital (Melissa and the researcher) try to resuscitate them by giving medicine. Recovering animals are impatient to be released from hospital but must remain until they have fully recovered [72, 75, 80]. There is uncertainty whether the bunny and the bear are dead or alive as doctors make various attempts to revive them [72, 73, 74, 76]. Melissa loudly declares that "something's wrong here" when she realizes that the doctors forgot to administer part of the procedure for the resuscitation of the bunny and the bear [74]. When the procedure is completed, the bunny and the bear begin to show signs of life through almost imperceptible movements. But then Melissa announces again that "something's wrong here" when she discovers a shortage of medicine. This problem is however resolved when it becomes possible to buy new medicine anytime [75]. When the bunny is revived, he is unable to get up or speak. Melissa cares for the helpless and vulnerable bunny by cradling him in her arms [77]. When the researcher asks about the bear's condition, Melissa announces that the bunny and the bear are dead again, although this time their death resembles a deep sleep (as in the fairy-tale of Sleeping Beauty) from which they are magically awakened by the lick of a puppy [78].

The bunny and the bear eagerly anticipate being released from hospital and returning home [79, 83, 84]. However, they must remain in the hospital for an indefinite length of time whereas the other animals are promptly released [79, 81, 83]. Promises made to the bunny and the bear for their return home are repeatedly broken and are delayed without reason [79, 83, 84,

85]. Whenever there is a further delay, the bunny and the bear experience disappointment and sadness and indicate that they want to go home and are tired of being in the hospital [79, 83, 84, 85]. Although at times, Melissa physically comforts the bunny by rocking him to sleep in her arms and hugging him [82, 84], she also deceives him into thinking that he will soon go home. Finally, the bunny whines “I want to go home”. When he is told it will be another four more weeks it proves too much for him and his extreme disappointment and sense of hopelessness are expressed through the sadness in his voice and his lack of energy to move [85].

Then the bunny turns against the bear and begins to treat him rudely, irrationally and in a controlling manner. The bunny orders the bear to stop looking at him and stop snoring [86]. When the bear stops snoring, the bunny complains that it is too quiet. Later, the bunny complains that it is too noisy. The bunny is annoyed with the bear regardless of the bear’s attempts to comply with his orders. The bear is helpless as he tries to please the bunny but can do nothing right. The bunny misleads the bear about going home in the same manner that they had both been previously repeatedly misled. The bunny tells the bear that it is time to go home but when the bear expresses excitement at this news, he curtly informs the bear that it is not yet time to go home [86]. Subsequently, the bunny controls and victimizes the helpless bear by vigorously and repeatedly jumping on him telling him they will be going home soon and ordering him to stop snoring and stop looking at him [87]. The bear is powerless in this relationship as the bunny controls everything ranging from the game they play and its outcome [88] to where the bear can sleep [90]. Finally, both the bunny and the bear go home [91].

Melissa returns to the three piglets in the sandbox and announces that they “don’t need the mommy” [92]. However, the piglets are not independent as other types of authority figures

are responsible for them. The piglets are briefly ruled by a lion and elephants. These “kings of the three little piglets” are soon replaced by two horses who act as substitute parents for the piglets [93]. These substitute parents are supposed to care for and protect the piglets but they prove to be vulnerable themselves and ineffective in protecting them from harm. The mother horse suddenly disappears and the piglets are sad and fear she is caught in a trap. She repeatedly calls the piglets for help but they cannot see or hear her. Fortunately, she succeeds in freeing herself and returns to the piglets [94]. Soon there is another frightening disappearance as bad guys kidnap Rosie the piglet while her siblings and horse parents are sleeping and place her in a trap. The other two piglets are greatly alarmed at Rosie’s disappearance and wake up their parents. The horse parents are distressed by the kidnapping but they succeed in rescuing Rosie and she is relieved at being reunited with them [95]. Despite being cared for by substitute parents, the piglets are vulnerable and feel unsafe in a frightening world in which the disappearance of their mother and the kidnapping of one of them occurs. When a big messenger gorilla noisily approaches them, the piglets are frightened but their horse parents reassure them that he is harmless [96, 97].

Melissa turns to the seemingly empty dollhouse. Lions and a few other animals including a turtle excitedly enter it [98]. However, they soon discover three terrifying human babies sleeping in the house and are so frightened by them that in a panic “everybody falls down” and the lions and other animals flee from the house. One of the babies grabs the turtle preventing it from leaving with the others, but it protests saying “get me out of here” and frees itself, leaving the baby crying [99]. The three babies briefly play alone in the house [100] but are soon joined by their mother, three little sisters and one big sister [101]. When a big gorilla enters the house and makes the second floor move as he walks on it, the previously threatening babies are now

terrified themselves. They say “I’m scared”, fall out of their beds, call for their mother and cry. The mother gently reassures her babies by playing down their fears, telling them “it’s only a gorilla” and he disappears [103]. The babies playfully slide down the stairs. The children expect their mother to make breakfast for them but she is still asleep and therefore unavailable. They must return to bed until she awakens [104]. However, the mother remains unavailable and the maternal responsibility of feeding the children falls upon the eldest daughter who makes breakfast for them [105]. Melissa ends the dollhouse play with everyone going back to sleep and she places a blanket over a baby making him “nice and comfy” [106].

Third play session

Melissa begins the third play session by placing a pig family, this time a mother and father pig and three piglets, together in a big bed in the house [108]. Some wild animals enter the house but do not threaten the pig family. A turtle plays roughly with a crocodile [110], goes for a ride on the back of a dinosaur [111,112] and finally tires itself out chasing its own tail [113]. The crocodile moves into the bathtub to sleep but when the dinosaur pours water onto him, he provokes a physical fight between them [114]. The fighting becomes increasingly more aggressive as the crocodile and the dinosaur viciously retaliate for each attack on one another [115]. Then the aggressive fighting abruptly ceases and Melissa cheerfully announces that “more people want to live in that house” and she adds more wild animals to the house. In order to protect the pig family from potential harm, Melissa excludes gorillas from the house [116] and removes a threatening snake from the house who intends to eat eggs [117]. Finally, a dog who loves the pig family expels all of the wild animals from the house and joins them in their big bed [118, 120]. Soon the piglets and the dog prepare to leave the house wanting to play together

outside. The father pig disapproves and orders them to return and the dog quickly leads them back up the stairs [121]. The piglets suddenly express a hatred for (human) babies and when babies are introduced into the house they promptly expel the pig family from the house. Melissa leaves the dollhouse with the three babies comfortably sleeping alone without parents [122].

She turns to the puppets and selects the bunny, monkey and crocodile for herself and assigns the researcher the bear, the wolf and the king [123]. Melissa expresses love for the bunny puppet who is briefly endangered by the crocodile who growls as he seizes the bunny in his jaws intending to eat it but is spared when the crocodile drops him [124]. Then all of them go to the doctor's. As in the previous play session, the bunny and the bear cannot go home yet, whereas the others soon leave the doctor's and return home [125]. Once again, the bear is powerless in his relationship with the bunny as the bunny controls everything ranging from the game they play and its outcome [126] to where the bear can sleep [129, 130, 131]. The bunny victimizes the helpless bear by repeatedly jumping on him [127, 128, 130]. As the bunny takes over increasingly more space for his room and aggressively defends this private space, the powerless bear is relegated to sleeping on a dirty floor and is finally forced to sleep elsewhere because the bunny complains that his snoring annoys him [129, 130, 131]. The bear now has nowhere to sleep and tries a neighbouring house where a wolf lives. However, on two occasions when he enters this house, the wolf rudely orders him to "get out of this house" [132]. When the bear laments his homeless situation, the bunny takes pity on him and becomes helpful. When the bunny tells the neighbour that she has "nowhere to sleep", the wolf gives her a room. Then the bunny asks if the bear can also stay in the house and the wolf permits him to stay "for a little while" [133]. Unfortunately, the wolf also becomes annoyed with the bear's snoring and expels

him from the house [134]. Finally, the bunny and the bear find a dark room in another house where no one can hear the bear snoring [135].

Melissa then enacts a modified version of the well-known fairy tale of Goldilocks and the Three Bears with the bunny puppet as Goldilocks and the bear puppet as one of the three bears [137]. Goldilocks goes into the bears' empty house and tries out each of the bears' porridges, beds and chairs. In the process, she breaks a chair, eats porridge and sleeps in one of the beds. When the bears return they notice the missing porridge, the damaged chair and discover a girl (played by the bunny) in one of the beds [138]. When Goldilocks is discovered by the bears, she is afraid and wants to run away from them. In the fairy tale the bears do not threaten the frightened girl and she escapes easily. In Melissa's version, the bears catch Goldilocks (played by the bunny) and she is terrified by them. They intend to eat her for dinner but she escapes. She is soon caught again and finally thrown out of the house [139]. In Melissa's version of the fairy tale, the intruding girl is terrified when the bears prevent her from escaping and threaten to eat her, and finally she is thrown out of the house.

There is a rumbling sound overhead in the shelter and then Melissa turns to the sandbox and slowly buries three piglets, a turtle, a crocodile and a long necked dinosaur in the sand until the sandbox appears to be empty [140, 141]. Silently she uncovers them all with the exception of one piglet which remains buried. Melissa wonders out loud "where is the piglet?" and looks for him. When the missing piglet calls for help saying "let me out", she is pleased to find him. When another piglet disappears in the sand, Melissa again wonders "where is the piglet?" and soon finds him [142]. One after another two piglets disappear in the sand and once again Melissa wonders out loud "where is he" but this time she leaves them buried [143].

At the close of the session, Melissa fills a large clearing in the sandbox with various wild animals [142] and then announces that “something weird is happening”. The animals gradually disappear as they are individually removed from the sandbox, then they are dumped back into the sandbox and finally other animals and soldiers from the toy boxes are randomly added to them [143]. Indian hunters appear and without provocation they easily shoot and kill all of the numerous animals in the sandbox one by one, regardless of their size [144] as well as the soldiers [145]. Death is inevitable for everyone, even those who try to escape or hide from the dangerous Indians. Melissa ends her play session with a lone piglet who appears confused as he stands in the path of a police car, jumps on top of a fire truck and then is covered by snow which he oddly experiences as being warm [147].

The situated meaning-structures of Jennifer’s play sessions

First play session

Jennifer (6 years 10 months old) begins her first play session by setting up the furniture in the dollhouse and selecting a baby [1]. She promptly attends to the basic needs of the baby as it cries alone in the dollhouse. She enacts a maternal role as she feeds the baby with a bottle, places it in a crib and covers it with a blanket [2]. Jennifer removes the baby from the house and selects two young girls who she refers to as babies [3]. She looks for their parents, finds a father and places him in the big bed in the house [4]. She selects a mother and another daughter [5] and then removes the father from the house in a gentle yet decisive manner saying “get that daddy out”[7]. Jennifer refers on four occasions to young girls as babies in her play, suggesting their dependency and neediness [3, 5, 8, 9]. The mother invites her three daughters to come into the house and their father follows but is kept at a distance from his family on the couch [8]. The mother gently puts

her three daughters to bed. Unexpectedly, Jennifer places the parents together in a double bed. She smiles and snores briefly as the united family sleeps in the house [9]. In this dollhouse play, initially the parents are apart, then they share the house but the father is kept at a distance from his family and finally Jennifer brings the parents together to share a bed. Jennifer concludes her dollhouse play with a positive ending in which the family is united.

Jennifer turns to puppet play and enacts brief scenes of friendship. In the first scene, a little wolf sees his friend crocodile and wants to join him [11]. In the next scene, a little bunny rabbit looks for his friend the monkey and when the monkey excitedly announces “here I am”, they are happily reunited and return home together [12].

Jennifer moves to the sandbox and populates it with dinosaurs. She adds a few dangerous and threatening snakes which she admits to hating and fearing and then abruptly leaves the scene to take a short break [13]. Upon her return, she creates a new scene in the sandbox which she calls an Indian world. She positions armed male Indians in a circle ready to shoot and fight each other [14]. When Jennifer places Pocahontas, an Indian girl, in the middle of this circle of Indians, she appears to be in danger as she is surrounded by armed men pointing their guns at her. However, the apparently dangerous situation is avoided as Jennifer transforms the threatening warriors into harmless family members who are entertained by the Indian girl who is “just dancing” amidst them [15]. A peaceful and positive atmosphere further prevails when Pocahontas is supported by an Indian chief [16] and the warriors use their weapons for hunting snakes to feed themselves [17]. Once again, Jennifer concludes her play with a positive ending, this time by denying a threatening situation and changing it into a positive and peaceful one.

[Jennifer chooses the animated movie heroine Pocahontas as her central character but her version of the story is greatly modified. In the movie, armed white settlers are ready to fight with Indian warriors over land. The

brave Indian girl Pocahontas, daughter of the Indian chief, is a heroic peacemaker as she convinces them to make peace when she places herself at risk by standing in between the waring factions and appeals to their sense of love rather than hate.]

In the sandbox, Jennifer introduces a lion family consisting of a father, mother and two cubs. The lion parents lie close to their babies facing them [19]. The father lion successfully hunts a rhinoceros and feeds it to his family [21]. Here Jennifer enacts a positive family scene in which parents protect their young and the father provides food for the family.

Jennifer adds other wild animals to the sandbox and creates a zoo by grouping those of the same species together and separating animals of different species from one another [22, 24]. When she discovers a threatening and dangerous large snake-like creature with a claw and fangs coiled around a tree with a ghost-like face in it, she emphatically rejects it. Upon the researcher's inquiry, she explains it is an anachonda, a poisonous snake and changes her mind by including it in the zoo as long as it is imprisoned in a large cage for the protection of the other animals [23]. When it escapes from its cage and poses a threat to the lion family and the kangaroos, Jennifer promptly removes it from the sandbox.

Jennifer subsequently removes most of the wild animals leaving only the lion family and two kangaroos in the sandbox [26]. She likes the family of lions and wants to play the roles of "all of them" in play [25]. The lion family and the two kangaroos are separated by a fence which provides the kangaroos with some protection against the dangerous lions. The kangaroos can get over the fence but if they enter the lions' territory they risk being eaten by the lions [27]. Jennifer encourages the kangaroos to take the risk of entering the lions' side but when they do, they are threatened by a snarling lion and quickly return to the safety of their own side unharmed [28]. The fence no longer protects the kangaroos when a snake gets through a gap in it and attacks

them. Jennifer denies that they have been hurt even though the snake “knocked him (kangaroo) out” [30]. When the anachonda appears in the kangaroos’ vicinity it surprisingly does not threaten them [31].

At the end of the session, the lion family is comfortable as they enjoy ample water and shade [32]. Rain falls lightly on the kangaroos which initially feels good but unfortunately turns into torrential rains which drown the kangaroos [33]. Jennifer does not end her first play session with the disastrous drowning death of the kangaroos, but creates a positive ending denying their death, in which they “just came up again” with the rising sun [34].

Second play session

Jennifer begins the second play session by recreating the scene and characters from the previous play session in the sandbox. Once again she animates the lion family and assigns the researcher the two kangaroos [35]. In a serious tone, Jennifer announces that they “have to split up” and she keeps the threatening lions separate from the vulnerable kangaroos by erecting a fence between them [36]. The kangaroos live with other animals such as two young horses and their mother [38, 43]. The lions, on the other hand, are kept apart from other animals “because they kill” [37]. As in the previous session, Jennifer again reveals that those who pose a great threat are isolated from the community for the protection of the others.

Jennifer is pleased with the scene she has created and comments that the lion family lying together in the shade under a tree on a hot day looks “cute” [39, 40, 45]. She likes the lions, particularly the mother and baby lions [42]. The lions hunt for food, catch a piglet and a snake, devour them [44] and return to their resting place under the tree [45]. The lion cubs enjoy being bathed by their mother [47]. Unnoticed by their mother, the cubs jump over the fence to play a

game of hide and seek with the young horses and successfully hide from them on their own side [48]. Unnoticed by their mother, the young horses, invited by the cubs, take the risk of coming over to the cubs' side when the mother lion is asleep, in order to play together. However, the dangerous mother lion awakens and when she calls out to one of her cubs, the young horses flee unnoticed. The young animals talk to each other from behind the fence separating them [49]. Then the young horses, of their own initiative, take the risk of returning to the lions' domain. However this time, when the protective mother lion calls out to her son, she notices the intruders in "the house" (her domain) and attacks them. The lion devours one of them and the other horse flees to his own side [50]. The young horses' risk-taking without the knowledge of their mother leads to deadly consequences. The surviving horse struggles with what to tell its mother about its brother's disappearance. Jennifer directs the young horse to "tell the not truth" rather than the truth. The horse lies to his mother telling her that his brother went over the fence but he didn't and his brother was eaten by a lion. As he deceives his mother, the young horse denies his own involvement and avoids being blamed for the deadly consequences of their risk-taking. The mother horse is sad and angry at the loss of her son [51]. When the supposedly dead brother suddenly returns to his side of the fence alive, the young horse is obliged to tell his mother "the real truth" of his involvement and the risks they both took which led to his brother's presumed death [52].

After a short break, Jennifer turns to the puppets. In a brief puppet play, a bunny accepts a friendly invitation to play from a little wolf. However, the wolf bites the bunny [53]. When the bunny accepts a crocodile's friendly invitation to swim, the crocodile chews on his ears [54]. Here the wolf and the crocodile betray the bunny's trust in them by attacking him when he

accepts their friendly invitations to play with them.

Jennifer begins her dollhouse play with a mother quietly reassuring her two babies (young girls) who call for her in a whining voice saying “momma” [57]. As in the first play session, Jennifer once again refers to the young girls as babies suggesting their dependency on their mother and neediness. Jennifer then decides that the dollhouse family consists of only one girl and her parents. The mother puts her daughter to bed, covers her with a blanket and joins the father in the double bed [59]. Jennifer feeds the young girl with a bottle like a baby [61]. Two girlfriends are invited to sleep over at the house and lie down in the bunkbed [61]. Unexpectedly, Jennifer gently removes the father from the bed he shares with the mother and moves him onto the couch saying “daddy can sleep on the couch” [62]. Although the parents initially sleep together, the father is kept at a distance from his family on the couch. The mother announces that it is time to wake up and sadly tells the girlfriends that it is time for them to leave [65]. The young girl follows a routine to get ready for the day. She goes to the bathroom, flushes the toilet, washes her hands, checks herself in the mirror and is pleased to see that she is clean [66].

The young girl initiates a visit with her mother to a store whose contents include blankets, a puppy and a family of “real lions”. When the mother suggests enthusiastically that they bring the “real lions” home, Jennifer assures that they are good and will not bite [67]. When Jennifer removes the adult male lion from the house, only the mother and her babies (cubs) remain. Without the father’s knowledge, the “real lions” become the mother and daughter’s unusual pets [68]. The mother and daughter take a risk in keeping the secret of the pet lions from the father. The young girl kisses the mother lion and cubs goodnight, climbs into her crib and is rocked to sleep [70]. When the lion mother, cubs, and the girl and her mother are asleep, the father climbs

the stairs to the bedroom. Jennifer looks apprehensive as the father goes up to the bedroom and she expresses concern when he leans over the sleeping lions. Then he moves to his sleeping daughter, leans over her, hesitates briefly and finally kisses her and her mother. The father moves to the sleeping lions, leans over them, hesitates briefly and then unexpectedly kisses them too. Jennifer then denies that there was any attempt by the mother and daughter to keep the secret of the lions from the father by saying that “he knew there were lions” in the house [71]. There is initially great uncertainty and corresponding apprehension and concern over how the father would deal with his family and the pet lions. Jennifer decides to deny there was any secret and chooses the overly positive and unlikely option of having him kiss everyone, including the lions.

Jennifer calmly removes the father from the house and denies his presence saying “there was no daddy” [72]. She unexpectedly also removes the mother from the house and denies her presence as well saying “there was no mommy”. The young girl is therefore on her own without parents in the house and with her pet lions [73]. The girl takes care of the lions, waking and feeding them. She gives them the freedom to do whatever they want in the house [74]. Then Jennifer decides to remove the girl from the house saying “there was only the lions” in the house [75]. The mother lion and her cubs are thrilled that they have the freedom to go anywhere in the house, they take a bath [76] and then the lion babies sleep in the crib and the mother lion in the double bed [77]. Jennifer briefly joins the mother lion and her cubs in a peaceful sleep when she lies down on the floor and snores [78]. The lions awaken, are once again thrilled that they have the freedom to do anything they want and proceed to engage in the typical animal behaviours of peeing on the floor and lying on any surface (i.e. on a table and a couch) [79]. Jennifer concludes this play by providing the mother lion and her cubs with maximum comfort when she puts them

to rest inside a soft bear puppet [80].

Third play session

Jennifer begins the third play session by recreating the sandbox scene from the previous two play sessions. Once again she animates the lion family consisting of an adult pair and cubs but this time she assigns the researcher two zebras which are later replaced by the familiar kangaroos. Jennifer erects a gate (fence) between the lions and the zebras [82]. However, the fence provides no protection from the lions as they easily jump over it. The adult lion pair (particularly the adult female lion) repeatedly terrorize the vulnerable and helpless animals as they aggressively invade their territory and attack them without provocation [84, 86, 88, 89, 91]. The terrorizing begins when the adult female lion threateningly looks through the fence at the zebras, jumps over it frightening them, and attacks one of them scratching it before returning to her own side [84]. The zebras are then replaced by two mother kangaroos who are joined by two mother giraffes and two elephant babies [85, 87]. The dangerous lions are alone in their domain because they eat any animal which enters their territory [85]. The lions who pose a great threat are isolated from the community but they still repeatedly terrorize and victimize the animal mothers and babies. Even the lion cubs attack the other animals. They jump over the fence, purportedly to play a game with them but instead scratch them before returning to their own side [90]. The animal mothers and babies are vulnerable and helpless to prevent invasions into their territory by the lions and attacks on them.

Jennifer adds a piglet to the kangaroos' side [92]. The piglet is briefly playful as he rolls in the mud. He daringly takes the risk of entering into the dangerous lions' territory and hides there under the sand [93]. While the piglet is hiding, Jennifer turns to the puppets and enacts a

brief scene in which a little wolf decides to eat his friend the rabbit and proceeds to devour him, thereby betraying their friendship [94]. She continues her play in the sandbox [95]. The female lion takes on a maternal role as she digs a bed in the sand for her and her cubs and they sleep [96]. While the lions are asleep, the piglet briefly comes out of hiding to encourage the kangaroos to join him and they all hide in the sand on the lions' side [97]. The daring piglet takes the great risk of standing in front of the sleeping dangerous mother lion and then returns to his hiding place [98]. The kangaroos come out of hiding to interact with the lion cubs but the mother lion awakens, threatens to eat the intruders and throws them back on their own side. The piglet also returns to the kangaroos' side [99]. The mother lions' threat is not a deterrent to the kangaroos who once again put themselves at great risk by jumping over the fence. However, this time, when the dangerous mother lion awakens she follows through with her earlier threat and eats one of them [100].

Unexpectedly, the mother lion jumps over the fence and kindly invites the piglet into her big yard [101]. Jennifer removes the adult male lion from the sandbox and denies his presence [102]. The piglet tells the kangaroos that the mother lion "let me stay here (on her side) forever" [103]. He feels safe living with her, is comfortable, has the freedom to do what he wants and even has new playmates (the lion cubs) [104]. The mother lion reveals herself to be welcoming and generous as she takes in the lone piglet, gives him a permanent home, safety, comfort and the freedom to do what he wants. Surprisingly, the mother lion also initiates peaceful relations with the animals she previously terrorized. She invites the kangaroos over to her side and they enjoy themselves with the piglet [106].

After a brief interruption, the large snake-like creature coiled around a ghostly tree

suddenly appears in the lions' domain, grabs the kangaroos and disappears. It returns making ghostly sounds and frightens them back to their own side. This large snake-like creature repeatedly terrifies the vulnerable kangaroos. When it appears on their own side, the kangaroos try to run away from it. [108]. They return to the lions' side and tell the mother lion about their frightening experiences with the snake-like creature. However, with annoyance, she denies the existence of the creature saying "there was nothing" and orders them back to their own side [109]. When the creature reappears on their side and frightens them, the mother lion again denies the existence of the creature [110]. The creature appears on their side a third time and frightens them by making ghostly sounds, but the mother lion once again impatiently denies the existence of the creature [111].

The kangaroos insist that what frightened them looked like a ghost and the mother lion then tells them that it was just a "moon ghost" which comes out at night when they are sleeping [112]. The kangaroos go to sleep and when the creature reappears, they reassure themselves that it is only a moon ghost. However, when it makes ghostly sounds, they are frightened [113]. Jennifer then reveals that the mother lion deceived the kangaroos by minimizing the frightening nature of the snake-like creature when it is in fact the "scariest ghost in the world". When it briefly appears on her side, the mother lion calmly greets the terrifying creature, expressing no fear of it. The kangaroos remain frightened by the creature when it reappears on their side making ghostly sounds [114]. The mother lion does not empathize with the vulnerable kangaroos' feelings of fear because she tends not to believe them, does not express fear herself and minimizes the frightening nature of the creature. The kangaroos therefore receive no validation for their recurring terrorizing experiences from the mother lion nor any comforting or

reassurance.

After a brief interruption, Jennifer returns to the sandbox to play with the kangaroos, the piglet, the mother lion and her cubs. Initially, the mother lion and her cubs are on the kangaroos' side and are welcomed by them and the piglet. The lions move back to their own side and unexpectedly, in predatory fashion, the mother lion jumps over the fence, attacks a kangaroo and devours him [115]. There is soon a return to friendly and peaceful relations between them as the kangaroos and the piglet are repeatedly welcomed into the lions' pool [117, 118, 119]. The session concludes positively with the kangaroos and the piglet moving in with the mother lion and her cubs. With great excitement, the fence between them is removed because they are now united within a shared territory [120].

The situated meaning-structures of Marc's play sessions

First play session

Marc (6 years 11 months old) begins his first play session by placing a large tyrannosaurus rex dinosaur between two armed Indians in the sandbox. He selects a one-armed Indian and announces that the dinosaur has eaten this Indian [1]. The dinosaur then finds himself surrounded by five armed Indians [2], is shot at with missiles [3] and attacked and defeated by a hissing snake [4]. Thus in retaliation for its attack on the one-armed Indian, the large and dangerous dinosaur is rendered powerless and defeated when forces combine to defeat him. The large dinosaur's initial attack on the one-armed Indian triggers a series of revenge attacks when a big gorilla retaliates for the snake's attack on the dinosaur and finally a second snake retaliates for the gorilla's attack on the first snake [5]. Marc turns to a small turtle and a small dinosaur. Without provocation, the small turtle daringly attacks the small dinosaur and defeats it by

throwing it in the air [6] revealing surprising strength and power.

Marc removes all of the animals from the sandbox and places a tank, a plane (military) and two helicopters (military and police) in it [8]. Then he calls for the five armed Indians to gather in a battle against the tank, plane and helicopters. The helicopters shoot at the Indians leaving only one Indian standing. Marc further increases the threat faced by this sole survivor by adding soldiers to the battle. However he soon expresses concern for this lone Indian and brings back the other Indians into battle as well as the animals including the big gorilla and small turtle to serve as their allies [9]. Marc recognizes the extreme vulnerability of this Indian as he alone faces threatening armed vehicles and soldiers and he quickly transforms the situation into one in which this Indian is joined by the other Indians and animals in battle against the soldiers and their vehicles. Then powerful armed soldiers repeatedly order the Indians and the animals to freeze shouting “personne bouge” in their attempt to control them. Marc increases the power of the Indians’ side by adding dinosaurs to it [10].

The battle resumes with a soldiers’ truck twice knocking over the big gorilla (allied with the Indians). The resilient gorilla gets back up every time but when Marc twice vigorously crashes a soldiers’ tank on top of him, he is seemingly defeated [11]. The small turtle from the Indians’ side enters the battle, attacks and defeats a soldier [12], revealing surprising strength and power against this armed opponent. When the researcher asks Marc about the plight of the big gorilla, he lifts the gorilla from the ground and returns him to battle even though he is injured. Then Marc adds snakes to the Indians’ side and declares this side to be the strongest because of its ferocious animals (the big gorilla, snakes and dinosaurs). Marc invites the researcher to play with him and he chooses the soldiers and assigns her the Indians and their animal allies [13].

Marc's soldiers shoot half of the Indians but when they try to shoot the big gorilla with their tank he seems invincible as he overturns the tank and is unaffected by a soldier's gunshots [14].

Marc briefly puts aside the main battle between the soldiers and the Indians and their animal allies. He introduces a small gorilla who challenges the big gorilla to a fight. The small gorilla vigorously and repeatedly kicks the big gorilla overpowering and defeating him. Then the big gorilla is further attacked by a snake as he lies on the ground [15]. This play scene reveals the surprising strength and power of a small gorilla who daringly initiates a fight with a powerful and seemingly invincible big gorilla and actually succeeds in defeating him.

Marc returns to the main battle between the soldiers and the Indians which he now labels a war. He notices that there are a greater number of soldiers on his side than there are Indians on the researcher's side and permits the researcher to have cars on her side [16] to compensate for this power imbalance. He prepares the sandbox to serve as a battlefield by clearing sand from its centre [18] and lines up the soldiers and their vehicles opposite the Indians and their cars [19, 21]. Marc reluctantly assigns the researcher the big gorilla [20] and briefly considers choosing the small gorilla for his side but instead selects the large tyrannosaurus rex dinosaur [22]. The war begins with an Indian and a soldier shooting at each other [23] and then the large growling dinosaur defeats the big gorilla by throwing him to the ground and burying him [24]. Marc assigns the researcher a tall Indian to replace the defeated gorilla and selects a tall white man for himself. In an ensuing fight between them, when the Indian throws the white man in the air, the white man growls with rage and retaliates by violently throwing the Indian and defeating him. Marc smiles with satisfaction that his man is victorious and explains that he was protected from injury by the armour he was wearing [25]. Marc subsequently encourages the researcher to

reintroduce the big gorilla into battle and uses the soldiers' tank to run over him and shoot him. However, this resilient big gorilla survives the attack and retaliates by overturning the tank [26]. Then a soldier fights a few Indians and defeats them. Marc is impressed by this soldiers' ability to single-handedly defeat opponents and declares that he is really good. This soldier is joined by others and together they fight the remaining Indians. At the end, the soldiers are victorious and the Indians are clearly defeated. Whereas all of the Indians are dead, half of the soldiers have survived the battle [27].

In the next play segment, Marc enacts a series of isolated aggressive and destructive acts involving various vehicles and aircraft. First, a military plane noisily crashes into an ambulance overturning and damaging it [28]. Then a fire engine uses its extended ladder to strike a police car, becomes agitated and growling it catapults another vehicle into the air using its ladder [29]. Suddenly a dinosaur growls and grabs the fire engine's ladder and throws it into the air [30]. Noisily, a military truck crashes into a car and then a police car driven in a wild and reckless manner also crashes into a car [31]. Finally, in an airborne battle between a military and a passenger plane, the military plane first crashes into the passenger plane and in the ensuing battle both planes fall to the ground [32]. In this play, aggressive and destructive acts occur indiscriminately as even agents of societal protection such as a fire engine and police car engage in them.

Strongly shifting his emotional tone, Marc enthusiastically turns to dollhouse play and selects members of a dinosaur family to inhabit the house. The dinosaur family consists of a one year-old baby, little 4 year-old brother, big 8 year-old brother, mother and father dinosaur. The eldest brother is represented by the largest dinosaur in the family, a tyrannosaurus rex [33]. The

family members sleep during the day and awaken at night to hunt animals for food. The eldest son brings home a group of friends and they sleep over [35]. Marc places soldiers on the second floor of the house and announces in a serious and concerned voice that they provide surveillance and protection for the family and their friends if they are attacked by Indians and wild animals, particularly the big gorilla who “always attacks” [36]. The family is thus constantly in danger of being attacked by a big gorilla, wild animals and Indians and therefore needs the armed surveillance and protection of soldiers in the house.

The attack begins when a strong Indian enters the house, is noticed by a soldier and promptly knocked down the stairs [37]. The big gorilla approaches the house growling and is spotted by the eldest brother dinosaur from his lookout on the roof. The dinosaur daringly hurls the gorilla repeatedly against the wall of the house. The gorilla reacts violently by throwing one of the brother’s friends out of the house. The eldest brother dinosaur succeeds in bringing this friend back into the house and retaliates by hurling the big gorilla against a hard surface [38]. The eldest brother dinosaur fights and finally defeats the attacking big gorilla on his own thus defending his parents, siblings and friends who are all awakened by the fighting but do not become involved in it. Marc is left panting from having enacted such intense and violent fighting between the threatening big gorilla and the protective eldest brother dinosaur. The large eldest dinosaur becomes the saviour and protector of his family and friends as he removes the main threat to their safety, even if this necessitates engaging in violent actions.

When Marc is told that the play session will soon end, he quickly makes defensive preparations for another attack by the Indians, the big gorilla and the wild animals by barricading the main door of the house with furniture and ensuring that surveillance is in place [40]. The

dinosaur family and their friends are unaware of the reason for the impending attack. In response to the researcher's request for directions on her role in enacting the attack, Marc describes in frightening terms how the Indians intend to climb the stairs and the powerful big gorilla intends to break down a wall to get into the house. He then further fortifies the house by stationing military vehicles on the second floor [41]. The first attack by a group of Indians is successfully countered by the soldiers and the dinosaur family as they expel the intruders from the house. The second time, the big gorilla joins the Indians in entering the house and climbing the stairs. The Indians and the big gorilla order the soldiers and the dinosaur family to freeze saying "personne bouge" and they comply [42]. At this point, the family and their guards, the soldiers, are prisoners in their own home and are under the control of the Indians and the threatening big gorilla. However, one soldier emerges who is determined not to be taken prisoner by the Indians and the big gorilla. He single-handedly throws them down the stairs and removes them from the house [43]. Similar to the eldest brother dinosaur from before, the soldier alone saves the family from the main threat to their safety, their captors.

Second play session

Marc begins the second play session by setting up the furniture in the dollhouse. He wonders aloud what to play and turns to the sandbox. He places some wild animals in the sandbox but when he perceives a threatening volcano in it he quickly removes the animals [45]. Then he chooses soldiers, Indians, a muscular leader and the large tyrannosaurus rex dinosaur and assigns the researcher the wildest animals including the big gorilla and the lion, a whale and a leader wearing a white robe [46]. In the sandbox, the big gorilla and the large tyrannosaurus rex dinosaur, the largest and strongest animals from each side, growl ferociously as they attack each

other [48]. The large dinosaur calls for help from his little brother, a small tyrannosaurus rex dinosaur, in fighting the big gorilla. Then the older brother dinosaur repeatedly jumps on the big gorilla with great force while his younger brother watches him. Once the gorilla is lying on the ground defeated, the younger brother dinosaur becomes involved and further assaults the gorilla [49]. Marc subsequently enacts a series of brief fights between the tyrannosaurus rex dinosaur brothers and a lion and the big gorilla [50], between identical dinosaurs [51], a muscular leader and the big gorilla [52], a whale and a dinosaur [53], a pair of small strong gorillas and a pair of small dinosaurs [54], an equal number of armed men and snakes [56] and the leaders of each side [60]. Marc consistently aligns himself with the winning side in the fights as his combatants succeed in defeating the researcher's well matched opponent(s).

Marc turns to puppet play and in a brief scene, a wild dog and a crocodile do not share a single fish but rather fight over it, knocking their heads together and snatching the fish from each other. Marc introduces another fish and the animals no longer quarrel but eat their respective fish together [61]. In another scene, the dog goes to a fish market where a bear sells fish and pays for a fish by giving the bear a valuable strong animal, the big gorilla. The crocodile notices the dog's fish and the dog tells him how to buy his own fish at the market. The crocodile also pays for a fish by giving the bear a gorilla and the dog and the crocodile eat their respective fish together [62]. Both puppet play scenes have peaceful endings in which each animal has its own fish to eat, thereby eliminating any reason to fight each other.

Marc then turns to the dollhouse and posts soldiers on the second floor, five Indians on the ground floor, and places the large tyrannosaurus rex dinosaur on the roof. He announces in a serious tone that wild animals intend to attack the house [63]. The armed men stationed

throughout the house and the large tyrannosaurus dinosaur on the roof provide surveillance and are prepared to defend the house from attack. A big gorilla initiates attacks on the house along with other wild animals. The first time, the dinosaur sees the gorilla from his lookout on the roof, urgently calls for help but is quickly attacked by him. The dinosaur defends himself by throwing the gorilla into the air and then forcefully onto the ground [64]. When the gorilla returns a second time to attack the house, the dinosaur whistles for reinforcements and a few Indians and wild animals fight. Marc announces that “tout le monde a peur du gorille” [65]. In the face of a renewed attack by the fearsome gorilla, the soldiers and Indians urgently call for help from the dinosaur. However, he is asleep and therefore unavailable to help them. This places the frightened soldiers and the Indians in a vulnerable and desperate situation as the wild animals move to attack them. At the last minute, Marc introduces a saviour in the form of a muscular chief who blocks the animals’ advance and single-handedly forces them to retreat [67].

Third play session

Marc begins the third play session by once again selecting the large tyrannosaurus rex dinosaur for himself and assigning the researcher the big gorilla and the wild animals. He then adds other dinosaurs and snakes to his side [68] and moves them all into the dollhouse [69]. The big gorilla is unexpectedly welcomed into the house by the large dinosaur and the rest of the wild animals peacefully enter the house and join the dinosaurs and snakes on the second floor [70]. However, suddenly everyone falls down the stairs, hurting themselves [71].

Marc empties the dollhouse and then places soldiers on the second floor [76], positions Indians at the top of the stairs aiming their guns down the stairs in case someone comes up [77], places the large tyrannosaurus rex dinosaur alongside them at the top of the stairs [80] and parks

planes and helicopters on the roof [78]. Marc smiles with contentment as he surveys the well-defended the house [78]. The big gorilla and the wild animals are no longer welcome in the house. When the big gorilla and two small gorillas begin climbing the stairs, the large dinosaur attacks them and pushes them down the stairs. The dinosaur subsequently attacks everyone in the house, including the soldiers and Indians, and pushes them down the stairs in order to remove them from the house [81]. The dinosaur fights with the big gorilla and succeeds in throwing him out of the house [82]. The large powerful dinosaur celebrates getting rid of everyone and having the house to himself by joyfully yelling “Yihaa!” while playfully riding on a horse [83].

Marc sets the dollhouse scene anew by putting the large tyrannosaurus rex dinosaur and the big gorilla to sleep on the roof. A tall Indian man and a tall white man share a big bed and function as the parents of two male children who sleep in a bunkbed [86]. In the morning, one male parent suddenly yells “Yaaa!” in a terrifying way at the children who are still in bed. The children scream with fright and jump out of bed. One child falls out of the house and onto the ground while the other knocks over the bed and falls down the stairs. Marc smiles at the situation and laughs as he makes the parents fall down the stairs head first [87]. The children return to their bunkbed and the dinosaur and gorilla sleep in the big bed. A second time, both parents yell “Yaaaa!” in a terrifying way at their children. Once again, the children terrified by their parents respond by screaming with fright and jumping out of bed, this time falling off the second floor along with their bed. Then the big bed on which the dinosaur and the gorilla are sleeping is knocked over, it falls off the second floor, and they fall down the stairs followed by the parents. The situation becomes increasingly chaotic and out of control as Marc pushes all of the furniture on the second floor out of the house saying “everything has fallen down” [88]. The children

return to the second floor and lie on the floor. Unfortunately, their parents reappear and for a third time, they yell “Yaaaa!” at the children terrifying them and making them jump and scream with fear. Then Marc brusquely removes the remaining furniture and the male parents from the house [89]. When the male parents repeatedly yell at their male children in the house, it terrorizes the children and everything in their surroundings (ranging from the furniture to other household inhabitants) becomes increasingly chaotic and out of control leading to disorder and disintegration. Finally, the house is empty and the children end up alone, lying on a cushion on the bedroom floor [90]. Marc scrambles furniture in front of the house and piles it on top of the animals and humans outside of the house. He then turns to the children and notes that they are sleeping [91]. Without their terrorizing parents, the children sleep undisturbed and seem calm and more secure, even though they are alone in the house. In contrast, the world outside which includes their parents is still in a state of disorder and disintegration. The children awaken and take advantage of their freedom by having fun sliding off the roof [92].

Marc then turns to the sandbox where he creates a city scene which includes a hospital, church, prison, school, some houses, trees, cars, and roads [94]. In the city, a fire engine sounding its siren suddenly crashes into houses. A police car arrives on the scene but is knocked over by the fire engine. When the researcher asks who is behind the wheel of the fire engine, Marc responds that a thief stole the fire engine and is driving it. The fire engine with its siren sounding is driven more and more recklessly in the city destroying everything in its path [95]. Marc transforms a fire engine which is typically an agent of societal protection, into a dangerous and destructive force by having it hijacked by a thief. The destructive fire engine seems unstoppable as a few dinosaurs, including the large tyrannosaurus rex dinosaur and the big gorilla

attack it but are thrown off of it. The police car and an ambulance enter the scene and try unsuccessfully to block its path [96, 97]. Finally, the fire engine is stopped by a series of projectiles fired at it from the back of a military truck. The large dinosaur expresses relief that the destruction has stopped and falls over from exhaustion due to the effort he expended in trying to stop it [98].

When Marc is told that the play session will soon end, he briefly makes the big gorilla and the large dinosaur fight [99]. He then introduces his own toy, an armed man who can transform himself into a wolf and vice versa. This man shoots the big gorilla and large dinosaur with real lasers when they approach him and when he transforms himself into a large wolf these powerful animals are afraid of him. As a powerful and fearsome wolf, he hurls a tall white man and the big gorilla into the air [100].

The situated meaning-structures of Daniel's play sessions

First play session

Daniel (4 years 3 months old) begins his first play session by exploring and selecting characters for the dollhouse. He chooses a grey haired man to represent a father and puts him to rest in the big bed in the dollhouse [1]. He intends to place a mother in the big bed with the father but is distracted from selecting a mother when he discovers other available human play figures [2]. Daniel selects two small men, one of which wears a white robe, announces that they “are getting married” and places them together in the top bunk of the bunkbed [3]. He intends to introduce many children, especially babies, into the house. Daniel places two identical boys in the bottom bunk together [4] and introduces an adult male friend who will “sleep over forever” [5]. Daniel again looks for a mother and initially selects an adult blond woman but decides she is

a sister. He finally chooses an adult blond man to represent the mother and places him in the big bed with the father [6]. Then he replaces the grey haired father with a younger man with black hair [7] and the grey haired man becomes a neighbour who lives in the puppet castle next door [8]. With great amusement, Daniel playfully names the father Pumpkin, the mother Yeyekids [7] and the boys Michael and Wendy [9]. There is thus a father, a mother (male play figure) and children in the house but the inhabitants are not limited to a single family and include a couple getting married and a friend who lives with them permanently. The eight inhabitants of the dollhouse are almost exclusively male play figures (with the exception of a sister) including the parents and a married couple.

Daniel announces that the neighbour is a bad guy. He enters the house and without provocation attacks the parents by stepping on them as they lie in bed together. Whereas the mother (male play figure) reacts passively to this attack by falling out of the bed, the father defends himself using force. The children, the adult male friend and the married couple sleeping on the same floor as the parents do not get involved. The father and the tall bad guy repeatedly punch each other and jump onto one another until the father throws the bad guy onto the roof of the house killing him. Quickly another bad guy appears in the form of a small muscular man [10]. However, when the tall bad guy is brought back to life and repeats a similar assault on the parents, the small muscular man unexpectedly takes on the protective role of defending the parents by aggressively fighting their attacker. He knocks the tall bad guy's head back, scratches him and repeatedly jumps down onto him from the roof killing him [11]. When the researcher asks why the tall bad guy repeatedly attacked the parents, Daniel explains that he wanted to provoke a fight. Daniel promptly adds that he himself does not fight because he is "not supposed

to fight". He seeks the researcher's affirmation of this prohibition in asking "It's bad for us to fight, eh?" [13].

Daniel notices two little babies and gently places one in a crib to sleep and the other in a bed with the adult male friend [12]. He announces that the baby and the adult friend never fight and explains that no one wants to fight with babies because they cannot defend themselves due to their small size and their inability to fight back [14]. Daniel explains that whenever a parent leaves the house, the children are supervised by the other parent who stays at home [15]. Loudly announcing that "there'll be lots of people soon", Daniel even adds two little green figures to the house in the form of a witch and a monster-like goblin [16]. Suddenly and dramatically, the house becomes a frightening place when previously helpless little babies are transformed into frightening monsters who can defend themselves and are powerful enough to fight off any intruders into the house [17]. However, following the researcher's inquiry, he soon abandons this idea stating that they no longer are and never will be monsters again [20].

Daniel continues filling the house by introducing a dog [18] and a church man wearing a cross [19]. Even though the house is already overcrowded, Daniel again announces that "we're gonna have lots of people soon". Unfortunately, only unusual resting places are left over for newcomers. A big brother sleeps in the bathtub [21, 23] and later moves to the kitchen sink [26] and a man sleeps on the toilet which is then placed on the roof [29]. Daniel selects three new men, places them outside of the house and decides that they are bad guys [21]. He quickly turns from these bad guys to the good church man in the house and explains that people are given a "ticket" (program) when they come into church [22]. When the day for attending church arrives, a boy happily goes to church alone and gets a ticket. When the boy tells his parents, his father

reprimands him for going too early in the day when it was still dark whereas his mother (still a male figure) does not react to the news, as she is about to fall off the bed again [24]. In Daniel's play, the priest is a good man, the church is a welcoming place for a boy and the church ritual of receiving a program is experienced as important.

Daniel notices a young girl and places her amongst the three bad guys outside the house. He announces that the three bad guys beat her up and sadly adds that she has no hair (despite her brown hair) and "no place to live". This young beaten and homeless victim is pitied and initially permitted to live in the overcrowded house temporarily and soon welcomed to "live there forever" [28]. Initially, she sleeps with a big sister but following a short break, Daniel changes his mind and announces that the young girl now sleeps with a big brother [30]. Whereas the big brother is old enough to have the freedom to go wherever he wants on his own, young children like the victimized girl are not comfortable being on their own and still need their parents and/or an older brother to be present [31]. Daniel enacts the bedtime routine the girl follows including washing her hands, going to the washroom and going to bed and expresses his understanding of gender differences in going to the washroom [32]. Then he turns to the church and enacts the brief but pleasant weekly ritual of a woman going to church and receiving a ticket (program). He adds that they had "a nice time at church" [33].

Daniel returns to the severely overcrowded house in which every bed is shared. Initially he does not find a place for a newly arrived woman to sleep but then suggests that newcomers can sleep on the floor upstairs [34]. When yet another child is introduced to the full house, he must share a bed with three other children [35]. Daniel is distracted by seeing a female priest [36] and excitedly shares that a church bell ringing announces the death of someone and that we say a

prayer for those who have died [37].

Again his attention shifts when he discovers a policeman with a police car. With Daniel enacting siren sounds, the police car drives recklessly backwards leading to destruction as it crashes into a pile of cars [38]. Justice is effected when a small muscular man is jailed for killing other men by punching and scratching them to death. The policeman parks his car in front of the house for protection so that it is available “in case somebody gets killed” and he moves into the house [39]. The policeman sleeps over at the house for only one day because someone else dies necessitating that he move back to the police station [40]. Then a growling big gorilla appears and suddenly jumps onto a blond man [41]. The bad gorilla is consequently put in jail for this attack on a good guy [42]. Daniel declares that the big bad gorilla and the small muscular man are in jail as punishment for their aggressive acts and to prevent them from beating up anyone else [43].

In searching for a place in the house where a new man can sleep, Daniel notices the crib and moves the three babies into the crib. He ominously refers to the babies again as little monsters despite having previously stated that they will never be monsters again [44]. He makes the house “nicer” by rearranging furniture on the ground floor and tries to keep it clean by ensuring that anyone coming into the house has clean feet [45, 46]. When he removes the furniture from the top floor of the house to change the layout, Daniel announces that he is “starting all over”. However, he emphasizes that the church is permanent by saying that it “never moves” and is “always there” [46].

Second play session

Daniel begins the second play session by arranging the furniture in the dollhouse [47].

When he surveys all of the available human play figures, he states that the “house is not big enough for everyone to sleep in it”. He reveals his preference to include everyone in a larger house but since this is not an option, he decides to place as many people as he wants in the house [48]. As he explores the human and animal play figures, Daniel reminds himself that he can do whatever he wants during the play session [50]. He places the church on the floor [51] with the church man next to it and describes the weekly ritual of handing out “tickets” (programs) to those who come to church [53].

Daniel returns to the dollhouse and places a woman to rest in the top bunk of the bunkbed [51]. He then turns to a tall blond man who “fights other people” in the living room of the house and promptly enacts a fight in the house with a tall Indian man. When the researcher remarks that two men are fighting in the house and a woman is lying on the top bunk, Daniel announces that this woman does not get involved in the fight because she is frightened by the two men fighting each other [54]. However, he quickly turns from the fighting men to the church man and explains that as a preacher to his congregation “he tells you everything”. He then introduces children into the house, placing three babies together in a crib and a sister in the bathtub [55].

Turning away from the dollhouse, Daniel discovers a fire engine and explores its features and possible uses in a variety of situations. He calmly announces that there is a hidden fire and the fire engine with its siren sounding, drives around looking for it [57]. Suddenly a monster emerges (represented by Daniel’s hand) throwing blocks on imaginary people thereby trapping them under the blocks [58]. The fire engine starts to rescue the helpless victims by extending its ladder and using it to lift blocks [59]. However, after the first block, Daniel abandons this frightening scene and uses the fire engine ladder to climb the dollhouse roof [60]. Daniel briefly

turns on the fire engine's battery-operated siren and flashing lights. He announces that although there is no fire, there is however an emergency which warrants the introduction of an "emergency car" (a tank with a gun-loaded top). The fire engine and emergency car drive around quickly but the emergency is never specified and the scene is not developed [62]. Finally, he extends the fire engine ladder, reaches it up to the couch in the room and announces that it is used to climb up to a farm (which he sets up on the couch) [63].

Daniel is briefly distracted when he notices an object resembling a cross. He pretends that there is a small cross on top of the church and that Jesus is nailed on this cross. Daniel shares his understanding that people pray for Jesus because he was nailed on the cross [64].

Daniel returns to the farm on the couch and places the soldiers and almost all of the available animals on it [66]. He tries to stand up the animals explaining that this is necessary because of an emergency which warrants the reintroduction of the emergency car (the tank). Once again, the emergency is not specified and the scene is not further developed [67]. Daniel keeps the soldiers separate from the animals. The soldiers avoid fighting the animals because it is "very dangerous" for them. If they fight with the animals, they will be eaten by a big gorilla or punished by him with "time out" [68]. Daniel moves away from this theme and briefly turns to the puppets, makes a rabbit puppet impulsively jump out of a window and abruptly announces "that's what he did and that's the end" [71].

Turning to the sandbox, Daniel stations a police car, an ambulance and a small fire truck next to it along with a policeman to be available in case of a fire. He reminds himself that he can do whatever he wants during the play session and decides to "set up everything" and "play with everything" available to him [72].

Daniel sets up a rudimentary city scene by placing houses and a few buildings, including a hospital, on the floor [73]. Without developing this scene he returns to the farm on the couch where he places the soldiers on top of the pile of animals and encourages the animals to free themselves and get out from under them [74]. Daniel then turns to the dollhouse and intends to place a father, mother and children in it. He selects an adult male figure, which he initially labels the father and then decides is the mother after checking for breasts. This “mother” falls off the bed sometimes and Daniel tries to prevent this by putting her to rest on a particular side of the bed [75]. After having selected only the “mother” of the family, he leaves the dollhouse and returns to the city scene. Here he stations an ambulance, fire truck and police car by the hospital and adds trees. He notices fences and decides that the animals need to be fenced in to prevent them from running away. However, he has difficulties in standing up the fences and moves the animals into the sandbox whose walls act as a fence [76].

Then Daniel notices two “little tiny baby pigs” and a mother pig and expresses a desire to be a real pig or a real gorilla [77]. Without provocation, a dinosaur suddenly attacks the small and vulnerable piglets and their mother by jumping on them. A cow retaliates for this attack on the pigs by jumping onto the dinosaur [78]. Shifting his attention, Daniel announces in a serious tone that the soldiers next to the sandbox are in danger of being attacked by the animals with sharp teeth. When these threatening animals frighten them, some soldiers fall down in a panic as they try to get away from them [80].

Shifting his emotional tone, Daniel announces that he will animate a big gorilla who stands in the corner of the sandbox “in case they (the other animals) need him” [81]. When a mother horse suddenly falls down, it is one of her young which helps her get back up and Daniel

quietly says “the little horse helped the mom” [82]. The big gorilla flips in the air and lands in a box on a table at some distance from the other animals [83]. Then he repeatedly playfully flips in the air and falls into trees [86].

Approaching the end of the session, Daniel announces in a determined voice “I need the dad of the family” and selects a blond man. This father briefly goes to church alone and partakes in the important ritual of receiving and returning the ticket (church program) [87]. Suddenly Daniel makes the fire engine siren sound and he announces that the fire engine will take the soldiers to the hospital. When the researcher asks what happened, he indicates that the soldiers died when they climbed up the cross and fell off it. He adds that the big gorilla also died because he climbed too high and fell down. Daniel explains in a serious tone “that’s why we’re telling prayers for him” [88].

Third play session

Daniel begins the third play session by arranging the furniture in the dollhouse to “make the house pretty” and tries to keep the house clean by pretending that there is a mat at the entrance where people can wipe their feet and a washing machine which washes dirty bed linen [89]. He indicates that it is a new house for people to move into who have left their old house (the puppet theatre) [91]. He then looks for the church, sets it up and announces that “we have to go to church” because it is the weekly church day [90, 93]. When he notices a man with a hook for an arm, Daniel sees him as an aggressive man and excludes him from the house because “he’ll hit everybody” [94]. He instead welcomes a “nice guy” to “live in this house forever” [95]. By being selective about who can live in the house, Daniel protects the household members from harm and ensures that there is peace in the house.

Daniel turns to the sandbox and stations a policeman, police car, fire engine and an emergency truck (tank) next to it. He announces that these emergency vehicles and the policeman are available in case someone dies [96, 98]. Daniel discovers a military and a passenger plane and flies them. The military plane soon flies destructively as it gains speed, loses control and crashes into three emergency vehicles [99]. Daniel continues to fly both planes which repeatedly collide with each other. Suddenly they crash into the church cross damaging it. Daniel fixes the cross. He subsequently demonstrates the control and speed of the military plane as it takes off and does a nose dive while flying. However, it soon flies destructively again as it goes too fast, loses control, crashing into the church and knocking over the nearby church man [100]. Through his play, Daniel reveals that positive agents of society such as emergency rescue vehicles and even the church and its priest are not safe from harm as planes destructively crash into them.

Daniel turns to the dollhouse and fills the beds with members of a large family which include a mother (female figure), a father, three “little tiny” babies, and some brothers and sisters [102, 103, 104, 106]. The mother lies on a couch whereas the father and a sister share the big bed [104]. Daniel takes on a maternal role as he prepares juice in bottles for the babies, stores it in the fridge and then feeds some to a baby [105]. He increases the size of this family by adding many more people until the house becomes severely overcrowded [106]. When a little child has to share a bed with a large group of people, Daniel recognizes that there are “way too much people” in the house and no additional beds available for newcomers. However, he refuses to exclude anyone from the house [107] and decides to make more room by rearranging the downstairs furniture [108].

Daniel describes and demonstrates how the babies are able to climb into their crib

unassisted, particularly when their parents are sleeping and therefore unavailable [109]. Then Daniel announces that a child who ran away twice with everyone watching television is forbidden from doing so again [111] and that the babies don't run away [112]. He makes the three babies hold hands and quietly says "they're friends, they don't hurt each other". They help each other climb the stairs by holding hands thereby ensuring that they don't fall down backwards [113]. Still holding hands, the babies together risk jumping upside down. As a result, they end up dangerously hanging off the roof but continue to hold hands to keep each other from falling. Fortunately, they are rescued by the fire truck and return to their shared crib. Daniel's play reveals that although the house was full of people, no one was aware of the babies' plight [114]. These three babies act independent of adults but depend on each other. They are able to climb into their cribs unassisted and they support each other as they face both ordinary and unusual challenges together. They are close friends who have a caring relationship in which they help each other and don't hurt each other.

Towards the end of the session, Daniel returns to the sandbox, announces that all of the soldiers by the sandbox are dead and dramatically makes fire engine, police and ambulance siren sounds [116]. He then turns his attention to selecting animals for a zoo in the sandbox [117-123]. He finds a large lion, labels him a "daddy lion" but then changes his mind and considers it to be a "baby son lion" [118]. However, when Daniel notices the sharp claws of the large lion he changes its identity back to the "daddy lion" (instead of the baby son) and adds two cubs which are his "sons" [123]. Daniel discovers a big gorilla which he calls the "daddy gorilla" and selects a small "son gorilla". In addition to fathers and sons, Daniel's zoo also contains a snake and an elephant family which consist of a father, mother and their young [122].

APPENDIX I

Illustrations of the results of the independent analyses of the researcher and Cudmore and the final version agreed upon following group discussions with the thesis supervisor

Selected Play Segment from Jennifer's 3rd Play Session

Researcher's Transformed Text	Final Version Following Group Discussion	Cudmore's Transformed Text
Jennifer's 3rd play session 108. A snake moves about unpredictably, appearing and disappearing without warning. / This large snake frightens the kangaroos / by making ghostly sounds and grabbing them. / They try to run away. / 109. The kangaroos tell the mother lion about their frightening experience with the powerful large snake. / She responds by denying their experience / and the existence of the fear-evoking snake thereby disbelieving them. / (She orders them to get back on their side, in their "cage") 110. The frightening snake continues to move unpredictably, reappearing and disappearing. / The mother lion denies the presence of the fear-evoking snake thereby disbelieving the kangaroos. /	Jennifer's 3rd play session (meaning units 108-114) 108. There is a sudden threat to the kangaroos and the peaceful atmosphere is disrupted/ when a large snake-like creature with a claw and fangs coiled around a tree with a ghost-like face in it appears in the lions' territory and grabs the kangaroos. / The snake-like creature reappears / and frightens the kangaroos back to their own side. / When the snake-like creature appears on their own side, the kangaroos try to run away from it. / (5) 109. The kangaroos tell the mother lion about their frightening experiences with the snake-like creature / but with annoyance. / the mother lion denies their experience / and the existence of the creature./ (4) 110. When the creature reappears and frightens the kangaroos. / with annoyance, the mother lion again denies the existence of the creature./ (2)	Jennifer's 3rd play session 108. A frightening creature (snake) / interrupts a peaceful friendly scene / and attacks two kangaroos. / The kangaroos return to their own space but are not free of the creature even here. When the creature reappears / S suggests the kangaroos should run from their home to get away from the scary creature. / 109. Although the kangaroos recount their frightening experience with the snake to the mother lion. / she denies their story and. / expressing annoyance. (firmly orders them back to their territory. The kangaroos comply.)/ 110. The frightening creature briefly reappears and then disappears upsetting the kangaroos. / Once again, the mother lion denies its presence. /

Final Version Following
Group Discussion

Researcher's Transformed Text Cudmore's Transformed Text

Jennifer's 3 rd play session (Cont.)	Jennifer's 3 rd play session	Jennifer's 3 rd play session
111. The frightening snake continues to move unpredictably, reappearing and disappearing. / The mother lion denies the presence of the fear-evoking snake thereby disbelieving the kangaroos. /	111. When the snake-like creature reappears and frightens the kangaroos by making ghostly sounds. / the mother lion impatiently denies the existence of the creature. / (2)	111. The snake creature returns but is initially not experienced as frightening by the kangaroos. It suddenly becomes scary again and frightens the kangaroos. / The mother lion impatiently denies the creatures' presence again. /
112. When the kangaroos describe what they saw. / for the first time the mother lion believed them but downplayed the frightening nature of the snake telling them that it was simply a "moon ghost" which comes out when they are asleep. / (It is something which is not real but rather imagined or dreamt and therefore should not be feared).	112. When the kangaroos insist that what frightened them looked like a ghost. / the mother lion tells them that it is a "a moon ghost" which comes out at night when they are sleeping. / (2)	112. The mother lion then offers an explanation for what they (kangaroos) saw, stating it is something that comes out at night when you are sleeping. / /
113. However, when the snake reappears. / the kangaroos are frightened and run away. /	113. When the kangaroos go to sleep and the creature reappears, the mother lions' assurance that it is a dream helps initially. / but when it makes ghostly sounds they are frightened and try to run away. /(2)	113. The snake reappears and despite the kangaroos' attempts to reassure themselves by recalling the mothers' explanation for the creature. / the creature still frightens the kangaroos who threaten to run away. /
114. The kangaroos were deceived by the mother lion. / She minimized the frightening nature of the snake when it was in fact the absolutely most frightening ghost. Whereas the mother lion is aware that it is "the scariest ghost in the world". / she expresses no fear of it and instead appears to be friendly to it. The kangaroos are still frightened by it when it makes ghostly sounds. /	114. The mother lion deceived / the kangaroos by minimizing the frightening nature of the snake when it was in fact "the scariest ghost in the world". / Whereas the kangaroos remain frightened by its ghostly sounds, the mother lion expresses no fear of it. / (3)	114. S reveals that the mother lion has "tricked" the kangaroos / because she rationalized the presence of the snake and downplayed its frightening nature when in fact it was the "scariest ghost in the world". / The snake confronts the mother lion who calmly greets it. Although the mother lion does not appear frightened by the snake, the kangaroos remain terribly frightened by it. /

Selected Play Segment from Marc's 3rd Play Session

Researcher's Transformed Text	Final Version Following Group Discussion	Cudmore's Transformed Text
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Marc's 3 rd play session	Marc's 3 rd play session (meaning units 86-92)	Marc's 3 rd play session
86. S organizes the house contents thereby setting up the house scene. / The largest and most powerful type of dinosaur (tyrannosaurus rex) and animal (gorilla) sleep on the roof of the house. / Two tall men of different races sleep together in a big bed. / An emergency vehicle (fire truck) noisily brings two small men to the house and they climb up its extended ladder to get to their bunkbed on the second floor. S quietly indicates that the two small men are the tall men's children. / 87. R initiates play by having the parents greet their children in the morning in a friendly tone. Unexpectedly, one parent yells at the children / who react with terror (screaming with fright) and panicky behaviours (e.g., jumping onto the roof, onto the ground, knocking over the bed and falling down the stairs) in their efforts to escape from their parents. / Without warning, the parents fall head first down the stairs. / The children return to bed as if nothing unusual had occurred. /	86. S sets the dollhouse scene by replacing the furniture in the house. / The large tyrannosaurus rex dinosaur and the big gorilla sleep on the roof of the house. / Two male parents, an Indian and a white man, sleep together in the same big bed. / These parents have two male children (two small male figures) who sleep in a bunkbed. / (4) 87. In the morning, one male parent unexpectedly yells at the children who are still in bed in a terrifying way. / The children scream with fright and one jumps onto the roof and then onto the ground, and the other knocks over the bed and falls down the stairs. / The parents then fall down the stairs head first / and the children return to their beds. / (4)	86. S prepares the house for play. / It is night and in an atypical family arrangement / two men sleep in the double bed / and their children, two smaller men, sleep in the bunkbed. / 87. In the morning, the children are awakened and frightened from their beds by the terrifying shouting of a parent. / The children scream and flee in a panic, each falling in the process. / S expresses amusement at this unusual awakening and when the parents fall down the stairs. / The children return to their beds. /

Researcher's Transformed Text	Final Version Following Group Discussion	Cudmore's Transformed Text
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Marc's 3rd play session (Cont.) 88. Instead of sleeping on the roof, the two large and powerful wild creatures sleep in the big bed previously occupied by the parents. / Once again, the two tall men (parents) yell at their children who react with terror and panicky behaviours. / Without warning, the large powerful creatures are knocked out of bed and fall down the stairs. The two tall men (parents) also fall down the stairs. / Within the house, there was a sudden unexplained chaotic event resulting in everyone and everything falling down the stairs or off the second floor leaving it empty. / 89. The children return to their bedroom and lay on the floor as if nothing unusual had occurred. For a third time the two tall men (parents) appear and yell at the children who react with terror and panicky behaviours. / Without explanation, S now removes all the furniture from the ground floor and vigorously mixes all of the house contents piled up in front of the house, further increasing the disorder of the situation. / 90. The children return to their bedroom and lie on a pillow on the floor of the empty house as if nothing unusual had happened. / The children briefly engage in some playful risk-taking behaviours and then lie back down to sleep. /	Marc's 3rd play session 88. The gorilla and the dinosaur now sleep in the big bed. / Both male parents yell in a terrifying way at their children back in bed who scream and in a panic jump out of their beds and fall off the second floor. / The large dinosaur and the big gorilla fall out of bed and down the stairs followed by the male parents. / Everyone and all of the furniture on the second floor is pushed out of the house, leaving the second floor empty. / (4) 89. For the third time the male parents appear and yell at the children making them jump and scream with fear. / S removes the remaining furniture from the house and mixes it with the pile already in front of the house. / (2) 90. The children return to their bedroom in the empty house and lie on a cushion on the floor. / The children climb to the top of the roof using the extended fire engine ladder and fall off. / (2)	Marc's 3rd play session 88. The sleeping children are again awakened and frightened from their beds, this time by the yelling of both of their parents. The children scream and flee. / Suddenly, the parents fall down the stairs and / all of the second floor furniture is thrown from the house. / 89. For the third time, the parents awaken their children who are now sleeping on the floor with frightening yells. The children are terrified and scream. / Without explanation, S suddenly removes the remaining furniture from the house and mixes it with the pile already in front of the house. / 90. The children are alone in the empty house. / A fire truck appears in the bedroom and the children climb the ladder to the roof. They fall but return to the house seemingly unharmed. /
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Final Version Following
Group Discussion

Researcher's Transformed Text Cudmore's Transformed Text

Marc's 3 rd play session (Cont.)	Marc's 3 rd play session	Marc's 3 rd play session
91. There is another unexplained chaotic event as furniture is piled on top of the animals and humans. / S expresses pleasure as he looks at the two children in the house who appear to be unaffected and seem unaware of the disaster as they sleep on a pillow. / 92. One child has fun engaging in some risk-taking behaviours without adult supervision. /	91. Whereas outside of the home the furniture is scrambled and piled on top of animals and humans. / the children are peacefully sleeping on cushions on the floor./ (2) 92. One child climbs onto the roof and enjoys sliding off of it. / (1)	91. The pile of furniture is suddenly placed on top of the people and animals. / The children sleep peacefully in their room. / 92. One of the children climbs onto the roof and seems to be in a dangerous situation but enjoys play. /

Selected Play Segment from Melissa's 3rd Play Session

Researcher's Transformed Text	Final Version Following Group Discussion	Cudmore's Transformed Text
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Melissa's 3 rd play session	Melissa's 3 rd play session (meaning units 127-135)	Melissa's 3 rd play session
127. The bunny who was high in the air suddenly falls onto the bear. Even though the bear is hurt as a result of the bunny's actions, / the bunny demands attention and only recognizes its own suffering. / S cures the bunny of its bleeding ears which had prevented it from hearing what the other had to say. / 128. Without provocation the bunny twice aggressively jumped onto the bear as it lay on the ground. / 129. The bunny strongly rejects any physical contact and proximity to the bear. The bunny initially portrays itself as having very limited private space. / The bunny reacts forcefully to any perceived physical contact and intrusion into its private space by the bear saying: "Stop touching me! Now get out of my bed!" / 130. The bunny takes over the entire area which had previously been shared with the bear, thereby making it all her own private room. / Feeling justified in ridding the bear from what has become its bed and private room, the bunny then jumps onto the bear and roughly expels the bear from the entire area. /	127. Suddenly the bunny falls onto the bear from a great height and both animals are hurt. / The bunny repeatedly complains that its ears are bleeding, so much that he cannot hear. / The bear whines saying that he is also hurt and the bunny should stop complaining. / The bunny's ears are cured when they are touched. / (4) 128. The bunny jumps onto the bear twice as it lies down. / (1) 129. The bunny claims a certain spot for its bed / and rudely orders the bear to get out of his bed. stop touching him and move elsewhere when he perceives the bear is lying too close to him. / (2) 130. Even though there is some distance between them, the bunny moves over and jumps onto the bear accusing him of being in his bed and then his room and throws him off the couch. / The bunny cheerfully announces that its room is the entire area which he previously shared with the bear. / (2)	127. Bunny jumps on bear from a great height and both animals are hurt. / Bunny loudly complains about his pain / and bear expresses annoyance at bunny's self-centeredness, as he also has been hurt. / 128. Bunny attacks the bear by jumping on him twice more. / 129. Bunny continues to be very rough and rude with bear and orders bear to move out of his bed. / 130. Bunny again attacks bear and orders him out of her bed and room. / which she happily announces now occupies the whole play area. /

Final Version Following
Group Discussion

Researcher's Transformed Text Cudmore's Transformed Text

Melissa's 3rd play session (Cont.)	Melissa's 3rd play session	Melissa's 3rd play session
131. Banished by the bunny from the main area which it has taken over for itself, the bear is initially relegated to sleeping on the dirty floor, a situation the bunny finds particularly amusing. / The bunny provides vague justification for her poor treatment of the bear by saying it is done because the bear continues to bother her. / When the bear involuntarily snores, the bunny expels him from the limited area and tells him to sleep elsewhere. / 132. The bear turns to a wolf for sleeping accommodations / but is rudely turned away on two occasions. / 133. When the bear expresses helplessness at having nowhere to sleep the bunny helps him. / The bunny requests and is given permission to stay in the wolf's house. The bunny then successfully appeals to the wolf on the bear's behalf, thereby enabling him to stay in the house temporarily. /	131. In a loud and vicious manner, the bunny banishes the bear from the main area and relegates him to sleeping on the dirty floor, a situation the bunny finds particularly amusing. / The bunny justifies her poor treatment of the bear by complaining that the bear continues to bother her. / When the bear snores, the bunny orders him to sleep elsewhere. / (3) 132. The bear wonders where he can sleep and tries a neighbouring house. / However, when on two occasions he enters this house, the neighbour wolf rudely turns him away. / (2) 133. When the bear laments his homeless situation and wonders what he can do about it, the bunny decides to help him. / When the bunny is welcomed into the neighbour wolf's house he kindly asks if the bear may also stay. / The bear can only stay in the wolf's house for a little while. / (2)	131. When bear questions where he will sleep, bunny noisily and with great pleasure banishes him to the dirty floor. / Bunny rationalizes his inhumane treatment of bear by declaring bear bothers him. / When the bear snores repeatedly bunny orders bear to sleep elsewhere. / 132. When the bear once again wonders where he can sleep, the bunny suggests a neighbouring house. / But much to bunny's amusement, the bear is rejected here as well. / 133. Bear sadly ponders his situation and bunny, displaying a change of heart, offers to sleep in neighbour house where bear has been rejected. / Bunny is invited to stay and then kindly asks if bear may stay also. / Bear is invited for a brief stay. /

**Final Version Following
Group Discussion**

Researcher's Transformed Text Cudmore's Transformed Text

Melissa's 3 rd play session (Cont.)	Melissa's 3 rd play session	Melissa's 3 rd play session
134. Once again the involuntary but bothersome behaviour of snoring results in the bear's expulsion from this house. / 135. When the bear sadly reflects on his helpless situation, there is a shift in the bunny's relationship to the bear as she initially takes care of him. The bunny ends up in similar circumstances to the bear having been expelled from the house "forever". The bunny takes the initiative and seeks out shared sleeping accommodations for her and the bear.	134. The neighbour also becomes annoyed with the bear's snoring and expels him from the house. / (1) 135. The bear expresses concern that his snoring prevents him from finding a place to sleep. Unexpectedly, the bunny is expelled from the neighbour's house permanently and finds a dark room in another house she and the bear can share where no one can hear his snoring. / (1)	134. The neighbour also becomes annoyed with the bear's snoring and expels him from the house. / 135. Suddenly the bunny announces that he has been kicked out of the house permanently but knows a place where he and bear can sleep where no one will be bothered by his snoring. /

Selected Play Segment from Daniel's 3rd Play Session

Researcher's Transformed Text Final Version Following Group Discussion Cudmore's Transformed Text

Daniel's 3rd play session	Daniel's 3rd play session (meaning units 105-115)	Daniel's 3rd play session
105. S prepares juice and feeds a baby. /	105. S prepares juice and feeds it to a baby. / (1)	105. S cares for the babies by feeding them /
106. Introduction of more people and a dog to the already severely overcrowded house. / Everyone in the house is a family member. /	106. The house becomes overcrowded as more people are introduced and a minimum of two to a maximum of ten people have to share beds. / Everyone in the crowded house is a family member. / (2)	106. An unusual family of numerous individuals is created / and they are crowded into few beds. The smallest figure is placed on top of all the others in the bed. /
107. S clearly acknowledges the lack of sleeping arrangements due to excessive overcrowding / but refuses to remove anyone from the house. /	107. S clearly acknowledges the lack of sleeping arrangements due to excessive overcrowding / but at the same time does not want to exclude anyone from the house. / (2)	107. S continues to use all the play figures as one family crowded in a house and remarks that there are too many people in this family to accomodate easily for sleeping. S resolves this dilemna by having all the family members awaken and go downstairs. / /
108. S rearranges where people will sleep generally separating the children from the adults (who respectively sleep downstairs and upstairs). /	108. By clearing and rearranging the downstairs furniture. S prepares the downstairs for children to sleep in. / (1)	108. The children in the family are the first to go downstairs and S decides that they should sleep there. He begins to arrange the downstairs of the house for sleeping./
109. When their parents are unavailable. babies can climb into their own cribs unassisted. /	109. When their parents are sleeping the babies are able to climb into their own cribs unassisted. / (1)	109. S describes how the babies are able to get in their crib when their parents are sleeping and unavailable to help. /
110. S barricades the door by placing a couch against it thereby barring entry into the house. /	110. S arranges the living room furniture and places a couch in front of an unused door. / (1)	110. S arranges the furniture placing a couch in front of an unused door. /

Researcher's Transformed Text Final Version Following
Group Discussion

Cudmore's Transformed Text

Daniel's 3 rd play session (Cont.)	Daniel's 3 rd play session	Daniel's 3 rd play session
111. A child who ran away twice / is prevented from doing so again. /	111. A child who has run away twice/ before is forbidden from doing so again. / (2)	111. A child who has run away twice/ before is prevented from doing so. /
112. Babies sleep upstairs / and do not run away. /	112. The babies sleep upstairs / and do not run away. / (2)	112. S wonders where all the babies will go and places them in various beds /
113. The three vulnerable babies holding hands are friends / who support each other. help each other / and don't hurt each other. / /	113. S quietly states that three babies holding hands are friends / who help each other / and don't hurt each other. / This is demonstrated when they hold hands as they climb the stairs to ensure that they don't fall down backwards. / (4)	113. S quietly states that the babies holding hands are friends / and don't hurt each other. / This is demonstrated in their helping / and protecting each other on the stairs. /
114. Still holding hands. / they also together engage in the wild behaviour of flipping in the air. As a result of this behaviour. the three babies together ended up in a dangerous and precarious situation. / They are rescued by the fire engine. climbing down to the ground and into the safety and comfort of their shared crib. / The house is full of adults and children and no one was aware of their actions and the danger they had been in.. /	114. Still holding hands, the babies together risk jumping upside down. As a result. the three babies together end up hanging off the roof and / continue to hold hands to keep each other from falling. / They are rescued by the fire engine and returned to their shared crib. / Despite the fact that the house is full of adults and children. no one was aware of their plight. / (4)	114. Suddenly the babies encounter a dangerous situation / and continue to hold hands to support each other. / They are rescued and return to their cribs / with no one being aware of their plight. /