AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

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Ten individual play interviews were held with six children between the ages of three-and-a-half and four years in order to determine how the children communicated in play interviews and what they communicated concerning their interpretation of parental figures and their perceptions of significant relationships. Detailed written records of the play interviews were made by the adult observer.

In order to give depth of insight, one of the children was interviewed on four separate occasions over a period of a month and another child was interviewed twice. Interpretive analyses of the play interview records of these two children are presented as examples of records analyzed as completely as possible. All the other children were interviewed once.

The play interview records of all the children were analyzed in terms of the child's relationship with the adult observer present at the play interview. The records were interpreted according to
psychoanalytic theory. Interpretations of meanings were supported by specific citing of the responses on which the formulations were based in their sequence and context in the play interviews.

The study demonstrated that the children studied did seem to communicate meaningful material about their interpretation of parental figures and their perceptions of significant relationships. There seemed to be common themes as well as individual themes.

The results showed:

First, each child studied revealed himself through the ways in which he related to the adult observer who was present in the room. The interviews showed how the child goes through a process of developing a relationship with the adult and that even with a passive or neutral observer, the process of relationship grows. This relationship influences whatever the child does. It was found that each child studied communicated something about the relationship, and that the relationship could be observed and studied. It can be assumed that what goes on in other relationships and the child's perceptions of these may then be inferred from the observation and study of this one relationship.

The children seemed to use the play interview situation as though it were a special opportunity for striving to mediate between their inner feelings or instinctual drives and their wish to behave in such a way as to elicit the love of the significant adults and maintain the dependent bond with them. In the play interview situation the observer represented these adults.
Second, the process which the children went through in establishing and maintaining the relationship with the observer suggested a confirmation of the developmental stages of trust, autonomy and initiative as outlined by Erikson. It was as if, in relationship to the adult in the play interview, each child studied re-capitulated the other relationships in his life which had been important to him.

Third, interpreting the records according to psychoanalytic theory seemed to bring into focus the significance of the sequence of the child’s behavior. The connection of different actions, one with another, was shown. Each part of the sequence seemed to have an increasingly cumulative effect. The themes were interwoven in the sequence and their interrelatedness revealed.

Fourth, among the common themes of the children, concern with relationships with and between parents seemed to be dominant over all others. The common focus of the children’s anxiety seemed to be on sexual differences and relationships between male and female. The children seemed to be constantly striving in their play for a clearer understanding of these sexual differences and relationships.

The children studied showed intricate fluctuations in the play interviews between identification with father and mother figures. These fluctuations seemed to be reflected in corresponding fluctuations in the child’s concept of himself. Each child studied seemed to be groping for clarification to himself of his identity in terms of his own sex role.
Fifth, it was found that the children expressed intense and ambivalent feelings toward parental figures.

In each of the play interviews, a child dealt with aggressiveness toward the adult. Aggression was always a part of the play, both in the use of the toys and in relation to the observer.

Sixth, the intensity and urgency of the play was revealed by the child's use of space, change in motility, quality of movements, his facial expression, his vocal sounds, and the manner of his handling and use of the toys.

When the intensity was very strong, it often seemed to be expressed, not with adult doll figures, but transposed or projected to child figures, or to animal toys, or motor toys less directly representative of the real adults in the child's experience. When intensity of feeling became even greater, and/or there was not sufficient trust in the adult present, play disruption seemed to occur. In this way the child relieved his mounting anxiety.
YOUNG CHILDREN'S INTERPRETATION OF PARENTAL FIGURES: A STUDY OF COMMUNICATION IN PLAY INTERVIEW SITUATIONS

by

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# TABLE OF CONTENTS

I. Introduction .................................................. 1  
  Purpose and Proposed Outcomes ............................... 3  
  Statement of the Problem ..................................... 4  
  Significance of the Study .................................... 4  

II. Review of the Literature .................................... 7  
  Play Interviews as a Way of Understanding ................ 10  
  Symbols in Play ................................................. 16  
  The Child’s Perception of Relationships .................... 19  
  The Phallic Stage ............................................... 20  

III. Methods of Procedure ....................................... 22  
  The Subjects .................................................... 22  
  The Technique of Initiating and Defining the            
  Duration of the Play Interviews ............................. 23  
  The Physical Setting .......................................... 25  
  Description of Play Objects .................................. 25  
  Diagram of Playroom .......................................... 28  
  Method of Recording .......................................... 34  
  Variables ....................................................... 37  
  The Observer’s Role ............................................ 38  
  Treatment of the Data ......................................... 41  

IV. The Play Interviews .......................................... 43  
  Alec ............................................................... 43  
  Vicki ............................................................. 58  
  Beth ............................................................... 74  
  Joyce ............................................................. 86  
  Larry ............................................................. 93  
  Michael ......................................................... 101  

V. Results: Interpretive Analysis of Play Interview       
  Record -- Alec .................................................. 108  

VI. Results: Interpretive Analysis of Play Interview       
  Record -- Vicki .................................................. 161  

VII. Results: Relationships to Adults ......................... 200  

VIII. Summary and Conclusions ................................ 232  
  Implications of the Results ................................ 242  
  Bibliography .................................................. 245
I. INTRODUCTION

Children's play has been a subject of interest to writers, philosophers, educators and psychologists of many schools of thought. Each has tended to see play in accord with the ideology of his own field.

For the person who wishes to understand the development of children, play provides an overt expression of the child's view of the outer world, his specific perceptions of reality, his way of solving problems and making deductions, his inner feelings and motivations, his understanding of other people and of their relationships to each other. In recent years educators have used play as a mode of understanding the child's needs. Clinicians have used it as a means of communicating with children and helping them to create new solutions for life problems.

Erikson has pointed out that "a few play hours can serve to inform us of matters which the child could never verbalize. Trained observers, in possession of numerous data, can see from a few play contacts which of these data are acutely relevant to the child" (9, p.232).

Through putting into form in the outer world the child's own inner world, play can be an important avenue of communication. When a child plays in the presence of an adult, the child may often be telling the adult something through his play. As Winnicott expresses it: "...Play, like dreams, serves the function of self-revelation and of communication at a deep level" (48, p. 152). In
children's play, "we can always find the gateway to the unconscious, and to the native honesty which so curiously starts in full bloom in the infant, and then unripen to the bud" (48, p. 152).

This study deals with three-and-a-half to four-year-old children's play as it may reveal a child's perception of significant life relationships. According to psychoanalytic theory, most drives are gratified in connection with relationships with other persons. Studies have suggested that personality development is founded on the child's relationships with the first persons who love and care for him whom he ultimately comes to love in return. These are usually his parents. As the child grows, his interactions with parents become increasingly complex. According to this theory, children tend to have differing attitudes and feelings toward their parents at different age periods. These attitudes would then color the child's perception of the parental figures so that the child's view of them could be expected to vary in some degree from objective descriptions of these two adults. It seems that too little attention has been paid in research to the way the child himself perceives the relationships.

The intention of this study is to go directly to children in order to discover what these significant relationships mean to them. The purpose is to explore ways in which young children communicate their impressions of the world and their fundamental concerns through the acting out of their fantasies in play. In referring to the meaning
of play, Erikson says that "to play it out is the most natural self healing measure childhood affords" (9, p. 222) and that the conditions for such meaningful play are that the child should have the toys and the adult "for himself" (9, p. 222). In this study, the circumstances of data collection are as Erikson has put it, a situation in which each child had the toys and the adult to himself.

An attempt will be made to demonstrate specifically and in detail how six children communicated their concerns through their play behavior, the choice of the toys they played with, the way they related to and used the toys, their formations and constructions, through the use of their body, their motility, their use of space. All these things considered in sequence and context make up the language of the young child, the child less than five or six years old, who is not yet skilled in or has not yet learned to express himself in words and to whom words may not necessarily mean the same thing they do to adults.

Purpose and Proposed Outcomes

In exploratory studies, the formulation of the results to be obtained through observational data are seldom preconceived, yet the research worker proceeds within a defined structure. In this study the structure is the dynamic theory of personality development. The study is based upon the premise that parental figures are significant to three-and-a-half to four-year-old children, in both age level appropriate and individual unique ways. It is also based upon
the premise that in the child's play he projects his feelings and attitudes in ways that can be understood by the adult research worker. As Erikson has stated: "I propose the theory that the child's play is the infantile form of the human ability to deal with experience by creating modal situations and to master reality by experiment and planning" (9, p. 222).

Statement of the Problem

The problem was to study children's play in order to learn how children communicate through their play and what they communicate concerning significant relationships.

The following major elements were included in the problem:

1. What do records of a series of play interviews with individual children in the same play setting reveal when the records are interpreted according to psychoanalytic theory?

2. What do they reveal specifically about the way a child establishes a relationship with a participant observer?

3. What do they show about the way a child acts out fantasies and the concerns and anxieties which seem to be important to a child?

4. What uses does the child make of play materials as symbols, and what uses does he make of space and of movement?

5. In what ways does a child perceive significant relationships?

Significance of the Study

1. Contribution to Method as a Way of Learning about Children
A great deal of exploratory study is necessary in order to develop appropriate methodology for learning about children. It is a general tenet of scientific investigation that methodology should grow out of subject matter. At the present level of empirical research, the major body of psychological research method has grown out of learning theory and behavior-social learning theory. At the same time, however, many aspects of psychoanalytic theory are widely used and sometimes insufficiently understood in practice in work with children. It has often seemed to the writer that this may have caused some confusion as to the basis of the knowledge on which we draw in developing our techniques and ways of working with children.

The insights of psychoanalytic theory have contributed significantly to understanding the dynamics of child behavior. These insights have been reached through clinical work and now need further exploration through direct observation of child behavior. This study consists of interpretation of a sequence of events which have been observed and recorded in a written account.

2. Contribution to Understanding the Child

According to the dynamic theory of personality, the child's early relationship with his parents gives permanent form to his behavior and character structure. Therefore, the understanding of the meaning these relationships with adults have for the child at any period in his early development is of great significance. Such understanding should contribute to the theory of personality
development and serve to deepen the insight of those responsible for the education and nurture of children.

From the standpoint of nursery school teaching, it is important to discover how the world and the significant adults in it appear to individual children, or how each child sees relationships, because the child's perception is an important factor in guidance and in planning the nursery school environment.

Although the child of three-and-a-half to four is presumed to be forming identifications with parents through which he is developing his own identity, often little is known of how the child perceives the parent with whom he is supposedly identifying. It is hoped that this study may cast some light on this problem.
The present study depends on the observation of a child's play for obtaining data about the child's concepts of adults and their relationships. The observation of play has become a source of understanding children's needs and developmental stages for those whose primary purpose is that of obtaining scientific insight, as well as for educators and psychotherapists. Early carefully controlled studies such as those of Jersild (27; 28), Barker, Dembo and Lewin (4), as well as more recent studies within the framework of dynamic psychological theory have depended upon the child's communication through play. Observing play behavior as a way of understanding preschool children has become so generally accepted as to be a traditional or "standard" method for the study of children of this age.

In his writings, Freud (18) pointed out that children in their play repeat everything that has made a deep impression on them in life. In doing so, they go over from the passivity of the experience to the activity of the play and in this way strive to become "master of the situation." Freud also said that children's play is influenced by the wish to be grown up and to be able to do what grown up people do.

Waelder characterized play as a "method of constantly working over and... assimilating piecemeal an experience which was too large to be assimilated instantly at one swoop" (47, p. 217-218). He pointed out that the child may assimilate experiences in play
by changing his role or changing the outcome of the situation as it was in life. He noted that in play "a single phenomenon may have various meanings, may perform various functions and cannot be explained by a single general interpretation....the phenomenon has a number of determinants" (47, p. 208-209).

Winnicott (48, p. 149-152) discusses seven explicit functions of play for the child: pleasure, to express aggression, to master anxiety, to gain experience, to make social contacts, integration of personality, and communication with people.

Peller has pointed out the relationship between the libidinal phases of development and play. She wrote: "Each libidinal relationship causes anxieties, or, to put it differently, each is harassed by deficiencies. Play is instigated in an effort to deny them, or to lessen them, or to work them through. Thus various types of play can be characterized by specific anxieties and corresponding fantasies" (38, p. 181-182).

The work of Erikson has influenced all those who have used the method of play observation subsequently. Erikson, who has relied on observations of play as source material for his studies, has pointed out that: "To evaluate play the observer must, of course, have an idea of what all the children of a given age in a given community are apt to play. Only thus can he decide whether or not the unique meaning transcends the common meaning. To understand the unique meaning itself requires careful observation, not only of the play's content and form, but also of accompanying words and visible
Erikson gives three classifications for the play of children; autocosmic play, using primarily the child's own body, microcosmic play, in which the child makes an "arrangement of small objects in such a way that their configuration signifies a configuration of conflicting forces in the child's life" (11, p. 577), and macrocosmic play, which is characterized by "rearrangements of the child's relationship to the real persons or the life-sized objects" (11, p. 577) present in the play situation. Erikson also says that "not only sections of one's body and toys, but also the body as a whole in its spatial relationship to the whole room...may serve the displaced impulse in various degrees of compulsive, naughty or playful acts" (12, p. 163).

The child gradually learns what potential play content can be admitted only to fantasy or to autocosmic play, what can be represented only in the microcosmic world of toys and things, and what can be shared with others. "For quite a while, then," states Erikson, "solitary play remains an indispensable harbor for the overhauling of shattered emotions after periods of rough going in the social seas....a child can be counted upon to bring into the solitary play arranged for him whatever aspect of his ego has been ruffled most..." (8, p. 194).

Anna Freud (15), Isaacs (26), Lowenfeld (31), Hartley, Frank and Goldenson (24) and others have contributed intensive studies to the understanding of play as the meaningful expression of a child's
ideas and feelings.

Play Interviews as a Way of Understanding

The Play Interview Technique such as was used in the present study has been developed as a research tool over the past twenty years.

Bach (3) devised a standardized play technique using a stylized doll house to represent the preschool of the subjects. He introduced a method for recording and measuring which provided a set of carefully defined content categories used for behavior unit recording and which differed from earlier methods in that its categories represented psychological abstractions, such as aggression, affection, and tangentiality, rather than common sense descriptions of behavior. This procedure achieved the goal of permitting quantification.

Sears (44) examined how much and in what ways methodological variation influences doll play performance. He studied the methodological factors of materials used, experimenter-child interaction, and duration of session. He cited Phillips as having found that the use of realistic materials led to more continuity in thematic content, while use of ambiguous, unrealistic materials led to more organizing behavior. Sears stated that although little is known of the effects of different methods of interaction most investigators have found that a quiet non-intrusive approach (of the experimenter) leads to the quickest involvement of the child in play. Sears'
study suggested that the shorter session is more economically productive of significant material, since so much time is not taken up in tangential behavior.

Pauline Sears (43) investigated development of a method by which succorant and nurturant forms of dependency and two types of aggression could be identified and measured in a standardized doll play situation with young children.

Murphy (33) developed a different approach to the Play Interview Technique in Miniature Life Toy Sessions, one of a group of "free methods" in which the aim was to give maximum opportunity for free play or free association. Murphy (35) also used Miniature Life Toy Sessions as one method of studying coping patterns during the preschool years.

Griffiths used play interviews in a study of imagination in early childhood. Griffiths recognized that "a very delicate relationship grows up between the experimenter and each subject" (13, p. 19), which she likened to the psychoanalytic concept of transference.

Florence Erickson (7) studied by means of Play Interviews the reactions of four-year-old hospitalized children to intrusive procedures. Another approach is presented by Joan Seidensticker (45) who used Play Interviews with handicapped children as part of a study of the way in which three-year-old amputees responded to being away from home and institutionalized for several months.

Play interviews have been used for clinical work with children.
by Anna Freud (16), Klein (29), Axline (2), Erikson (8; 11; 12) and others. In studying the way three-and-a-half to four year old children see adult figures or perceive their significant relationships, the present study follows patterns outlined by these writers.

In the early attempts to apply psychoanalysis to children, an obstacle arose in that children did not enter into the method of free association. Anna Freud found that a child would sometimes free associate in order to please the analyst. As a result of her experience, she emphasized that before the real work of analysis with children could begin, the analyst must win over the child and develop a strong positive relationship with him. In order to do this, she often played with the child. She would follow the child's lead in the subject matter of the play. As she herself describes:

"At first, for a long time, I did nothing but follow his moods and humors along all their paths and bypaths. Did he come to his appointment in a cheerful disposition, I was cheerful, too; if he were serious or depressed, I was the same. Did he prefer, instead of moving about or sitting or lying down, to spend the hour under the table, I would treat it as the most natural thing in the world and hold up the tablecloth and speak to him under it. If he came with string in his pocket, and began to show me remarkable knots and tricks, I would let him see that I could make more complicated knots and do more remarkable tricks. If he made faces, I pulled better ones, and if he challenged me to trials of strength I showed myself incomparably stronger. But I followed his lead in every
subject of talk, from tales of pirates and questions of geography to stamp-collections and love stories. In these conversations nothing was too grown-up or too delicate a subject for me to talk to him about...." (16, p. 9) "....the problem was....the creation of a tie between us, which must be strong enough to sustain the later analysis" (16, p. 11).

Melanie Klein, starting from the premise that action is more natural for a little child than speech, worked out a play technique in which she put at the child's disposal many tiny playthings, a world in miniature. In this more manageable toy environment the child could carry out actions which in the real world, so much bigger and stronger than the child, remained confined to fantasy. Klein substituted the child's play activities for the free association of the adult. Anna Freud states that "the use of the Klein method"....is...."almost indispensable for familiarization with small children, who are not yet capable of verbal self-expression" (16, p. 28). However, Klein went further in that she accompanied the child's activities with interpretation to the child of the symbolic meaning of the play objects, which, as Anna Freud has pointed out, in itself exerted an influence upon the child (16, p. 29).

Axline used the non-directive approach, recognizing and reflecting back the feelings which the child expressed, but in so far as possible ruling out interpretation and not attempting to direct the child's actions or conversation in any manner. Axline states:

"Recognition of feeling and interpretation are two different
things. However, it is difficult to differentiate between them. The child's play is symbolic of his feelings, and whenever the therapist attempts to translate symbolic behavior into words, she is interpreting because she is saying what she thinks the child has expressed in his actions. This seems to be unavoidable and, at times, even seems to be advantageous. A cautious use of interpretation, however, would seem the best policy, with the therapist keeping the interpretation down to a minimum, and, when using it, basing it upon the obvious play activity of the child. Even then, the therapist's response should include the symbol the child has used" (2, p. 100). Otherwise, as Axline goes on to say, even though the interpretation is correct, there is the danger of getting ahead of the child and thrusting something at him before he is ready for it. As long as the child feels it necessary to use the symbol as a medium, Axline believes the therapist should use it, too. Axline also says: "When the therapist catches the feeling that is expressed and recognizes that feeling, the child goes on from there and the therapist can actually see the child gain insight" (2, p. 101).

Axline recommends a large variety of play materials of simple, durable construction, placed on shelves which are easily accessible to the child. The toys she suggests include a doll family, toy soldiers, animals, cars, airplanes, paints and a large sandbox. Axline also records the use of puppets.

Erikson has described in detail children's play with blocks,
human and animal figures and motor toys. Erikson placed emphasis upon the configurations which the child created in his play.

Erikson says of the observation and interpretation of play: "It seems to me...that when substituting play for other associative material...we tend to neglect the characteristic which most clearly differentiates play from the world of psychological data communicated to us by means of language, namely, the manifestation of an experience in actual space, in the dynamic relationship of shapes, sizes, distances -- in what we may call spatial configurations" (12, p. 139).

In some ways, all these workers relied upon empathic insight concerning the needs of the children, but each used a theoretical framework as a guide as well as contributing to theory in the insights and special emphases each derived from the work itself. From individual to individual, the play situation varies somewhat because the interests, capacities and purposes of the adult workers differed from one another and because each worked with children who differed in some ways from those of another worker. These factors influenced the arrangement of the situation, the toys available, as well as the specific ways of responding to the children.

However, although these writers differ in aspects of theoretical formulation, the basic essentials of the work itself are the same: the one-to-one situation between adult and child; a room where the child can feel free of outside taboos and interferences; and certain basic toys, such as dolls representative of the family group, a
motor or animal toy or toys such as could be used to express aggressiveness, some basic furniture, particularly bathroom furniture, and access to water if possible.

Symbols in Play

The young child's concepts are in the process of forming. He is learning the arbitrary meanings which the language of his particular nation has attributed to different words. The child of three-and-a-half to four has not yet completely mastered what Fromm calls the "conventional" symbols of the segment of society into which he was born. He is still very close to the universal symbols, symbols in which there is an "intrinsic relationship between the symbol and that which it represents....The universal symbol is rooted in the properties of our body, our senses, and our mind, which are common to all men...." (22, p. 18). One might say that the young child still has access to "the forgotten language" of mankind.

According to psychoanalytic theory, in the acting out of his fantasies in play, the young child often seems to make use of body symbols. He often seems to project onto the toys or objects used the qualities of his own body.

It is in the process of discovering the boundaries of his own body that the infant or young child learns that he is separate from the rest of the world, or whatever of the world that he has experienced. As the parts and functions of his body are growing and developing they are therefore of immense interest and importance
to him. As Freud said: "The ego is first of all a body ego" (21, p. 31). The discovery of his own body and what it will do is a fascinating subject to the small child. As he explores what the different parts of him will do, he experiences what psychoanalysis has referred to as "functional pleasure." (The adult can in a way understand this through the pleasure experienced in dancing, walking, or other pleasurable physical activities.) Since his own body is the means of experiencing other things in the world, and since it is his own body that he is basically discovering and therefore most concerned with, the young child tends to project upon other things in the world the attributes of his own body. He reaches out to the unknown through that which is best known.

Kubie (30) has outlined the basis for the symbolic representation of the body. He points out that as the outside world is apperceived by the child, each new unit comes to have special significance with relation to various parts of the body, representing parts of the body by analogy. Kubie states:

"Since the child's world begins inevitably with his body, and since the force which instigates the child to expand his knowledge is always the pressure of bodily desires, and since every new fact of experience which enters into psychic life can make its entrance only by relating itself to that which is already present, it follows that every new fact apperceived by the child must somehow relate itself to bodily things" (30, p. 430).

As the child goes through the developmental stages postulated
by psychoanalytic theory, he experiences new sensations in the areas of the body which are foremost in the process of development at the psychosexual stage through which he is at the time passing. In the phallic stage, since this is the part of the body where the sensory nerve endings are providing new and vivid sexual feelings, the young child might tend, especially at this time of development, to see appropriately similar objects or toys as phallic symbols.

Murphy (33, p. 64-69) discusses sources of symbolization in the play of children of two to five years. She points out that one object may stand for another by similarity of form, similarity of form or behavior combined with affect, or by similarity of function. She goes on to explain that symbolization may take place by part-whole, contiguity or other relationships. She says that experiences may be symbolized by the persons or structures by which they are implemented and that impulses and feelings may be symbolized by creatures free to express such impulses. She also recognizes that space patterns may be symbolic and may be used to represent concepts of the body. She stresses that it is "always necessary to evaluate the symbol in the specific context of the child's action, sequence of play, behavior, expressive pattern, interpersonal relation with the experimenter, in this play situation and experience in his real life situation" (33, p. 66).

More abstractly, Erikson (11) has illustrated how vertical phallic structures may be characteristic of boys while round womb-like structures may be more characteristic of girls. Erikson also
states: "A child concerned about 'the body as a whole' or even about 'life as a whole' may build corresponding configurations both as wishful arrangements and as traumatic repetitions" (11, p. 582).

The Child's Perception of Relationships

Parson and Bales (36, p. 78) have described how the "phallic" phase of psychosexual development is a period of differentiation in the child's perception of the father and mother role.

A study by Ausubel (1) suggested that there is an essential relation between the child's perception of his familial environment and his adjustment, and not, as had been thought, between expressed parental attitudes and childhood adjustment.

A later study by Serot and Teevan (46) supported their hypotheses that "(a) a child's adjustment is related to his perception of his relationship with his family; (b) the child's perception of the relationship is unrelated to his parents' perception of the same; and (c) the parents' perception of the relationship is unrelated to his offspring's adjustment" (46, p. 378). The major implications of Serot and Teevan's results focused on the child's perception of his home life. Previous experiments had tried to relate parental attitudes or the quality of the parent-child relationship measured by questionnaires or interviews directly to the nature of child adjustment. They did not discover definite one-to-one relations, perhaps because they failed to take into account that the child reacts to his perception of the situation and not directly to the situation
itself. Serot and Teevan stated: "The parent-child relationship of a family, which includes parental attitudes toward childrearing, involves many subtleties which have individual, often subconscious meanings for all concerned. These meanings influence each individual's perception of the relationship. The child's perception of the relationship is of extreme importance to him, for it is directly related to his adjustment; the actual parent-child relationship is only indirectly related to a child's adjustment. Studies of the dynamics of child psychology must, therefore, discover the course of development of children's perception of their familial environment and the factors that allow parental perception of the same environment to be so very different. Only then will it be feasible to discover more exactly the relation between child adjustment and parental attitudes" (46, p. 376).

Hendrick has pointed out that "fantasies of infants when repressed may exert the same dynamic and continued effect on the adult personality as actual experience" (25, p. 24). Anna Freud (17) has said of hospital procedures and operations on children that the child reacts more to the fantasies aroused by the operation than to the operation itself. The fantasy is dependent largely on the child's developmental stage and his life situation.

The Phallic Stage

According to their chronological age, the children observed in the present study are closely approaching, or have reached that developmental crisis which is known to psychoanalytic theory as the
"phallic stage", and which Erikson has further characterized as the 
"phallic-locomotor" stage. Erikson writes:

"The intrusive mode, dominating much of the behavior of this 
stage, characterizes a variety of configurationally 'similar' 
activities and fantasies. These include the intrusion into other 
bodies by vigorous attack; the intrusion into other people's ears 
and minds by aggressive talking; the intrusion into space by 
vigorous locomotion; the intrusion into the unknown by consuming 
curiosity" (10, p. 76).

This is the time which, as pointed out by Erikson, is most 
crucial for the development of initiative and, on the other hand, 
the time at which the child is most vulnerable to the establishment 
in his character of excessive guilt.

Erikson delineates three strong developments which "help at 
this stage, yet also serve to bring the child closer to his crisis: 
(1) he learns to move around more freely and more violently and 
therefore establishes a wider and, so it seems to him, an unlimited 
radius of goals; (2) his sense of language becomes perfected to the 
point where he understands and can ask about many things just enough 
to misunderstand them thoroughly; and (3) both language and locomotion 
permit him to expand his imagination over so many things that he can-
not avoid frightening himself with what he himself has dreamed and 
thought up. Nevertheless, out of all this he must emerge with a 
sense of unbroken initiative as a basis for a high and yet realistic 
sense of ambition and independence" (10, p. 75).
III. METHODS OF PROCEDURE

The Subjects

The children in the study were between three-and-a-half and four years of age. They were in attendance at the Orchard Street Nursery School at Oregon State University in Corvallis, Oregon. The children were in their second or third trimester of attendance at the nursery school. Children in their first trimester of attendance were not included in the study because these children were most likely to be still in the process of adjusting to the new situation of nursery school. Those in the second and third trimesters were more likely to be familiar with and more at home in the nursery school surroundings and thus more ready to respond to an additional new situation.

In their first year of nursery school most children are coming into continuous contact with adults outside the family for the first time in their lives. In the nursery school situation used in the study many observing students, other observers, and assisting students were present only one day of the week or attended once or a limited number of times. Thus in the nursery school the child was confronted with a situation in which many adults were always present but the same adults were not present continuously. It was reasoned that this situation would tend to stimulate feelings about relationships with adults. Since the study was concerned with relationships with people, it was felt that this factor of the first year of nursery school attendance made a good time to use the play
interviews in order to discover how the child sees relationships.

Within this definition, six children were selected for study, three boys and three girls. They ranged in age from three years and six months to four years and no months at the time the data was obtained.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Age</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vicki</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beth</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larry</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alec</td>
<td>3.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joyce</td>
<td>3.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This group neither represents random sampling of children between three-and-a-half and four nor does it represent a highly selected group with many variables controlled, but rather represents those available for study within the above broad definition. In this study, no attempt was planned to arrive at normative conclusions, but rather to obtain quite specific descriptions of how some children of this age see adults and feel related to them.

There were ten interviews in all. In order to give depth of insight concerning an individual child, one of the children (Alec, 3.9) was interviewed on four separate occasions over the period of a month. One other child (Vicki, 3.6) was interviewed twice. All the others were interviewed once.

The Technique of Initiating and Defining the Duration of the Play Interviews

The observer invited each child to the play interview in a transitional period between different kinds of play. The observer
invited the child by saying: "I have some special toys upstairs. Would you like to come and play with them?" Upon entering the play-room, if the child hesitated before starting to play, the observer would remark: "Here are the toys. You may do anything you like with them."

A play period was considered a play interview if it continued for fifteen minutes or longer. The conclusion of the play interview was voluntary on the part of the child whenever possible. However, there were some instances when the child did not voluntarily end the play within the limitations of the nursery school time schedule, in which case the observer terminated the play period.

The duration of individual play interviews ranged from 15 minutes to 60 minutes. In the case of Alec, who was interviewed on four occasions, the duration of the interviews varied from 15 minutes to 40 minutes, yet the occasion on which Alec played 15 minutes seemed continuous with his subsequent play interview which was 40 minutes in duration. The length of play interviews may be defined by play satiation and play disruption (8, p. 196-202), as by the termination defined by the supervising adult or the daily schedule.

The number of play interviews for each child and the length of each interview is shown below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>No. of Interviews</th>
<th>Length in Minutes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Alec</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>40, 15, 40, 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vicki</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>56, 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beth</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joyce</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Name</td>
<td>No. of Interviews</td>
<td>Length in Minutes</td>
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<tr>
<td>-------</td>
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<td>-------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Larry</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Michael</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Physical Setting

The "playroom" in which the sessions were held, consisted of an area of space about eight-and-a-half feet long and five-and-a-half feet wide at one end of the upstairs part of the nursery school. This whole upstairs area was a long narrow room, containing cots and used by the children of the nursery school during their rest time, and only in use at other times by observers who could view the nursery school floor from benches placed by windows on one side of the long resting room. The area designated for the play sessions was located at one end of this larger area. It was formed into a separate "room" by placing and nailing down screens in such a way as to create a fourth wall and a doorway for the "playroom." In one corner were some large shelves which were utilized for placing some of the toys. High large windows formed the upper part of one long wall and one short wall of the playroom. In the remaining short wall was a closet, the door of which was closed but not locked.

Description of Play Objects

A variety of toys was offered the children. The purposes in presenting a number of different kinds of toys rather than dolls alone representing the family constellation were:

(1) to suggest people present, adults and children, in order to encourage the child's expression of his perception of significant
relationships.

(2) to suggest the child's reality world, the life situation, by providing toys representing objects with which he was likely to be familiar in everyday life.

(3) to give the child a wide range of choice, as different children may express themselves better with different toys, and also to give the child time to get his bearings in a new situation while exploring the different toys.

The toys were arranged in a pleasing and inviting way in the room. The arrangement of the toys was based upon Lois B. Murphy's account of her Miniature Life Toy experiments (33, p. 9-101). Most of the toys were in open boxes placed in a semicircle on the floor. There were four boxes, a separate box for each category of toys. The following is a list of the toys contained in each box:

1. Doll Box
   2 men in tan coats, with brown trousers
   2 men figures with jointed limbs, 1 with brown suit, 1 with tan suit
   1 policeman figure
   1 boy doll, yellow suit
   3 woman dolls, 2 with blue felt dresses, 1 with pink dress
   1 nurse figure
   1 grandmother figure
   1 jointed woman doll, without arm, yellow dress
   2 girl dolls, 1 with yellow dress, 1 with white
   1 baby girl doll, peach print dress and hood
   2 baby dolls, nude
   1 very tiny baby doll, plastic

Arranged on the floor just outside and beside the doll box were two tall woman dolls, one with a blue dress and one with a pink dress, a nurse figure, a man doll, a little girl in a red striped
skirt, a little boy with red trousers, and a baby girl doll with a green bonnet.

2. Transportation Toy Box
   1 tiny red bus wrapped in tissue paper
   8 automobiles
   2 trucks, 1 gasoline and 1 delivery
   4 airplanes, 1 yellow, 1 blue, 2 red
   1 larger truck, that will haul, a place in back
     where things could be loaded on
   1 engine, and
   5 "train cars" that hook together to make a train

3. Furniture and Housekeeping Toys Box
   1 large piece rug material
   1 tan dining room set, table and 4 chairs
   2 chest of drawers, 1 with drawer that opens, 1 with
     drawers painted on
   2 bowls, 1 green, 1 yellow
   2 candlesticks
   2 clocks, 1 green, 1 brown
   2 lamps
   1 small night table
   2 adult, or large double beds
   1 tan bedroom chair
   1 dresser with mirror
   1 bench for dresser
   1 cedar chest
   1 red set of table and 4 chairs
   several pieces material
   1 crib
   1 bathinette, collapsable
   1 hamper
   2 sinks
   1 waste basket
   1 heater
   1 bathtub
   1 tiny toilet with lid that opens
   1 larger toilet, lid does not open
   1 blue stool
   2 tiny red chairs
   1 kitchen set, including refrigerator, stove, sink
     and cabinet

4. Lincoln Log Box
   14 Lincoln logs, assorted sizes
   15 green sticks
On the floor were placed standing the freeform or "faceless" animal, and the tiny lamb.

On the corner shelves were placed:

"Dolly's Guest Closet Box" (or "doll closet box"), containing small Samsonite suitcase with doll dress and piece of material in it, a tiny yellow wash cloth, a yellow bathroom type glass, a little pillow, hot water bottle and brush.

Piece of string in "callophane" plastic package
Piece of string loose
Large red jeep

Diagram of Playroom
ENTRANCE

CLIMBABLE SHELVES
THE DOLLS

"FACELESS"
ANIMAL AND
LITTLE LAMB
Method of Recording

The observer recorded in sequential narrative form all of the child’s behavior as she was able to perceive it, including gross motor activities, verbalizations, facial expressions, contacts with toys, actions produced with toys, etc. In so far as possible, qualitative descriptions of the observer’s impressions of the child and his actions were included in order to obtain data concerning subtle individual unique qualities.

In order to establish the objectivity and reliability of the writer’s recordings of child behavior, observations were made simultaneously with another observer, (Katherine H. Read, Department of Family Life, Oregon State University). When these simultaneous recordings were analyzed for actions with toys, the percentage of agreement between the two recorders was 89.4 percent.¹

Since understanding of the child’s communication is so largely dependent upon study of the sequence of the child’s behavior, the data to be gathered had to be of a nature which would include and bring out the sequence relations in the material. This requirement is fulfilled by the type of record made by the method of specimen description.

¹The formula used was:
\[
\text{Percentage of agreement} = \frac{2 \times \text{agreements}}{2 \times \text{agreements} + \text{disagreements}}
\]

Herbert F. Wright cites some of the advantages of the use of specimen records in child development research:

"This method begins with the scheduled and continuous observing and narrative recording of a behavior sequence under chosen conditions of time and life setting. A child to observe and a time and particular place in which to observe are selected to suit special interests. But the observer in the field is in no way deliberately selective. He is instead deliberately unselective in the sense that he aims to make a faithful record of 'everything' as it comes in the behavior and situation of the child. The obtained record may be exhibited as a behavior documentary. But that seldom is all. The recorded material is usually subjected to study that varies among different applications from ever so free interpretation to somewhat strict and thoroughgoing quantitative analysis."

"The end results of specimen description depend upon its field records, which are therefore considered first and independently. These behavior accounts, to add another terminological note, have often been called 'diary records.' Their narrative form understandably suggests this identification, and enough of them pieced together would make a diary. But...part by part, they are far more intensive than typical diary descriptions" (49, p. 33-84).

"Specimen records...present for analysis finely woven strands of successive units and conditions of behavior. A further result is that they permit intensive study of sequence relations in behavior" (49, p. 86-87).
"A specimen record preserves much of behavior as it appears without either the omissions of selective observation or the alterations of theory. It therefore goes far to secure whatever advantage theoretically neutral data have to confer upon a discipline with more guesses than facts. One is encouraged here by the fact that about every science but psychology has gone to great pains to store such data. Natural history museums, herbaria, astronomical charts and photographs, and anthropological archives give examples."

"...it seems to us that a research tool which records behavior (1) comprehensively, (2) sensitively, (3) in context, (4) in continuous lengths, (5) without theoretical bias, and (6) with permanence ought to meet needs of many problems in child development" (49, p. 88-89).

This method "...offers...the possibility of exploring lawful relations between many and greatly differing variables of behavior and situation that are not easily caught in the same matrix by experiments or closed observational procedures. ...Relations between simultaneous behavior and situation factors have been investigated, and sequential interdependencies could be studied by the same procedures" (49, p. 92).

Lois B. Murphy states that, when assembling material on the social development of children, she was impressed by the huge gaps in knowledge, one of the most urgent of which was "the lack of first-hand undistilled material which would give the reader a chance to
experience the life of a child as directly as possible" (34, p. vi).

Variables

In order to limit the number of variables, a consistent number of toys was offered children, arranged according to a consistent design. A consistent play situation was created by one play setup. The human variables were limited to the observer and child. The social variable was limited by having the same one person for all children, the same place and the same play objects. The social variables were limited by the play interview technique.

One of the problems basic in all human research, and especially in research with children is that many variables cannot be limited because of the special ethical problems involved. To a great extent we substitute recording of variables. Also, there are many variables which are imperceptible in a child's immediate life situation. Because of awareness of these unseen variables, as much information as available in a child's life situation has been obtained. (For instance, a child's father is an undertaker, which may make boxes take on a special meaning for him, in addition to the meaning boxes might have for all or many children. This is an

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2For instance, one child wants to see in the closet, which had not been counted on in design of the study and choice of objects. The value of denying this particular thing did not seem equal to the value of letting him play out the theme and develop it without unnecessary interference, because it could be interpreted by him as not accepting his curiosity and play fantasy as a whole. However, this variable and its part in the playing out of the complete fantasy can be carefully and accurately recorded and taken into consideration in the analysis and interpretation of the material.
example of how the father's occupation might change the child's perception of objects.)

The Observer's Role

The observer attempted to take as outwardly passive a role as possible. However, in the dynamics between a young child and an adult alone in a room together, the child will draw the adult into the psychological situation, so that the adult necessarily becomes active as well as passive. The child's growth stage modifies the observer's position, so that she becomes a participant observer. At this age, the adult-child relationship is still so essential to the child's sense of self and his capacity to interact with the new and unfamiliar that he cannot permit the adult to be completely uninvolved. Erikson (8, p. 203-204) has described how a child may involve and make use of the adult in a play interview situation.

However, the observer attempted to maintain as passive an attitude as possible, in order to give the initiative to the child, to facilitate the spontaneous emergence of the child's own feelings and actions, and to avoid inadvertently suggesting a direction of the play or of the child's attention. The observer tried to respond to the child's questions or approach by reflecting back the child's expressed feelings. Creating an atmosphere of acceptance and of valuing the child and what he did, and setting the necessary limits for the safety of the child and the surroundings seemed essential aspects of the adult role in this adult-child relationship. The
principles set forth by Virginia Axline (2) in her book on non-directive play therapy, principles based on the theories of Rogers, seemed appropriate guides in the development of this technique. However, the variations which emerged in actual practice were my own. For the times when I failed to recognize and respond to the child's feeling that I take a more active part in the proceedings or converse more freely with him, the responsibility is my own.

Axline (2), in her non-directive play therapy, has explored the non-directive position. Non-directive, as Axline describes it, is not identical with passive observation. Rogers (41) also has pointed out that the non-directive attitude implies and requires an inward activity, responsiveness and "aliveness" in order to accept what the other is communicating and to enter into the frame of reference of the other, although possibly to an external observer the outward manifestation of the action of acceptance may sometimes appear on the surface as passivity.

I tried to interfere as little as possible in the development of the child's own expressions. This non-directive way of approaching the relationship with a child is based upon a belief, as suggested by writers in the field of personality theory (Rogers, 41; Maslow, 37), that when one level of feeling emerges from a person, and is accepted and recognized as valid by a significant other person, then the next deeper level of feeling is freed to emerge. Since the child's fantasies, theories and feelings about adults are deep and of serious concern to him, and also private, he will express the details of his
fantasies only gradually, even in play; that is, on a rather
"superficial" level at first and in small doses and progressively
in more detail, dimension and intensity. When the anxiety becomes
too great, or the child's security with the adult not sufficient,
play disruption occurs. That is one reason why it is at the point
of play disruption that the matters of the deepest concern to the
child are involved.

Rogers has pointed out the subtle forces at work in the
interview situation. He writes:

"What is vitally needed is the recognition that the process
which goes on in interviewing is so subtle that its potentialities
for growth may be utterly destroyed by the 'forceful' handling
which is characteristic of most of our relationships. To understand
the subtle forces operating, to recognize and cooperate with them,
needs the utmost in careful concentration and study, and in the
completeness of records which picture the process" (42, p. 247).

I tried to make the play periods, and the small area set
aside for them, a place where that which the child did, especially
the child's initiative, was valued. Many perceptions, understand-
ings of children, expressed sometimes by some children so fleetingly
or subtly, may just never develop because no one else has valued
them. Creativeness grows, as each bit of it is accepted and valued.
As feelings come forth and are accepted, the next level of feeling
emerges.
Treatment of the Data

The records of each individual child have been explored separately for meanings relative to the area of investigation. This case study approach to the data is illustrated by Chapter V and Chapter VI, one on a boy, Alec, the other on a girl, Vicki. In these chapters, the analyses of the interviews of Alec and Vicki are presented as examples of records analyzed as completely as possible.

In the play interviews, the children communicated through the following ways, which are closely intertwined and interrelated in their play and which are not really separable:

1. The acting out of fantasies.
2. The relation to the adult in the play interview situation.
3. The total play behavior (choice of play material, formations and constructions, body movements, use of space).

It may be helpful to the reader to keep in mind these three points while reading the interpretive analyses of the play interview records, particularly that of Alec. An attempt was made by the writer to illustrate in the interpretation these three points, and especially to show the ways in which they intertwine and interrelate in the sequence of the child's behavior.

Evidence especially on point two above, the relationship to the adult in the play interview situation, will be presented in Chapter VII.

The play interviews themselves are presented in Chapter IV.
Specific parts of the records of the play interviews may be referred to while reading the interpretive analyses by referring back to the interview and paragraph specified at the beginning of each page. In the records of the play interviews, the verbalizations of the child are indicated in capital letters, the verbalizations of the observer are indicated by quotation marks.
IV. THE PLAY INTERVIEWS

1. Alec
   Age 3.9

Interview 1
Paragraph 1

9:35  Alec, on entering toyroom, stands still inside for a long time, gazing at the things in the room. Then he glances at me, a puzzled, questioning expression on his face, then looks back toward the things in the room. Finally he says: THERE'S A TRUCK OVER THERE. (the red jeep) "You like trucks?" YES. But he goes to dolls instead, picks up little girl doll. LOOK AT THIS LITTLE TINY BABY. CAN I TAKE THIS RUBBER BAND OFF? (rubber band around doll's waist, holding on a piece of clothing) "You may do anything you like with these toys." He plays with doll for a minute, then puts her down, takes jointed man doll out of box, makes his joints work, moves his arms, etc. Sits him on floor, making doll sit by himself. Alec is delighted with this -- SEE! SEE! NOW LOOKIT -- LOOKIT! SEE! SEE! Then he knocks man down. Picks up policeman. Pulls at policeman's jacket. CAN I TAKE THIS OFF? "You can take it off if you want to." He pulls at policeman's clothes, finally getting off both jacket and trousers. He holds out nude policeman doll. NOW LOOKIT! There is a noise of someone coming up the stairs. WHO'S THAT COMING? Alec is now trying to put policeman's trousers back on. He works at this, then holds doll and trousers out toward me. YOU DO IT. "You want me to do it." KINDA HARD. But he holds on to the doll and trousers and, continuing to work with them, does get the trousers on the doll. THERE! THERE! Seems very pleased,
says "there!" emphatically, punctuating this accomplishment. Now he is working with policeman's jacket. Alec talks as he works but is difficult to understand as he leaves out so many consonants, and I could not get everything he said into the record. He succeeds in getting jacket on doll, but the jacket is on backwards and upside down, covering the policeman's face. Alec holds the doll out toward me, Alec frowning, a nonplused and perplexed expression on his face. He deposits doll with me, turns to the other toys and picks up jointed man doll again. He works with this doll, making it sit on floor by itself, then throws doll back into box. Then he starts picking up all the people and putting them into the box, tossing them in quickly, as though through with them and wanting to get on to other matters. 9:42 He moves quickly to car box, picks out yellow plane, lifts plane high, smiling at me.

He starts taking out train cars, hooking them together, exclaiming with evident delight at finding train. He runs train along on floor, bringing it to over in front of me, a smile on his face. LOOKIT! Then he runs train around the room. TOOT! TOOT! TOO--TOO--TOO! Then he puts train cars back into box. He holds up red truck. He runs it briefly over the floor then puts it back into box. Goes over to Lincoln logs. Picks up a long log and a short log. Looks questioningly over at me, says something in a murmur. I could not distinguish the words. Picks up little lamb.
Says something to me about lamb. Goes on talking about it. Picks up faceless animal — WHAT IS THIS? "What do you think?" A'MAL (animal). He moves over to furniture box. Takes out refrigerator, stove, tiny toilet with lid that opens and shuts. LOOK! IT OPENS UP! He makes lid go up and down. Takes the other toilet out of box (one without movable lid). WHAT IS THIS? "You wonder what it is." IT'S A TOILET. IT DOESN'T OPEN UP. Takes out dresser, then sink. Picks up dresser again, discovers that drawer moves and comes out. Pulling at drawer, in and out, finally pulling it all the way out, he walks over to me, showing me — LOOK AT WHAT THIS CAN DO. He starts putting drawer back in, works at it, has some difficulty, finally gets it in, but back¬wards, pushes it back and forth. Back to toys, plays with them a minute, then stands up. I 'AVE TO GO TO POTTY.

9:50 Alec goes, comes back soon, enters room eagerly, smiling, but stops by door, his expression changes, he looks at me soberly, sort of cocking his head on one side. He comes closer to me, then just stands there looking into my face, a very puzzled look on his face. He looks down at watch, which I am holding. "You wonder about this watch?" He nods. "It's so I can tell when it is time for us to go downstairs." He says I KNOW and goes over to toys he had been playing with. He is taking more furniture out of box. Baby bathinette. WHAT IS THIS? Kitchen sink and counter. WHAT'S THAT? He works with baby bathinette for some time, trying to get it to stand up. Then he starts putting all
the furniture back into the box. He pauses with the little toilet, holding it in his hand, looking down at it, fingering it, making the lid go up and down. Then he throws it into box. When all the furniture is back in box, and other things that are out, too, he goes over to shelf. Kneeling in front of shelf, so he can just reach it easily, and smiling, he picks up big red jeep. He handles it, looking at it, and a piece of it comes off (a detachable and attachable part.) LOOK AT WHAT I DID. "It will go back on. It can come off and on."

He gets the piece reattached to jeep. Puts down jeep, picks up doll closet box, holds it toward me, asking if he can play with that. "Yes. You can play with any of the toys here that you want to." He brings doll closet box and sits down on floor. Takes out little hot water bottle, suitcase, pillow. Then puts all back in, closes doll closet box, then opens it again. Takes things out again. Finds little wash cloth in doll closet box. He sits, holding on to little wash cloth. WHERE'S THE LITTLE BABY?

10:00 He gets baby doll from among the dolls, lies baby doll on wash cloth which he has spread inside doll closet box. Then he puts little pillow on top of the doll. He puts all other doll closet things back into doll closet box. He seems fascinated with this box, sits, holding it on his lap, opening its top lid, closing it, opening it, closing it, opening it. Takes suitcase out again, then puts it back in again. Then closes doll closet box and puts it back on shelf (little doll
still in there covered up with other things).

10:01 He reaches into transportation toy box on floor, picks yellow airplane out of the box, drops it back in, picks up a red car, puts it back. He reaches over with his arm to shelf, picks up doll closet box, puts it back down on shelf again. He picks up cellophane package of string on shelf. Asks if it is all right to play with that. When I say it is, he pulls string out long, then wads it up and stuffs it back into package. He picks up red car with wheels off, goes over to furniture box, picks out pair of wheels which have got in there somehow, tries to fit wheels on car. Gets them on. Picks up a yellow car, also without wheels. Holds up. THIS ONE EVEN BROKEN TOO. He is holding candlestick in one hand, holds it out asking what it is. "A candlestick." He fits green wheels on yellow car. Holds it up to show he has got them on. HERE'S ANOTHER. Holds up set of yellow wheels. Then puts these wheels on front part of yellow car. He works patiently at this. Finds tiny bus wrapped up in tissue paper. 10:06 Unwraps it. WHAT'S THIS -- A BUS? Gets long string, not in package, from shelf. THERE'S TWO OF THESE STRINGS.

Alec wants to see in closet. I let him look in. He brings out a toy drum which is in there. He props it up on stool by where I am sitting, balancing it on stool with his hands. He bangs on drum (testingly, I thought). Then he says: 'I DON'T WANT YOU TO LOOK AT ME. "All right."' I look down at writing. He hits drum rather hard.
"That makes a loud noise when you hit it," I say, still looking down at writing. LOOKIT! I look up, and he is balancing drum on stool, making it roll back and forth on stool, pushing it gently, then gives it a little harder push and it rolls onto floor. Alec, moving quickly, goes right over to dolls, takes out jointed woman doll in yellow "dress" (painted on), sits her on floor — WHAT IS THIS? Puts her quickly back in box. Now he has his back to me, leaning over dolls, doing something with them. Then stands up, turns to me, says he wants to go downstairs now.

10:15

Length of Play Interview: 40 minutes
Alec was riding bike outside when I asked him if he would like to play with the toys again today. He immediately got off bike, saying AW WIGHT, and started indoors. As we were walking in, he said: I TOLD MY MOMMY AND SHE 'AFED (laughed) AT ME. He wanted to put his coat in closet where I was putting mine away. By the time I had finished hanging up my coat, he had disappeared. When I got up to the playroom he was there, putting train cars together.

Then he shook them apart one by one and put each back in box. He sat down (on hands and knees) by furniture and housekeeping toys box. He picked out heater, then threw it back. He went over to doll closet box on shelf. Took out pillow, baby doll, then put doll back in and put small wash cloth over it like a cover. Picked up doll again, brushed doll's "hair" with toy brush. While doing this he was on knees in front of shelf, soberly doing these things. He got up, came over to me, pointed to closet behind where I was sitting. I WANT TO SEE WHAT'S IN THERE. He brings out drum again. Said something I could not understand about drum. Then let drum roll onto floor.

I had put my pen down for a moment. He picked it up, started to play with it. I said that I needed to have the pen, but he could do anything he wanted with the toys. I reached out for it. He threw it over the screen. He stood there looking at me, a kind of worried
expression on his face and as though he were about to run. I said: "You were mad at me for trying to take the pen and that's why you threw it." He still stood there. I went on: "You may do anything you like with any of the toys in here, but the pen is mine and I need to keep it." He went over and sat down by furniture toys. Played with them a little bit, picked up chest of drawers, working drawer, pushing it out and in. Played just a little more with furniture toys, then got up and said he wanted to go downstairs now. I said "All right," and that he could come back again another day if he wanted to. As we went out and were at the stairs I said we could look for the pen which I thought had landed on the stairs. He said: I KNOW WHERE IT IS! He ran back up and pulled it out from under a cot. He seemed to know exactly where it had landed. He crawled under cot, brought it out and handed it to me. Then we went downstairs. Down there, he wanted me to read him a story.

Length of Play Interview: 15 minutes
Alec
Interview 3
Paragraphs 1 and 2

Alec requested to play with the toys.  

9:50 He went to box of dolls, squatted beside it, then went over to shelf, got down doll closet box. He takes out suitcase, opens it. Then takes out all the things in doll closet box. Holds box, examining it carefully, and very gravely, very serious expression on his face. Then he puts all the things back in the doll closet box. Puts box back on shelf.  

He picks up red airplane from transportation box, holds up airplane, smiles at me, "flies" airplane, landing it in box rather roughly on top of other toys in box. Leaves plane in box, takes out green car, drives it straight over across room to where I am sitting on rug and bumps it straight into me, purposefully but not a hard bump. Then leaves car and goes to dolls. Picking them up and dropping them, one by one, back into the box -- LOOK AT ALL THE BABIES. Singing a song about "daddy," most of the words unintelligible, as he plays with dolls. Picks up policeman, undresses him. Holds nude policeman up as if showing me -- laughs (a "haha" derisive loud kind of laugh). Then he is singing a song as he puts trousers back on policeman. Putting coat on policeman, he gets it on upside down so policeman's face is covered (as he had done in first session). Brings policeman dressed this way over and gives him to me. (As he had done in first session.) Goes back to doll box and picks up jointed
man. Holds him up and laughs and laughs. Sits jointed man so that he sits by himself on floor, then sits woman next to him, and then the other jointed man (all the jointed dolls there are). LOOKIT! I SAT THEM ALL IN A LINE. Roughly, he throws them back into box.

He turns to transportation box, takes three planes out of the box, piling them on top of each other on floor. Then "flies" yellow plane, making a loud noise like a plane flying. "Flies" plane to shelf, lands it there, "flies" it to wall, makes it go up wall, finally brings it back and "parks" it on top of red plane (from where he had got it). Takes out train cars -- OW! I BUMPED MY HAND! Now he is putting train cars together. Runs train around on floor going TOOOOOOOOOOOOT. Rug has got all squished up in a bunch -- Alec's movements have been rougher than in the previous sessions -- pushing toys around, rug bunching up -- he runs train up onto bunched up rug. Leaves train, starts running red plane around, making loud plane noises. Runs plane up curtain covering screen. Then turns back toward transportation box, takes aim and throws plane into transportation box. Gets red truck, runs it over to box of Lincoln logs. Puts a log on back of truck. LOOKIT! Then runs truck with log back to transportation box. Backs truck up to Lincoln log box again. Loads on another log, hauls it over, pushing rug, then slowly backing it up to box, unloads log. Repeats process bringing over green stick this time. THERE! LOOKIT! With logs and stick he has made a kind of pen, using transportation box as one side
of pen. Has planes inside pen, puts truck into pen. Flies plane, then returns it to pen. Brings out truck. Hauls a log back to log box, then green stick, then the other log. Puts red plane on truck. Then holding them both, plane on truck, he "flies" truck in air (holding on to it, of course). Lands truck, piles the other planes on it, too. Runs it over to right beside me. LOOKIT. He wrecks it, truck and planes now in an upside down heap on floor. Then piles planes back on truck. (At some point during the foregoing play, he had said something to me which I had not understood and asked him what he said. He had answered: I NOT GOING TO TELL YOU.) With planes back on truck, he hauls them back across room toward transportation box. GO BACK TO THE AIRPORT. Over there, he backs truck up to side of box. TEACHER, WE'RE GOIN' BACK TO THE AIRPORT. After unloading planes, he runs truck back across room to me, running it straight up onto my lap and over the policeman doll lying on my lap. "Truck is mad at policeman?" I ask. Alec stops, frowns, holding truck, sits on floor. Says POLICEMAN IS MAD AT TRUCK? He picks up policeman doll, holds him in his hands for a moment looking at him, and then takes him over and hides him behind curtain on screen, pulling out curtain enough to stick policeman in behind it.

Then he takes some green sticks and makes a kind of lopsided square on the floor. THIS IS A HOUSE. Puts several pieces of furniture inside this area, including bed which he puts upside down
and calls a desk. Takes little cedar chest out of furniture box. Holds up -- WHAT IS THIS? "What do you think?" I THINK IT'S A BABY BED. Picks up baby doll hat. WON'T FIT ON ME....

10:15 Gets baby doll from box and puts hat on baby, singing and grooming as he works with this. BABY BABY BABY.... HERE I AM.... Gets hat on baby. LOOKIT. Singing to baby -- HE'S GOING TO SLEEP.... Puts baby to bed face down in cedar chest. Closes lid. Holds chest up toward me as if showing me. Puts chest in a green square area. Puts another baby doll upside down in waste basket, also inside green square. Puts a piece of material inside green square next to green stick and propping it so it stands up against a piece of furniture. HERE'S THE CURTAIN. Then sits, picking at nose, seems to be gazing at real curtain on screen. I move slightly to change position. He quickly asks if I'm going downstairs. I say no I was just moving. He starts putting furniture back in furniture box. Puts all pieces back, green sticks back in their box. Having put everything back in boxes, he starts to climb the shelves. We have some conversation about this, couldn't get it all down. Alec looking out window, from up on shelf. I CAN SEE LEAVES. More conversation. IT MIGHT BREAK. Coming down he climbs inside middle shelf. LIKE A DOG HOUSE. Climbs up again, then down. Puts drum in closet. Asks about other things in closet. Then wants to go downstairs.

10:30

Length of Play Interview: 40 minutes
On the following day (Wednesday), Alec asked to play with the toys — let's go play with the toys.... but there wasn't time. He said I just want to go look at them. I did not let him (another child had been playing there and the toys had not yet been picked up) but I said that I liked playing with the toys with him and we would tomorrow. He said no you don't, but he asked again on Thursday to play with them. This time we went.

9:50 The toys were in boxes on the shelves. Alec climbed up shelves, started to try to get boxes down. At my suggestion, he stood on floor and I handed him boxes. He was very interested in putting the boxes on floor just where they had been the previous times. Where was this one? as he put transportation box down just where it had been placed before. Started with transportation toys, putting blue wheels on blue train engine (taken off by another child). Got that one fixed. Fixes another one (child who had played there before had taken all the wheels off all the trains and cars, and I had only got part of them back on when putting them away). Then he takes wheels off blue engine he had just fixed. I'll do this one again. Now this one's broken. Puts wheels back on.... got this one fixed. Now hooking black car onto blue engine. Putting blue wheels on red car. Wheels on yellow car. Takes off wheels that are on it (wrong ones) and putting its own wheels on it. I got that one
FIXED. Holds it up. GOT IT ALL FIXED.

Now puts all back in box.

10:00 GONNA LOOK OUT WINDOW. Climbs up on stool. I SEE JIMMY....
I GONNA BREAK THE WINDOW. He gets down, gets green stick, climbs on stool again. I GONNA BREAK THE WINDOW. "You feel like you want to break the window." Standing on stool, stick in hand, arm poised, looking over shoulder at me, he repeats I GONNA BREAK THE WINDOW. "I'll stop you from breaking the window. We couldn't fix that so easily." I moved toward him but before I touched him, he said I WON'T REALLY. He got down from stool, went over to furniture box, sat beside it, took out crib, asks if he can break it. "You can break the toys. I told you you could do anything you want with them. I can't let you break the windows but you can do whatever you want with the toys."

He goes at it determinedly, breaks sides off crib. Holds up sideless crib. I REALLY DID THAT. "You really did that. You can do whatever you want with the toys." He takes a Lincoln log and gives crib a whack. Then another one. He whacks and whacks it, really pounds it with the log. When it is all smashed up, he takes dresser with mirror out of box, breaks mirror off. Then he pounds dresser itself with log, but it is sturdy and doesn't break. Then he takes tiny red chair. Whacks it up. Very energetically. PUT 'EM ALL BACK NOW. He puts everything back in box. He has broken crib, dresser
I 4
P 3 and 4

with mirror (took apart), and little red chair.

Puts down log, starts climbing up shelves. WILL THIS BREAK?

"Those are strong and won't break if you just climb on them." We
have some more discussion about what will break. He seems relaxed,
just talks about breaking. Spits at shelf. Doesn't actually spit,
but makes spitting motion with mouth. "You want to break things and
spit on them because you feel so mad inside." I NOT NOW. He
started climbing down, said -- SOMETIMES I AM BUT NOT NOW. Continues
climbing down. Curls up inside lower shelf for a moment, then gets
down onto floor. GO DOWNSTAIRS NOW. But doesn't, stops and squats
down by doll box, looking into it. Picks out jointed man doll.
WHAT IS THIS? "What do you think?" A MAN. He moves man's arm,
pulling at it. WILL HE BREAK? Pulls at doll's arm (as if about to
break it off), then quickly puts doll back into box. Gets up and goes
out. Comes back, picks up box and dumps all dolls out on floor.
Then puts box, open side down, on top of them. Then sets box right
side up on floor again, quickly puts all dolls back in box. GO
DOWNSTAIRS NOW. Gets up, goes to door. Looks back at me. C'MON.

We go downstairs.

10:10

Length of Play Interview: 20 minutes
2. Vicki
Age 3.6

Interview 1
Paragraphs 1 and 2

Vicki had been playing in doll corner. She left doll corner, dropping doll on floor, standing between doll corner and window. Observer went over to her and said: "I have some special toys upstairs. Would you like to come and play with them?" She looked up, said YES, immediately started with observer. At door to stairs she hesitated, said quickly: WILL YOU STAY UP THERE? "Yes, I'll stay up there."

On entering play area upstairs she started right away toward dolls....Oh....then turned away from dolls and, stooping down, started taking things out of box of furniture. Commenting on things, as she picked them up....HERE'S A LITTLE LIGHT. DOES IT GO THIS WAY? OR THIS WAY?....WILL YOU PUT THIS DOWN? She puts object down on floor herself. Sits down herself. HERE'S THE LITTLE TOILET! THE GOO! Tries to put a child doll in bathtub. Has to push down on doll to get her to fit into tub. Puts doll in lying on back. Then takes doll out, puts her in face down. Has been taking toys rapidly out of furniture box -- little dolls and furniture. Sits child doll on top of refrigerator. Looking intermittently over at observer, questioning her about toys....ARE THESE YOURS?....Picks up sink. WHAT'S THIS? Sets it on floor. A SINK. Moving now over to doll group. As she reaches for doll, several other dolls fall down.
Picks up woman doll. Pulls up doll's dress. As she reaches for a child doll, a woman doll standing against chair falls down. MAMA CAN'T STAND UP. Tries to make one doll, then another stand up. Looks at observer. THEY WON'T STAND UP. FALLS. SEE? THAT MAMA WON'T FALL DOWN. Finds a man doll. DADDY! Turns to observer. CAN I TAKE THESE HOME? "They're to play with here." But she has turned her attention back to man doll. HEY! DADDY! She sits him in a chair. As she moves her arms amidst dolls, more of them fall down. ALL FALL DOWN. Picks up man doll. CAN I TAKE THIS COAT OFF? "You want to take it off." I CAN'T....Then suddenly....THE OTHER GIRLS CAN'T PLAY WITH THESE. Picks up woman doll in blue dress. Pulls at doll's clothes. IS HER PINNED ON? Brings doll over to observer, says in high voice, DOES HER GIT PANTIES ON? She deposits doll with observer, to be unpinned, turns back to toys, going over to box of cars, sitting down in front of them.

CARS CARS CARS FOR ME -- She croons these words, and continues murmuring in a singing tone about "cars for me," as she opens tiny box with a little car in it. Then finds an airplane. Lifts it in air, standing up and turning toward observer, making YOU YOOWWWWWWWWW YOY YOOOOOOOOOOOOOONWWWWWWWW sound as she moves plane in air, bringing it through the air and leaving it on chair beside observer. She goes back to cars, playing a moment, then -- I HAVE TO GO TO BATHROOM. She gets up, starts out, saying she will come
right back.

Downstairs she announces loudly as she passes through nursery school room that she is playing with toys upstairs. She goes to the toilet. Observer has followed and when observer enters bathroom, Vicki is sitting on toilet. YOU STAY UP THERE. When she gets off toilet, she takes observer's hand, starts back to upstairs playroom. In playroom she immediately sits down amidst toys, puts child doll on top of "bus car" she has taken before out of car box. HER GOIN' ON TOP OF THE BUS. Then picks up doll again and starts removing doll's hat. HER GIT THIS OFF. Continues playing with toys. CAN I TAKE THIS RUBBER BAND OFF? "You can do whatever you want with the toys." CAN I TAKE IT OFF? "You wonder whether you can really take it off or not." MMM HUMMMMM she murmurs as she takes rubber band off.

Continues taking toys out of furniture box. A SINK. Picks up bureau with drawers, holding it, pulls out and in the little drawer. Holds it up toward observer. THIS IS FOR SHEETS. Continues to play, talking in a soft voice to the dolls. Turns head toward observer...IS ME HAVE LUNCH HERE? "Yes." Back to talking to dolls as she moves them about. OH ME -- YOU BETTER LAY DOWN -- YOU BETTER LAY IN CRIB, TOO. (softly crooning) SEEPIE PIE.... SEEPIE PIE....ZIS IS HER SEEPIE PIE....Reaching for a doll, more fall down that have been placed standing against furniture. SEE,
YA KNOCKED THESE DOWN....Goes to shelf, finds doll closet box....
HEY!....Delighted expression on her face, she brings it to observer.
DO YOU OPEN THIS. "You can open it." CAN'T....as she opens it,
tearing off top paper. OHHHHHHHHH. LOOK AT THIS....THIS IS....
HMMMMMMMMM....GOTTA PUT IT BACK IN. (She has taken tiny toy
brush out of box and replaces it.) SUITCASE! Takes suitcase out
of doll closet box. DOES IT OPEN? she opens it. YOU GOTTA TAKE
THIS APART....There are some noises on stairs. Vicki, already
excited by discovery of doll closet box, seems to become excited now
in an agitated sort of way by sounds on stairs -- in very high
voice: SOMEONE'S COMIN' UP! She runs to screen. "No one will
come here while you're playing here." She comes back to doll
closet box. I GOT ONE JUST LIKE THIS! She takes out little roll
of toilet paper, begins to unroll it, tears off part she has un-
rolled, wads it up, takes it over to toys she has arranged near
box. GOTTA WIPE THE POTTY....WHERE'S THE TOILET? She wipes off
tiny baby doll. WIPE WIPE WIPE WIPE....YOU'RE DIRTY....THERE'S
MAMA....GO SLEEP....GO SLEEP, MAMA. She puts mama doll in bed, puts
cover over her. She puts tiny baby and larger baby doll in another
bed, also covers them up, puts child doll in crib. Then takes child
doll out of crib, pulls at doll's clothes. PANTIES, PANTIES....
Pulls at side of crib, making it go up and down, finally gets it
up as she wants it, puts child doll in crib on her face. Vicki
Il P 6 and 7

gets up, saying (rather matter of factly, or as if in explanation for leaving them there) THEY'RE ASLEEP. She walks over towards shelf, then quickly on over to doll group without stopping -- HERE'S TWO DADDYS! (exclaiming in high excited voice)...HI, DADDY!

Vicki picks up man doll from group of adult dolls, sits down on floor, picks up crib with child doll in it, sets crib on floor in front of her. She leans over crib, holding man doll over crib, saying WAKE UP! WAKE UP! DADDY'S HERE.... She takes child doll out of crib, holds man doll and child doll tightly against each other. She looks up at observer with a big smile -- a delighted expression on her face -- DADDY'S HERE!.... Then she concentrates on the dolls, talking softly to them in a little tender crooning voice....DADDY GOTTA GO BACK TO WORK (she is still holding the two dolls close together)....DADDY WANTS YOU. DADDY WANTS YOU. Vicki gets up, walks over to opening of play area, pulls screen shut.

NOW SOMEBODY CAN'T COME IN, 'CAUSE THIS IS OUR -- 'CAUSE I GOTTA WORK HARD. She comes back to group of dolls, sits on floor in same place by them. Plays with same dolls, crooning and talking to them. At a noise on the stairs she jumps up, runs over to screen....SOMEBODY'S COMIN' UP! (high, apparently agitated tone of voice) -- "No one will come while you're playing here." She returns to toys, sits down and plays with them, holding man doll and child doll close together all the time, making man doll's arms encircle child
doll as far as they will go around. DADDY'S GONNA STAY HERE.... AND I WANT YOU IN BED.... HERE'S TWO CHAIRS.... IN THE MORNING YOU GONNA WAKE UP.... Vicki has arranged dolls lying prone in a line on floor, child doll next to daddy doll, then mother doll, then another child:

another woman doll
nurse
child
chair
child
mommy
daddy
child (from crib)
chair

Vicki leans over and kisses daddy doll, then child doll. Gets another child doll out of bathtub, puts her in line of dolls. EVERYBODY'S GOIN' TO SLEEP.... EVERYBODY'S GOIN' TO SLEEP.... She scoots around so that she is now facing open box of furniture toys, her back to observer, seems to be doing something with a doll and the crib, whispering all the time to the toys. Observer could not hear the words except.... 'CAUSE IT'S DARK.... Then Vicki turns her head around to observer, finger to lips.... SHHHHHHHHHH. (softly, quietly, drawn-out) Then she turns herself around back to line of dolls sleeping. More talk to them about sleep. Then points to
dolls, says (seemingly to observer) -- THEY'RE GOING TO SLEEP ON THE FLOOR. More footsteps from the stairs. She jumps up, runs to screen. HERE COMES SOMEBODY! -- HERE COMES SOMEBODY AGAIN! She watches there for a moment, then comes back to line of dolls. Sits down by them again. Picks up woman (mammy) doll and child doll, holding them tight together (just as she had done with daddy and child before)... MAMA SURE DO LOVE YOU, MAMA SURE DO LOVE YOU.... Puts mammy doll down, picks up daddy doll, holds daddy and child doll close again. Has child and daddy doll embrace quite a long time....some low, inaudible words, then C'MERE, DADDY.... Puts down child doll, pulls at daddy doll's clothes. Stands up, holding daddy doll out toward observer, walks toward observer -- says HEY, WILL YOU TAKE THIS OFF? Coming toward observer, holding out doll. Then she stops -- I DON'T WANT IT OFF. She suddenly turns, runs over and picks up faceless animal. Holding animal ahead of her, she walks in crouching movement, accentuating each step with weight of body, and voice -- AH AH AH AH. (a step to each "ah") In this way, she comes right over to observer, until she stands right in front of her, holding animal up in front of observer's face. IT'S BITING! IT'S BITING! Then she turns away and takes animal back to where it was, putting it back on the floor, leaning over it, her back to observer, saying harshly, rather loudly (apparently to the animal) -- SIT DOWN! SHUT UP! Then she
stands looking into box of Lincoln logs beside (behind) animals. I DON'T WANT TO PLAY WITH THEM. Then she comes back to her group of dolls. (She has left animal standing in exact position it had been in before.) She picks up woman doll. Fondles it. YOU SURE DO LOVE MAMA....YOU SURE DO LOVE MAMA....Then WAKE UP! WAKE UP! She picks up and holds two baby dolls close together. YOU GOTTA GO TO SLEEP.

....She has collected more dolls now, adding them to line of dolls sleeping. She goes on playing with the dolls. During this play, observer moved slightly to change position. Instantly, Vicki looked up, said quickly WHERE YOU GOIN'? "Nowhere." Vicki watched until observer settled herself in a new position, then Vicki turned her attention back to play. Play continued....Vicki picked up doll --- WHAT'S THIS? "What do you think it is? MAMA. Then in very high voice ---

MA-MA
MA-MA
MA-MA

WAKE YOU UP!

Vicki is moving around in the midst of the toys. Now, sitting still, using bathtub, holding it, makes small noises, looks around at observer -- YOU READ YOUR BOOK. Continues to play.... WHAT'S THIS? Takes two tiny candlesticks, gets up, walks over and
sets them up on "heater" shelf top. Then walks over and stands above policeman doll, looking down at him. HEY, MAILMAN! She leans over, reaches down and picks him up, walks to shelves, reaches up and lays him on third shelf (highest she can reach). Comes back over to original man doll, picks him up. I'M SURE SORRY, DADDY --
I'M SURE SORRY -- WHAT'S THE MATTER, DADDY? Down on floor again playing with toys now. ....THIS DON'T WORK (Doll with arm broken off)....AND THAT AND THAT....THIS ONE'S BROKEN RIGHT THERE....THIS ONE'S BROKEN RIGHT THERE....THOSE GIRLS CAN'T PLAY WITH THESE....
Picks up child doll. Holds it close to her, her hands cupped around it. BABY'S CRYIN'....Gets up and brings child doll over to observer. Stands close to observer. YOUR BABY'S CRYIN'....(said wistfully, softly)....Vicki holds doll up so that it is gently touching observer's cheek, then puts doll into observer's hands (in observer's lap). YOUR BABY'S CRYIN'....HUG HER. Observer caresses the doll, then hugs Vicki. Vicki snuggles close to the observer for a moment, smiles, then goes back to toys, sits down on floor where she was before, and plays with the toys.

Playing with toys, soon she puts brush, pillow, heater, hot water bottle, child doll face downwards, into crib, brings crib over and puts it on chair beside observer. Sits down on floor by chair, takes off her shoes and stockings. Gets up, stands by chair, takes toys out of crib on chair. YOU KNOW SOMETHIN' BABY? YOU SIT
ON THE CHAIR...She takes child doll over and sits her on chair among toys on floor. **YOU HAVE LUNCH (to doll), AND THEN -- YOU HAVE TO GO TO BED.** She continues playing, talking to dolls as she plays.... **I'LL SHOW YA SOMETHIN'....CAN THIS COME OFF?....** At one point in her play, she took off her own toy watch, tossed it on the floor.

Vicki continued playing until rest time when interview was terminated by observer. This was explained to Vicki a few minutes before interview was terminated, and she accepted it willingly. When the time came to leave, she started to go out, then turned back, went over to group of dolls, and started to scoop up an armful of them. Observer explained that they needed to stay here so they would be here to play with, but that Vicki could take one with her this time. She took the woman doll with gray hair. Kept it with her during rest and after.

Length of Play Interview: 56 minutes
Vicki
Interview 2
Paragraph 1

On entering play area, Vicki immediately went and sat down on floor by furniture box. She took objects out of box rapidly, commenting as she did so. ....OH, THAT'S PRETTY....HERE'S THE BIG ONE....(Sink)....HERE'S THE LITTLE ONE, TOO....(another sink)....

Now moving between people group and furniture box (moving body though still sitting on floor, putting toys in middle, using both people and furniture.) HERE'S A MAN. HERE'S A MAN. GOTTA WASH YOUR HANDS. Puts man doll's hands in sink, then puts him down, picks up woman doll and puts her hands in sink. GOTTA WASH YOUR HANDS. GOTTA WASH YOUR HANDS....GOTTA GO TO BED -- IT'S AFTER CLOCK. IT'S TIME TO GO BED....WHAT'S THIS? (Then, rather imperiously, as if demanding answer from observer) WHAT IS THIS? "What do you think?" IT'S A TOY BOX! BAD BAD! BAD BAD!....HERE'S DADDY. MAMMA AND DADDY SLEEP IN THEIR BED. I SLEEP IN MY BED. She has woman doll and child doll kiss -- holding them tight together. Then she runs over to shelf. GOTTA BRING THIS DOWN. GOTTA BRING THIS DOWN. GOTTA TIE SUMPIN' UP WITH STRING. She has reached for package of string. Then stops movement, saying suddenly -- DON'T WANTA USE STRING. She goes back to her spot in middle of toys, plays with them, talking....YOU GOTTA CLEAN THIS. (last remark directed to observer, observer not sure exactly what she was referring to --) YOU GOTTA CLEAN THIS. "You think I should clean it?" YEAH. Then attention back to toys, murmuring and talking to them all the time. HERE'S A
LITTLE LADY DOCTOR....(nurse doll) HERE'S A LITTLE LADY DOCTOR. HERE'S A LITTLE GIRL DOCTOR. (child nurse doll) HERE'S A LITTLE GIRL DOCTOR. YOU SLEEP IN THIS BED. MAMA'S GONNA SLEEP IN THIS BED. GO T' SLEEP, MAMA. Picks up woman doll dressed in blue. WHO BROKE THIS ONE? Takes blue dress off doll. Puts doll in bed, covers her with "blanket" -- piece of material. Picks up the two nurse dolls (adult and child), holds them, says suddenly, loudly (as if announcing it to everyone) -- TIME TO EAT! But instead she gets out of box a bed. Puts both dolls in the bed, covers them. Picks up two other child dolls. Has them "kiss", holding them tight together. IT'S DADDY -- DADDY WANTS YOU. Then she puts the two child dolls in crib, one on top of the other. Picks up another child doll -- NOW DADDY -- NOW DADDY. Suddenly she looks directly at observer. WHAT'D YOU CLEAN THIS UP FOR? As if suddenly completely out of fantasy or play -- matter-of-fact direct question. Then, still to observer, who is sitting on adult size chair -- SIT DOWN ON THE FLOOR. "You want me to sit on the floor." Observer remains where she is, Vicki gives attention back to toys, now into play again. There is complete change of voice when in play, now grooming, tender -- DOES DADDY WANT THE BABY? TIME TO WAKE UP BABY. HERE'S YOUR DADDY. Tries putting man on top of refrigerator. Tries to get him to sit there, then throws him on floor. Picks up policeman. MAILMAN FALL....I WANT THIS OFF. Pulls at policeman's clothes.
I WANT THIS OFF. Brings policeman over and firmly deposits him on observer's lap. "You want them off?" YES. Standing by observer, as if meaning that observer should remove policeman's clothes. "How shall I take them off?" Vicki picks up policeman again. Pulls off his clothes -- all of them -- then tries to pull off his hat, which is painted on. Then she puts policeman doll astride her own toes. (Vicki had removed her own shoes and stockings near beginning of session.) Some play with policeman and her own toes. Then Vicki asks if Jeanette can come up. Some conversation about Jeanette, observer explaining that this is for one child at a time, Jeanette could come another time.

Now Vicki is absorbed in play again. She puts nude policeman in bed. Covers him with "blanket" piece of material, then takes off this cover, puts her own socks over policeman doll as cover. SEE, THEY'RE IN BED....All beds and also other furniture now in use with dolls in bed in them. Vicki keeps on talking. Some talk about washing. TWO SOCKS! Then she stands up, goes over to animals, squats by them, profile to observer, holds the two animals, one in each hand. THESE ARE CATS! She pounds them on floor alternately, rather rhythmically, but pretty hard pounds, making rather loud, somewhat rhythmical noises, as if it is music to their dancing. Then, just as suddenly as she had picked them up, she leaves them lying on their sides on floor, picks up blue airplane. Talks about
blue airplane, takes it over to dolls in bed, has it hover over them. WAKE UP! WAKE UP! WAKE UP! Puts airplane down, picks up two child dolls, has them "kiss". There are some noises on stair. SOMEONE MIGHT COME UP. WHO'S GOIN' TO COME UP? (However, she stays where she is, does not run over to screen as in first session. This seems rather a passing question, in contrast to her apparent consternation at noises in the first session.) She goes right on with play.... THIS IS DINNER, THIS IS DINNER, THIS IS DINNER, THIS IS DINNER.... She sets the little lamps on the stove. Repeats again THIS IS DINNER ....IT'S TIME TO WAKE YOU UP! C'MON, MAILMAN. She starts to take policeman out of bed, then decides to leave him in bed. THE MAILMAN IS SICK.

She gets up child dolls out of their bed, but leaves policeman lying under socks. Now holding child doll....I'M GONNA TAKE HER HAIR OFF....She peels hair (pasted on) off child doll. I DON'T WANT IT. She does same thing to another child doll. Picks up baby doll in soft "nightie" (nightie sewn together at bottom, not a skirt.) Takes nightie off doll (with some difficulty, as it is all sewn together on doll), then says -- I GOTTA HAVE THIS BACK ON 'CAUSE SHE'S COLD. GOTTA TAKE A BATH NOW. She puts doll in bathtub, then takes her out, brings her over to observer, also brings "nightie" which she has removed. SHE'S COLD. PUT HER CLOTHES ON. Observer assists in getting "nightie" back on doll. Vicki returns to play.
Continues playing with dolls. Working at taking clothes off boy doll. (She has returned to sitting in middle of toys.) PUT THIS BACK ON. She says this but at the same time continues taking clothes off him. Picks up another boy doll. Takes his clothes off.

Picks up two girl dolls, holding one in each hand. THEY GET DRESSES ON. She sings, holding dolls in hands, making them dance on floor. Singing "words" something like: HALAWAK HALAWAK....

Sings, then suddenly says in loud voice -- YOU BE QUIET!

She takes the two tallest woman dolls, singing, holding one in each hand, alternately raising each high and bringing her down on to floor, in rhythmical fashion, as if they are dancing, Vicki singing louder than ever (after her own admonition to be quiet!) She has them dance quite a long time (apparently quite happily), then lays down woman dolls, picks up child girl doll. GOTTA TAKE THE DRESS OFF. Comes over to chair by observer. (At some point during play, observer had moved off chair in order to see better.)

Fly is buzzing about. THERE'S A FLY THERE. Interested, annoyed by fly, she climbs on chair after fly buzzing at window. Looks out window for a moment. Then gets down, goes back to toys, sits on floor, but says -- TOO LIGHT IN HERE TODAY. (Indeed it was, sun was shining in both Vicki's and observer's eyes.) Observer pulls down shade, Vicki continues playing, soon brings painted doll with movable
limbs (there are two of these, one with an arm off) over to observer. She brings the one which has both arms over, shows observer a point of paint (meant to be hair) which had evidently dripped while it was being painted, and is a spot on doll's neck. HER BLEEDING. HER BLEEDING.

Then she goes back to toys. BOYS DON'T PLAY WITH THESE TOYS. BOYS DON'T PLAY WITH THEM. "They won't while you are playing here, but they'll come up another time when you're not using the toys and play with them." Vicki is rearranging furniture now....EAT, EAT! Vicki playing, observer moves to change position, starts to sit on chair. DON'T SIT ON THERE. Vicki has looked over suddenly, makes another of her direct comments to observer, in different voice from when she is playing. "You don't like to have me sit up so high?" NO. But then Vicki goes on playing, apparently not noticing observer. Plays for a little while, then gets up, says to observer I WANTA GO OUTDOORS. C'MON, LET'S GO.

Length of Play Interview: 50 minutes
Interview 1
Paragraph 1

9:45 Beth soberly yet rather eagerly accepted the invitation to come and play with the toys. In the playroom, she stood in the middle of the room for a long moment just looking at them. Then, with a quick movement, she went down on her knees by the box of dolls picking a child doll (little girl doll) out of the box. She tried to make the doll stand on the floor. Looks at me -- THIS DOESN'T STAND UP. Puts doll back in box, then picks out a baby doll....A BABY....Then in a conversationally matter-of-fact and at the same time confiding tone of voice, she said: I'M TRYING TO GET A BABY IN MY TUMMY. Then, as there was a noise on the stairs of people going down -- I HEAR THOSE GIRLS GO DOWN. She has been trying to make doll stand on floor. THIS DOESN'T STAND UP EITHER. She put it back into box. She took out piece of blue material, actually "dress" from one of the dolls, but unsewed so that it looked like a rather odd shaped piece of blue felt material. WHAT IS THIS? "What do you think?" PART OF A CHAIR -- PART OF A TABLE -- PART OF A RUG -- PART OF A RUG -- COULD IT BE A PART OF A RUG? (This last a direct question to me.) "I think it looks like it could be part of a rug." (The rather heavy material" being out of the context of being on a doll.) She picks up the nude doll on which dress had been. HE'S A DOCTOR. Tries to make this doll stand on the floor.
SHE DOESN'T STAND UP. SHE DOESN'T STAND UP. She picks up another woman doll, tries to make her stand on floor. SHE DOESN'T STAND UP EITHER. She picks up policeman, trying to make him stand on floor, then trying to prop him against side of box, but he still topples -- HEY, THE POLICEMAN'S GONNA FALL DOWN. Beth continues to pick up one doll after another, trying to make each one stand on floor. She is now trying the baby doll again. THIS BABY WON'T STAND UP. THIS BABY WON'T STAND UP. She tries the policeman again. THIS WON'T STAND UP. "You really wish they would stand up." YES, she says with emphasis. She tries to make the jointed man doll stand, and this time succeeds in getting him to stand on the floor. She looks very pleased and exclaims -- THAT STANDS UP! She now tries the jointed woman doll, but cannot make her stand. THIS DOESN'T STAND UP EITHER. She has put each doll into the box, after picking it up and trying to make it stand, now she puts jointed woman doll into box. As if through with the dolls, she moves over away from them and sits in middle of rug. She pulls the box of transportation toys over in front of her.

She starts pulling out the train cars, one, then another, then hooks them together. A pleased look over at me -- PART OF A TRAIN. She continues taking out train cars, one by one, selecting them from among the other things. Each time she takes one out of the box, she says -- PART OF A TRAIN....PART OF A TRAIN. PART OF A
TRAIN. I FIND LOTS PARTS OF THE TRAIN. She has hooked them all together, a red, pink, yellow, green train car. Then she takes out another car, but as she tries to hook it on, the train comes apart in another place. HEY, THIS FELL OFF. She works with the train for a few moments, then continuing to play with train -- she talks as she works -- she says -- I THINK YOUR DADDY HAS TO FIX IT. A little pause, then, I THINK MY DADDY COULD FIX IT 'CAUSE HE HAS A SHOP. She is trying to hook two cars together and finally, with a little click, they stay hooked. I FIXED IT! She looks over at me, sharing this triumph -- DID YOU HEAR THAT SOUND? IT WENT XTCR. (This a kind of clicking sound with her tongue.) IT WAS ME -- FIXIN' IT. She goes on manipulating train, runs train around on floor. Two cars come apart. FELL OUT AGAIN. IT FELL OUT AGAIN. I FIXED IT AGAIN. Looking in box, she finds another train car. HERE'S ANOTHER ONE. DID THIS EVER GET BROKEN? She hooks car to others, runs train a little way, then proudly indicating train, says -- LOOK HOW BIG MY TRAIN IS! Moving train around room and over in front of me, chanting TRAIN TRAIN TRAIN quite happily.

She pulls a blue train car out of box, tries to put it on front of train for engine, but it has a hook on it instead of a place to hook on. Another part of train comes apart as Beth is trying to get this car on. I BUSTED IT AGAIN. She continues playing with train, holding blue "engine" in one hand -- sitting in middle
of room now, still moving train with one hand, but at the same time looking thoughtfully around at all the toys -- Says, as if deliberating about it and coming to some conclusions -- THESE ARE FOR GIRLS, NOT BOYS. Nodding thoughtfully, as she speaks -- THESE KIND OF TOYS ARE FOR GIRLS, NOT BOYS. (She goes on talking, says more, but in a soft tone and I could not catch the words)....
pointing toward dolls; THOSE DOLLS ARE FOR GIRLS, JUST GIRLS.

Then waving arm on around in semicircle as if indicating the other boxes of toys -- THOSE ARE FOR BOYS AND GIRLS. Now looks at me, holding up blue engine, as if showing me and informing me: THERE'S NOT A HOLE IN HERE. Holding it in hand and sort of waving arm about, she brings blue engine down to the rest of the train on the floor and works with train cars (I couldn’t see exactly what she was doing at this point). Then -- I KNOW WHAT WE -- I -- CAN DO. She works with train and blue car, evidently still trying to figure out a way to hook this on the front for an engine, finally holds blue car up in air again, pointing to the back of it, saying to me -- I THINK YOUR DADDY COULD MAKE A HOLE IN HERE. She goes on struggling with trying to figure out a way to get this car on the front, talking at the same time. Finally, I suggested she might put it on train at another place. I said "Let's see it." She brought train over to me and together we found a place where it could hook on.

Beth said IT SHOULD BE THE ENGINE, but seemed reasonably satisfied,
took train back over to where she had been playing and went on playing with the train. Looked up, murmuring THIS IS NURSERY TIME. MAMA THINKS I HAVE TO GO TO NURSERY SCHOOL AGAIN. Digging in box, finds another train car. ANOTHER PART OF THE TRAIN. Then, again rummaging in box and this time picking out a pair of wheels that have come unattached from a car. LOOKIT! LOOKIT! Tries to put wheels on a car, then says: WE BETTER LAY THESE HERE SOMEWHERE AND I BET YOUR DADDY WOULD FIX THESE. Lays wheels out on floor. "You wish these toys would get fixed." YES. (Emphatically) Then she picks two whole new completely unbroken cars (autos) out of box. Holds them up. LOOK! Then she puts these down, picks out two "good" (unbroken) red cars (autos). She holds them up, one in each hand, then brings hands together, rubbing the two cars together. She seemed delighted with these. In a sudden movement of her body, she sort of jumps up and down, tho' still in sitting position, moving the cars together in her hands, she "accidentally" knocks box with body, so that some toys fall out. She turns back to train, runs train all around room, bringing it back to beside car box. Searches in pile of toys that have fallen out of box, then searches in box. I THINK DON'T GET VERY MUCH TRAINS. She counts, pointing at train cars: ONE TWO THREE FOUR FIVE SIX SEVEN EIGHT! -- THERE HAS T'BE MORE THAN THAT. Then she abruptly leaves these toys, stands up, walks over to housekeeping furniture box, picks crib out of box --
WHERE'S THE PILLOW TO THIS? (Looks at me, direct question and rather like a demand at the same time.) "You wonder where the pillow is." ALL THE BEDS DON'T GET VERY MUCH PILLOWS. This is said flatly and finally as tho' dismissing this issue. Turning her back on furniture box, she goes to toys she had been playing with before, quickly piles train cars and all cars out of box into their box, and with a quick, large, decisive gesture with her arm, pushes box unceremoniously back against rear wall. (Between Lincoln logs and shelves.) With quick movements now, she goes to shelf, gets red jeep, runs it around on floor very briefly, then puts it back on shelf, moving quickly.

Then she goes to furniture box again, squats beside it and begins taking out pieces of furniture, quickly, -- refrigerator, bed, dresser, chest, crib (which she puts on end next to refrigerator). Now, sitting beside them, she looks at me and says: MY DADDY ALWAYS PUT ME UP TO THE TOP OF OUR REFRIGERATOR AND I JUMPED DOWN FROM THERE AND DADDY DIDN'T EVEN CATCH ME. HE DOESN'T KNOW I COULD DO THAT. She picks little round "heater" out of box. WHAT IS THIS? "A heater." NO. IT'S A FAN. Pulls out drawer of chest of drawers. THIS IS MAMA'S. Pointing at other toys. THIS IS BABY STUFF AND THIS IS BABY STUFF -- WHERE'S MAMA'S BED? THIS IS MAMA'S BED. Taking out bed and placing it on floor. She goes over to doll box and brings back three dolls. HERE'S A BABY AND HERE'S A BABY. She puts
them with furniture toys. Actually, she has brought one baby doll, a woman doll, and a little girl doll. WHERE'S THE BABY'S CLOTHES? "You wonder where the baby's clothes are." I KNOW WHERE THEY ARE. She gets up, goes back to dolls and searches in box. Brings back some little clothes. She puts woman doll in the large bed, then takes her out of bed, and lays her on floor beside bed. Takes tiny toilet out of furniture box. HERE'S A POTTY. She opens and shuts the little lid of toilet. WHY DO YOU HAVE THIS? "So children can play with it if they want to." GIRLS GO POTTY WITH THESE DOWN (shuts lid of tiny toilet), AND BOYS GO POTTY WITH THESE UP. (opens lid) She demonstrates with baby doll, holding him against toilet. Then she puts the baby doll in the crib. She puts the little girl doll in the bed she had put the woman doll in before. WHERE'S THE MOTHER? She picks woman doll off the floor, stands her up on floor. Then Beth looks up at me -- I CAN WHISTLE, she says, then puckers up her mouth making sounds as if whistling. Back to toys, she takes kitchen sink out of box. HERE'S A SINK -- HERE'S A CHAIR. HERE'S ANOTHER CHAIR. Taking these out of box. She puts a table and chairs together, arranging and rearranging furniture. She is sitting facing screen, points to material covering screen (pictures of children on it). THAT LITTLE GIRL IS CRYIN' -- SHE CRYIN'. Beth looks over at me, voice and facial expression indicating some concern about this.) "You don't like her to be crying?" WHY IS SHE CRYIN'? "Why do you
I think?" MAYBE SHE CRYIN' CAUSE A PUSSY CAT BITED HER. MAYBE SHE CRYIN' 'CAUSE THE TURTLE TICKLED ME -- TICKLED HER -- AND SHE CRIED. THAT'S WHAT THEY FEEL LIKE. Then, turning her attention to the toys, she picked up a red chair, held it high. DO YOU LIKE RED? "I like red." I LIKE RED THE MOST. Takes out little bench from box, makes some remarks about this. I did not get exact words, but something like "when I see one of these, I always think it's a bench." Takes out table. Puts chairs around table, adding more and more chairs. I KNOW WHAT THESE CHAIRS ARE FOR. THE TABLE. She tells me some-thing, all of which I could not catch, but it was about "a new girl," something like: "Yesterday I came here and there was a new girl"....more talk about this. Points again at screen. WHAT'S THAT FOR? Gets up, goes to end of screen, touching blanket with which screen is covered. WHAT'S THAT FOR? THAT BLANKET? "To make a wall for a separate room from the resting room." SO WHEN PEOPLE GET TIRED LOOKING AT PEOPLE THEY COULD GO IN HERE. Goes back to housekeeping toys (furniture and dolls she has brought over), sits where she was before, by toys she has taken out, reaching into box across toys, says something about it being in the way, talking about this, she gets up and moves furniture box over toward middle of room (evidently to reach into it more easily). Works at sitting baby doll on red chair (but doll not flexible). THIS THING WON'T SIT DOWN AND EAT. She puts baby into furniture box. Takes out drawer of chest
of drawers from furniture box, takes out tiny dresser stand. 

10:20 She moves over to doll box. Brings back doll in green dress, puts her in the bed. Picks up baby doll again. Continues playing with toys, talking as she does so -- TWO BATHTUBS. HERE’S A NICE CHAIR. HERE’S A CUCKOO CLOCK. She seems delighted with clock, gets up, comes over toward me as if to show clock. Then sits down close to me with back to me. Picks hamper from box. HERE’S A HAMPER. OPEN UP—SHUT. OPEN UP—SHUT. Says this rhythmically, as she opens and closes hamper lid. Pulls drum toward her. WHERE’S THE DRUMMER THING? WHO HIDED DRUMMER THING? She gets up, walks over to shelf and gets doll closet box off shelf, brings it back, sitting down again in same spot near me, this time facing me, as she opens doll closet box. Takes out suitcase. THIS DOESN’T REALLY OPEN. She opens it, takes out material inside it. THIS DOESN’T BELONG IN THERE. HEY! I KNOW! I KNOW WHAT COULD BE FOR THIS BABY! She gets crib, puts pillow found in doll closet box into crib, puts baby on pillow. HEY, HERE’S ANOTHER BABY! She gets other baby doll. THIS MAY BE HER BED. Puts second baby doll in suitcase. Closes suitcase then reopens it. Puts it down. Takes tiny wash cloth from doll closet box. HERE’S THE RUG. Puts wash cloth on floor, sets crib on top of it. Finds brush in doll closet box. HERE’S A BRUSH. THIS MAYBE BE A COMB. COMB COMB COMB COMB. Combs doll’s “hair.” Takes little hot water bottle out of doll closet box. I WONDER WHAT THIS
IS. "A hot water bottle." HUH EH. (shakes head emphatically "no") THIS IS A THING WHAT YOU PUT ON YOUR TUMMY WHEN IT HURTS. Taking things out of doll closet box. WHAT DO YOU THINK THIS IS? I THINK IT'S FOR THIS -- OR I THINK IT'S FOR THIS -- Puts suitcase back into doll closet, lays doll closet box aside on floor, first having taken out material, which she puts in crib, first taking out things previously put in crib. Then she puts pillow on material, then baby doll, then with another piece of material covers up baby doll, covering doll completely including face. Smiles rather sheepishly at me, as if stealing a look at me to see my reaction, saying SHE'S ALL COVERED UP. Puts crib containing covered up doll into furniture box, then with crib in furniture box, takes these things all out of the crib. Picks up wheels on floor (that she had missed when putting things away into transportation box before). WATCH THIS! Taking wheels (from car -- auto) she gets up and walks over toward transportation box. Standing a little distance away from box and taking aim, she tosses wheels over and they land in box. I MADE IT GO IN THERE. She comes back, sits down where she was before. Puts two baby dolls in suitcase this time, looks at them lying there side by side for a moment, then closes suitcase, puts suitcase in doll closet box, puts some other things into doll closet box, then doll closet box into furniture box. Then she starts decisively and quickly putting all the furniture she has been playing with back into
furniture box, moving around, covering space as she does this, saying -- **I’M GONNA PLAY WITH THOSE OVER THERE** -- nodding toward Lincoln legs. Putting away things fast, furniture into furniture box, dolls back into doll box. Picks up woman doll, tosses her rather hard against the wall, then casts a quick look at me, then picks up doll again and puts her in doll box. All very fast movements, she gets up, goes over to box of Lincoln legs, picks up an armful and puts them on floor. Sits down, picks up faceless animal and little lamb, puts them down again on floor, putting lamb close up against animal and between animal’s legs. Gets up quickly and moves away from these toys, saying **HAVE TO GO POTTY.**

10:35 She goes, using the upstairs one, flushes toilet, returns almost immediately, goes to shelf, grabs string off shelf, moving away from shelf so she is standing near middle of room but toward screen, back to screen, half facing me, smiling, untangling string, holding it out at both arms length, arms stretched out at sides. During this, she makes little murmuring sounds, not talking but making sounds, little short quick breaths. Then puts string around drum.... **PEOPLE LAUGH WHEN TURTLE TICKLE THEIR HANDS.** "Some people laugh."

**YEAH, AND SOME PEOPLE CRY WHEN TURTLES TICKLE** -- She is still wrapping string around drum. She gets up, holding arms out, making string stretch out long. **LOOK! I CAN HOLD THIS BY MYSELF AND JUMP!** She actually does this, using string as jumping rope, she jumps it once,
quite succeeding in doing so. Then she starts tying string around furniture box. There is a sound of someone on the stairs. She looks up, remarks about this, but I didn’t get exact words. She is now working with string again, untangling another part of it, it is, or has gotten into a knot in one place. She hands it to me. GET THIS KNOT OUT. "You want me to get the knot out." String having been handed to me, I start working at knot, she grabs it back from me -- MAYBE I CAN GET IT OUT. She works hard at it, finally biting at it, trying to get the knot loose. Finally I said "Maybe we can get it out together." IT’S HARD. I loosen knot, then she gets it out the rest of the way. She stands beside me, fingering string in her hands, but her tempo, which was very fast for a while has slowed down now. Pretty soon I explain that it is time to go downstairs now to read stories, but that she can come back and play with the toys another time. She nods, we go out together. Going downstairs, Beth says, I CAN COME BACK TOMORROW WHEN THERE’S NURSERY SCHOOL. This is said rather softly, confidingly. "You can come back next time when there’s nursery school," I answered.

10:45

Length of Play Interview: 60 minutes
Joyce was immediately interested in the dolls. NOW I CAN PLAY WITH MY OWN PEOPLE. Picks up policeman. CAN I TAKE HIS COAT OFF? "You wonder if you can take his coat off." She takes off his coat. CAN I TAKE HIS PANTS OFF? "You wonder if you can take his pants off." She removes policeman's trousers. Puts nude policeman down on floor. Picks up nurse doll. CAN I TAKE THIS ONE OFF? She removes nurse doll's clothes. Now picks up policeman again. Holds up both nude dolls, one in each hand. A MAN AND A LADY. Lays them both down, picks up jointed man doll. Holds him in her hands, looks at him -- holds out toward me -- WHAT DOES THAT MAN DO? "What do you think he does?" I DON'T KNOW. Puts him down, picks up nurse again. Puts nurse doll's dress back on her, puts her down. Picks up grandmother doll and puts her down. Picks up nude policeman, is starting to put trousers on him, gets one leg into trouser leg, and pauses -- IS THIS THE WAY THESE GO? "How do you think they go?" IN BACK. Finishes putting clothes on policeman. SEE! Joyce smiles, holding up dressed policeman and nurse together one in each hand as she had held them up nude before.

Puts these two dolls down, and picks up the two jointed men. Sits one in chair. Picks up dresser. Pulls out drawer, pushes it in. Tosses jointed man onto rug. Policeman and two jointed men are
now lying in a heap together on rug. She pushes rug up over them so that they are covered by rug. Picks two Lincoln logs out of box. HOW DO YOU MAKE A TRAIN OUT OF THESE? Then she picks up another man. WHY DOES THIS MAN HAVE A COAT ON LIKE THIS? Puts him down, picks up a woman doll. Holds her upside down, spreads doll's legs apart, looks between them. Puts doll Quickly down, then does the same thing with man doll. All very quick. Puts him down. Picks up another man doll. Working with clothes of doll. I NEED A PIN. Puts man doll down, touches jeep and then pulls it over next to her. Picks up policeman and pulls his clothes off, lays him face down across back of jeep. Moves over, scoots on knees to shelves, now on knees in front of shelf looking into doll closet box. Pulls out toilet paper, unrolls it slightly, says something to me I did not catch, puts it down. Turns back and picks up policeman, finds staples which had held on his clothes (now lying on floor), picks them up, holds them up -- TWO OF THEM. Puts policeman down on floor. Stands up. I HAVE TO GO TO THE BATHROOM -- DOWN THERE. Pointing to upstairs toilet at the other end of the long room. She goes. 10:20

I remain. I hear her flush toilet. She returns. 10:23

Joyce enters room, sits on knees (facing me, at opposite end of room from me), looking down thoughtfully at toys in front of her on floor. Policeman and nurse doll are lying there nude, immediately
in front of her. She puts policeman on jeep, face down, and tries to push staple into him. Pushes hard at it. Finally puts down staple. Picks yellow dressed jointed doll out of box of dolls. Sits on floor. Puts down yellow dressed doll, picks up boy doll. Takes off trousers, puts back on floor. Striped-dress girl doll, removes dress, then puts dress back on her. Then suddenly puts her down, picks up train (three cars hooked together). Unhooks them, then hooks two of them together, shakes apart. Drops. Picks up nude policeman, looking at him intently, puts him down. Picks up yellow dressed girl, looks at her, puts her down. Picks up child doll with movable eyes. THESE TWO EYES DON'T WORK. She holds doll out to me, saying something about "fixing" -- but doesn't come over, picks up white-dressed child doll -- THIS ONE WORKS WHEN YOU PICK IT UP.

Continues picking dolls up, looking at them, putting them down: another child doll, tall woman doll, second tall woman doll, orange-dressed little girl doll. She has laid them all down on their backs on floor. Picks another man doll out of box. Looks over at other man doll which is just like him, lying on floor. WHY'S THERE TWO FATHERS? She demands. She puts the two "fathers" back to back, lays them together like this on their sides on the floor. They stick together. She picks up child doll, takes off dress, picks up tall mother doll, pulls up dress, tears some toilet.
paper off roll, wipes mother doll, then child doll. They are both lying on her lap. Then she holds paper up to her mouth, blows and spits on paper. Puts it down on floor.

Takes carpet square out of furniture box, lays it across her lap, letting dolls scoot out onto the floor, lays nude policeman face down on square, picks up tiny candlestick -- I WONDER WHAT THIS CAME FROM -- "You wonder where it came from." Then she sticks policeman in buttocks with candlestick. Has child doll also on her lap now. Next, seems to be working with child doll, then puts aside. Takes tiny baby doll from box -- I HAVE ONE OF THESE AT HOME. Another doll. WE HAVE ONE OF THESE AT HOME, TOO. Hot water bottle. WHAT'S IN HERE? Picks up doll closet box, now empty. Picks up string. WHAT'S THIS FOR? "What do you think it's for?" TO TIE PEOPLE UP. 10:35

Joyce patiently untangles string. Then she winds it around and around nude nurse and policeman. Winds it tightly. Holds onto end of string and two dolls dangle at end of it. She gets up, comes over, and hangs them on end of short screen, then hangs them around her own neck. Looks at me. NOW YOU HANG ME. She pushes stool over by the two screens, right between them. Climbs up on stool, hangs dolls over end of tall screen. Then around her own neck again. Stands there on stool, looking at me, insisting that I hang her. I reflected: "You want me to hang you," but she still stood
there on the stool looking at me, repeating NOW YOU HANG ME.
Finally I said, "You hung mommy and daddy, now you want to hang, too." She immediately got down from stool, put dolls on stool, stood there by stool, untying -- unwinding and unwinding string, until string is untangled and dolls are untied. Leaves string and two nude dolls lying on stool, goes back over to toys. Brings back nude child doll, lays her alongside the other two dolls on string on stool. String is under dolls, straightened out. Now she starts winding string around all three of the dolls. Winding and winding it, binding them tightly together. When they are all tied up, she takes hold of the string, holds it up, the three nude dolls dangling at end of string. Now she climbs up on stool and hangs them over end of the tall screen. Leaves them there, gets down from stool, goes over to shelves, starts to climb them.
"You want to know everything that's here -- what's all over this room."

She climbs down again, picks up blue airplane, chews on its wheel, eyeing me as she does so. Then she runs blue airplane along window sill, behind window shade which is pulled down. Parks blue plane behind window shade at the end of the sill. Then takes yellow plane, running it along sill and parking behind blue one. Then red plane. They are all lined up on sill behind window shade. YOU CAN'T SEE ANY OF THESE THINGS. Sees package of string (new cellophane
package, has not been opened). Picks it up. IS THIS NEW STRING? Takes it out of package. IS IT TO HANG SOMEBODY? Puts string around her own neck, approaches me, stands there in front of me, looking at me. "You wonder if it's to hang somebody." She nods, proceeds to get tied-up dolls, removes all string from the three dolls. Winds the new string tightly around and around the three of them.

She hears noises, looks over low screen, then runs to head of stairs, stands there looking down stairs. I ask if she wants to go downstairs now. NO -- I'M GOING TO MAKE A TRAIN NOW. Comes back, goes right to Lincoln logs. Holding log, sits, looking toward curtain on tall screen. Then gets up, goes to stool, pushes it over to window, climbs on it, looks out window -- I'M GOING TO LOOK OUT OF HERE....THAT'S TOO HIGH TO JUMP DOWN -- TOO HIGH TO JUMP DOWN OUT OF THIS WINDOW. "Yes, it's too high to jump down." She gets down off stool and goes over to cars, sits down, her back to me, facing cars, apparently doing something with them. She is still in this position playing quietly a few minutes later when it is time to terminate session. Joyce picks up dolls tied in string as if to take with her. I explain that they need to stay here, but she can come back and play with them here again. She does not protest this, we leave, then as we are about at head of stairs she says something about cleaning up the toys, and starts back to toy room. I go with
her, saying that she can if she wants to, but she doesn't have to. She decides not to after all and going downstairs I explain that downstairs we need to clean up but up here it is all right to leave them.

11:00

Length of Play Interview: 54 minutes
9:50 Larry, all movement and bounce, pummetts himself forward into the toyroom, stops for only an instant's glance around before plunging towards the transportation toy box and bringing up two airplanes which he holds high, then digging down into the contents of the box again, this time emerging with two whole fistfuls of toys which he holds onto as he walks around the room in his quick wobbly way, noticing things, commenting: WE HAVE WINLONG WOGS (Lincoln logs)....WHAT'S IN HERE....The next moment he is at the shelf, taking down doll closet box, sits on floor with it, takes out suitcase, opens suitcase which comes apart, holds suitcase out to me, then brings it over -- WOULD YOU CLOSE THIS....walks on over to "door" -- (opening between screens) -- WE HAVE TO SHUT THIS DOOR. He pulls screen shut so there is no opening, goes over and picks up faceless animal, brings it over to me -- DINASAUR. Then down on his knees by dolls, puts dolls that are standing out into box, very quick movements, then up again and over to screen where door opening was -- WE HAVE TO CLOSE THIS TIGHTER....He pulls screen shut tighter. Then over to airplanes, WE'RE READY TO TAKE OFF -- TAKE OFF. He has lined all the planes up in a line -- THE BLUE AIRPLANE'S READY TO TAKE OFF. He has it take off, land again, and in the same movement almost has taken chest of drawers with drawer that opens out of the furniture box. Then he starts taking out one piece of
furniture after the other — HERE'S A TOILET....He drops little toilet back into box. HERE'S ME! He has taken out dresser with mirror and is looking into mirror. Delighted, smiling a broad smile he comes over to me to show mirror. Standing beside me, he looks at himself in mirror, then holds it in front of my face. Then he is pulling things out of doll closet box, little wash cloth, brush, etc. The next instant he is at airplanes....PLANE'S READY TO TAKE OFF!....I'M GONNA PLAY WITH THESE....over to Lincoln logs, takes out green sticks, with four sticks makes a large square area. He puts red airplane in the middle of this area. THE AIRPLANE'S HOME, he says. Then he adds the other red plane, the yellow and the blue plane, too. The door opens downstairs. SOMEBODY'S COMIN'. He quickly goes to opening, pulls on screen as if shutting it again, back to planes. AIRPLANE'S READY TO TAKE OFF....He makes clicking noises with his tongue and sounds of "planes taking off." Now he has planes out of square, they have flown and are back in a straight line which he has made somehow in all his movements.

9:55 Now he has cars out on floor too. He has lined up planes and now starts lining cars up, too, along beside the planes....all in a very orderly line —

THEY'RE GOING TO SLEEP....
DON'T WAKE THEM UP....
DON'T WAKE THEM UP....
DON'T WAKE THESE CARS UP
AND DON'T WAKE THESE AIRPLANES UP
THEY'RE SLEEPY CARS
DON'T WAKE 'EM UP

Then Larry comes over to me, then over to shelf, gets string off shelf, saying WHAT'S THIS? and also jeep. He brings both to me.
TIE THIS ON...(then, as I am tying it)....TIE IT TIGHTER....Takes jeep with string on it, back to planes....THE AIRPLANE'S READY TO TAKE OFF! Now he is piling cars over against "doorway," where opening in screens was before he closed them. THEY WENT TO MARKET. Parks blue, yellow and red airplane over next to me. Back to planes, wheel comes off an airplane, he brings it over to me with the request to put it on. He goes over to the box of cars. Discovers train cars. A TRAIN! A TRAIN! Now he is walking on his knees, holding the train cars all in a bunch in his arms, moving so fast he hasn't time to walk, (expressing his excitement about this discovery with his whole body), now he is lying on his stomach, putting the train cars together into a length of train. The chimes sound outside. THE BELLS! he exclaims, continuing with his work of hooking the cars together. THIS IS A BOX CAR....now he is holding the yellow car, adds it on to the four cars he has hooked together. He adds a red train car on to the engine. Lying on his stomach, waving his feet in the air, he runs the train around on the floor. WHERE'S A TRACK FOR THIS TRAIN? He picks up the jeep, WOULD YOU UNTIE THIS? Working with it, a sense of hurry, of urgency about his movements, he unties it himself. I MADE IT! Suddenly he has jumped
up, left the big red jeep on the stool beside me and is now holding the string in his hands, fiddling with it. Sound of somebody on stairs, he looks up, makes a remark noting sound. Now he has picked up all the airplanes somehow in one hand. THEY'RE GONNA SEE THE TRAIN....THIS IS HOW THEY FLY RIGHT UP INTO THE AIR. Holding the blue plane high, "flying" it, he suddenly lands it in the green square. Then he puts the other three planes in there too. AND THIS TRAIN NEEDS A HOME, TOO. He loads up a bunch of the green sticks from Lincoln log box into his arms and brings them over to beside where he has parked his train of six cars. He is working now with the green sticks. I'M GONNA MAKE A TRACK....THIS IS A TRAIN TRACK....WOULD YOU HELP ME BUILD A TRAIN TRACK FOR THE TRAIN?

Larry moves fast, he seems to have so many ideas or plans in such quick succession that they seem simultaneous, and he gives the effect of moving with each idea so that he often seems to be moving every direction at once, appears to not complete a movement in execution of an idea, yet usually seems to return to each thing he starts. I respond to his request. "You want me to help you build a train track." He hands me the green sticks. "You tell me how to build it." He starts to fret, expression changes to one of worry -- IT WON'T STAY TOGETHER....He has some green sticks and is trying to lay them alongside each other, but with the many movements he makes, at the same time jumbling them up together. I put two green
sticks down on floor next to each other for width and add others on for length, he adds to it, is working with track, then moves train over next to me. Then he has picked up doll closet box, pulls everything out of it, opens box, puts it on floor. THIS IS THE TRAIN'S HOME...as he moves train, some cars come off. MAY I TAKE THESE TRAINS DOWN? I explain that the toys need to stay here so they will be here to play with another time. He has gathered all the train cars up now and is holding them in his arms. He puts them down, is hooking them together again. He gets up, goes toward screen opening ....YOU STAY RIGHT HERE AND I WILL BE RIGHT BACK....I HAVE TO....YOU STAY HERE! AND DON'T TOUCH MY TRAIN!

10:10 With this command Larry disappears and I can hear him going down the stairs, and running across the nursery school room when he is down there. I notice that the toys are scattered over the toy room. In his play, Larry has wiggled and moved with every part of him, scattering whatever is in his line of motion, which has included practically everything.

10:12 Larry reappears. I CAME BACK! He is down on the floor working with the train. YOU DIDN'T TOUCH MY TRAIN. Then, looking up at me, he explains -- I HAD TO GO TINKLE....THIS IS A GREEN CAR. Holding up green car towards me. AND THIS IS A SMOKESTACK. AND THAT'S A WHISTLE....MY BROTHER SAID THIS MORNING....HE SAID....He goes on talking, telling something about brother, words somewhat
jumbled together, words dwindling off and stopping as he seems to become engrossed in gazing at curtain on screen. SOMEBODY'S CRYIN' ....He goes over and takes hold of curtain, looking at it more closely....SHE'S CRYIN' -- YES....He comes back to train. I WANT YOU TO STAY HERE. (to me) He goes on playing with train. THE CABOOSE DOESN'T HAVE A HOOK....RUSSELL'S ENGINE CRASHED INTO THE CABOOSE....DADDY SAID....DADDY WORK IN THE STUDY....HE HAS BIGGER THINGS....He continues to talk. I am not able to understand all the words. Now he is turning all the train cars, which he has unhooked from each other, onto their sides. All the train cars are now lying on their sides. THEY'RE TIRED -- AND THEY'RE SLEEPY....He goes on doing things with the toys, he never stops doing something with something, but he is talking now too....I LOST MY PIGGY BANK ....BUT I HAVE A SAVINGS ACCOUNT AT FIRST NATIONAL BANK. He goes over and gets all four planes, holding them up in air and "flying" them over to almost above my head, making PPTT and BLEBERING noises with mouth to indicate flying sounds of planes. Then he brings them down onto the floor and leaves them all four lying upside down on the floor. THEY'RE BROKEN.

10:20 Now he is hooking train cars together again, leaving planes as abruptly as he had gone and got them. Now he is moving train around, now he is back with planes, picks them all up, at the same time somehow getting all tangled up in string. EVERY TIME....
RUSSELL'S CRASH INTO....I'M THE ENGINEER. He is pointing at parts of train cars. WHEN I PUSH THIS, I'M GONNA....He is making many quick movements, and sounds with his mouth which sometimes become words and then go back into sounds. He is taking train apart, then putting it together again. YOU SIT IN THE CABOOSE AND I'M THE ENGINEER....AND THE MAN IN THE TRUCK IS SHORTY....Larry is lying on his stomach, finger on blue engine of train. Then he picks up a plane. Working at knot....I HAVE TO CLIMB UP HERE....(climbs onto stool and looks out window)....AND SEE....I SEE ANDY....THE TRAIN GOES RIGHT UP. TRAIN GOES UP ON THE BRIDGE....He has train cars and he puts them on window ledge. Now hooking together cars, playing with them on window ledge. I SEE CAROL. He goes on playing with train cars on window ledge. He is standing up on stool, looking out window, and manipulating train cars. Says softly, as if confidingly....I JUST THINKING ABOUT SOMETHING....I'M MAKIN' A TRAIN ....I NEED TO GET MY CRAB! Jumping down, he runs to bench outside where he had left paper bag with crab in it, brings it back, first saying YOU STAY HERE. He starts to climb on stool again, then comes to me and gives me paper bag with crab in it -- WOULD YOU HOLD MY CRAB? Leaving it with me, he climbs again on stool and looks out window. I SEE ROBBIE....HE'S GOING TO SWING....He goes on watching children outside playing, commenting about them. "Would you like to go downstairs now?" I'M GONNA TAKE THIS TRAIN DOWN....Gathering
I P 5 and 6

up train in his arms, he gets down off stool and starts to leave, taking train with him. I explain that the train has to stay here, but let him pick one plane to take with him, which he does, taking the blue plane with string tied on it. At "door" he turns, saying NOW YOU COME DOWN.

10:30 We both go downstairs. Later, during story, Larry leaves story group, going upstairs and appears at story again holding all the train cars in his arms. I go back with him, to put them back, explaining that they need to stay there and he can play with them again in there, another time.

Length of Play Interview: 40 minutes
9:32 "Here are toys for you to play with. You may do anything you like with them. Michael, without hesitation, walks over to red jeep on shelf, takes it down, runs it on floor over to furniture box. Out of box takes heater, stove, chest of drawers that pulls out. Pulls it out. He laughs -- says I PUT A DRAWER BACK IN.... TEACHER, A LONG TIME AGO WE GOT ONE OF THESE AND WE TOOK IT TO THE AIRPORT, he says as he walks over and puts jeep back on shelf. WHAT IS THIS? taking down doll closet box. Goes right on -- THESE ARE CUTE LITTLE THINGS as he returns doll closet box to shelf. He moves right over toward dolls. Sits on knees right in front of dolls soberly looking at them, quiet. Then he turns and picks bus out of transportation box. Then he takes out train cars and starts hooking them together. TEACHER, WHICH PART GOES NEXT? "Which do you think?" THIS -- puts on one more car (hooks on to train). THAT'S ALL -- AND THE CABOOSE. He has four cars hooked together for train, he runs it over to in front of me, then back as far as furniture box. He stops there, his back to me, then after a moment, runs train over to transportation box. Takes out bus again. TEACHER, I MIGHT TAKE THIS HOME....BUT I CAN'T TAKE THE WHEELS HOME BECAUSE THOSE GO THINGS.... He wraps bus back up in tissue paper, puts it back in box. Goes to Lincoln logs, takes out two. TEACHER,
WHAT ARE THESE? "What do you think?" I DON'T KNOW. Goes to furniture box. Takes out candlestick, then the other candlestick.

TEACHER, THERE ARE TWO OF THESE -- THERE ARE TWO OF THESE THINGS -- I MIGHT TAKE THESE HOME (teasingly). He takes candlesticks over and puts them in transportation box. Gets red jeep off shelf again. Runs it around on floor. Runs it (circularly) around room, past furniture box, past me, then on over in front of dolls. HOP IN THE CAR, he says, picking up man doll. Starts to put him in jeep, but no sooner gets him there than he puts in doll box instead: HAS TO TAKE HER TO THE HOSPITAL. He puts yellow dressed jointed woman doll with one arm missing into jeep. He runs jeep around in circular motion. Coming close to me, gives jeep a little push toward me. Takes doll out of jeep. GOT A BROKEN ARM. He puts her back in jeep. SHE CAN'T DRIVE ANY MORE. He runs jeep over to dolls. Puts jointed man doll in jeep with woman. Puts other jointed man doll in back in jeep. ALL OF THEM HAS TO GO TO THE HOSPITAL. (three dolls in jeep.)

9:43 He has run jeep over to middle of room. Picks up jeep dumping two men dolls on floor. Lays woman doll down in jeep, tries to fit her in so she will stay, then takes her out. Brings all back to box. Puts the people back in box. Detachable part comes off jeep in these manipulations. He puts detachable part back on jeep. THIS IS THE EASY WAY. I FIX IT. He picks up nude baby doll
out of doll box. I GONNA TAKE YOU TO A DOCTOR TO GET SOME CLOTHES --
DOWN TO CLOTHES SHOP. He again picks up painted yellow dressed
doll with one arm, puts baby against her head (touches them together),
then puts both dolls back in box. In doll box he finds broken tiny
9:45 chair. He puts broken chair in jeep, moves jeep along carry-
ing broken chair, runs it over to furniture box. THE CHAIR BROKE.
THERE! On "there" he throws it in the furniture box. BROKEN CHAIR.
Giving jeep a push he lets it go out of his hand -- but gently, not
a hard push, more tentative. Then he puts jeep back on shelf.
Again picks up tiny bus in tissue paper. Unwraps it. Gets tiny
made baby doll. Tries to fit doll some way on to tiny bus. Gets
candlesticks he had put in transportation box. Brings both cand-
esticks and bus back to furniture box.

Takes out baby bathinette. With a puzzled expression on his
face, he holds it, looking at it. Tries to make it stand on floor.
Works at this and succeeds in doing so. Then puts it back in box.
Sticks candlestick under bus, between wheels and body of tiny bus,
gets it attached so that it stays. Then puts the other candlestick
there too, gets both to stay, supported by little bars holding
wheels. Then he runs little bus around on the floor. Runs bus
over to right in front of me. Sits there. LET'S TAKE THESE OUT.
Then he takes the little candlesticks out of bus. I MIGHT TAKE
THESE HOME. Smiling, rather teasingly. He sets the candlesticks
upright on the floor, talking now about somebody breaking a bridge. Working with candlesticks, he puts them again on bus between wheels and body of bus. Then takes them out, sets the candlesticks close together on the floor. (They are evidently meant to represent obstruction -- bridge? -- on road.) He runs bus along bringing it up close touching them. BEEP BEEP! I CAN'T GET THROUGH. Then with a quick motion he runs bus through, knocking candlesticks down. YOU CAN WRECK DOWN THEM. Then he picks up the candlesticks and sticks them through back windows of bus so they remain there, sticking out of the back of the bus. He runs bus along the floor this way. Then he picks the candlesticks out, throws them on the floor. Picks up tiny bus, turns it over, examining it. One of the little bars holding wheels has come loose on one side, making wheel loose too. THE BUS BROKE. NOT EASY TO FIX. He works with it a little while, trying to fix it, then takes tissue paper in which bus had been wrapped. Wraps bus in tissue paper again. WRAP IT UP TO BE FIXED. Very carefully, he wraps the bus up in the tissue paper and puts it back in transportation box. Gets train (three train cars hooked together) and runs it along floor. Lying on side on floor he stretches out arm holding train, making the train go. As he is playing with the train one pair of wheels becomes detached. WHAT A DARN THING AGAIN. IT FELL OFF AGAIN. EASY TO FIX. He clicks the wheels back on the train car. I KNOW HOW TO FIX THESE
THESE TRAINS. He plays a minute more with train, then takes it back to the box. HE WANTS TO PLAY WITH THIS, he says getting big red jeep again. He runs jeep over to in front of me, and around me, moving it very close to me, around to back of me next to closet door. Then he turns jeep and parks the jeep snugly up against my foot. THIS IS A NICE PLACE TO PARK, he says. Then he backs jeep up, then runs it forward over to doll box. Puts man, woman and little boy doll on jeep. THESE PEOPLE ALL MOVING TO ANOTHER HOUSE. -- (looks back at me) -- WHERE'S A DOLL HOUSE? "You'd like to have a doll house for them." He puts dolls back in box, goes with jeep over to shelf, gets both strings off shelf, one in plastic bag, the other loose. Puts second one in plastic bag, too. Comes toward me, saying -- I MIGHT TAKE THESE HOME, TOO.

Then puts string back on shelf, having taken it out of bag. Then plays with empty plastic bag, (as if trying to blow it up to make it pop). Then puts both strings into bag, holding bag, goes over to coat which is lying over low screen. GONNA PUT THIS IN MY JACKET -- TO TAKE HOME -- He looks at me, as he is stuffing the bag into the pocket. "You really want to take toys home." He takes bag of string out of pocket, walks over and puts it on top of "heater shelf." Gets red jeep again. Brings jeep to the furniture box. Parks it against screen (wall) by furniture box. HAVEN'T GOT ANY WINDOWS. Taking detachable part -- which forms front window of
jeep -- off jeep. Then he puts it on again. Takes it off again, puts it on again. Then he runs jeep over to dolls. Searches in box and digs out tiny baby doll, which he puts under jeep. Then puts baby doll on front fender part of jeep. Sits and plays with this, putting the baby doll in different places in jeep. GUESS I’LL SIT UP BESIDE THE DRIVER. He puts baby doll back in box, takes out little boy doll from box. HIS STRAPS ARE ALL TORN. (referring to clothes of boy doll) Takes off boy doll’s suit. Tries to put it back on again. Works for quite a long time with this, then puts boy doll back in box. Starts taking all dolls out of box -- in handfuls -- Puts them in lid of box, which he takes from where it is under the box fitted around it. Picks up tall woman doll, removes her dress, tries to put it back on her, then throws her back into box lid where most of the dolls now are. Puts lower part of box (not lid) with a few dolls still in it, open part down, over lid, holding the two parts of the box together, turns box over so dolls are now in the box with the lid on it. He sits for a long long moment, holding this box on his lap as he sits on the floor holding the box in both his hands, looking down at it. Lid is on the box — he seems to be sitting there silently studying design on lid of box. (The dolls are all in there in the closed box.) Then he puts the box back on the floor just where it had been in the beginning but now the box is closed instead of open and all
10:10 Goes over to string on heater top and gets it. Holding string in one hand, and jeep in the other, he stands there, looking at the pictures on the curtain on screen. **THERE’S LITTLE ANIMALS.** Still holding jeep and string he comes over to his jacket — **I GONNA TAKE THIS DOWN WITH ME.** He puts the string in his jacket pocket. "Most of the toys really need to stay here" -- OK. (He takes string out of pocket.) -- "but you can choose one thing -- whichever one you want -- to take with you." He goes and gets the candlesticks, knowing exactly where he had left them. We started downstairs. **THAT WAS FUN, said Michael.** 10:15 At the end of this session, Michael had a really pleased expression on his face. A very quiet kind of pleasure seemed to emanate from him -- a delight that just shone out.

**Length of Play Interview: 43 minutes**
V. RESULTS: INTERPRETIVE ANALYSIS OF
PLAY INTERVIEW RECORD - ALEC

Interview 1
Paragraph 1

Alec and I enter the toyroom together.

At the moment of this entrance, Alec confronts a new situation in life -- a new situation which implies and brings about a new and as yet unknown to him relation with the adult who accompanies him. As Alec stands still in the room looking alternately at the toys and at the observer, he in this manner expresses awareness and immediate questioning of his relationship with the adult in this new situation. What will she allow?

"There's a truck over there." When he finally speaks, his first words refer to the red jeep sitting on the shelf, which closely resembles a truck. It is bigger than the other motor toys in the box on the floor. It is also bright red. At my responding question recognizing his interest in this toy, Alec confirms his interest in it, "yes," he "likes trucks" -- but he turns to the dolls instead.

Thus, Alec's first play session seems to begin with an inhibition. After an initial, expressed interest in the biggest, brightest, movingest toy in the room, he picks up a little tiny doll which he symbolically reduces further in size and status by calling a baby. And he also directs my attention to the baby -- to the little doll rather than to the big truck -- "Look at this little tiny baby," he says.

He turns away from the big jeep, in favor of what seems in
quality an opposite kind of toy, a little girl doll.

He plays only briefly with the little girl doll, however. He puts her down and picks a man doll out of the box, makes his joints work, moves his arms, sits him on floor in such a way that the doll sits by itself and calling out to the observer -- "See! See! Now lookit -- lookit! See! See!" -- he knocks the man down.

Aggressiveness comes through almost immediately in his behavior with the man doll, climaxed by knocking him down.

Then he immediately picks up another man doll, the policeman, whom he undresses. His actions with the policeman doll are interrupted by a noise on the stairs just as he is holding up the policeman doll nude and calling my attention, "Now, lookit!" There is a change of affect at the interruption brought about by the noise. Alec shows concern about who may be coming up the stairs, which seems to reveal some anxiety about someone discovering him in his inquisitive and basically aggressive behavior toward the policeman doll. That he does feel anxiety about being discovered by someone after the action of undressing the policeman is further shown by the fact that, after being interrupted in this action by the noise of someone on the stairs, he hastily starts putting the clothes back on the policeman. His relationship to the adult in the room with him is at this moment one of considering her as an ally, or confidant --
for his haste and apprehension that he may not get the clothes back on before somebody comes in, he appeals to her to take over for him -- "You do it" he says, holding out doll and trousers to the observer. But he does accomplish the task himself and shows pleasure in this act of autonomy. This including her in his dilemma about dressing the doll in time and expecting her help to solve the dilemma suggests a certain amount of security with this adult, but fear of or lack of trust in the unknown somebody coming up the stairs. This bit of behavior reveals that the relationship to this adult is like his relationship to his own ego, or a bulwark or support for it — mediating between the child's inner impulse of aggressiveness and his dealing with the outside world (by getting the trousers on the doll in a hurry!). But she evidently is not considered by him as a superego representative, for he is scared of whomever might be coming from outside, and catching him in the expression of his curiosity (and hostility?) toward the policeman. At any rate, he is projecting his anxiety out of the room.

When Alec calls my attention to the little girl doll at the beginning, by his words and behavior in response to my recognition of his interest in the truck, it seems almost as if to say, "There's a truck over there, but you look at this little tiny baby." It seemed almost as if his momentary purpose was to direct my attention away from the large, bright toy suggestive of aggressiveness, to the...
smallest, least aggressive looking toy. The sequence of his actions seems also to suggest that aggressiveness is one link in common between his interest in the jeep which he inhibits, and his interest in the man doll, whom he knocks down. This physical expression of the aggression in this way hinges on my giving permission, for it is just after I have said "You may do anything you like with these toys" that he moves away from the child doll ("little tiny baby") to the man doll, and his actions with the man doll culminate in knocking him down.

We know that in psychoanalytical theory trucks are often regarded as phallic symbols. It may be that Alec’s initial interest in the truck, or jeep, may be phallic interest. But instead of playing with the truck in a phallic way, he takes other interests and clearly tries to involve the observer. He makes many obvious efforts to involve the observer — by questions, calling her attention, asking permission: "Look at this little tiny baby. Can I take this rubber band off?" "See! See! Now lookit -- lookit! See! See!" "Can I take this off?" "How you git it off? That way?" "Now lookit!" And after interruption by noise: "You do it."

"Can I take this rubber band off?" Alec wants to remove something from the child doll as he does later off the policeman. He asks permission and I give it. Then he moves away from child doll to man doll. He involves me to the extent of giving him permission
to do something aggressive, to express hostile aggression, as he
does against man doll and against policeman doll.

As, after obtaining the initial permission, he seems to
expect my approval, and cooperation -- especially when at the sound
of noise on the stairs he is trying to put the trousers on the
policeman and tries to turn the task over to me, "You do it" -- it
would seem as though he attributes a positive feeling on my part
toward him.

Thus, just in this first part of his play session (described
in the first paragraph of Interview one) Alec tells us a great deal
about his perception of certain relationships. Directly, he ex-
presses certain assumptions about his relationship toward me, and his
relationship toward some other person (represented by man doll and
policeman doll), presumably father. Since I, the observer, am a
woman, I may represent other women as well as myself to him -- pre-
sumably and principally, mother.

Alec's comment about the little girl doll being a "little
tiny baby" -- said just after turning away from the truck, or
phallic symbol -- may be partially a reference to himself, as if
saying "I'm too little." Then he moves to the man doll, perhaps
in this way expressing his own desire to be a man. He makes man's
joints work, and moves the doll's arms (maybe testing whether they
will come off or not, if arms as projections from the body substitute
for his own penis). He gets man doll to sit by himself, and seems delighted, as if saying "I am not dependent, I'm a man who can support himself -- or want to be. I don't need father" or "This is what I wish." Not only is he delighted but he is eager to communicate this information to the woman observer in the room. "See! See!" he calls to her. Then he knocks the man doll down. He is now Alec himself knocking down man doll.

In dramatic play, a child uses toys in relation to himself in different ways, which could be at times simultaneous. He can identify with the doll or toy, and he can act out as himself and/or as someone else towards the doll or toy which could then represent either himself or another person. Or different parts of himself. He could here be father knocking down Alec, but because of the swift continuity and assurance of his actions it seems more likely to me that it is mostly Alec himself doing the hitting. The fact that he immediately afterwards picks up the policeman is at any rate significant.

Immediately after knocking the man doll down, Alec picks up the policeman. The policeman is also a man doll, and a more impressive one -- an authority symbol on two counts -- both man and policeman. Constantly including woman observer in what he is doing, by questions to her and manner -- "Can I take this off?....How you git it off?"....Alec undresses the policeman. If policeman
represents father, Alec is divesting him of authority (policeman's uniform) as well as clothes. "Now lockit!" as he holds nude policeman out and up toward the woman observer....He switches roles, apparently fearing castration, he represents father figure as being symbolically castrated. But this wish fulfillment fantasy is short-lived. It is quite easily smashed by the reality of the outside world -- in the form of noise. Someone coming up the stairs! The noise interrupts Alec's fantasy play and he reacts with anxiety. He responds with anxiety to a noise which it seems would hardly be noticed under other circumstances were Alec's play at this point less intense and hostile. "Who's that coming?" he inquires quickly, anxiously of the observer, and is instantaneously trying to get the trousers he has removed back on the doll. He has taken an aggressive act against a masculine figure, the policeman. The person coming up the stairs is in fantasy the person he has symbolically attacked. He has been expressing hostility toward father. In Alec's imagination, it could be (in his imagination, it is) father coming up the stairs, to discover Alec in this act of hostile aggressiveness towards him. And here is where he appeals to the observer for protection and implicitly relates to her as an accomplice, showing that he attributes positive feeling on the observer's part toward him and that he is willing to trust the observer and be dependent on her. However, at the adult's reflection back to him of his
request, he gets the trousers on the doll himself. He puts the jacket on the doll backwards and upside down, "covering the policeman's face."

Backwards -- there was no coat opening in back, one solid piece of stiff felt cloth covered the doll's face. To cover a face means to cover up both eyes and mouth, possibly ears, too. (The old adage suddenly comes to mind -- "See no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil.") This action, considered in context and in the sequence of all of Alec's actions and the chance noise to which he reacted, seems to say -- "Father must not see my hostility towards him."

But in this light his very next action is even more significant. Note that he holds the doll out to the observer "Alec frowning, a nonplused and perplexed expression on his face" (a facial expression I wondered very much about at the time. Something obviously troubled and puzzled him -- but what?), but in the sequence of this interpretation his look clearly asks -- "Will you tell? Please don't tell father." Or, "It's a secret." The look expresses Alec's impression that his feelings toward father must not be talked about or known -- must be kept secret. But a secret he shares, or has in common, with the observer.

He gives policeman doll, father and authority symbol with mouth and eyes covered, to the observer.
He picks up man doll again, makes him sit up by himself. If this doll now represents himself and the action means "I don't need father," this action is a reassurance to himself of his own ability to be a man, to stand by himself, and be strong and not helpless, a wish fulfillment action. If doll simultaneously represents father, the action is also a reassurance to himself that father is really still intact in spite of Alec's hostile feelings toward him. It is restorative action, or act of restitution.

His anxiety stimulated by the noise outside apparently relieved somewhat, reassured by this play action in the "small world of manageable toys," he disposes of all the "people" with dispatch, throwing them in the box, and without hesitation he "picks out yellow airplane, lifts plane high, smiling at me." Thus he transposes the theme of his play away from human figures to mobile, mechanical objects. At this point in the sequence of actions it is the phallic meaning of the airplane which is important to him. 3

After lifting plane high while smiling at the observer (including her all the time) he starts hooking train cars together, as if -- phallic symbolism continued -- he is reassuring himself about his own penis, and expressing a desire to be bigger, as he is

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3Erikson (12) has pointed out that boys of this age tend to be invested in symbols of motility, which in Erikson's view express the child's characteristic intrusiveness.
lengthening the train -- making the train bigger and longer. Then he brings train right over in front of the observer, a smile on his face, and calling her attention to it verbally too -- "Lookit!"

He runs train around room, ENLARGING ACTIONS with every means he has: he uses more SPACE in the room -- enlarging AREA OF SPACE in which he moves, or which he includes in his scope; he vocally toots the train's whistle, increasing freedom of sound, VOLUME OF SOUND (also becoming the train -- the locomotive -- in making its noise); he uses his whole body in bigger, freer MOVEMENTS.

He INCREASES and EXPANDS: BY USING:

- Length of train: toy
- Area of space: space
- Volume of sound: vocal cords -- sound
- Movements: body

In everything he does, he is expressing getting bigger at the same time always relating to the observer, seeking her approval, interest, notice. Also, going directly closer to her as he runs train over right in front of her, after he had made it as long, or big, as he could.

After this expressing of growing, getting big, he holds up the red truck from the box of motor toys. However, he then runs it only briefly over the floor. There seems to be the beginning of a return of anxiety and inhibition here, a definite change at least
from the expansiveness of just before.

(Has this anything to do with truck being red, the same color as the big red jeep, the object which at the very first attracted his attention and interest which had then been inhibited? Or has it more to do with a reality realization of his own being little compared to mother and daddy and other adults?)

Alec seemed to be having a wonderful time running the train in a large circular movement around the room, showing it off to me, using space and sound freely. Then he changes. He puts the train cars back into the box. He makes a try at more free movement with the red truck, much shorter than the train but runs the truck only briefly over the floor, then puts it back into box.

What caused this change? It seemed to begin to occur right after he brought the train over to in front of me, for it was right afterwards that he began putting the train cars back into the box. Perhaps I did not reflect back the feeling of joy, confidence and freedom that he was expressing. Perhaps there was an involuntary withdrawal on my part at his sheer exhuberance, for the exhuberance disappears and he becomes tentative. Most probably, I was intent on watching him and writing down what he was doing, and did not enter into his mood by my facial expression or manner, thus not reflecting his expressed feeling.

Next, from the box of Lincoln logs, he picks up "a long and a short log, looks questioningly over at me, says something in a
murmur." He was asking me a question but in such a little murmur that I could not distinguish the words. As he holds the long log and the short log, looking questioningly at me, he seems to be making a **contrast** between little and big, long and short. (Contrasting his size to father's size?) Train and truck, long log and short log, big adults and little boy? The two logs, because of their shape could be seen according to psychoanalytic theory as similar to or representative of the penis, and therefore phallic symbols. He contrasts these along with a questioning look at the observer and something said to her in a low murmur, almost inaudible, as if **shyly**. Certainly without the expansiveness and quality of confidence in his behavior with the train. As if the question of his own **BEING BIG ENOUGH**, in relation to her, had entered or re-entered his thoughts. His confidence has had a set-back. Implicit in his next action is a repetition of the question as he picks up the little lamb (a sweet, gentle, **little** toy). He picks up the little lamb and seems to be murmuring something to me about the little lamb. Was he drawing the conclusion that, since I had evidently not responded in an appropriate way to the train play, that I preferred littleness and murmurs -- like the baby lamb -- to bigness and exhuberance? Right after the little lamb he picks up the faceless animal (a bigger, stronger looking toy). Of the animal he asks "What is this?" as if saying -- "What is it to be big?" or
"Who am I?" or "Which am I -- a delicate little lamb or a big ferocious animal?" or "I am too little and I want to be big and what can be done about it and is it safe?"

Also, animals in dreams are often phallic symbols. If, in this case, they are to Alec symbolic of his own body, he does seem to be questioning me about himself and his own size.

The questioning looks, actions and murmurings just discussed may refer to me and my behavior towards him also -- as if he is taking my concentration on writing rather than sharing or reflecting back his feelings as a rejection. Perhaps the comparison of the two logs and then the two animals is a question about what I am like -- my identity -- (the faceless animal toy?) Am I perhaps in this instance more like father in his eyes than like mother?

The question or questions he is asking here may also be about sex differences.

Then he moves to the furniture toys suggestive of domesticity. He becomes preoccupied with the little toilets. Here, he moves from phallic to anal concerns.

The toilet is an object of extreme importance and associated with many intense feelings of sharp ambivalence for a little child. It has to do with the area of realizing his own power and autonomy in the ability to give or to retain his feces. The feces are a part
of the child himself and he considers them his creation, a gift that is given from himself. This is a gift which it must seem to the child that the adult -- mother -- wants very much, in a particular place and at a particular time -- even though this inconsistent person immediately disposes of this gift -- this creation of, or part of the child -- usually (in this culture, at least in this day and age) by flushing it down the toilet. The child finds that he does have the power to give this gift and please the parent (if his feelings of love for her are uppermost at the time) but he also finds that he has the power to withhold the feces, in opposition to the parent’s wishes, or to give them in some other place which she doesn’t like. Withholding feces can be the child’s way of expressing that he has wishes of his own, though they may be in opposition to wishes of the parent. And he has the power to withhold and thus effectively to express his opposition. (A technique which logically might be used more by a child who has not been allowed sufficient freedom -- and protection -- or scope for expressing his wishes in other ways.) This is just about the first area of life where he can be really effective in expressing his opposition.

Thus his control of his feces is a way of expressing and realizing his personal autonomy.

Alec regresses from the phallic or Oedipal type of play to play more characteristic of the anal stage, and possibly because of
something in my response to the play which was more appropriate to the phallic stage—perhaps the fact that I was writing and therefore in my attitude did not reflect the feeling he was expressing, or respond appropriately, since he regressed.

After Alec inquires "What is this?" about animal, which could mean "Who am I?" or "What is my relationship to you?" he moves to furniture box, takes out refrigerator, stove, and toilet—all objects that one could logically assume to be associated in his experience with his mother. And the toilet, in which he shows the most interest, is also associated very personally with his own body, and with the experience of pleasing and/or coming into conflict with his mother.

During this sequence Alec acts out with these toys the idea of things opening up or not opening up (i.e. letting go, or retaining) and coming out and going in, or being held in. After finally pulling dresser drawer out as far as it will go, he calls observer's attention to it, walking over and showing her, saying "Look at what this can do." (Look at what I can do!?)

What he is acting out with the toys is then transferred to his own body, expressed in himself rather than with the toys. "I 'ave to go to potty," he says, and he goes out to the bathroom.

Going to the toilet at this time is an attempt to please the mother, to assure himself of her love for him, by doing correctly
what she has taught him, and what he has learned to do through much effort on his part at control, the giving up of immediate instinctual pleasure, in order to preserve the loving relationship between them. In this situation the observer was a woman and therefore a suitable mother substitute.

He had been expressing feelings of the phallic phase. The expression of these feelings raised anxiety, perhaps partly because of my response or lack of response, and perhaps also because of his love for the father and fear of retaliation from the father for his (Alec’s) desire to replace him and competitive feelings towards him. He retreated to the feelings of the anal stage, more familiar and safer. The sequence of his play here shows a regression from expression of the phallic stage to expression of the anal.

When Alec comes back from going out to the toilet and looks into my face with such studied inspection and scrutiny, he may be asking: "What sort of person are you? How do you feel about me?" There may be a customary reaction from his mother on such occasions ordinarily which is lacking from me and he is puzzled about what this means. At any rate, he is asking some question very eloquently by his facial expression as he looks directly into my face. Then he looks down at the watch and after the comments about this, he says "I know" in a very disgusted tone of voice, and turns away. This is followed by more questions in the form of "What is this?" "What's
that?" and he is particularly concerned with the baby bathinette. It is almost as if the aggressiveness of his play which seems related to the phallic stage is followed by anxiety in which he regresses back through feelings characteristic of the anal stage and then on back to feelings and questionings concerning the state of being a little tiny baby. (Or where do babies come from?) He becomes more tentative, perhaps asking what he is -- what is our relationship? Isn't he, after all, just a baby, he may really be asking as he asks "What is this?" of the baby bathinette and then works so hard trying to get it to stand up by itself (as he had made the man doll sit by himself). And then, as he puts these toys back into their box, he pauses quite a long time with the little toilet. It absorbs his attention as he holds it in his hand, "looking down at it, fingering it, making the lid go up and down." This would seem to indicate that his feelings in this area are of particular concern to him or especially intense -- "Maybe people go down toilet?" -- that is, little babies -- (or come out of there in the first place?). Then there is some aggression as he THROWS the toilet into the box. Thus, in succession, Alec has played with three box forms, the bathinette, the toilet, and the big box containing the toys.

He goes to the big red jeep, smiling, and picks it up. It
is as if he is starting to play with this, the symbol of motility again and the more aggressive toy (going forward again), but when a piece of it comes off, although he reattaches it, the part coming off seems to bring about a resurgence of anxiety, for he does not continue playing with the jeep but puts it down again. This small incident perhaps came too close -- was a symbol of his own castration anxiety -- the part of the jeep coming off an instance of an outside object being a symbol of his inner feeling of fear about himself.

His attitude seems to become more dependent as he holds out the doll closet box toward me, asking me if he can play with that. He comes nearer to me with the doll closet box and sits down on the floor to play with it -- as if he wanted to be sure to have permission and to be near for protection. He takes all the things out, puts them in again, takes them out again, asks "Where's the little baby?" In other words -- Is the baby flushed down the toilet when he is bad, or is he shut in a box? Where is he? Was he looking for the baby inside the box? -- Was he searching, expecting to find it there, as he takes things out, puts them in, takes them out?

His coming nearer to me and sitting down on the floor next to me during this could also have the symbolic association of women's and mothers' connection with babies and birth.
I believe that it is during this segment of play with the
doll closet box that Alec begins to express, in a more specific
way in his play the content of his anxiety -- the danger or fear
of being shut in a box. This part of his play takes on a particular
significance and perhaps becomes more intelligible when one knows
that Alec's father is a mortician, the owner of a large funeral
home, and that Alec and his older sisters have been to their father's
place of occupation, and have heard his occupation talked about at
home.

It looks as though Alec may be concerned with the forms of
punishment which could be meted out to those who are littler --
first, he investigates the toilet, -- perhaps people go down it --
making the lid of the toilet go up and down -- making sure it will
open as well as shut, so that people who go down it are not shut in
for good, but could possibly get out? Then, after first looking for
baby in the box and not finding him, he does find a baby doll from
among the dolls and buries it under other things in the box. Is
this something else he is afraid might happen to him? Then he sits
holding box, repeatedly opening and closing its lid. He had done
a similar thing with the toilet, opening and closing its lid. And
before this he had remarked about the other toy toilet (which did
not have a lid that would open) -- "It's a toilet, it doesn't
open up."
It seems highly probable that the segment of play with the box and things in the box -- burying the baby doll, then closing and opening lid, arises out of a phantasy of being buried and shut in a casket. Furthermore that this fear is associated with his feelings of ambivalence associated with the anal stage (he also repeatedly closed and opened the toilet, another place where little people could be shut in). This could be the punishment for his hostile feelings associated with the anal stage, and also even more intensely with the phallic stage. Therefore, with the onslaught of the anxiety following this play it is logical that he would begin to act out his own particular and individual theories of the fearful things which could be done to him in retaliation for his hostility and aggressiveness. In this way, his observations of his own individual life become fused with the feelings and fears natural to children of his age. Rather, these feelings and fears take on special content out of the observations and experiences unique to his own life. His father's occupation, one of burying people, certainly lends itself to the imagining of a particular kind of retaliation. Furthermore, one that is even more terrifying because so easily associated with the child's fantasies of where babies come from -- also, from inside something. In this way, this child's fantasies of birth could become mixed up with fantasies of punishment, and a particular kind of punishment -- in his fantasy -- death and being buried.
Completing this, having acted out the fantasy of being shut in a box -- having meted out punishment? -- having put baby in a box, as father might do? Taking the role of father here? -- he brings this anxiety fantasy to a close, closing box with the doll in it and putting box back on shelf from where he had got it.

Here we see how the two themes alternate -- aggressiveness and anxiety. When anxiety abates, the aggressiveness reappears -- he reaches for the yellow airplane, phallic symbol, and symbol of motility and a toy used at the height of his aggressive play.

He does not follow either theme through as much as before however -- there is a quick alternation now rather than gradual and prolonged.

He picks up in succession: doll closet box, yellow airplane, red car, doll closet box.

He pulls string out long, wads it up and stuffs it back in package, restores wheels to a red car, remarks that the yellow car "even broken too." Wheels being off the cars may be symbolic of castration. Thus, in restoring wheels to cars, he is in fantasy repairing body damage.

He wants to see in closet, again expressing a concern with what is inside, as with toilet and doll closet box before. The fact that I was sitting in front of the closet door may have some significance, for the following reasons: Throughout all his play,
he has at the same time been relating to me. As we have seen, there is often a sequence of expressing the same theme or interest by using a variety of toys (and any other objects available) as well as himself (and the room itself) and what he is expressing has to do with relationships and what can happen to a person as a result of their feelings toward others (specifically mother and father) and relationships with others. His desire to see what is in the closet may be a way of communicating curiosity about babies being inside mothers, and could also express his concern with what is in his father's boxes.

Aggressiveness comes through again as he bangs drum he has brought out of closet. He says "I don't want you to look at me," expressing verbally now the idea contained earlier in the action of covering policeman's face — that no one should see the expression of his hostile and aggressive feelings. Also, this expresses inhibition of the original impulse discussed earlier, of seeking the observer's attention (maybe feeling he has revealed too much?). (But all this has a more far reaching or deeper significance in the developing of the theme of birth, and the idea that the aggressiveness needed to break out of confinement may be harmful to, or hurt, mother.)

Going right on from this aggressive action with drum he moves quickly to dolls, takes out woman doll and sits her on floor, saying "What is this?" Thus he may be stating the question he has been
working toward. This action substantiates the above suggestion that Alec may think his aggressiveness equal to injury to mother. This is supported by the sequence relation here. The play session at this point ends in disruption. The point of play disruption shows the major concern or anxiety of the child -- here, that injury to mother will be brought about by the breaking out of confinement, or the aggressiveness.

He had shown hostility toward father, then because of anxiety regressed to more infantile stages where there had been security and comfort with mother, but this served to bring up also the ambivalent feelings toward mother as well. "The preoedipal mother figure...is the unfathomable source of comfort as well as of fear and terror" (38, p. 186). The possibility of showing hostility toward the woman doll -- mother (or of hurting mother) is too threatening to risk at this point and play disruption occurs.

It is of significance here that in this play disruption after for the first time approaching the woman doll, Alec shows me, the woman observer, more guilt after just this brief action with the woman doll than he had in all the hostile and aggressive behavior
toward the man doll. (Knocking him down, undressing policeman, etc.)

In communication to me of his exhibitionistically tinged aggressive attitude, Alec was putting me, the observer, in place of his mother. The observer seems to have become, in the child's mind, the Oedipal mother figure. The first evidence of an erotic -- exhibitionistic and seductive -- orientation toward the observer occurred in the exuberant train play, which was followed by anxiety, and regression to a more infantile kind of play.

Thus, on the basis of Alec's behavior, as shown in record, in relationship to me, the observer, and in his behavior toward the man dolls, we infer a parent transference on Alec's part toward the woman observer.

It is of interest here to consider some comments made by Ruth Griffiths in connection with her study on imagination in early childhood. Of her experience in observing the child's play, she writes:

"We now come to the question of rapport. However desirable it may be to eliminate the influence of the experimenter, in all

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4Does this suggest anything? We might make some inferences as to Alec's mother. We could infer a rather aggressive, domineering mother, since, after obtaining the first, rather general permission, Alec went right ahead in his own aggressive behavior toward the man doll in the presence of the observer, a woman, seeming to assume that she would accept and approve of this, only showing concern about this behavior when there was the noise of someone else who might have been coming in from outside.
research of a purely observational nature, it becomes a practical impossibility in work of the kind under discussion. A very delicate relationship grows up between the experimenter and each subject, and this situation needs careful handling. We owe to psychoanalysis the recognition of the importance of 'transference' and it is not only in an analytic situation that this phenomenon is at work. On every occasion that a child comes under the influence of an adult other than his parents this parent-child relationship is reproduced. ....We are fully aware of the influence that the experimenter may have upon the subjects, and.... these facts are taken into consideration in dealing with the results. Throughout the work care was taken to preserve a good positive relationship with the children ....It can only be said that the children enjoyed the work very much and responded with astonishing rapidity to the technique. It was felt that in some cases the work was of a definitely helpful character, giving the child who was facing difficult problems an opportunity to express them (23, p. 19).
Alec was in the room ahead of me, and when I came into the room he was hooking the train cars together, making the train long, or bigger. When I came into the room, he shook them apart and put them, one by one, back into the box. His second session, as his first, begins with an inhibition, and the inhibition occurred when I walked into the room. This is interesting in view of the previous suggestion that it was the exuberant train play that I may have inadvertently discouraged in Interview one, when he seemed to take my concentration on writing rather than reflecting his feelings, as rejection.

Then he turned to the housekeeping toys -- toys associated with mother. The first toy he picked out -- small heater -- he threw back in -- the inhibited aggression coming through in a milder and more fragmented form than expression of it with the train might have been -- in fact, was, during the sequence described in his previous play session. Then he went over to the doll closet box, where he himself had hidden -- or buried -- shut in -- the baby doll. He took the doll out, and put it back in and covered it up. Took it out again and brushed its hair. Thus, he works on the theme of confinement of baby in the box.

He was very serious in his manner and expression of face while doing this, as if this was a matter of the greatest concern and of serious and deep import to him. Then he came over to me,
pointed to closet behind me, and said -- as he had near the end of his last session -- "I want to see what's in there." (Continuing the same theme of confinement -- baby is inside of box, what is inside of closet?)

He brought out the drum, let it roll onto the floor (again similar to the last time, as if carrying on from last time). Then he took my pen. I think this shows that the affect underlying these actions is aggression toward me, or aggression toward a parent figure -- this aggression is only more directly expressed in the action of taking my pen. Also, a pen can be a phallic symbol. Perhaps the mother figure having the phallic symbol represented castration to him. Parent taking away his penis. (Also, on another level entirely, it could have been simple annoyance at my doing so much writing instead of paying attention to him, in his view.)

Aggression was still more directly expressed in the defiant act of throwing the pen away over the screen, when I said I needed it and reached out for it.

Following this action, he is obviously anxious and when I verbalize to him about his being angry at me, he goes back to furniture toys and takes up chest of drawers, and pushes drawer out and in -- this action, if the interpretation in Interview One is correct, is a symbol of pleasing mother and doing what she wants, and also a symbol of the great difficulties and intense conflicts.
in which he finds himself in the struggle to achieve personal autonomy. The anxiety is too strong for play to continue and disruption occurs. Also, the birth fantasy is important here. Anxiety about birth fantasy -- birth and death -- brings about disruption. The birth is a coming out, as drawer comes out. Breaking out, or being born, may injure mother. Disruption again occurs at point of acting out what may cause injury to mothers.

He tries to make restitution for his hostile action by retrieving the pen, then he wants me to read to him. In this instance, listening to a story cuddled up close to me is a regression to a passive way of receiving approval and love, safety, rather than attempting active and more independent play. It is also a way of reassurance that the mother -- or parent -- figure is still alive, uninjured, and present to express love for him, and care for his needs. His sexual and hostile wishes have not destroyed nor incapacitated her.

I do not think I was severe in my insistence on the return of the pen, (on the "reality level") nor in my verbal recognition of his anger.

This response in the form of complete play disruption and regression to a passive role has, it seems to me, an importance significant in the area of Alec's perception of adults. It seems to me that it indicates that Alec has learned to expect, or at any
rate, does expect -- punitive retaliation in the form of withdrawal of love for any expression of hostility toward adults. Also, the play disruption and subsequent regression are linked to my interference in his acting out of the birth fantasy and castration fear. (I interfered with his fantasy when I asked for the return of the pen when he first picked it up and started to play with it. His first reaction to my interference was to throw the pen over the screen.) It throws light on Alec’s customary babyish behavior and on the fact that his hostility is expressed so often in biting -- an infantile form of aggression -- and biting in the midst of an affectionate expression toward an adult.

This also brings to mind some thoughts about Alec’s difficulties in speaking clearly. Speech is a more mature form of behavior and it looks as though Alec feels that adults like only affectionate, loving, cuddly babies. It is the consonants in speech that Alec leaves out. He attempts to make all his verbal communications by using only vowels. Like trucks, planes, pens and trains, consonants have a quality of going outward, hitting, bumping. (Perhaps injuring.) They have an intrusive quality. Consonants are the more aggressive sounds in speech, and because of his hostile aggression, aggressiveness in general must be curbed. It is a great effort, and he never really succeeds in curbing it, for adults are bitten while he is kissing them, and another child is hit while he is apparently playing peacefully with him.
Alec's speech is another expression of the inhibition he showed at the very beginning of both play sessions so far -- inhibition of aggression.

His speech has this quality -- a quality of effort -- it is hard to avoid the consonant, thus the breathy, inhibited speech -- always effort to make the vowel sounds of the words while avoiding the consonants. According to what Alec is saying in his behavior, talking clearly equals hostile aggression. At the same time that adults punish aggression they encourage him to talk, and, out of daily necessity, he must talk in order to please them, and also to communicate his needs. So the peculiar quality of his speech emerges.

Thus, children's perceptions of adults can affect the development of speech and language.

It is a vicious circle. His inhibition of hostility affects his ability to make himself understood in speech. At the same time, not being understood is very frustrating to him, and thus increases the hostility. The frustration creating more hostility which must also through great effort be inhibited.

Also, the impression of babyishness combined with such serious and highly solemn effort is apt to create in the adult listener an indulgent amusement and perception of Alec as being "cute" in his attempts to talk. This response is undoubtedly more
pleasant and safer for him in his view than the -- very likely punishing -- response from significant adults of his overt expressions of hostility. Thus the speech difficulty is unwittingly reinforced and encouraged by the adults.

Alec needs help in making the distinction between different -- desirable and undesirable -- ways of expressing aggression -- intrusiveness. He first needs the opportunity to express hostility toward an adult in a non-punitive setting. First, by the permissiveness of the adult in order for him to feel free enough with the adult to give up the inhibition, then by the clarity of the adult in making very clear to him what kinds of expression of aggression will be allowed. Also, by the adult being able to make clear to him so that he can recognize that it is all right for him to talk to the adult -- this will be encouraged as well as not punished -- and express in other ways his problem, the painful situation in which his conflicting feelings toward the adult places him. At the same time that his hostile feelings are accepted and not punished, his acts of hostile aggression must be controlled and seen by him to be unacceptable. He must be helped to distinguish between different kinds of expressions of aggressiveness.

This can perhaps be best done in the situation of the individual play session with one adult, since it is less complicated in terms of the number of adults and children than is the nursery
school, because the task is for Alec to first be sure of -- secure
in -- and clarify his relationship with one significant adult, in
order to be able to work on the problem at all, and in order for
the adult to be able to understand and help him.\(^5\)

I think that the words of Dorothy Canfield Fisher, in her
introduction to *Our Children Today*, are helpful to consider here:

"Aggressiveness does not mean only the impulse to fight
other people and take away from them, what we want for ourselves,
but is the name for the inner strength which enables us to pursue
our goals in the face of obstacles and difficulties. The aim of
parents then becomes not the lessening of this mighty instinct,
but the careful selection of the goals which it is to serve (14,
p. xvii)."
Alec's need for the play sessions is evident, for he himself asks to play with the toys this time. I believe that it has a definite value for the children when it is possible to have the play session at the time when the child himself asks for it. (Assuming of course that the teacher or person doing the play sessions distinguishes between the different reasons why different children -- or the same child at different times -- may ask to play with the toys.) In Alec's case, in this instance, the time when he asked for it was a valuable and meaningful time for him, judging from the intensity and directness of the aggression he showed in this session. (It would be interesting and fruitful perhaps if we had the data to show what had happened in school and at home previous to the point at which he asked to go play with the toys. Unfortunately we don't have that data.) Perhaps he felt his hostile impulses ready to break out at this time, and somehow knew -- had so far learned this -- that for them to do so in the play session was somehow more acceptable than it would be elsewhere. Thus, there could be already a beginning learning of distinguishing time and place and appropriateness, and in what form -- at least place. For this learning to be reinforced by having the play session when he asks seems to me a valuable thing.

He starts out by checking on the baby doll buried in the box, "examining it carefully, and very gravely, very serious expression
on face."

The theme of the next segment of play -- in which he acts out the fantasy of castrating father, and of which aggression and intrusive action are manifestations -- is stated as he holds up the red airplane (phallic symbol), "smiles at me," and flies airplane, landing it *roughly* (intrusively) on top of other toys in box. I suggest that his roughness here is a manifestation of sexual aggression. Then he acts this out in relation to the observer, with the green car, driving it "straight across room to where I am sitting on rug" and bumping it straight into me.

Then he takes up doll figures, saying "Look at all the babies." As he takes them up and drops them back into box, he sings a song about daddy. Thus he acts out his fantasy of the nature of daddy's actions -- his idea of sexual intercourse as daddy performs it. The fantasy is influenced by daddy's occupation -- daddy puts people into boxes. Alec calls them all babies -- this is the way daddy puts babies into mother. It is also the way daddy could punish baby for hostile feelings -- get rid of him by making him dead and putting him in a box. That Alec *drops*, rather than just puts, the dolls into the box indicates aggression and the hostile quality of the action, as Alec imagines it.

Then he acts out the fantasy of castrating father. He picks up policeman, undresses him, and holds him up and laughs, openly
derisively. Note here, Alec's re-enactment and development of the theme with policeman which he first played out in Interview One, Paragraph One. His behavior here in Interview Three suggests he is more sure of himself. It is the same action -- undressing policeman -- but he does this decisively, without any questioning as before about whether it is all right or how it is done. Then he holds him up -- showing observer -- and laughs, very clearly and markedly derisively and hostily. I remember at the time being startled by the rough, hostile quality of this sudden -- and then continued -- laughter, so unlike Alec's usual day by day appealing but quite babyish expressions in tone of voice and face. (In daily life, in the nursery school, Alec's hostility was expressed in biting or hitting -- more biting -- but so unexpected because without change of expression of face, or usually in the middle of an affectionate hug or kiss. He also frequently expressed shame -- he would go into the corner in the "quiet room" and hide his head in his arms, or lie on the floor hiding his head.)

This laugh in play Interview Three is one of ridicule, hostility and a kind of triumph. Alec has reversed the roles -- instead of father castrating him, he represents father as being symbolically castrated. It is a wish fulfillment fantasy enacted in play, with hostile aggression expressed more directly and openly this time than it was in Interview One.
Then he puts the policeman doll's trousers back on, then puts coat on him upside down so that it covers mouth and eyes of the doll, exactly as he had put coat on doll in the first session.

He may be saying here -- this is what people don't talk about: their sexual and angry feelings -- the wish to castrate father -- the wish to do what daddy does -- and to take his place with mother. This is what can't be talked about? -- and what father, authority figure, especially must not see?

He then gives the doll to me. Expressing in this way: wish to be with mother in daddy's place, feelings toward mother, and the idea of secrecy, or not talking. This action also contains the idea of my being also an authority figure toward which hostile feelings are directed, and also expressing his hostile feelings toward mother.

Then he picks up the jointed man and laughs at him as he had at policeman. Makes man sit by himself on floor as he had done before, expressing wish to be a man, to be like daddy. Then he sits woman next to the man, and the other man next to the woman. "Lookit! I sat them all in a line," he says.

Thus he states his dilemma: the inflexibility of the straight line -- the three dolls -- two men and one woman. He is stating in the placement of the dolls the relationship problem in the Oedipal situation with which he is struggling. That they are
sat in a straight line suggests a rigid form of the relationship statement.

He throws them roughly back into the box, his roughness one indication of the sexual aggression. Also, he is putting people in boxes again.

Note how that the three figures are immediately followed by three planes. The intrusive mode is turned to the airplane (phallic symbol) and the problem of relationships explored by relating the planes and then the cars of the train. "Ow -- I bumped my hand" seems to express his fear of being hurt in the problem of relationships, or by becoming too involved in them (as he is now so intensely involved in these actions with the toys.)

He is rough in his behavior with the toys here. He is making "a loud noise like a plane flying," he is using wide areas of space, up and down, flying plane over to shelf, flying it to wall and making it go up wall, and flying it back and landing it on top of the red plane on floor.

Thus, sexual aggression in relationships is being stated, explored, and also a great deal of anxiety expressed. The roughness of his movements has brought about disorder, pushing and scattering toys around, getting the rug all bunched up. The anxiety is indicated by his disorderedness and the bumping of the hand. He runs plane up curtain covering screen, and then climaxes the
whole sequence by taking aim from a distance and throwing planes into the box. All aggressive, intrusive actions.

Following this climactic point, there is a change. He plays out again sexual aggression toward mother but with a different emotional tone. Disordered anxious aggression is followed by control — bringing some order into the situation. He gets the red truck and uses the reality function of hauling as a form of management. But the acting out of the reality function contains also the idea of controlling things in relation to a box — a baby doll was buried in a box, he dropped dolls in a box calling them babies, now he brings logs (phallic symbols) to the box. The acting out of the reality function contains also the idea of putting phallic symbols — logs — into an enclosure. His tempo has slowed down, he has become careful rather than scattered, as he SLOWLY backs truck up to box, and unloads log. By same process he brings over green stick. His effort at control and the initiating of limits for himself is indicated by making an enclosure around the airplanes and truck with the logs and stick (phallic symbols) and using the box as one side of the enclosure. He uses this enclosure as a kind of "base" as he flies a plane, then returns it to the enclosure. Again, sexual aggression expressed by intrusive action.

There may seem to be repetition in this interpretation of Alec's actions. However, it is repetitive as Alec's play itself is
so and in this respect serves to demonstrate the specific ways in which play deals with its subject matter. This "repetition," or variations of the same or similar themes, is a characteristic of the play itself and illustrative of one important function of play, the expression of what Freud called the "repetition compulsion," mastery of anxiety by dealing repeatedly in play with something which has been overwhelming or nearly so in life and "adding an active counterpart to the passive experience."

As Freud writes:

"It is clear that in their play children repeat everything that has made a great impression on them in real life, and that in doing so they abreact the strength of the impression and, as one might put it, make themselves master of the situation. But on the other hand it is obvious that all their play is influenced by a wish that dominates them the whole time -- the wish to be grown up and to be able to do what grown up people do (18, p. 36)."

Back to Alec: He puts the red plane on top of the red truck. He flies them together in the air. He lands them, piles other planes on truck, too, runs the loaded truck with all these planes on it over to right beside me, says "lookit," and wrecks them. (Does this represent his perception of adults, their actions and behavior, his relationship to them, and they to each other?)

He then withdraws to the airport, calling my attention --
"Teacher, we're goin' to the airport" -- thus using concepts of outer reality -- Teacher, airport -- as a form of control.

"After unloading planes, he runs truck back across room to me, running truck straight up onto my lap and over the policeman doll lying on my lap."

After our conversation, he puts policeman behind curtain. Here are two hostile acts toward policeman, running over him, and getting rid of him by putting him behind curtain.

When I ask in response to Alec running over policeman with truck, "Truck is mad at policeman?" Alec responds with "Policeman is mad at truck?" at the same time holding truck. If truck is phallic symbol and policeman is an authority symbol representing father figure, this answer that Alec gives is quite a clear expression of the castration fear of the little boy and also of his perception of adult male as retaliatory or as one who may inflict this physical punishment upon him. Then Alec picks up the policeman doll, scrutinizes him closely, and then proceeds to hide him behind the curtain, or get rid of him.

Then he dramatizes his perception of the situation further -- he makes a "house." Here he elaborates on and develops further the content of his anxiety about what father does. Thus he is acting out a part of his perception of the father.

Alec takes some green sticks and makes a kind of lopsided
square on the floor. He says: "This is a house."

House constructions often can "mean" representation of the human body -- either the child's own or that of certain others. In this case, in the light of the sequence of the child's play leading to this point, this form which Alec tells us is a "house" most probably represents his mother's body. So while he is dramatizing his ideas in regard to father's occupation, which has to do with death and burying people, in the play sequence to follow which we will consider next in discussion, he dramatizes these ideas within a configuration which he calls a house -- mother's body? -- a configuration described by the observer at the time as a "lopsided square" -- this shape perhaps suggesting pregnancy of the mother.

Erikson has pointed out that:

"In play a house-form in particular may represent the body as a whole. And, indeed, we read of dreams that: 'The only typical, that is to say, regularly occurring representation of the human form as a whole is that of a house'....As is well known, the same representation of the body by the image of a house is found throughout the gamut of human imagination and expression, in poetic fantasy, in slang, wit and burlesque, and in primitive language" (20, p. 123).

"The configurational approach....provides an anchor for interpretation in the ground plan of the human body: here, sex
difference obviously provides the most significant over-all differ-
entiation. In the interplay of thematic content and spatial con-
figuration, then, we come to recognize an expression of that
interpenetration of the biological, cultural, and psychological,
which, in psychoanalysis, we have learned to summarize as the
psychosexual."

"....A word on the house as a symbol and as a subject of
metaphors....Not only in regard to the representation of sex dif-
fferences but also in connection with the preoccupation with other
growing or afflicted body parts, we have learned to assume an un-
conscious tendency to represent the body and its parts in terms
of a building and its parts....we use this metaphor consciously,
too. We speak of our body's 'build' and of the 'body' of vessels,
carriages and churches. In spiritual and poetic analogies, the
body carries the connotation of an abode, prison, refuge, or temple
inhabited by, well, ourselves: 'This mortal house' as Shakespeare
put it. Such metaphors, with varying abstractness and condensation,
express groups of ideas which are sometimes too high, sometimes too
low, for words....Yet, for some of us, it is easier to take such
symbolism for granted on the stage of drama and burlesque than in
dreams or in children's play; in other words, it is easier to accept
such representation when it is lifted to sublime or lowered to laugh-
able levels" (13, p. 338-339).
To go back to Alec -- Alec, let us remember to keep in mind, has continued to play while we stop to discuss it. It is important for us to keep the sense of the continuous rate and flow at which these things are occurring, although we ourselves must pause in order to try to understand them. But "The halt that we postulate is for our own convenience. There is no halt in the flow of time" (39, p. 7).

Alec puts several pieces of furniture inside the "house" area, turning the bed upside down and calling it a "desk." Including a desk as a major piece of the furnishings suggests something more or other than a domestic housekeeping scene. It suggests perhaps father's office. Next, Alec holds up the little cedar chest and asks me what it is. When I turn the question back to him, he says "I think it's a baby bed." Knowing that in reality the father's place of occupation -- the mortuary-- is actually from the outside a large house makes more plausible the speculation that this scene may be a combination of father's place of occupation and the domestic home scene of mother putting the baby to bed. We know that in play, as in the dream, significant elements of different places or events in life are combined or condensed into one scene or image in the dream or play -- places and happenings that are not necessarily associated by proximity of place in life, but that are associated in proximity of meaning or emotional significance in the dreamer's or
player’s mind. After calling the cedar chest a baby bed, having
chosen the chest rather than one of the actual toy beds, or crib,
which he could have used, he picks up the baby doll hat, says "Won't
fit on me," as if denying that he is the baby himself, or expressing
his wish not to be in this instance, he puts hat on the baby doll,
while singing and crooning (as mother would do?)...."Baby, baby,
baby....Here I am"....He calls my attention to the baby with its
hat on, he sings to the baby, he tells me -- "He's going to sleep." And
he puts the baby to bed face down in the cedar chest and closes
the lid. He holds the chest up as if showing me and then places it
in the green square area. If this area represents daddy’s office
or place of occupation as previously suggested, it follows that the
chest represents a casket and the baby placed face down means that
the baby is dead. Further, if the "house" form is also a repre-
sentation of mother’s body, the dead baby in chest is being placed
symbolically inside mother’s body. As if this is a playing out of
Alec’s fantasy of what daddy does, and specifically, does to
mother -- acting out further his phantasy of sexual intercourse as
performed by father. (This play statement following the enacting
of a tender scene of baby being sung to and put to bed -- presumably
by mother -- while wearing a hat.)

It has been recognized in the literature that a young child’s
fear of going to sleep can be a fear of death, that the child, having
no clear concept of what death is, cannot distinguish between death and sleep. The addition of the reality occupation of his father in Alec's case, and the feelings about father natural to a child in his developmental stage at the age of three years and nine months when the feelings and conflicts of the phallic stage are very intense all accumulate to make Alec's anxiety about what father does develop into a fantasy which could hardly fail to be frightening (at the very least) to a little child. And it also throws some light on why Alec bites or hits in the midst of an affectionate expression — a hug or a kiss. Just as, in the enactment of this fantasy, the baby is tenderly and lovingly put to bed, and then is dead. After putting baby face down in the chest, closing lid, and putting chest in green square area of "house," he emphasizes or repeats the death theme by putting another baby doll upside down in waste basket also inside green square. Upside down, also, is the position in which baby is within mother's body before birth. Then he puts a piece of material inside green square next to green stick and propping it so it stands up against a piece of furniture, he says "Here's the curtain." (Curtain is against "wall" or boundary of "house" or enclosure.)

The curtain apparently has meaning for Alec. He got rid of the policeman by putting him behind the curtain, he places a curtain in the setting he creates in his play, now he sits very very still,
seemingly absorbed in gazing at the real curtain which forms one wall of our playroom. Also, on the real curtain which forms a wall of the playroom there are many pictures of children.

Anxiety is evident as he asks quickly if I'm going downstairs when I move slightly to change position.

He puts all the things back in their boxes, then climbs up the shelves. As if to get out, climb up out of this place of confinement. In his playing out of the fantasy, and elaboration of it, this rather small area of the playroom which is itself an enclosure, has become also a place of confinement.

From a high shelf he looks out the window, says "I can see leaves." As if assuring himself that he is alive, not buried or confined in a box. But anxiety about body injury returns, displaced onto the shelf -- "It might break." (As a little boy "might break?" -- might be castrated?) Also, this may be expressing fear that if shelf breaks he would fall back into the enclosure of the room below the windows through which from his position on the shelf he can now see outdoors.

Coming down he climbs inside middle shelf. "Like a dog house." He climbs inside it, as if exploring all kinds of enclosures, places of confinement. He climbs up again, repeating assurance to himself that he can get out, can climb up. Then he climbs down and puts drum in closet, asks about other things in
closet, again exploring things which are inside, which are enclosed.

This is followed by play disruption.

He wants to go downstairs and we leave.
The next day Alec requested to play with the toys. When I said I liked playing with the toys with him (and we would tomorrow), he apparently assumed I was lying to him, for he retorted, "No, you don’t." (Significant comment on his perception of adults, or what he may expect from them?) On the following day Alec asked again and play session four took place.

In Session Three Alec had acted out the fantasy of being confined in a box or shut up in an enclosure (baby inside chest, chest inside “house,” baby inside waste basket, waste basket inside “house”). Near the end of Session Three, he suggested the idea of climbing out of the enclosure by climbing up the shelves and looking out the window. In this fourth play period he acts out further the fantasy of escape from the enclosure.

His very first action on entering the room was to climb up the shelves. Although the reality justification for this was to get the boxes down, it is still of import that he started this play period almost exactly where he had left off at the last one, by climbing the shelves.

Alec places the boxes of toys with great care just where they had been the previous times -- and he sets the keynote of the play session as one of restoration, or repairing damage done in the beginning by spending the first part of play session fixing the toys and making sure that this was done correctly. The concern of
a little child about things being broken is a displacement of the child's concern about his own body's injury or damage, in the case of a boy the fear of castration. Here Alec repairs such damage in fantasy by putting the wheels back on the engines, and where wheels are on the wrong car, correcting this by putting its own wheels on it.

Then he begins acting out the fantasy of escape from confinement by climbing up and threatening to break the window -- breaking out of the enclosure of the small room. Reality limitations preventing his acting out his fantasy in this way, he substitutes by the permitted outlet, breaking the toys.

Here is an example of "multiple function" -- or more than one motivation behind any action. His behavior during the teasing threats to break the window have the content of an attempt at breaking out of confinement. The same behavior tests out what I the adult will allow -- thus, how safe he is in confiding and acting out his fantasies and especially his aggression -- and also shows his simultaneous awareness of the reality situation, the awareness of his EGO as to what the actual reality situation is -- and the strength of his ego: in reality he does not actually break the window. The "I won't really" is a statement of his own ego and its ability to distinguish between reality and fantasy.

After assuring me that he won't "really" break the window,
he immediately took out toy crib and asked if he could break that. He first broke the sides off the crib, held it up to show me, saying "I really did that." Again the distinguishing between real and fantasy. The windows formed the upper part of one whole side and one end of the room and were thus similar to the sides of a crib which could appear as windows to a baby within a crib. Both the room and the crib are enclosures, places of confinement — like boxes in this respect. Places one is inside of....After he has whacked up the crib with Lincoln log as described in record, he breaks mirror off the toy dresser. The mirror is similar to the windows in the respect that both are glass. He pounds dresser itself with log. (Dresser might be symbolic of mother, who is to him an agent of confinement.)

Then he whacks up with log the tiny red chair. This chair is the tiniest of all the toy chairs and could be suggestive of the baby, or baby chair. He pounds with the log very energetically, using his whole body in his movements, on his knees, moving around, covering the whole middle area of room. He lets go with lots of energy at breaking the things, at the same time going at it very deliberately and determinedly. Then he is just as clearly finished. He says "Put 'em all back now," and does so. (Another quite matter-of-fact statement of his ego.)

Then he continues the theme of escape from closed-in-ness by
climbing up the shelves again. He is also continuing the theme of breaking and fixing -- "brokenness" and "wholeness." He asks if the shelf will break and we have a conversation about this. He seems relaxed now as he talks about breaking. He spits at the shelf -- a much milder expression of destructive feelings, and showing a good deal of control of aggression, as he doesn't actually spit but only makes spitting motion with mouth. This seems to be a transfer to the oral zone of the phallic mode of intrusiveness, or going outward (8, p. 4492). When I suggest, in an attempt to reflect his feelings, that he feels angry, he answers "I not now" in quite a straightforward and convincing way -- also, an endearing way -- adding "Sometimes I am but not now." The quality of his speech here is quite relaxed and clear. As he is climbing down, he curls up inside lower shelf for a moment. As in previous session -- and suggestive of baby in a box "like a doghouse." He says he is going downstairs but instead picks man doll out of doll box. He asks if he will break and pulls at doll's arm as if about to break it off, then quickly puts doll back into box and goes out. (He has been acting out escape from box. He takes man doll out of box, asking "Will he break?" or -- is breaking out too dangerous?) When he returns he dumps dolls out on floor and then, still consistent with theme of confinement he puts open side of box down over them, thus shutting them all up in a complete enclosure within the five sides
of the box and floor beneath. Then he sets box right side up again and quickly restores all dolls to it. "Go downstairs now,"...
"O’mon."

All this brings to mind the idea that destructive feelings may arise out of the attempt to serve a constructive purpose. When you know the content of the fantasy, you see that destructive feelings may have a constructive base. For instance, one might on the surface of it see only a child threatening to break a window -- but when one realises that this aggressiveness has been mobilised to escape from confinement and death into life and purpose, a different light is thrown on the behavior and motivation of the child.

In the next session (not recorded), Alec combined acting out the fantasy of escape from the box with repair of damage. He insisted on getting hammer and nails and attempting to fix the toys he had broken. This may have been on one level the acting out of the theme that if one is too aggressive in breaking out, one may damage the mother -- a theme related to the birth fantasies.

When Alec is threatening to break the window, in Interview Four, the aggression is really aimed at me, as a representative of the mother, whom he sees as the confining one -- doll inside the box, interest in things inside the closet, curling up inside the shelves, etc., are symbols of baby inside mother before birth. But to Alec, because of his awareness of his father's occupation,
things being inside also means being dead (and shut in). And the fact that this is what father does may very likely be construed by Alec, because of Alec's ambivalent or Oedipal feelings toward father, to mean that his father is responsible for the people being dead as well as for burying them. This, in turn, influences his ideas of what it is that goes on between mother and father. Perhaps, in Alec's theory, father puts dead baby into mother, and, in order not to be dead, baby has to break out, but at the risk of injury to mother. Thus the aggression and intensity conflicting feelings toward mother.

In this study of Alec, we have seen examples of a child's perception of a situation and his perception of a parent attitude which is "unrelated to his parent's perception" of the situation. This child's perception is brought about by the concerns related to the dynamics of his own growth, or developmental stages, the crises of his own bodily development in combination with details of the outer reality -- life situation which have made an impression on him. The resulting fantasies are as real to him as if they were actual facts in reality. Hendrick, in Facts and Theories of Psychoanalysis states that "phantasies of infants when repressed may exert the same dynamic and continued effect on the adult personality as actual experience" (25, p. 24). The phantasies which Alec plays out in these sessions are, as far as the effect on his
own personality is concerned, actual experience. How important, then, that they be communicated to and responded to by an adult, rather than repressed to become a part of his unconscious as an adult.

Also, being able to express these feelings to an understanding and accepting adult outside the family is very valuable to the child. It helps the child in resolving the Oedipal conflict, by lessening the intensity somewhat -- perhaps, in some cases, enough to allow the child to play out or talk about the conflict at all -- since the intensity of relationship to an adult outside the family is somewhat less than the intensity of the relationship with the parent.
VI. RESULTS: INTERPRETIVE ANALYSIS OF
PLAY INTERVIEW RECORD -- VICKI

Interview 1
Paragraph 2

Vicki, with a delighted exclamation, starts for the dolls without hesitation upon first entering the room. Then she inhibits this approach to the dolls for a short time, in favor of and for long enough to give her time to test out her relationship with the observer first. She does this by means of questioning me and directing comments to me as she takes toys out of the furniture box: "Here's a little light. Does it go this way? Or this way?" "Will you put this down?

Then she shows excitement upon finding the little toy toilet, "Here's the little toilet! The go go!" she exclaims. Immediately after finding the toilet, she puts a child doll in the bathtub, first pushing down on doll as it lies on its back, then turning it over and pushing it in face down. This seems to suggest association of the toilet with something dirty and a need for bathing or washing doll, indicated by the action of putting doll in bathtub just after finding toilet. She first puts doll in tub lying on back, then takes her out and puts her in face downwards, perhaps implying punishing the doll for being dirty. Then she sits a child doll on top of the refrigerator.

Through all this she is very aware of the observer. "Are these yours?" she asks me, of the toys. After finding sink, as if this household object suggests mother, or woman, she immediately
I 1
P 2 and 3

afterwards picks up a woman doll. Then she pulls up the doll’s dress, by this action perhaps expressing sexual curiosity about woman. Note that the actions of picking up the woman doll and pulling up the doll’s dress have followed rather directly the questions asked the observer, who is a woman. Both — the questioning of me and pulling up woman doll’s dress — express curiosity in relation to a woman figure. It is as though the questions asked of me about the toys ("Does it go this way — or this way?" "Will you put this down?" "Are these yours?" and later, "Is her pinned on? Does her git panties on?") were expressing curiosity about the observer as well as about the toys.

When, in her movements Vicki knocks down a woman doll, she comments "Mama can’t stand up." Note that she is here referring to the woman doll as "mama," implying that woman to her means mother. This is important because it is the basis for her also seeking me, the woman observer, as a mother figure.

After trying to make the woman dolls stand and not succeeding, she looks at me and says, "They won’t stand up. Falls. See?" Then: "That mama won’t fall down," after which remark she immediately finds a man doll, exclaiming delightedly, "Daddy!" and instantly turning to observer with the request: "Can I take these home?"

She hardly seems to hear my response but is engrossed with
the man doll, calling "Hey, Daddy!" She sits him in a chair. Note that she does not try to make the man doll stand up as she had the woman dolls, but sits him carefully in a chair. It was as if she was not going to put him to the same test, as if she did not want to risk being disappointed in him as she had just been in the woman dolls. As she moves her arms among them, more dolls fall down. She says "All fall down." Then she picks up the man doll, asks: "Can I take this coat off?" This may be expressing curiosity, but then resisting or denying it, saying "I can't when her request is reflected back to her. The "I can't" utterance may be a denial of her wish, or rather denial of her ability to remove something from the father doll, perhaps a denial of her sexual curiosity. Then fast upon "I can't" seems to follow the thought that while she can't undress the man doll she doesn't want anyone else to either, expressed in the suddenly following statement: "The other girls can't play with these."

The above sequence seems to bring out preference for daddy over mother, interest in daddy, and the wish for exclusive possession of him. There was excitement and clearly expressed pleasure at finding the man doll and in responding to him. Immediately after finding him she asked to take "these" home. She asked to take his coat off, then remonstrated that she couldn't. She stated "The other girls can't play with these," a remark which seemed to be referring
to "the other girls" as though they were rivals. All of this would seem to indicate a little girl in the feminine Oedipus stage.

But then there is a change. She picks up woman doll in blue dress and pulls at the doll's clothes. She says "Is her pinned on?" She brings doll over to observer and says in a high voice, "Does her git panties on?" Here, the sexual interest seems to be shifted to the woman doll. After giving woman doll to observer, she goes to phallic symbol toys (cars and airplanes). She goes to cars singing "cars for me" and then with the airplane makes an intrusive gesture toward the observer to whom she has given the woman doll. It is as if the interest has been shifted from the man to the woman, and the identification has shifted from the woman to the man. From what would seem to be behavior indicating feminine identification, she goes to the intrusive play behavior characteristic of the phallic stage, or the masculine Oedipus complex.

Vicki's first expression of sexual interest seemed to be in the woman doll (at the beginning of paragraph three in play session record) when she picked her up and pulled up her dress. Then the interest shifted to a seeming preference for the man and then the interest went back to the woman in the sequence discussed above.

When Vicki, immediately after saying, "The other girls can't play with these," picks up the woman doll, pulls at doll's clothes,
and gives doll to observer, it may indicate that she means, not only "other girls" as rivals, but the woman observer, or mother figure, as well, or especially.

She pulls at the woman doll's clothes, asking "Is her pinned on?" and "Does her git panties on?" This seems to be an expression of sexual curiosity about the woman doll as has been mentioned above, but as she picked up the woman doll shortly after the denial of her curiosity about the man doll ("I can't"), it may be a displacement of the curiosity from the man doll to the woman doll. It may be that her interest is in the man doll, but this is too threatening to be expressed directly and is displaced onto the woman doll. It could be that the child has been permitted to go to the bathroom with the mother but not with the father, so that expressing curiosity about the woman seems more acceptable to her than it would be in regard to the man.

The question "Does her git panties on?" could also signify puzzlement and curiosity about the difference between the sexes, displaced from the body itself by referring to the doll's clothes. The daddy doll did have trousers on while the woman doll wore a dress. The woman doll being without trousers could be symbolic of being without a penis. "Is her pinned on?" would then be a question, not only about the condition of the doll's clothes, but also about the woman's anatomical structure. Does she still have
a penis and is it securely attached?

She gives the doll to the woman observer, an action which suggests that the question is not just about the dolls, but about grown up women, since the observer is a woman. This is supported by the sequence of actions, for Vicki next turns to the little cars, phallic symbols, crooning "Cars cars cars for me." She finds the little airplane -- also phallic symbol -- and takes a rather intrusive, aggressive action toward observer with the little airplane.

Giving woman doll to observer (but claiming exclusive possession of the man doll herself ("The other girls can’t play with these.") might also be a kind of appeasement to the woman who is present, giving her the woman doll but keeping from her the man doll and wanting to take him home. After Vicki asks "Is her pinned on?", "Does her git panties on?" she returns to the toys, starting to play with the cars and then the airplane. She goes to the phallic symbol toys after questioning observer about something which is attached to woman doll, or whether or not it is attached. Soon after, she brings a phallic symbol toy to observer, and dolls she has given to observer, as if bringing phallic symbols to woman symbols. She expresses wish for exclusive right to man doll and gives woman doll to observer to be undressed. She herself turns away, goes over to box of cars, saying these are for her.

If cars are phallic symbols, this sequence of actions shows
Vicki's desire or attempt to identify with man, giving woman doll to the woman who is present, but turning away to the care herself, and relating to the observer with the little airplane. She may be acting out daddy's role toward mother here, trying to identify with father in relation to mother.

Boys and girls alike go through the phallic intrusive phase. We see that this rather intrusive behavior toward observer with the toy is similar to Alec's actions toward the observer. For both boys and girls, the first love object is the mother.

Vicki leaves dolls and then the airplane on the chair beside me, as if acting out desire to please the adult woman, or mother, by giving her things. This is transferred from the realm of toys to her own body, from the microsphere to the autosphere, for she then says: "I have to go to bathroom."

Her speech sounds -- "Yowwww yowwww yowwww" and her actions with the airplane denote an excitement, which is then expressed in her body when she has to go to the toilet.

On her way through the nursery school room, Vicki calls out to everyone, loudly and in a tone of great pride, that she is playing with toys upstairs. It is as if she is boasting to them that she has something that they haven't got. When back in the playroom she immediately puts a child doll on top of the bus car, which could be another statement of her wish to have a penis. The next part of
her play strikes one as a preoccupation with the action of removal or coming off. She takes off the doll's hat and says "Her git this off." Then "Can I take this rubber band off?....Can I take it off?"

Vicki seems to be exploring the problem of the penis. In many different ways she seems to be asking the question: "Can you take it off and put it on?"

According to psychoanalytic theory, the boy fears for loss of his penis, while the correspondingly important experience in the life of a little girl is the discovery that she doesn't have any, and the necessity to adjust to the fact. The little girl may interpret this fact of not having a penis as a lack, loss or injury. Waelder states that "Play may be characterised as a method of constantly working over and, as it were, assimilating piecemeal an experience which was too large to be assimilated instantly at one swoop" (47, p. 217-218). Indeed, throughout these play sessions, Vicki seems concerned about loss -- things coming off, falling or breaking. Note the comments which accompany play: "Mama can't stand up." "They won't stand up. Falls. See? That mama won't fall down." "All fall down." "Can I take this coat off?" "Is her pinned on?" "Does her git panties on?" Of doll's hat: "Her git this off." "Can I take this rubber band off?" "Can I take it off?" "See, ya knocked these down." "You gotta take this apart." "Hey, will you take this off?" "I don't want it off?" "This don't
work. "This one's broken right there. This one's broken right there." "Can this come off?"

At one point she took off her own toy watch, tossed it on the floor. At another time, she removed her own shoes and stockings.

"Who broke this one?" "Mailman fall. "I want this off." "I want this off." "I'm gonna take her hair off." "I don't want it." "I gotta have this back 'cause she's cold." "Gotta take the dress off."

This is consistent with the fragmented characteristic of Vicki's play as it had been observed in the nursery school. She would often start to play with something, carry it about with her, then drop it, and then follow this same pattern with the next thing. The nursery school floor was usually strewn with objects which had been briefly held, then dropped, by Vicki. Often, on arriving at school, one of her first actions would be to take off her shoes and stockings.

It is as if, in all these actions and comments about things being let go (including the action of going downstairs to toilet), falling, coming off, or breaking, she is acting out or working through her feeling of loss brought about by the discovery of not having a penis.

To continue with the sequence of Vicki's play (Interview One, Paragraph Six): As she picks up toys she especially notes the sink.
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At one point she took off her own toy watch, tossed it on the floor. At another time, she removed her own shoes and stockings.

"Who borke this one?" "Mailman fall." "I want this off." "I want this off." "I'm gonna take her hair off." "I don't want it." "I gotta have this back on 'cause she's cold." "Gotta take the dress off."

This is consistent with the fragmented characteristic of Vicki's play as it had been observed in the nursery school. She would often start to play with something, carry it about with her, then drop it, and then follow this same pattern with the next thing. The nursery school floor was usually strewn with objects which had been briefly held, then dropped, by Vicki. Often, on arriving at school, one of her first actions would be to take off her shoes and stockings.

It is as if, in all these actions and comments about things being let go (including the action of going downstairs to toilet), falling, coming off, or breaking, she is acting out or working through her feeling of loss brought about by the discovery of not having a penis.

To continue with the sequence of Vicki's play (Interview One, Paragraph Six): As she picks up toys she especially notes the sink.
On page one of this interpretation it was mentioned that the sink seemed to be connected with mother and here again this seems to be true, for the sequence of play which follows seems to be devoted to the subject of mother and baby -- or babies. Again to refer to Waelder, who tells us that the child "may assimilate by changing roles" (47, p. 208-209), it seems that Vicki is taking the role of mother here. She croons to the dolls and talks to them in a soft, tender way as she moves them about. Vicki, however, also may be putting herself in the role of baby as well as of mother (for the child can identify with more than one role simultaneously), treating the dolls as she would like to be treated, for she first asks observer: "Is me have lunch here?" And then, as though this oral gratification had already occurred (as, indeed, in the little girl's fantasy it probably has) and sleep is the response to this oral gratification, she starts putting the dolls to bed. She croons to them: "Oh me -- you better lay down -- you better lay in crib, too," (suggesting that these children are little babies) -- "Seepie pie....seepie pie....sis is her seepie pie." Her first including the observer in the question "Is me have lunch here?" the structure of the speech, and the tone of voice seem to indicate that in relation to the observer, she, Vicki, is the baby. Then she behaves with the dolls as though they were the babies and she, Vicki, the mother.

Then, as she reaches for a doll, more fall down that have
been placed standing against the furniture. "See, ya knocked these down," Vicki scolds herself.

That the knocking down of the dolls, which seemed accidental, may have been purposeful on Vicki's part, and an expression of her aggressiveness toward the woman dolls, is indicated by her reprimand to herself after, as she reached for a doll and more fell down from the effect of the movement, she admonishes herself: "See, ya knocked these down." Here is a turning of aggressiveness toward herself, and a statement of her superego, as she speaks to herself in a way an adult or another person might speak to her.

This aggressiveness can be explained by the concept that, in identifying with the mother, as Vicki did in relation to the dolls, then she, the girl child, is brought into a rivalrous position in regard to the mother (in this case represented by the woman dolls she knocked down and the voice speaking to herself.)

Then she finds the doll closet box and is obviously delighted. She brings it over to observer, saying "Do you open this." "You can open it," answers observer. "Can't," says Vicki, but in contrast to her "can't" about taking man's coat off which she didn't do, she really does open the box herself.

Vicki, like Alec, is interested in this box and its opening. Does it necessarily have the same meaning for Vicki who is a girl rather than a boy and whose father has a different vocational identity?
Erikson (13) found that by the age of nine to twelve girls tended to be more concerned with elaborations within such containers as block structures, boxes, baskets, etc. than boys, whereas boys were more concerned with movement outward or upward from enclosures. Erikson relates this difference to the body distinction of males from females and therefore to differences in their experiencing of objects around them as well as their own bodies.

Also, in psychoanalytic theory, the box usually is a feminine symbol, or representative of the female genital.

Following her discovery of the doll closet box and bringing it over to me, in the midst of her eager exploration of what is inside it, there are some noises on the stairs as of someone coming up. Vicki, "already excited by discovery of the box, seems to become excited in an agitated way by sounds on the stairs." In a very high voice she cries: "Someone's comin' up!" and runs to screen. After observer's reassurance -- "No one will come here while you're playing here," she comes back to box, exclaims: "I got one just like this!"

In addition to the reality consideration that Vicki may really have a doll closet box toy at home, on another level this exclamation seems almost as if Vicki might be also saying that she, too, has a female genital, just like mother. She can be a mother, too.
The sequence here suggests that the reason for her anxiety at the sounds on the stairs was that they occurred at a moment when she was actively engaged in opening the box and exploring what was inside the box, perhaps a displacement of sexual curiosity, this time in regard to the female genital. After the interruption she wipes the tiny baby doll with toilet paper -- an action which a mother might do -- and tells mama to go to sleep. This seems to indicate that her anxiety was based on the fear in her imagination of its being her mother who was coming up the stairs, but she overcame this fear, claiming "I got one just like this," continuing to assume the mother's role, and eliminating the mother's fantasied watchful rivalry by telling her -- "Go seep....Go seep, mama."

She takes the wad of toilet paper (as described in the record), saying "Gotta wipe the potty....Where's the toilet?" Instead, though, she wipes off the tiny baby doll, as if she were somehow equating the baby with the toilet.

"Wipe. wipe wipe wipe....You're dirty...." she says to the doll. Then "There's Mama....Go seep....Go seep, Mama." She takes the part of the mother, thus reversing roles as they have apparently been in reality, as she wipes off tiny baby doll with toilet paper. Here is an example of a child taking an active dominant part in play in a situation in which she had had a predominantly passive role
in actual experience. And in a situation which held much meaning for her in terms of realizing her personal autonomy, and which was very significant in terms of her relationship with her mother -- the toileting situation. In the play, in this fantasy situation, she puts the mama doll to bed and tells her to go to sleep.

Vicki puts the dolls to bed, as described in record. Then she takes child doll out of crib, pulls at doll's clothes, saying, "Panties, panties," -- perhaps another expression of sexual interest. Exploring the problem: what is it that happens at night when everyone is supposed to be asleep? She then puts child doll in crib on her face. Then, announcing: "They're asleep," she goes by indirect but swift route toward where the man dolls are located. "Here's two daddys! Hi, Daddy!" she exclaims.

To quote from the record (Paragraph Seven): "Vicki picks up man doll from group of adult dolls, sits down on floor, picks up crib with child doll in it, sets crib on floor in front of her. She leans over crib, holding man doll over crib, saying WAKE UP! WAKE UP! DADDY'S HERE....She takes child doll out of crib, holds man doll and child doll tightly against each other."

Here, she may be playing out a wish fulfillment fantasy of a tender love scene between herself and daddy. In play, in contrast to what could likely have happened in reality, it is mama instead of Vicki who has been told to go to sleep.
Also, when Vicki has daddy doll lean over child doll in crib, accompanying this action with the words, "Wake up! Wake up! Daddy's here," she could very well be enacting something similar to what might be realistically a frequent occurrence at home -- expression of affection between Vicki and daddy, the doll representing daddy, by evidence of Vicki's own words, and the child in the crib representing Vicki herself. There follows a tight embrace between Daddy and child. On Vicki's part this suggests affection for and a sexual wish toward daddy. (The "Wake up! wake up! Daddy's here," may symbolically refer to sexual arousal or awakening. It brings to mind the fairy tale in which the prince wakes up the sleeping princess by a kiss.)

She then looks up at the observer with a big smile, saying "Daddy's here!" Now she is including the mother figure, as, by her smile and her words, she shares affectionately with the observer what she is acting out. Following this including of me, however, there is a change. In fact the presence and the including of the presence of the mother figure may bring about the change. She then says: "Daddy gotta go back to work." It seems she is now getting rid of daddy. She is sending him off to work, excluding him. She still holds the two dolls close together, saying "Daddy wants you, Daddy wants you." (Daddy wants who? In Vicki's wish, perhaps Daddy wants the child, Vicki. In what follows, there seems to be a denial of this wish.) She gets up, walks over and closes the
"door," saying "Now somebody can't come in, 'cause this is our -- 'Cause I gotta work hard." This sequence suggests that she may be now getting rid of daddy in order to be exclusively with mother. She sends Daddy to work and shuts the door on him. The "somebody" may be daddy who "can't come in, 'cause this is our -- "may seem to mean that this is Mother's and Vicki's place. Vicki loves mother, too. She inhibits the sexual wish toward daddy and sends him away. She says "'cause this is our --," then interrupts herself after almost giving away in words the wish for exclusive possession of mother without daddy or anyone else. She changes the statement to "'cause I gotta work hard." Shortly before she had said "Daddy gotta go back to work," now "I gotta work hard," which indicates that she may be now identifying with daddy, the sexual wish toward daddy inhibited, and giving way to identification with him. She croons and talks to the dolls. The mother is taking care of the children -- Vicki is loving self as she would like mother to love her. Then there is another noise on the stairs to which she responds with agitation, jumping up and running over to the screen, crying: "Somebody's comin' up!" If "somebody" is daddy, the anxiety is lest it be daddy whom she has sent away, coming back and interrupting the love scene between mother and daughter -- interrupting the fantasy in which she, Vicki, may be taking the place of daddy.

The noise on the stairs seems to have stimulated a change.
Apparently daddy is now back. Now she again holds daddy and child in a close embrace, "making the man doll's arms encircle child doll as far as they will go around, and saying: "Daddy's gonna stay here....and I want you in bed. Here's two chairs....In the morning you gonna wake up...."

Vicki seems to try to resolve the situation in her placement of the dolls going to sleep on the floor. In Vicki's arrangement of the dolls lying in a line on the floor, daddy and mommy are next to each other, with a child on the other side of daddy, and a child on the other side of mommy. This group is set off from all the rest of the dolls by two chairs, one chair on each side of these four dolls. It seems to me that the chairs delineate the boundaries of the important group, or the significant subject matter to Vicki. They are placed directly in front of where she is sitting.

It seems to me that both child dolls may represent Vicki herself. She has arranged it so that she is close to both mommy and daddy. Daddy says (or Vicki, identifying with daddy, says): "Daddy's gonna stay here -- and I want you in bed." (Daddy -- or Vicki? -- wants mommey in bed?) This seems to be indicated in the arrangement. Daddy and mommy are side by side. (Daddy wants Vicki in bed? -- Or Vicki wants daddy?) If both child dolls are Vicki, then, her wish fulfillment play has managed it so that she is close to both mommy and daddy. Nobody is excluded in this scene.
This play is illustrative of the fluidity and instability of the little girl's identifications at this age, her desire to be exclusively close to mommy as daddy is, and to daddy as mommy is as well. The arrangement of the dolls on the floor may also be a concession to reality -- daddy and mommy are next to each other, Vicki has not separated them, but she has arranged it so she is close to both. There seems to be an identification with mother as Vicki kisses daddy doll, the child doll. In this scene everything seems to be peaceful, everybody is content. As Vicki says and then repeats: "Everybody's goin' to sleep." But something else seems to be going on, too. There is an atmosphere of secrecy. Vicki seems to be trying to hide from observer whatever she is doing with the doll and crib, as she whispers to the dolls. The scene is quiet and dark (according to Vicki, as described in record). Everybody is supposed to be asleep, but there is a suggestion here that nobody really is -- something seems to be stirring -- there is whispering and something going on. This may be a masturbatory fantasy on Vicki's part, possibly derived from her observation of some sexual activity on the part of her parents. It seems clear that Vicki is trying to convince the observer that everybody is asleep, while she hides from observer whatever is going on by turning her back.
At the sound of the noise on the stairs, Vicki is alarmed and after running to the screen and watching there, she comes back to the dolls and holds woman and child doll in a close embrace, saying, and repeating: "Mama sure do love you." This impresses one as an attempt by Vicki to convince herself of mother's love in spite of Vicki's masturbatory fantasies, which have been interrupted by the noise. Guilty about her fantasies, she reassures herself by this play action depicting mother's love for her in spite of these fantasies. Then she holds daddy doll and child doll together, assuring herself also of daddy's love.

Then there is indication of libidinous attraction toward daddy. As they embrace for a long time, there are some low, inaudible words, and then Vicki says "C'mere, daddy," as she puts down the child doll and pulls at the daddy doll's clothes.

To quote from record: "Vicki "stands up, holding daddy doll out toward observer, walks toward observer -- says HEY WILL YOU TAKE THIS OFF? Coming toward observer, holding out doll. Then she stops -- I DON'T WANT IT OFF."

It seems as though there has been a progression in Vicki's play to the feminine Oedipal stage, the stage in which the little girl is attracted to the father. She calls the observer in as her ally, asking her to take the father doll's clothes off, then there is a denial of this impulse and a regression to the phallic intrusive
stage. It is as if Vicki were saying in "I don't want it off": "I don't want to be a girl and be without a penis -- I don't want to be a rival to mother -- I want to have a penis and love mother as daddy does." She regresses from expression of the feminine Oedipus complex back into fantasies of being a boy and having a penis.

Also, it could be that in "Hey, will you take this off?" and "I don't want it off," she could be asking if mother will take her own, Vicki's fantasied penis off, or if mother has already deprived her of it. According to psychoanalytic theory, when the little girl learns that she is without a penis (while other human beings -- little boys -- have penises), she often blames the mother for not giving her one and is angry with the mother for making her as she is.

Again to quote from record: "She suddenly turns, runs over and picks up faceless animal. Holding animal ahead of her, she walks in crouching movement, accentuating each step with weight of body, and voice -- AH AH AH AH. (A step to each "ah") In this way, she comes right over to observer, until she stands right in front of her, holding animal up in front of observer's face. IT'S BITING! IT'S BITING!

Here is a forceful expression of sexual aggression toward mother, acted out in relation to the observer. She uses the toy
animal (faceless and therefore mysterious) as a phallic symbol. She advances toward mother figure holding the animal in front of her and bringing it right up in front of observer's face. Sexual aggression in relationships is being stated as she acts out dramatically her fantasy of the nature of daddy's actions, her fantasy of sexual intercourse as daddy performs it, herself taking the imagined part of daddy. Here aggression and intrusive action are manifestations of her fantasy of sexual intercourse. With her whole body, the vigorous quality of her movements, her voice and her words, she expresses the strength of the feeling she is experiencing.

To refer again to the record: "Then she turns away and takes animal back to where it was, putting it back on floor, leaning over it, her back to observer, saying harshly, rather loudly (apparently to animal) -- SIT DOWN! SHUT UP!

Her own aggressiveness has been projected onto the toy animal and acted out with it. Then her superego, already in process of formation at this age, takes over, and she stops. She takes animal back to where it was and puts it back on the floor. Her harsh admonition to the animal (Sit down! Shut up!) is really directed to herself, and is brought about by anxiety over the aggression just expressed toward the adult woman observer through the toy animal. She spoke to her own impulse projected onto the toy animal in the way she had perceived herself being spoken to by another
significant person in her life (and perhaps actually in a much harsher way than another person would have spoken). This is an example of the introjection of parental values and commands.

It is interesting that when Vicki shows strong aggression toward the mother figure, she expresses it through another medium than the dolls, although she reached this point through play with the dolls and continues the theme afterwards in play with the dolls. It is as though the realistic representation of the family group provided by the dolls is too close to reality. It is the animal -- and a rather unidentifiable animal, at that, as to exact species -- which aggresses against the woman observer sitting there outside the immediate area of Vicki's play with the dolls. The animal carries the projection of Vicki's own phallic wish.

After Vicki tells the animal to sit down and shut up, she stands looking into the box of Lincoln logs as though she might be going to play with them, but says instead "I don't want to play with them." If the Lincoln logs are phallic symbols, this is a denial of her desire to have a penis, and a denial of her feelings of hostile aggression toward mother. It may also be an inhibition of the desire to masturbate. It is the playing with the logs which is inhibited.

She picks up the woman doll and fondles it, saying "You sure do love mama....You sure do love mama."
This seems to be a denial of her hostile aggressiveness toward mother and an affirmation to herself that she really does love mother.

Then "Wake up! Wake up!" In this instance, this is perhaps an attempt to come back to outer reality and set limits for herself. It is morning, time to wake up, and the dangerous night, full of strange sounds and masturbatory fantasies, is over.

Then, as a result of anxiety, she transfers the subject matter of her play to a safer area. She holds two baby dolls together, and says "You gotta go to sleep."

Soon after that, when observer moved slightly, Vicki very quickly turned, asked anxiously "Where you goin'?" She did not continue play until she was sure observer was going to stay there. This is illustrative of a little girl's fear of desertion as a punishment for her hostile feelings and fantasies.

Still in connection with this point, Vicki is very concerned about "mama" during the following segment of play. It is shown as in a very high voice she chimes "Ma-ma. Ma-ma. Ma-ma. Wake you up!" It is as if she is confirming to herself in fantasy that mama is still there to "wake you up" and take care of you, and has not been destroyed by the child's aggressiveness towards her, nor has she deserted and gone away from the child.

Having reassured herself in this play act and gained new
courage, there seems to be repetition of the masturbation fantasies.

"You read your book," to the observer may be an expression of her anxiety about these fantasies and an appeal to the adult not to notice them, not to watch her, not to see.

She finds the candlesticks -- phallic symbols -- and gets rid of them. She also gets rid of the policeman doll, placing him far away on the highest shelf she can reach. The policeman is a male figure and may be a phallic symbol as well as a father figure. The policeman could also be an authority symbol, but it is questionable whether he is to Vicki, since she called him a "mailman." However, it is possible that she called him a "mailman." However, it is possible that she called him a mailman in order to deny this authority connotation of the policeman.

It would seem that she gets rid of the father figure because he is a threat to the relationship with and security with mother, the exclusive relationship between mother and baby, which Vicki has been acting out in her "secret" play. Then her love for daddy and her sexual wish toward daddy surge forth to produce conflict and remorse about this action. It is a statement of her conflicting feelings as she picks up the man doll and says sadly: "I'm sure sorry, daddy -- I'm sure sorry -- what's the matter, daddy?"

Then, as she is playing with the toys, she says: "This don't
work." (About doll with arm broken off) "And that and that.... This one's broken right there.... This one's broken right there.... Those girls can't play with these."

She seems to be saying, and saying very mournfully, that the little girl has been castrated, that she, Vicki, is castrated -- "broken." Not only that, but a little girl has rivals, who threaten to take from her the important people and things that she wishes and feels to be her own especial possessions.

To quote from the record: Then Vicki "picks up child doll. Holds it close to her, her hands cupped around it. BABY'S CRYIN' ....Gets up and brings child doll over to observer. Stands close to observer. YOUR BABY'S CRYIN'....(said wistfully, softly)...."

She picks up the little, helpless, castrated "baby," holds it protectively, "her hands cupped around it." She appeals to observer as representative of the mother, that "possession" most needed and valued still by the little girl. "Baby's cryin'...." The little girl is still a baby and needs mother's protective love and comfort. It is too hard to be growing up and have all these strong, ambivalent, confusing feelings. She is projecting her own feelings onto the doll as she holds it up so that it is gently touching observer's cheek, then puts doll into observer's lap. "Your baby's cryin'....Hug her." The observer does. (Vicki does have the trust and confidence, security enough with the observer,
to ask for what she needs and wants.) Vicki is projecting her own need for assurance of affection, after giving vent to so much aggression, onto the doll. When observer hugs Vicki, as well as the doll, responding to what Vicki is really expressing, Vicki smiles and responds, snuggles close to observer for a moment, and turns then to her play again in a satisfied manner. Thus, what Hartley, Frank and Goldenson call the child's "dual need to receive comforting and to express aggressiveness" (24, p. 36) has been met, at least in part. Vicki may begin to realize that it is necessary and in the long run satisfying to experiment and discover, to test out and realize her own powers. Without some such response from the mother figure, she would have been left with much guilt about what she feels, to which she has given much expression and tried to communicate to the adult in this play session. The problem for this child is progression to a more fully developed aggression -- that is, to constructive aggressiveness without hostility.

For the rest of the play session, Vicki continues the same themes, but in a generally quieter way. The baby theme and interest in what is inside: she puts brush, pillow, heater, hot water bottle, child doll face downwards into crib, brings crib over and puts it on chair beside observer." The theme of things coming off: She "takes off her shoes and stockings....Asks "CAN THIS COME OFF?" "....she takes off her toy watch, tosses it on the floor." And the
eating and going to bed theme. In all of Vicki's play, the emphasis on eating and going to sleep is very pronounced. In addition to the child's expected oral interest at this age, the fact that Vicki's parents run a restaurant and Vicki has spent much time there may accentuate this subject in the child's fantasy life.

"When the time came to leave, she started to go out, then turned back, went over to group of dolls, and started to scoop up an armful of them."

This action may mean that the experience of the play session has had much meaning for her and she wishes to take it symbolically with her in the form of the dolls, upon whom she has lavished and projected so much feeling.

"Observer explained that they needed to stay here so they would be here to play with but that Vicki could take one with her this time. She took woman doll with gray hair. Kept it with her during rest time and after."

It would be interesting to speculate on why Vicki chose the woman doll with gray hair. It may be that the gray hair suggested a grandmother to her (as, indeed, the doll was meant to represent a grandmother), and the grandmother was more safe and comforting, free for the child from all the conflicting feelings surrounding mother, father, and children figures.

In this play session we have observed a child -- a little
girl -- in the transitional period between the phallic intrusive stage (which she shares with little boys) and the feminine Oedipus complex (which is exclusively for little girls). She makes heterosexual gestures, and many movements in the direction of heterosexuality, but she has not left the homosexual period of the girl's early childhood. It seems as if she cannot make up her mind where to turn or which way to go. She sometimes perceives the parent (sometimes the mother, sometimes the father) as a rival. At other or the same times she has fantasies of being a boy. Again, she may regress to being a dependent baby and perceive the mother as the source of all good and all sustenance. It makes her play behavior appear vacillating. She intrudes and then draws back, assures herself of mother, then goes forward to heterosexual interests. The feelings are still diffuse, often mixed together, characteristically following fast upon each other.

As observed in the nursery school situation, Vicki was high keyed, tense, very subject to distraction, moving quickly from one thing to another, very excitable, tending to panic, with a high pitched little voice which sometimes heightened to a shriek at what was apparently slight cause.

Some understanding of Vicki's communications to the adult in the play session can help to clarify those conflicts which are at the root of such everyday behavior.
Near the beginning of Interview One, Vicki's sequence of actions seemed to suggest that the sink suggested mother to her. This seems to be borne out further now as she comments on the two sinks: "Here's the big one....Here's the little one, too." It is as if in comparing the size of the two sinks, she is comparing mother and herself -- comparing adult and child. She makes a similar comparison later on in the same paragraph when she compares two dolls: "Here's a little lady doctor. Here's a little girl doctor."

The association which follows comparison of the sinks, or of herself to mother, or little girl to woman, seems to bring up the thought of the relationship to man, for she then finds the man doll, saying "Here's a man. Here's a man. Gotta wash your hands." She then picks up the woman doll with "Gotta wash your hands," as she had the man doll. This is immediately followed by "Gotta go to bed -- it's after clock. It's time to go bed"....which is immediately followed by denouncement of the toy box as "Bad! Bad!"

One dimension of this behavior looks like a reversal of roles. The child is in play subjecting the adults, or parents, to the kind of treatment she is subjected to in life. In life, it is probably the child who is told to wash and go to bed.

If, in this instance, the box is a feminine symbol, or representative of the female genital, as is consistent with psychoanalytic
theory, the clarification of her declaration of it as bad may be found in the immediately following "Here's daddy. Mama and Daddy sleep in their bed. I sleep in my bed," which seems to be an expression of the perception that the two adults (Mama and Daddy) have a relationship with each other that she does not share.

Here we have seen the progression from comparing the little girl with the grown woman in size, to an expression of the idea that the grown woman, mama, and daddy go to bed together, while she, Vicki, the child, sleeps alone, a further comparison of the difference between adults and children. She acts out the preparation for bed with having mama and daddy wash their hands, then states that it's time to go to bed.

If the box represents the female genital, the denouncement of the toy box as bad may be a condemnation of her own masturbation fantasies, along with a recognition that there is some kind of connection between the feelings and fantasies she experiences in masturbation and what mama and daddy do in bed together. It also may be her expression of displeasure ("Bad! Bad!") at being excluded while "mama and daddy sleep in their bed" and "I sleep in my bed."

She then has the woman doll and child doll kiss, holding them tight together, which seems to be an expression of a desire to be exclusively close to mother. Here again, as throughout the
previous session, we see a shift from identifying with mother, or attempting to identify by comparing, to a desire to be close to mother, as daddy apparently is when they sleep together in bed. Then she runs over to shelf and reaches for the string, saying.... "Gotta tie sumpin' up with string." Perhaps it is mama and daddy she wants to tie up, to immobilize parents, to tie them up so they cannot have sexual intercourse. Perhaps, when "Mama and daddy sleep in their bed" while Vicki is excluded, there are movements and sounds in the night. Tying them up so they couldn't move would prevent this manifestation of their relationship. There immediately follows then a denial of the wish to immobilize parents, as she stops her movement, saying suddenly "Don't wanna use string."

She returns to where she is playing with the toys, and in the midst of her play suddenly directs the remark to the observer: "You gotta clean this." Then she makes the comparison between the "little lady doctor" and the "little girl doctor" immediately followed by "You sleep in this bed. Mama's gonna sleep in this bed. Go t' sleep, Mama," another comparison of mother and daughter in terms of where they sleep. Also, it is as if she is in this affirming the similarity of woman and little girl and their separation (each in her own bed), an attempt to differentiate or establish her own sex role. She picks up another woman doll and says "Who broke this one?" This seems to be an expression of the
idea of woman being castrated.

The following sequence seems to be a playing out of her fantasy of sexual intercourse and also the idea of conceiving and giving birth to a baby. She picks up adult and child woman dolls and, holding them, announces suddenly, loudly, "Time to eat!" But instead of acting out eating, she puts them both in bed, and covers them up.

Marie Bonaparte writes: "The notion that babies grow in the body, in the mother's abdomen, arises very early in the child's life, whatever tales of storks or rose-bushes it may have heard or feigned to believe. To the child, however, the babe germinates, grows and is born in alimentary fashion, as Freud long ago pointed out, and as is witnessed by many a myth and tale in which the queen conceives after eating this or that food and, especially, an apple" (5, p. 50-51).

Vicki seems to have been expressing here an idea associated with conceiving and giving birth, but in the relationship between two female dolls, adult and child. Now she shifts this to the relationship between male and female, but she displaces it onto the child dolls. She picks up two child dolls, has them kiss, holding them tight together and saying at the same time, "It's daddy -- daddy wants you." Apparently the idea of this relationship is too threatening to be expressed directly with the dolls, and so has to
be displaced to a safer area, the child dolls, but in her words she tells us the identity of the characters. She puts the two child dolls in crib, one on top of the other, and says, "Now, daddy -- now daddy...."

As she looks suddenly at observer, saying "What'd you clean this up for?" she again contradicts herself. Before she had said to observer, "You gotta clean this." Now it is "What'd you clean this up for?"

She requests that observer sit down on the floor instead of on the adult-size chair, as if perhaps wanting to diminish the size of the observer to that of a child, to rid herself of the presence of the authority, woman, mother figure. It is as if she could establish her feminine identity in relation to daddy more readily were mother disposed of, or littler, changed into a child.

"Does daddy want the baby? Time to wake up baby. Here's your daddy," Vicki says. She wants the policeman's clothes off and requests that observer take them off as she had wanted man doll's clothes off in the first interview (Interview One, Paragraph Eight). This time she does not reverse herself as she did before, but carries the action through, removing the policeman doll's clothes herself and then placing the doll astride her own toes.

Asking observer to remove the policeman's clothes may carry the connotation of divesting him of authority, and involving the
observer in this way carries the suggestion of wanting to rid herself of the authority of the observer, or woman figure, just as seemed to be suggested in asking that the observer sit on the floor. Also, asking for Jeanette, another child, to come up, seems to be another expression of this same theme. The presence of another child would reinforce her against the -- as she perceives her -- rivalrous and powerful mother authority figure.

Next, Vicki places the policeman doll in bed with her own socks, as if perhaps the undressed policeman doll represented father and the socks represented herself. She further develops the theme in movement and sound by the dancing together of the two animals. She then transfers the theme to the medium of the toy airplane (phallic symbol?), hovering it over the child dolls which she has placed in crib and saying "Wake up! Wake up! Wake up!" Then she picks up the two dolls and has them kiss. Thus, with the policeman doll, the socks, the two animals, the airplane and the child dolls, she may be acting out her child's fantasies of sexual intercourse. She further carries out the idea of the connection between sexual intercourse and birth and the idea of the eating of food to bring about birth in "This is dinner...." The sequence ends with the "mailman" staying in bed because he is sick. She has perhaps switched his role here, attributing to him the feminine role of being castrated while she herself takes the masculine part,
I 2
P 2, 3, and 4

suggested in the phallic play with the airplane.

Thus ambivalence is expressed toward father, both libidinous attraction and hostile aggression are acted out in relation to him.

She seems to act out castration fantasies in the peeling of the hair off the doll and removal of the nightgown from the baby doll. Then she reverses herself, wanting it back on because the doll is "cold" and appealing to the mother figure for reparation of the damage.

She removes the boy doll’s clothes, and then requests that the observer put them back on. Thus she seems to be working on the problem of sex differences between boys and girls, the differentiation between boys and girls. In this case, however, she seems to be resisting the differentiation, or reversing the roles, as she seems to be symbolically castrating the male figures and acting out a relationship between two girl dolls as she makes them dance on the floor to the sound of her singing, then reprimands them in "You be quiet!"

After the reprimand, an expression of her superego, she goes against her own command, taking the two tallest woman dolls and making them dance to her singing louder than ever in the same manner.

Then follows the idea of castration in "Gotta take the dress off" and the idea of being hurt in the problem of relationship, or
in sexual intercourse specifically, displaced onto the spot of paint on the doll’s neck, which she shows to observer, saying “Her bleeding. Her bleeding.” This is immediately followed by “Boys don’t play with these toys. Boys don’t play with them.” The sequence suggests that there is a connection in her mind between the boys and what she has alluded to as an injury to the little doll. She then returns briefly to the theme of eating in “Eat! Eat!”

Themes of orality, cleanliness, sleep and waking are interwoven through Vicki’s two play interviews. This comes through even if one notes only the words which have accompanied play, remarks directly referring to these themes, extracted from actions and other words, but in their correct order in the interviews:

“Is me have lunch here?....Oh me -- you better lay down -- you better lay in crib, too. S’eepie pie -- s’eepie pie -- ais is her s’eepie pie....”

“Gotta wipe the potty....Where’s the toilet? (wipes off baby doll) Wipe wipe wipe wipe....You’re dirty....There’s mama....Go s’eeep....Go s’eeep, mama.”

“They’re asleep.” (of dolls)

“Wake up! Wake up! Daddy’s here.”

“Daddy’s gonna stay here....And I want you in bed....In the morning you gonna wake up....”

“Everybody’s goin’ to s’eeep....Everybody’s goin’ to s’eeep.”
"They're going to sleep on the floor."

"It's biting! It's biting!"

"You sure do love mama....you sure do love mama....Wake up! Wake up!....You gotta go to sleep."

"Ma-ma, ma-ma, ma-ma! Wake you up!"

"You have lunch, and then....you have to go to bed."

"Gotta wash your hands. Gotta wash your hands. Gotta go to bed -- it's after clock. It's time to go bed."

"Mama and daddy sleep in their bed. I sleep in my bed."

"You gotta clean this. You gotta clean this."

"You sleep in this bed. Mama's gonna sleep in this bed. Gotta sleep, mama. Who broke this one?"

"Time to eat!"

"What'd you clean this up for?"

"Does daddy want the baby? Time to wake up baby. Here's your daddy."

"See, they're in bed...."

"Wake up! Wake up! Wake up!"

"This is dinner, this is dinner, this is dinner, this is dinner....this is dinner."

"It's time to wake you up!"

"Gotta take a bath now."

"Eat! Eat!"
Concerns around the area of sleep seem to be most troubling to Vicki. She retreats to the theme of eating, but this always seems to lead to washing and going to bed, to lead on repeatedly into the anxiety area.
VII. RESULTS: RELATIONSHIPS TO ADULTS

The children in the study did seem to communicate meaningful material about significant life relationships. It was my experience in conducting the play interviews that much of this communication was made by relating to the adult observer who was present at the play interview. Each child studied revealed himself through the ways in which he related to the observer.

My role in this project was intended to be that of an observer and I attempted to maintain as passive a role as possible. However, I discovered that each child tried to relate. Each child, on his own initiative, seemed to go through a process of establishing a relationship with the observer and, once this relationship was initiated, the child’s play began to evolve. The dramatized fantasies tended to express his perceptions of adults and the meaning of significant relationships in the child’s life situation.

I was struck by the similarity of the process which the children went through in establishing and clarifying the relationship with me in this particular situation to the stages of development in the life of an infant and young child which Erikson (8, 10) has observed and formulated in connection with the child’s overall development. It was as if in relationship to the adult in this situation, the child recapitulated the other relationships in his life which had been important to him. (Perhaps in any meaningful relationship, a child recapitulates those which have been important to him previously?) That is, the child first was most interested in
establishing his security with the adult observer in the situation, which would correspond to (and is highly dependent on) what Erikson calls the basic sense of trust. Although all play from the beginning had content, the most fully developed enactment of content or most meaningful material was communicated after this security, confidence or "trust" was established. Sometimes the moment of this decisive establishment of trust was clearly marked as in the play interview of Larry -- "You didn’t touch my train!" he exclaimed, after which he started talking about brother, then daddy having "bigger things," etc. (Paragraph three of Interview, p. 97). My showing respect for his play by not interfering with the toys while he was absent had real meaning for Larry, evidenced by the immediate release of his thoughts in words -- before he had only played. He started talking to me about what was on his mind rather than only playing it. With other children this establishment was more gradual, or rather came about more gradually (the exact moment of its establishment not as evident or striking), but the process of the child’s attempt to establish it can be seen in each record. (For instance, the child’s having to go to the toilet during the play session often marked a certain point -- turning point or decisive point -- in the testing out and maintaining or establishment of relationship with the adult observer.)

Once this security with the observer had been explore, the child seemed superficially less interested in testing out the adult, and more interested in playing with the toys, taking the adult more
This stage was followed by that of initiative in the play session -- the enactment and more full development of content or the stage of play most concerned with the Oedipal interests and conflicts. This part of the play for these children of three-and-a-half to four was the part which contained in the developmental sense those conflicts most present and immediate at this time -- that which the child is at present concerned with working out -- his present problems and developmental tasks.

While in the overall of the play session or sessions, the trust, autonomy, initiative phases were gone through in that order, they were all at the same time present in part at each stage -- that is, trust would need to be established again and again at new and deeper levels of communication, and some initiative would have been shown in the beginning in the very attempt to establish trust (since the child is actually three to four years old and not an infant).

In the play interviews, the cycle -- trust, autonomy, initiative -- was recapitulated at deeper or more fully developed levels, evidences of the other two stages being present in the play while the main stage at that point was emphasized. There was not a clear resolution of first one stage and then the next, etc. but more of an interplay of all three with one being of major importance or emphasis.

More and more is consequently demanded of the adult, at succeeding and deepening stages. At first, the child's trust is
elicited by acceptance and interest, but more and deeper understanding is increasingly necessary for further establishment of the child's security with the observer at deeper and deeper levels.

It would seem that children try to relate to adults in their environment in the only way they know, as though the adults were parents. The observer was treated as a parent figure, and often as a specific parent.

The children were concerned with establishing and maintaining a consistent relationship with the adult, who was mostly in the mother role.

Children try to establish and maintain a consistent attitude in relationship with a parent figure. The process of establishing and maintaining such a consistent attitude is complicated and made difficult by the struggle between the child's feelings of intense ambivalence toward the parent.

The child will try to set up a satisfactory relationship with the parent, the ambivalence denied. It was fairly consistent to treat the other parent as a rival and also other siblings.

The child always shifts from one parent to the other, and relates to both with ambivalence, which makes for inconsistency.

The children revealed feelings of ambivalence toward the parent figure, and shifted from one parent to the other.

Vicki

This struggle can be observed particularly acutely in the
two play sessions of Vicki. She is alternately aggressive, hostile, placating, loving. She constantly shifts between attraction toward mother and hostility toward father, to attraction to father and hostility toward mother. She is struggling to achieve a consistent attitude in relationship with both parents, but has not yet achieved this and is in a constant state of vacillation. As is illustrated in the discussion of her play sessions, she expresses this through her play with the toy objects, and in her relationship with the observer, who is the parent figure in this situation.

This problem of ambivalence and shifting can be perhaps most vividly seen in Vicki’s record in the sequence (in Interview One, Paragraphs eight and nine, and discussed on pages 181 through 186 in the analysis of the record) in which she aggresses toward observer with the toy animal, then checks and reprimands herself, and then comes to observer with the little doll, making an appeal for comfort and affection. It is interesting how she both states the dilemma and tries to solve it (in Paragraph seven discussed on page 177 in the analysis) in her arrangement of dolls on the floor, with a child doll next to both father and mother doll.

Beth

Paragraph 1

In Beth’s play session, there seems to be less fluidity or less shifting back and forth from the phallic stage to the feminine Oedipus than we observed in Vicki’s session. However, the shifting
is still definitely there.

Beth's first action in the play session is to pick out a little girl doll and try to make the doll stand on the floor. This is a phallic gesture, but she quickly moves on. She puts the doll back and picks out a baby doll. "A baby," she says. Then, in a conversationally matter of fact, and at the same time confiding tone of voice, she says: "I'm trying to get a baby in my tummy."

Beth seems much further along toward the feminine Oedipus stage than Vicki, two months younger, seemed to be at the time of her play session. With Beth, along with less shifting back and forth in such quick succession, we can observe a more strongly established identification with mother than there seemed to be with Vicki. Beth's clear statement, "I'm trying to get a baby in my tummy" is an indication of identification with mother.

In fact, Beth states her main concern directly in this remark. Her play session is largely concerned with getting a baby and showing how big she is in relation to the observer and how much she knows and can do. This is an example shown in the subject matter of the child's play of how the little girl's penis envy is resolved in her fantasy of the ability to get pregnant and have a baby.

Another way in which Beth's identification with mother is shown is in Beth's rivalrous attitude in her relationship with the
observer. Note how she repeatedly questions the observer, then
contradicts her and supplies her own answer: "What is this?" and
when observer says, "a heater" she says, "No. It's a fan." "Where's
the baby's clothes?" then "I know where they are." "I wonder what
this is." And when observer answers, she shakes her head emphatically
"no". "Huh uh. This is a thing what you put on your tummy when it
hurts." "What do you think this is?" and without waiting for an
answer she continues "I think it's for this -- or I think it's for
this --" (page 83). She hands string to me, saying "Get this knot
out" but then grabs it back -- "Maybe I can get it out." (page 85)
Or she tries to do the observer one better as in "Do you like red?"
and when the observer answers that she does, Beth returns, "I like
red the most." (page 81)

At the beginning of Beth's play session, after she tries to
make the doll stand up, and it doesn't stand, she looks right at
me, and says "This doesn't stand up," then continues with baby doll
and the reference to getting a baby in her tummy. She makes a
direct contact with the observer in this look just after trying to
make doll stand up. It is as if the little girl doll, who doesn't
stand up, represents Beth herself, and also the observer, who is a
feminine figure, as Beth seems to recognize herself as being also
feminine. It is as if Beth were saying to the observer: "I'm not
a daddy, like you aren't, so I'm trying to get a baby in my tummy."
She continues all through the first paragraph with the theme of her disappointment at not being a boy, and the little girl's lack of a penis, expressed through the concern she shows with the dolls' not standing up.

She refers to the nude doll as "He's a doctor", an association perhaps brought about by the idea of the doctor bringing the baby. However, after trying to make the same doll stand up on floor, Beth says "She doesn't stand up." Evidently, as Beth sees them (correctly) it is feminine figures who don't have a penis, or, as she puts it, who "don't stand up."

Throughout this sequence of trying to make the dolls stand, she may be attributing possession of penis to adult male authority figure, and lack of it to female figure.

When she picks up the policeman, a male figure, and tries in the same way to make him stand on floor and he doesn't, just as the feminine figures didn't, she doesn't say, as might be logically expected: "He doesn't stand up," but rather, she tries to prop him against side of box (apparently, in her view, male figures do stand up one way or another!). When he still topples, Beth says, in different tone of voice: "Hey, the policeman's gonna fall down!" Later when she tries the policemen again and he doesn't stand up, she says "This won't stand up." She never refers to a figure that won't stand up as he, even though the figure is obviously male in dress.

The same theme is continued and developed in the phallic play
with the train cars in Paragraph Two. She seems pleased at finding the train cars (phallic symbols) and hooks them all together, increasing the size of the train (as if making one large phallic representation). When the train comes apart and she says: "I think your daddy has to fix it...I think my daddy could fix it 'cause he has a shop," it seems to indicate an association of daddy, or the male figure, with the phallic representation. This comment also seems to suggest a perception of daddy, or the adult male, behaving in a competent, helpful way -- able to fix things for children, able to do.

"I fixed it!" suggests identification with daddy, a shift over from identification with mother in "I'm trying to get a baby in my tummy." Then she shows pleasure in demonstrating her ability to the adult woman observer, or mother figure. "Did you hear that sound?" she inquires. "It went 'xtch'. It was me -- fixin' it."

"Did this ever get broken?" seems to be a reference to castration. The shift to the phallic stage is maintained and developed in the rather aggressive and exhibitionistic manner toward the observer in "Look how big my train is!" as she runs the train over in front of the observer.

There seems to be a shift now from the locomotor phallic intrusive orientation to a feminine identification in the next paragraph. Her manner changes as she sits, holding the blue engine in
one hand, while moving train with the other hand, and at the same
time looking thoughtfully around at all the toys. "These are for
girls, not boys," she says, as if perhaps rejecting her aggressive
train play of just before. "These kind o' toys are for girls,
not boys...." "Those dolls are for girls, just girls." "Those
are for boys and girls." Here, she seems to be trying to differenti-ate between male and female.

Then: "There's not a hole in here," she says, emphasizing
the words "not" and "hole" as she holds up the blue engine, as if
pointing this fact out to the observer. She says this as if she
feels it should have a hole in it. This is an interesting remark in
the light of what has come just before, her verbalized effort to
discriminate between the sexes, in classifying which toys are for
boys and which for girls. From her statement at the beginning of
the interview, it seems she is clearly aware of the inside aspect of
woman, that babies can be in tummies. "There's not a hole in here"
may refer to the possibility that she also is aware of the vagina
and working through something in regard to this. The hole may
represent some communication between outside and inside. It may be
that she is attributing human characteristics to the blue engine,
identifying with it and seeing it as herself, a little girl. If this
is the case, then she is still trying to distinguish between male and
female, now more directly in relation to herself. Then: "I know
what we -- I -- can do" suggests identification with the adult woman observer, as well as with the blue engine. Her very next words seem to support this interpretation. Holding up blue engine and pointing to the back of it, she says: "I think your daddy could make a hole in here." This remark may refer to the wish to have a baby and a speculation as to how the baby gets into the tummy.

She seems to want to relate the blue engine to the other train cars in a specific way. She is trying to get the blue car on the front of the train and when I suggest that it might fit on at another place she objects that "It should be the engine." The blue car "should be the engine", should have a hole in it and be at the front of the train, the train which could be a phallic symbol, particularly in the light of the aggressive way in which she was using it earlier. This is not at all conclusive, but it may possibly be suggestive that she knows something about sexual intercourse as a way of getting the baby in the tummy. The basis for this possible interpretation is the sequence of Beth's actions and words. At the beginning she had stated that she was trying to get a baby in her tummy. The insistent and repeated effort to discriminate between boys and girls while holding the blue engine in her hand (as if perhaps trying to decide whether the object was masculine or feminine) came just before the observation about the engine that "There's not a hole in here." And then immediately
following came the reference to what "we" (the woman observer and herself) could do, changed to what "I" can do, a sequence in which she may have moved from identification of the adult woman and herself, to an assertion of herself as a woman who could get a baby in her tummy.

On another level, these actions may be a reality testing, in the sense of attempting to familiarize herself with the train and how it works. It would be a correct solution to the problem of how the train should be put together, since the blue engine was actually the engine of the train. However, the point here is that the sequence of her words and behavior seem to suggest that she could also be doing another kind of reality testing, exploring relationships between men and women, and attempting to establish her own sex role, underneath the surface reality testing of how the objects work.

Soon after "I know what we -- I -- can do," "I think your daddy could make a hole in here" and "It should be the engine", she murmurs "Mama thinks I have to go to nursery school again," which seems to suggest annoyance with mama who keeps her a little child who has to go to nursery school instead of a grown woman who can get a baby in her tummy. It is thus indirectly a comparing of herself with mama, bringing out the contrast between the little girl and the adult woman.

In the sequence in Paragraph Five, Beth may be acting out
Beth

P 5

her fantasies of becoming pregnant. "This is a thing what you put on your tummy when it hurts" could refer to the possibility of the baby hurting mother when it is in her tummy. After this she puts baby doll in crib, covering it up completely as baby would be all covered up inside the mother. She steals a look at me as if to see how the mother figure or rival is taking this and saying "She's all covered up." Afterwards, she takes all the things out of the crib. Then she takes the wheels and tosses them into the box, as described in record. She calls the attention of the observer to "Watch this!" Then "I made it go in there," she says. This is an intrusive gesture. In the light of her previous actions and words, and in the light of what immediately follows, putting the two baby dolls in the suitcase and closing the suitcase, it seems as if the action of tossing the wheels into the box after first attracting the observer's attention (as well as the following action of putting the babies inside the container and closing it) may be symbolic of making the baby go in tummy. If this is so, it would seem that she has now shifted from the mother's role of having the baby to the father's role of making it go in there. This intrusive gesture might then be a shift from the feminine Oedipal desire to have a baby back to the locomotor phallic intrusive orientation (perhaps brought about by the thought of the possible displeasure of the mother-rival). After tossing wheels in box, she then puts the two baby dolls inside the suitcase
and closes it, puts suitcase and other things into doll closet box, then doll closet box into furniture box -- all actions of putting things inside things, symbolic of the baby being put inside, working on the problem of how the baby gets into the mother. Then, decisively and quickly, moving fast, she puts all things she has been playing with back into furniture box. "I'm gonna play with those over there," she says, nodding toward Lincoln logs. She "Picks up woman doll, tosses her rather hard against wall, then casts a quick look at me, then picks up doll again and puts her in doll box." This seems to be an expression of hostility against the mother rival. Note how she looks at the observer, as if the observer, as a mother authority figure, would object to this, then picks up the woman doll and puts her in the box. (This could also be an expression of her simultaneous objection and ambivalence toward being in the feminine role.) Just afterwards, she picks up an armful of Lincoln logs (phallic symbols) and puts them on floor. The she picks up the animal and little lamb and puts the little lamb close up against animal and between animal's legs, apparently an acting out of getting the baby by sexual intercourse. It is as if the little lamb represents herself, and the animal the father. Having to go to the "potty" right afterwards may be an action brought about by the need to preserve the relationship with the mother, against whom she has been expressing hostility and acting out the idea of
being in the mother's role herself. Going to "potty" may be an activity associated with mother, a regression to the anal period and an action which would please the mother. This is another example of a shift from one parent to the other. Having to go to the toilet may also be a result of the excitement generated by the emotionally-laden fantasies she has been acting out.

Joyce

Paragraph 1 and 2

At the beginning of her play session, Joyce clearly specifies that she is going to be dealing with people. "Now I can play with my own people," she says. She expresses sexual curiosity in the first sequence as she removes policeman and nurse dolls' clothes. Then she holds up both nude dolls, one in each hand, and says "A man and a lady," followed by putting them down, then picking up a man doll. She holds him in her hands, looks at him, and holds him out toward observer, asking: "What does that man do?" This sequence seems to indicate that she is asking what the man does in relationship with the woman. What is the nature of the sexual relationship? When I don't answer her question, but only respond: "What do you think he does?" she seems to take it as a rebuff, for she then puts the dress back on the woman doll and trousers back on the policeman, as if retracting the expression of her curiosity. The action of
covering up the man dolls by the rug seems symbolic of repression. It is as if she is trying to cover up her curiosity, as she pushes the rug over the policeman and two other man dolls so that they are covered up by the rug.

She then asks for information again, but on a different level, in "How do you make a train out of these?" after she picks up the Lincoln logs. If both train and logs are phallic symbols, it would seem to indicate that she is now seeking answers on a more symbolic level and further removed from the more realistic representations of the dolls. That her interest is really in the man rather than a train is indicated as she immediately asks: "Why does this man have a coat on like this?" She has tried to cover up her sexual curiosity, but she shortly comes back to it in the actions of looking between both woman and man dolls' legs, and undressing the policeman. In this first part of her play session, she is working on her sexual curiosity, approaching it, then backing up, approaching it again.

In Paragraph Five, Joyce finds the candlestick and says: "I wonder what this came from." As if acting out the answer to her own question, she then tries to stick the candlestick into the buttocks of the naked policeman doll. It is as if she is attributing human phallic characteristics to the candlestick and is trying to restore the penis to the man or policeman doll. (The dolls used in the study did not possess the sex characteristics.) She seems to be
attributing phallic characteristics to the airplanes when she hides them behind the window shade and says to me: "You can't see any of these things." It may be that she is here objecting to the fact that the dolls do not have the human sexual parts which she apparently feels should be there. In this remark, she may also be in essence saying to me: "You don't understand what I've been trying to tell you, or ask you to tell me." Or "I don't want you to watch me."

Also, hiding the airplanes behind the window shade may be another manner of playing out the theme of repression. As she had covered up the man dolls by the rug, hidden them, she now tries to hide the airplane phallic symbols. What she seems to be communicating is that sexual curiosity must be hidden.

The hanging sequence in Paragraphs Six and Seven in the play session is unclear. It may refer to immobilization of sexual activity, or to the restraining of sexual and aggressive impulses.

This play session is an example of how the communication broke down when the trust in or security with the observer was not established. Joyce came in to the play session with curiosity. She attempted to resolve her curiosity by asking directly. When the observer did not answer her question, Joyce seemed to take this as a rebuff and did not go on with clear expression of her curiosity (which might be said to correspond to the autonomy and initiative phases of her play). She may have felt the observer did not answer
her question because the observer disapproved of her curiosity. The trust was not established, communication broke down, Joyce floundered, and went into something obscure.

**Alec**

Alec's ambivalence, expressed in the relation with the observer, has been discussed in the analysis of his four play sessions. One incident in which the problem of ambivalence as Alec is struggling with it can be seen especially clearly is when he takes the observer's pen and throws it away, then afterwards seems eager to find it and give it back, and wants to cuddle up to observer to listen to a story. (Interview Two, Paragraph Three)

He expressed ambivalence in his attitude toward the father doll, whom in aggressiveness he knocks down, then later carefully makes sit up again. (Interview One, Paragraph One) There is ambivalence in his biting in the midst of an affectionate expression toward an adult or another child.

**Larry**

**Paragraph 1**

Larry starts relating to the observer very near the beginning of his play session in the use of the term, "we." "We have to shut this door," he says, as he pulls screen shut so there is no opening.
Immediately after this, he brings faceless animal over to me, saying "Dinosaur." It is as if from the beginning he sees the situation as an exclusive one between him and the adult woman observer. In giving the "dinosaur" to the observer he seems to be trying to involve her in his play.

Then he makes his only approach to the dolls during the whole play interview in the action of putting all dolls that are standing out into the box. Immediately after this he says "We have to close this tighter" and pulls screen shut tighter. It is as if he wants to make sure that no one will come in, to insure his exclusive possession of room, toys, and observer. Then he goes to the airplanes, and immediately after brief play with these, he takes up chest of drawers, a piece of furniture which could logically be associated with mother in his mind. Then he exclaims as he finds the toilet, another object very personally associated with his relationship with mother.

Finding dresser with mirror, he looks into it, exclaiming: "Here's me!" Then he brings it over to the observer. Standing beside me, he first looks into mirror himself, then holds it up in front of my face. It is as if in this action he is making a comparison between us, as if comparing adult and child, or male and female, perhaps identifying in this instance with the mother figure, in the person of the observer. This identification is
continued as he pulls wash cloth and things out of the doll closet box, things associated with babies and mothers. He switches then quickly to a phallic orientation in "Plane's ready to take off!" and "I'm gonna play with these" of the Lincoln logs. Out of the Lincoln logs he "builds" a "home" for the airplanes in the large square configuration he makes on the floor.

The idea of home suggests a house and, as discussed in the interpretation of Alec's records, Erikson (12) has pointed out that a house construction in play may often symbolize the human body. The sequence of Larry's actions suggests that this configuration may represent mother's body. He puts the airplanes inside the "home". This is phallic intrusive action. One possible interpretation is that this action suggests the father's relationship to the mother. Larry may be here acting out a fantasy of sexual intercourse, taking father's place in relation to mother.

In the midst of these actions there is a noise. He says: "Somebody's comin'" and goes to doorway to pull "door" shut tighter. It is as if, again as in Alec's play, in Larry's imagination, too, it may be father who might come in and interfere in the exclusive relationship in his fantasy play between Larry and mother. This interpretation also clarifies Larry's earlier eagerness to have the door tightly shut so that no one -- specifically father -- may come in. At any rate, it seems apparent that Larry wishes to have play
privacy.

He flies the planes out of the area and back into it, as if enacting intrusive action toward mother. He now includes cars — also phallic symbols — in the configuration. It is after this intrusive action that he says of the cars and airplanes: "They're going to s'leep....Don't wake them up....Don't wake them up....Don't wake these cars up, and don't wake these airplanes up — They're s'eeey cars. Don't wake 'em up." It is as if this may be a fantasy of what goes on at night when people — represented by the cars and airplanes — are supposed to be asleep.

Larry's play reaches its climax in Paragraphs Three and Four, after he returns from going out to the toilet. Before leaving, he instructs observer — "You stay right here....and don't touch my train!" When Larry comes back and notes that observer really didn't touch the train, it marks a turning point in his relationship with the observer. It is as if, since she didn't interfere with what he considers his things, he now feels he can really trust her. Although he has been relating to the observer all along, it is from this point on (after going to the toilet and coming back to find the train uninterfered with) that Larry seems to take the observer into his confidence and include her in what he is doing in a different way.

He starts a constant stream of conversation toward the
observer, where before much of the contact had been in the nature of requests for help, objections, fretfulness ("It won't stay together." and commands ("Don't wake 'em up!...Tie this on! Tie it tighter!"). In Paragraph Three, when he says "You didn't touch my train," there is a quality of surprise and gratification in his voice as though he were saying -- "I can trust you." Then he confides, "I had to go tinkle." In a confidential tone, he continues -- "This is a green car....And this is a smokestack. And that's a whistle...." And as if these motor and noise making toys (and phallic symbols) brought to mind his older brother, he starts to talk about his brother, Russell. It is from this point on that his play session deals with the most intensive and anxiety-laden material. His words dwindle off as he notices a picture on the curtain, of which he says "Somebody's cryin'...." On closer examination, he says, "She's cryin' -- yes...." as if attributing the crying to a feminine person. Soon after this, playing with the train he says "The caboose doesn't have a hook," a remark which seems to indicate concern about body projections. It is as if the caboose is symbolic of a little girl who is crying, perhaps because she doesn't have a penis, as Larry may fear the loss of his own penis. In this instance, Larry may be identifying with the little girl, who has been castrated. The whole sequence seems to be about Larry's own castration anxiety. "Russell's engine crashed into the caboose" suggests an intrusive
fantasy and also fear on Larry’s part of retaliation from his older brother rival for Larry’s feelings and fantasies concerning the mother. The caboose is the object of intrusive action. This material seems to have to do with the working out of Larry’s own sex role.

He moves from thoughts of brother to daddy, and the summary of all this is that daddy “has bigger things.”

Then he comes back to the same theme of cars and planes going to sleep which he had talked about earlier. He turns all the train cars, which he has unhocked from each other, onto their sides. “They’re tired -- and they’re s’sepy,” he says. In the light of the previous sequence, disconnecting the train cars from each other may be symbolic of castration.

Then he confides: “I lost my piggy bank. But I have a savings account at First National Bank.” This remark seems to suggest that Larry is saying in essence -- “I’m a little helpless boy,” but following this with an assertion of adult capacities such as having a savings account instead of a piggy bank. Following this assertion of adult capacities, he carries out an intrusive action toward the observer by flying the planes over her head. It is as if, with the adult assertion, he identifies with daddy in the relationship with mother and carries this out symbolically in the intrusive action, with the planes.

Larry
P 3 and 4
Then he brings planes down onto floor and leaves them lying upside down, saying "They're broken." In this action he may be asking: "If, as a little boy, you really carry out these actions, will you be broken (or castrated)?"

Also, he could be here expressing his own aggressive and destructive wishes.

Then he goes back to the train and rejoins the train cars. He is still talking about intrusive action. "Every time...Russell's crash into...I'm the engineer." He has attributed intrusive action to Russell before, but he attributes it to himself when he says "I'm the engineer" and "When I push this, I'm gonna...." Then, taking the train cars apart seems to indicate a play disruption, as if having claimed for himself the more grown-up masculine role and capacity for intrusive action was too threatening. It is as if the cars symbolize people and relationships. He is anxious about these relationships and separates the train cars.

However, he then puts the train cars together again. It is as if this is a restorative action and reasserting his own masculine identity for he then says to me -- "You sit in the caboose and I'm the engineer." He seems to be in essence saying to the observer -- "You be the passive one. I'll run things."

He is again claiming the role of engineer -- a masculine figure -- for himself. He is taking the initiative. He assigns
observer the caboose. He has before called attention to the caboose
not having a "hook" and, in assigning observer to the caboose, he
seems to be making an association of the caboose with the adult
female. Note that the caboose is never the agent of intrusive
action.

"You sit in the caboose and I'm the engineer....And the man
in the truck is Shorty." He may be identifying with "Shorty" as
well as with the engineer, and making a comparison between adult
male and little boy. It seems as though he may be referring to
himself as "Shorty" for after this he increases his own height by
climbing up onto stool -- "I have to climb up here," he says. It
is as if he is elevating Shorty -- representing himself -- by climb-
ing up to the window. Standing on stool and looking out of the
window, he says "I see Andy." Andy was a little girl playing in the
yard. Then he says "The train goes right up....Train goes up on the
bridge." The train "goes up" as he went up. The bridge is a con-
necting symbol and it is as if he is associating intrusive action
with connecting something, perhaps in association with mention of
the little girl. He seems to be here exploring sex differences and
the relationship between male and female. He is working out his own
sex role, relating it to the little girl, and also mentioning the
bridge, a connecting link. He also connects the train cars to each
other now, hooking them together. "I see Carol," he says. Carol
was a teacher, another feminine figure. Then there seems to be a play disruption, as he is standing at the window after this assertion of height and phallic intrusiveness connecting the male with the female. He says very softly, "I just thinking about something.... I'm makin' a train...." then, with a sudden change of voice -- "I need to get my crab!"

He may have been thinking that he is only a little boy after all, but he is "makin' a train." This may be a reassurance to himself and an assertion that he is getting bigger, growing up. "I need to get my crab!" may be an expression of the need to claim aggressive action. The crab was a prized possession. He must assure himself he still has it. He jumps down from the window, gets the bag with the crab in it and gives it to the observer. "Would you hold my crab?" he says, leaving it with me. The crab may be a phallic symbol, and it also may represent biting aggression. He has entrusted the phallic symbol to the observer. He has given to a woman something of value for him. Perhaps entrusted her to keep his aggression in the bag?

In the sequences discussed, Larry has mentioned father by name, as having "bigger things." Just previous to this the only mention of father has been a description of intrusive action in "The caboose doesn't have a hook....Russell's engine crashed into the caboose." This seems to indicate an association between
intrusive action and father. Larry approached mention of father through the older brother, Russell. It is as if he sees both Russell and father as bigger than he and as powerful rivals.

In giving the crab to observer, he established something for himself in relation to the mother figure. He seemed to be in this action preserving his own relationship with her.

Larry has attributed power and greater size to adult males and has made comparative statements of adults with himself. He has made assertive gestures toward identifying with the adult male, father, in these last sequences which is a switch over from identifying with mother when he held the mirror up to his own and observer's face near the beginning of the play session. The action has all been intertwined with and contingent upon his relating to the observer, who is a woman like the mother.

Michael

Paragraph 1

Early in his play interview Michael expresses the wish to take something home with him from the playroom. He first mentions this desire in regard to the little bus, then about the candlesticks. (Paragraph One) This request to take something home is made repeatedly throughout the play interview. The most striking thing about his play interview is the urgency of Michael's desire
to have something from there to keep, the strong urge which he expresses for me to give him something.

Along with this urgency of the desire to keep something, Michael shows much preoccupation with things getting broken and fixed. There is much attaching and detaching of the parts of the toys.

This concern about things getting broken and fixed could stem from the discovery of sex differences. It is not clear from one play session specifically what situation in life Michael is playing out, but the fact that he has four sisters (with whom he played exclusively before coming to nursery school) and that Michael is the youngest child, could account for his particularly intense communication about wanting to keep something. This and the preoccupation with "broken and fixing" may be a displacement of concern about body injury, about losing his penis, as if he is beginning to have the awareness that some have penises, some don't, and asking the question: Can he keep his?

In this play session, Michael is working on the phallic problem, but with a great deal of prephallic material in evidence as well. There seems to be an admixture of anal fantasy in his feeling of not being permitted to keep something, but having to throw it away. His phallic concern seems to be mixed in with ideas about feces and about babies.
At the end of Paragraph Two, Michael gets the tiny baby doll and tries to fit the doll onto the tiny bus. Then he immediately gets the candlesticks, and then he plays with the baby bathinette.

Note how, in the sequence which directly follows in Paragraph Three, Michael sticks the candlesticks under the toy bus and attaches them to the bus, as he had before tried to fit the baby doll onto the bus. Then he runs bus over to observer and removes the candlesticks from the bus. He says "I might take these home." He sets candlesticks upright on the floor and then talks about somebody breaking a bridge. Then he again attaches the candlesticks between wheels and body of bus. It is as if in this sequence, the candlesticks are phallic symbols, but they also seem to have an anal significance. It is as if he is exploring the problem of castration, attaching the phallic symbols and removing them. It seems as if the bus possessed human characteristics, or represented himself, and he is acting out his own fear of possible castration and also exploring the problem of sex differences between men and women. Note that when he brings the bus over to the woman observer he removes the candlestick from the bus. It is as if he is here working on the idea that women are different from men, that women don't have penises. When he sets the candlesticks upright on the floor, it seems to be a phallic gesture and he immediately follows this with talk about somebody breaking a bridge. This seems to be a reference to aggressive
intrusion. Perhaps he is really talking about somebody "breaking" a little boy. The bridge is a connecting symbol, a symbol of relating, and may allude to the reason for castration. According to psychoanalytic theory, the boy fears castration by his father in retaliation for the child's feelings of wanting to relate to the mother in a sexual way. Michael has placed his "bridge" directly in front of the observer, or the mother figure.

Following this, he again puts candlesticks on the bus between wheels and body of bus, then takes them out again and sets them close together on the floor. He knocks them down with the bus, saying "You can wreck down them." He then repairs this acted out damage to the candlesticks, or the "bridge", by attaching the candlesticks again to the bus. Soon after this, he picks up another, tiny bus, turns it over and examines it. It is as if the tiny bus represented a human baby, perhaps himself, and he is checking its phallic characteristics. One of the wheels is loose, and he says "The bus broke." "Not easy to fix." After trying to fix it and not succeeding, he wraps it up in tissue paper, saying "Wrap it up to be fixed." He then plays with the train, another phallic symbol, and when the wheels become detached, he is able to get them back on the train car. It is a reassurance to himself of his masculine adequacy and a statement of his ego as he says proudly: "I know how to fix these trains."
Michael
P 3 and 4

Note that it is the candlesticks, the phallic symbols, which he chooses to take home with him when the observer gives him permission to choose something to take and keep at the end of the play session.

In the sequence in Paragraph Four, he re-enacts theme of baby and penis when he puts tiny baby doll under jeep, then on front fender part of jeep. He experiments with putting the baby in different parts of the jeep. Then, after saying "Guess I'll sit up beside the driver," he puts baby doll back in box and takes up little boy doll. It is as if he is trying to establish his own sex role as a boy, rather than as a baby. He associated himself with the "driver," an active, masculine concept. This emerges into more significance when one considers that Michael is the youngest and has four older sisters.

Soon after, he shows some hostility toward the woman doll, a feminine figure, when, after removing her dress, he throws her into the box lid. After this he closes up all dolls within the box, as if wanting to get them out of sight. Then he gets the string and the jeep, and again requests to take something from the playroom to keep.

It seems most pronounced from this play session that it is very troubling to him that some have penises and some don't, and he tends to treat this lack of a penis as some kind of damage.
Michael related particularly strongly and developed an intense relationship with the observer in one play session. At one point in Paragraph Three, he runs jeep over in front of her and all the way around her, then parks jeep up against the observer's foot, saying "This is a nice place to park." The relationship is also shown in his persistence in wanting the observer to give him something to keep, and throughout the play session in his constant interaction with the observer.
VIII. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Ten individual play interviews were held with six children between the ages of three-and-a-half and four years in order to determine how the children communicated in play interviews and what they communicated concerning their interpretation of parental figures and their perceptions of significant relationships. Detailed written records of the play interviews were made by the adult observer.

In order to give depth of insight, one of the children was interviewed on four separate occasions over the period of a month and another child was interviewed twice. Interpretive analyses of the play interview records of these two children are presented as examples of records analyzed as completely as possible. All the other children were interviewed once.

The play interview records of all the children were analyzed in terms of the child's relationship with the adult observer present at the play interview. The records were interpreted according to psychoanalytic theory. Interpretations of meanings were supported by specific citing of the responses on which the formulations were based in their sequence and context in the play interviews.

The interviews were for the purpose of adding to understanding of the following questions:

What do records of a series of controlled play interviews with individual children reveal when the records are interpreted according to psychoanalytic theory?
What do they show about the way a child acts out fantasies and the concerns and anxieties which seem to be important to him?

What do they reveal specifically about the way a child establishes a relationship with a participant observer?

In what ways does a child perceive significant relationships?

What uses does the child make of play materials as symbols, and what uses does he make of space and of movement?

This study demonstrates through the presentation and analysis of records of individual play interviews with six children that the children studied did seem to communicate meaningful material about their interpretation of the roles of parental figures and their perceptions of significant relationships. There seemed to be common themes as well as individual themes.

The study also brings out how the children studied communicated what was of concern to them. The children communicated through (1) the acting out of fantasies, (2) their total play behavior, such as choice of toys, formations and constructions, body movements, use of space, etc. and (3) their relationship to the adult in the play interview situation. The results of the study suggest that the nature of the first two factors were in large part contingent upon and greatly influenced by the third, the quality and process of the relationship to the adult in the play interview.

Each child studied showed his own individual patterning in the way he acted out fantasies and the content of them, his total
play behavior and his manner of relating to the adult.

Interpreting the play interview records according to psychoanalytic theory seems to bring into focus the significance of the sequence of the child's actions and behavior. The connection of different actions, one with another, is shown. When interpreted according to psychoanalytic theory, the actions not only fit in with each other, but each part of the sequence seems to have an increasingly cumulative effect. Not only is the material sequential, but dimension is added to the themes as the play progresses. The themes are interwoven in the sequence and their interrelatedness is revealed. For example, the themes of birth, death, confinement and breaking out of confinement, anxiety about what father does, anxiety about hurting mother, and concern about his own sex role are all interwoven and interrelated in the sequence of Alec's behavior in his four play interviews. Also note how Alec moved sequentially from rough handling of the plane to intrusive action with the car to dropping of the dolls to derision of the nude policeman figure. (See p. 141-142) Sometimes themes are interwoven in a single action, as when Alec gave the policeman doll to the observer, one action in which a multiplicity of themes is included. (See p. 142)

Application of psychoanalytic theory to the data was a helpful discipline in understanding the meaning of the language of play. It tended to provide a pattern and a way of examining or checking on the observer's impressions and interpretations. It seemed to be helpful as a means of obtaining insight concerning
the significance of the children's communication.

When one applies the dynamic point of view, one can discern an individual pattern or thread which seems to be logically related to the child's present situation and his earlier life experience. Although all children were interested in containers, containers and what they were used for was a persistent and overriding part of the play of Alec, the child whose father was a mortician, as though to be the master oneself of containers and what goes into them was an essential part of his coping with the fear of being the passive contents. For Vicki, references to tenderness and nurturant activities of parents were interwoven with themes of loss and breaking apart as though the fear of loss of body integrity could be kept in check only by repeated assurances of the tender benevolence of parents. And yet the fear persistently broke through again and again as though by repetition of the theme she might master her fears. In Vicki's play, the emphasis on eating and going to sleep was prominent. Although most children expressed some interest in orality and some in sleep, the fact that Vicki's parents operated a restaurant and the child had spent much time there may have accentuated this subject in the child's fantasy life.

There seemed to be themes common to their age level and to the culture in which they were growing up. In all the records, there was reference to "breaking and fixing" or "brokenness and wholeness." The children also seemed to be concerned with the question of "big and little," as though they were trying to
differentiate between adults and children. Some gave this verbal expression as when Beth exclaimed: "Look how big my train is!" Larry referred to "daddy" as having "bigger things." Vicki compared the size of sinks, saying: "Here's the big one -- here's the little one," and the size of dolls: "Here's a little lady doctor -- here's a little girl doctor." Alec contrasted the long log and the short, the train and the smaller truck, the big animal and the little animal. By his concern with the theme of infancy (discussed on p. 121-125 and 150-151), he moved to "littleness" from the playing out of "bigness" (discussed on p. 116-118). All the children seemed to express the need to differentiate between male and female. Some verbalized this effort to discriminate between the sexes, as when Beth pointed out: "These are for girls, not boys." "Those dolls are for girls, just girls." (See p. 77) "Girls go potty with these up." "Boys go potty with these down." (See p. 80) (Also see p. 208-209 for Beth, 214 for Joyce, 221 and 224 for Larry, 227-228 for Michael) All attempted to make a relationship with the observer and in some ways sought from her support for dependent needs. Seeing the policeman as an authority figure, hauling logs and going to the airport are a few examples of themes specific to their culture.

Five of the children, Alec, Vicki, Larry, Joyce and Beth showed special awareness of approaching footsteps and outside noises. For Alec, Vicki and Larry these seemed to be interpreted as interruptions. It seemed as though these children were especially sensitive to attitudes of others concerning what they might have
been working on, and valued the privacy of the one-to-one interview situation.

It was found that each child studied revealed himself through the ways in which he related to the adult observer who was present in the room. The interviews showed how the child goes through a process of developing a relationship with the adult and that even with a passive or neutral observer, the process of relationship grows. This relationship influences whatever the child does. The findings of the study suggest that the child will relate in some way even with a passive or neutral adult, that he will communicate something about the relationship, and that the relationship can be observed and studied. It can be assumed that what goes on in other relationships and the child's perceptions of these may then be inferred from the observation and study of this one relationship. This is in line with the psychoanalytic assumption that if you put two people in a room together for a period of time, a relationship will take place, and this relationship can be observed and analyzed, and tends to repeat the concerns from previous relationships.

The children studied in the play interviews seemed to be "caught" between their instinctual drives on the one hand and the realistic necessity of making a relationship with the observer on the other. The findings of this study support the psychoanalytic hypothesis that the child perceives adults as the objects of his libidinal and aggressive drives. The children seemed to use the play interview situation as though it were a special opportunity
for striving to mediate between their inner feelings or instinctual drives and their wish to behave in such a way as to elicit the love of the significant adults and maintain the dependent bond with them. In the play interview situation the observer represented these adults.

The process which the children went through in establishing and clarifying the relationship with the observer in the play interviews suggested a confirmation of the developmental stages of trust, autonomy and initiative as outlined by Erikson. It was as if in relationship to the adult in the play interview, each child studied recapitulated the other relationships in his life which had been important to him.

The findings also suggest that these stages are not something the child arrives at once and for all, but rather that even in a process of total developmental progression of a normal child, the child moves back and forth from one stage to the other. (For one example, see discussion of Vicki, p. 188-189) Although according to age level the children studied were in the developmental stage in which the major psycho-social crises would center around problems of initiative, the children studied in the play interviews fluctuated in behavior which dealt with concerns in three of Erikson's developmental tasks, establishment of trust, autonomy and initiative. There was not a clear resolution of first one stage and then the next, but an interplay of all three with one being of major importance or emphasis.
The children studied seemed to be constantly trying to develop a sense of trust in the adult at a deeper and deeper level, such as when Larry noted that the observer didn't touch his train while he was absent. This respect for his play seemed to bring about a deepening of trust on Larry's part and seemed to be a definite turning point in his relation to the observer. It was from this point on that he seemed to take the observer into his confidence, immediately starting a stream of conversation about things which were concerning him. (See interview, paragraph three, p. 97-98) Before this, much of his contact with the observer had been in the nature of requests for help, objections, fretfulness ("It won't stay together") and commands ("Don't wake 'em up," "Tie this on," "Tie it tighter!" "And don't touch my train!"). Another example of deepened trust was when Alex acted out the same fantasy in his third interview that he had in the first, but in a much more complete way, which the increased security with the observer seemed to enable him to do. (See discussion, p. 113-116 and 141-143) Vicki repeatedly attempted to gain assurance that the observer was not going to abandon her. She seemed to be trying to establish her security in the situation and with the observer when she asked "Is me have lunch here?" (Paragraph six, p. 60) When the observer moved slightly, Vicki instantly looked up, said quickly "Where you goin'?" and did not continue with play until satisfied that observer was settled down to stay there. (Paragraph nine, p. 65) She asked observer for assurance of affection through the medium of a little
doll. (Paragraph ten, p. 66) When the observer did hug Vicki, the child snuggled up close to the observer for a moment before going back to play.

In examples such as these it was as though the child was saying, "I can trust, but can I trust this far?" This seems to suggest that the relationship between child and adult progresses as trust progresses to a deeper level, enabling the child to play out or to verbalize his fantasies more and more fully and completely. In the cases of Ales and Vicki, children who had more than one interview, the steps, or the terms of the relationship, had to be re-established at each interview, although the process of doing this was quicker at interviews subsequent to the first.

(For more detailed discussion of what study of the play interviews has contributed to understanding of the way a child establishes a relationship with a participant observer, see Chapter VII. Also see the case study of Ales for detailed discussion of the specific process of developing the relationship, especially pages 117-120, 130-132, 141, 146, 156, and 159.)

The study shows that the children interviewed did have something in common about which they were deeply concerned in regard to their interpretation of parental figures. The common focus of the children's anxiety seemed to be on sexual differences and relationships between male and female. The relationship between adults, mother and father, seemed most troubling to them. The children studied seemed to be constantly striving in their play for
a clearer understanding of these sexual differences and relationships between male and female.

The children studied also showed intricate fluctuations in the play interviews between identification with male and female or father and mother figures. These fluctuations seemed to be reflected in corresponding fluctuations in the child’s concept of himself. Each child studied seemed to be groping for clarification to himself of sexuality and his identity in terms of his own sex role.

The children expressed very strong or intense and ambivalent feelings toward adults, or parental figures. Aggression was always a part of the play, either in the use of the toys or in relation to the observer, or both. The intensity and urgency of the play was revealed by the child’s use of space, change in motility, quality of movements, his facial expression, his vocal sounds, the manner of his handling and use of the toys.

The children seemed to make use of play materials as symbols. As well as using dolls to represent people, the children attributed human characteristics to toys not representative of human figures. The children seemed to express their feelings about parental relationships, not only through adult doll figures, but through child figures or animal toys or motor toys. This behavior with toys suggests that the child at this age level attaches such intense meaning to relationships with and between parents that he often can only express his perceptions of them by transposing or projecting these perceptions on to animal and motor objects less directly representative of the real adults in the child’s experience.
The remote symbol may reduce the level of anxiety. For example, note how Alec moved in his exploration of the problem of relationships from three dolls to three airplanes, *(See p. 143-144)* and note Vicki's movement from dolls to animal toy while continuing the same theme of the problem of relationships. *(See p. 183)*

Play disruption seemed to occur when intensity of feeling became very strong and/or there was not sufficient trust in the adult present. In this way the child relieved his mounting anxiety.

**Implications of the Results**

This study offers insights into the way children relate to and deal with adults. Its findings should deepen understanding of the dynamics of behavior and should also have value in decisions on guiding children's behavior.

The study suggests that adults working with children need to be aware of the child's fluctuations from one to another of the psycho-social developmental stages. These stages are not hard and fast compartments. Even when the child has developed a measure of basic trust, it needs to be continually re-established and deepened. The results also suggest that adults need to be sensitive to and respect the child's uncertainties as he shifts identification between mother and father figures in the search for his own identity.

The results of this study seem to indicate that adults should try to create the kind of atmosphere in which children feel free to express their sexual curiosity and anxieties openly in order that
their fantasies will not be repressed into the unconscious to exert a continuing influence on their personalities as adults.

In each of these play interviews, we have seen a child dealing with aggressiveness toward the adult. The results of the study suggest that the way the adult deals with the aggressiveness of the child toward the adult has far reaching meaning for the child. (This has been brought out especially in the discussion of Alec, p. 134-136 and 156-161, and Vicki, p. 181-187.)

In play interviews with an adult whom the child trusts, the child feels free to express his aggressive feelings and benefits from this freedom. If the freed aggression is responded to appropriately by the adult it can be used in the service of the child's creative capacities and ability to take initiative, enabling the child to utilize more fully whatever potential he has been endowed with as an individual.

The implications for parents and teachers of young children would seem to be significant here. The child could be expected to benefit if he had a sufficient number of play experiences in which parents and teachers responded appropriately to his expressions of aggressive feelings. If adults do not allow the child's aggressiveness to emerge at all or show too great a disapproval of it, or if, on the other hand, they do not control destructive aggressiveness, the child can only see aggressiveness as unacceptable or dangerous. He will be unable to utilize these feelings in constructive ways. The result will be inhibition of his creative capacities
and initiative, often along with random destructiveness. When the child's aggressiveness is recognized, accepted and dealt with, it gradually is freed to move in the direction of finding its true use in constructive outlets.

The case studies revealed individual differences in children's methods of dealing with their anxieties about aggressions. In cases interviewed more than once, changes in feeling and behavior were apparent. The chapter about Alec might be entitled "From Wrecker to Builder." First, Alec gave expression to his aggressiveness. Then he could start fixing and building. (See pages 156-159) Given the opportunity to express his aggressiveness in an atmosphere free from the danger of reality destruction, he was able to move on by himself to building and making things during subsequent days in the nursery school. Not only was he able to build and make things but he seemed impelled from within to do so. The adult in the play interview had given scope for the expression and development of the child's own feelings, and provided a place where these feelings could be expressed safely, and therefore freely. As Alec began to feel more at home with his own aggression, it began to develop into a positive force. His play in the nursery school took on a different quality.

The results of this study support the hypothesis that whenever an adult and a child are together, something is always being taught and something being learned, through the relationship. Communication occurs. The adult influences children not only by what is done or said but by what the adult is as a person.
Bibliography


