

International Perspectives on
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Avis Ridgway
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Peer Play and Relationships in Early Childhood

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Editors

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Foreword

Playing with friends! That's why children love preschool. *Peer Play and Relationships in Early Childhood: International Research Narratives* gives a vivid picture of young children playing with friends and siblings at home and at preschool, without adults and with adults as playmates or playful educators. The authors of this book offer a rich collection of research narratives of playing children. They address issues that are relevant for parents, early years' professionals, and academics: the role of play in learning at school, the role of adults in self-initiated play, and the long-term impact of early friendships. Love to play with friends is of all times and all cultures. But, as the editors rightly argue, there are differences. Every generation of parents and professionals should rethink the value and role of "play" in the lives of their children (Singer 2016). Let me explain this by a narrative about my own early childhood and research.

I was born in the 1940s and never attended any form of preschool. As young children, we played in the garden and at the street with neighbor children. In our house, we had a huge ceiling with old furniture, clothes, wooden boxes, and a swing. In my memory, we were always playing, making shelters of branches in the lilac bushes and dressing up as fairies and gnomes. I do not remember that my parents or other adults were involved in this kind of play. We played and talked with our parents in the living room and in the kitchen. This kind of early childhood is not uncommon for the generation that was born before 1970. Sandie Wong and I interviewed leading pioneers in early childhood education in Europe, North and South America, and Oceania who were young in the 1940s and 1950s (Singer and Wong 2018). All of them tell stories like mine. We were the last generation with a free early childhood. Nevertheless, our parents and teachers had their worries about our play. To keep away from canals, steep slopes, and wild dogs and to keep us well-behaved in small living rooms with precious furniture earned by our hardworking fathers. And our preschool teachers worried how to make these "free" and sometimes "wild" children ready for school life.

Today, most young children enter into professional settings as a baby or toddler. Free play outside is often too dangerous because of traffic and strangers. At home, there are generally none or few siblings and age-mates to play with. The preschool

is the place of excellence to play with friends. Always under adult supervision. My parents and teachers did not have to think about the value of play; we, as young children, just did it. But for the parents and teachers of today, rethinking play is an urgent issue. The value of play has to be recognized and played down because parents and teachers prioritize formal learning. New opportunities for playing freely with peers have to be created. The presence of adults in children's play space also gives new opportunities to enrich their play and pleasure in each other's company.

This book introduces theoretical concepts to understand the value of play, affiliative relationships, and playful interactions between age-mates and adults. The research narratives reveal the qualities of peer play such as empathic play; dyadic, triadic, and collective play; sibling play; self-initiated play of toddlers; joint play with peers and adults; peer conflicts and reconciliation; and affiliative processes in dramatic play. The authors of this book share their enchantment and respect for the creativity of young children that opens up in their spontaneous play with peers.

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Chapter 1

International Perspectives on Peer Play and Relationships in Early Childhood Settings



Avis Ridgway, Gloria Quiñones, and Liang Li

1.1 Introduction

Cultural-historical play research has adopted the idea that the child's life world is the source of play. Special focus is directed to joint experiences with adults called [so-bytie]. This is affective-emotional, meaningful exceptional shared experience, which is often transformed into play. (Hakkarainen [Chap. 2](#))

As Hakkarainen reminds us, cultural-historical play research aims to value the everyday life worlds of young children and their joint experiences with peers. A valuable educational lesson is that of children spending time with peers where their everyday life experiences are transformed into imaginary, embodied and affective, joint, social, collective and collaborative experiences. To further extend knowledge of early childhood peer play, its many international variations and perspectives are presented.

The book as a whole, brings together topics on peer play relationships in young children's learning and development and aims to extend research conceptually and contextually in varied international contexts. The research narratives of peer play, brought to life in this edited volume, illustrate theoretical concepts related to stories of interactions that reveal the many qualities of peer play as exemplified in empathic play; dyadic, triadic, and collective group play; peer play and learning processes; sibling play; and young children's perspectives in dramatic play.

Children's peer relations and friendships influence their learning and development (Cekaite et al. [2014b](#)). Early childhood social contexts with peers in home and community settings involve playful dramaturgical compositions, where varied levels of availability of peers (and/or educators) who may, or may not, be interested in

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sharing players' intentions, are present (Singer 2013). The cultural dimensions and material qualities of participatory roles of adults and older peers in early childhood peer play have already been brought to attention by scholars including Edmiston (2010), Hakkarainen et al. (2013), Kravtsova (2014), and Cekaite et al. (2014a). Their research points toward the need to further understand why and how adults or older peers, engage in young children's play. The research in this book, offers varied international case examples which reveal culturally unique forms of peer play, influenced theoretically and guided by their authors' particular conceptualisations and contextual opportunities.

Unique forms of peer play open up to the reader of this book, for example, theoretical work on cultural mediation (Brèdikytė 2012); positioning (Fleer 2015); emotional attitude (Bozhovich 2009; Quiñones 2014); conceptual reciprocity (Ridgway et al. 2015); agency and relational agency (Edwards 2011; Stetsenko and Ho 2015); and the collective construction of knowledge in play contexts (Li et al. 2016). All these forms create a strongly unified basis for the theoretical and practical elements presented in this book.

Extending new ways of understanding peer play through provision of a range of scholarly chapters drawn from richly varied contexts by retheorising the concept of peer play relationships, we anticipate generation of new knowledge about how young children play, learn and develop within and across communities, families, educational settings, and diverse cultural contexts.

In this chapter, we begin with valuing international peer play perspectives. Peer play relationships have been a focus in bringing together a breadth of international studies from Australia, New Zealand, China, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia, USA, Finland and Lithuania, presented in the chapters that follow.

1.2 Valuing the Research Narratives in Peer Play

Hakkarainen and Brèdikyte (2010) who take a cultural-historical 'narrative' approach, argue that the cultural nature of play operates with narrative or storied forms. When children start to create play narratives, their making sense of the situation dominates and replaces realistic visual perception with more sophisticated play. In other words, young children's peer play interrelates with their narratives.

The experienced researcher and well-known scholar of children's play Nicolopoulou (2007), proposed that children's play narratives are stories that should be "viewed as closely intertwined, and often overlapping, forms of socially situated symbolic action" (p. 268). She further suggests that adults should acknowledge, facilitate, and encourage the dynamic development of children's play and storied narratives. Further to this, peer relationships benefit young children's development of cognition and imagination through active interplay with different social and cultural practices. Nicolopoulou (2007) also reminds us to take more systematic and theoretically informed research into the complex interplay between

play and narrative. Peer play culture provides a social arena for the development of narrative thinking where children can express themselves orally and dramatically (Nicolopoulou et al. 2014).

The realisation that peers actively contribute to each other's learning and development has been undervalued. This realisation is both "overdue and very welcome" according to Nelson (2014, p. 250). The research narratives of young children playing with one another are never found in isolation but are situated in a given context. Peer play relations, at the heart of a social situation, are variously conceptualised in this book, as being imaginary, non-verbal, verbal, collective and contextualised.

Through young children's active and often transitory relationships, varieties of peer play are illustrated (Chap. 3) and stories are told from many perspectives, including those of the children. Hakkarainen (Chap. 2) for example, theorises peer play historically, socially and over time. In particular, he uses relationality and temporality in story form to bring a unique example of narrative learning to our attention. His research, with a group of peers originally engaged in long term peer play over six years, later showed a fifteen-year trajectory, indicating that earlier peer play effects could still be seen in some of the peer group's on going decisions and orientations. A new collaborative unit of play for example, had formed. Hakkarainen also expresses amazement at the peer play initiatives and creative explorations that occurred without an adult present.

In another subtly illustrated narrative of peer play, Pursi and Lipponen (Chap. 7) discuss how play is *created and maintained* in a toddler peer group. Very young children had organised themselves in concert with one another, to build shared understanding and co-participation within their group. Pursi and Lipponen effectively use visual narratives as they theorise toddlers' gestures, positions, feelings and movement. They demonstrably support the authors' aim to guide adult's practice in compassionate understanding and awareness of peer play relationships in toddler classrooms.

Recognised and acknowledged in the work of Fler (Chap. 4), is the dynamic conception of digital peer play. Fler contends that when the teacher plays a role in the imaginary situation it can be digitally captured and reviewed by a peer group. The importance of teachers' support is shown through the illustrated narrative that keeps the whole play structure together and conceptually deepens the children's peer play.

1.3 Reconceptualising Peer Play

We need more studies of children's play in a wider range of cultural groups...to capture the diversity of...play routines in the children's everyday life. (Corsaro 2012, p. 503)

Corsaro's seminal sociological work serves as an important theoretical approach to studying peer cultures and children's perspectives. Peer cultures are defined as "a set of routines, artefacts, values, and concerns that children engage with their

playmates” (Corsaro 2012, p. 488). Collective activities such as peer play, help children elaborate and address their own concerns as they learn to role-play and negotiate rules in play. Peer play also gives rise to opportunities for reflecting with one another (Corsaro 2012). Children learn to negotiate with other peers and in doing so, become more aware of themselves when playing (Sommer et al. 2010). Furthermore, peer play offers a dynamic space where children can learn to negotiate relationships with each other (Bjork-Willen 2012).

Play serves as the primary activity for young children to interact with peers and promotes their social competence (Gagnon et al. 2014). Peer play supports children’s adaptation to demands of formal schooling (Eggum-Wilkens et al. 2014), by fostering higher levels of cooperation for more effective learning and performance (Ramani 2012; Bulotsky-Shearer et al. 2012). Research on peer play has frequently emphasised its impact on young children’s social development and school readiness. We argue for a new emphasis; for a reorientation to greater understanding of the impact of peer play for learning and development. Here, development is not taken in a narrow social meaning but understood more broadly and systematically as a dynamic process of transformations driven by interactive relationships in peer play. Peer play interactions within and over different times, educational settings, cultural contexts, and social situations; do lead to sustained changes in the quality of young children’s lives.

We find an example of investigating the developmental trajectory of long-term peer play in the writings of Hakkarainen (Chap. 2). Drawing on cultural historical play theory, long-term peer play is conceptualised through following three girls’ bunny play over 15 years. Hakkarainen proposes that research, evaluation and guidance of play should pay attention to collaborative units instead of just individual play competence. He emphasises the necessity of analysis of the effects of peer play over a longer period of life. Long-term peer play has not been theorised in these innovative ways before. Research on peer play has usually been undertaken with pre-school and infant-toddler age groups (Bulotsky-Shearer et al. 2012; Engdahl 2011; Harris 2015).

Other innovations in the book include the dialectical conception of digital peer play by Fler (Chap. 4) and the role of digital devices in peer play interaction, noted by Sulaymani, Fler and Chapman (Chap. 8). This original work brings new directions to the research on development of peer play relationships.

Fler (Chap. 4) conceptualises the dynamic nature of digital peer play and theorises peer play within a holistic system that encompasses a variety of forms of play practices. The legacy of Vygotsky (1967) is drawn upon. Vygotsky observed how the child borrowed another object to act as a pivot in play, as the child cannot yet separate their thought from the object. Fler’s digital app allows images to act as pivots in play where young children in her study become narrators who create a meta-imaginary play story of the *Three Little Pigs*. Research on digital peer play processes, within the broader system of pedagogical practices, has not previously been noted in literature on the use of apps. A model of systematic development of

Fig. 1.1 Social essence of peer play



digital peer play in early childhood settings has now been developed (see Fig. 1.1). This digital peer play model goes beyond existing ideas in, for example, Australian early childhood curriculum learning strands.

In order to further understand the process of introducing digital devices to children’s peer play in an early childhood setting, Sulaymani and his colleagues in Chap. 8 examine the role of the iPad in fostering peer collaboration skills. As a result of their observations of initial introduction of the iPad, they conclude that appropriate integration of digital handheld devices in children’s peer play, offers possible opportunities for peer collaboration in learning. The changing relationships of peers in play and the development of digital peer culture can happen because of the changing environment. For instance, when a digital device such as the iPad is applied in the early learning setting, the children’s peer play relationships are dramatically transformed. This may be because the dramatic moment of iPad introduction to the group has created impact on, and a challenge to, the children’s collaborative development.

Gold and Elicker (Chap. 5) elaborate their project on Engineering peer play, taking a new perspective on early childhood education in science, technology, engineering and mathematics (STEM). Processes of young children’s block play are likened to engineering, where specific social skills of communication, spatial reasoning and planning are required and achieved through their STEM project.

This book offers a timely reconceptualisation of the social essence of contemporary peer play by giving theoretical consideration to influences of unique cultural settings.

1.4 Theorising the Social Essence of Peer Play Relationships

We focus in this section, on the complexity of peer relationships as being social, imaginary and empathetic. In this book, the original contributions bring together embodied imagination with young children's capacity to express themselves through affective peer relationships. It also provides further insight into how peer play contributes to affective peer relationships and cultural learning. The following diagram (Fig. 1.1) is used to synthesise the social essence of peer play in different cultural and pedagogical settings.

Each chapter brings complexity to the social essence of peer play, for example, Ridgway, Li and Quiñones (Chap. 3) have conceptualised moments of peer play in building affective, and reciprocal relationships, which encourages agentic imagination and joyful learning.

In Australian society, the care and education of infant-toddlers has been given greater attention in recent years. Through institutional practices, toddlers begin to imitate, join other's actions, and play together more (Hannikainen and Munter 2019). Quinones, Ridgway and Li (Chap. 6) bring a subtle narrative of *imaginary peer play* to the conceptualisation of a group of toddlers' dancing together. In synchronised gestures and dance, *imaginary peer play* is experienced as a fluid, and spontaneous collaboration. It conceptualises the affective peer relationships developed through toddlers' awareness of being together. In collectively dancing, the toddlers engage in joyful companionship shared with their peers in play.

To understand how demands and motives may interact in toddlers' peer play, Li and Yu (Chap. 12) suggest that dynamic peer interactions with demands and motive orientations, can clearly reveal young children's happiness. They discuss friends' *togetherness and awareness* in ball play, where two toddlers' empathetic playful interactions, align with a new situation. Toddlers make demands of each other and through that process of interaction, they create new motive orientations in order to enjoy their togetherness in peer play.

Opportunity for digital play has been found to be a valuable resource and device for children to create playful peer collaboration in a Saudi Arabian cultural-historical study by Sulaymani, Fleer and Chapman (Chap. 8). Their work examines the role of the iPad in a Saudi Arabian early school setting. Their research found that the iPad can foster peer relationships, collaborative skills of taking initiative, helping and explaining, sharing work roles, excitement and happiness, and monitoring activity.

Adams (Chap. 14) introduces the concept of a *cohesive collective* of siblings (as peers) while theorising peer collaboration in sibling play. These siblings provide a glimpse of group cohesion initiated by strong bonds, emotion and general agreement whilst working towards solving a shared problem. The new concept *cohesive collective* is understood as improvised collaboration. Peers come together through joint movement and conceptually bound thought processes, by using sustained shared thinking.

In order to foster peers' collaborative relationships, the rules in peer play need to be investigated as they become very important at preschool age (3–5 years). The negotiation of rules in peer play appears to be a way for young children to construct their self-identity through understanding other peers. In Sun, Chen, Pan and Ming's (Chap. 10) case study of block play in a Chinese kindergarten, preschoolers' construction of *rules in peer play, meaning and identity*, are examined. Meanings of rules are constructed in continuous dialogue and negotiation with peers in play. Through this process of meaning making in peer play, children also build their identities.

Looking beyond books and blocks, Williamson, Lovatt and Hedges (Chap. 13) examine how peers are *playing around* with concepts. Engaging with complex ideas and equally complex intellectual concepts in peer play interactions, the notion of peers *playing around* is emphasized. Concepts of friendship, cooperation and responsibilities are highlighted. *Playing around* results in more creative ways of testing rules, behaviour limits, and activating agency in toddlers' own lives.

Following the intentions of children at group mat time, was the focus in the study of Mortlock and Green (Chap. 9), who explored young children's *peer cultures and playfulness* in a New Zealand early years setting. Research showed mat practices had some impact on peer relationships. There were a small number of children who shared collaborative mat time, however some children did not and sought to covertly play around with rules. Teachers played a critical role in creating the 'we-ness' of mat time. There were strong implications for teachers' acknowledgement at mat time of peer play and relationships.

Peer play can elicit certain expectations of children who play together. Involved in a study that suggested parents organise supportive and appropriate environments for peer play, Bredikyte and Skeryte-Kazalauskiene (Chap. 11) discuss *mothers' attitude* toward their young children's peer play and the pedagogical implications of organising appropriate environments for the development of peer play. More research needs to be undertaken on how adults might support peers and peer play.

1.5 Conclusion

These peer play perspectives, located in widely differing demographic and geographical circumstances, from scholarly research in Lithuania, USA, New Zealand, China, Australia, Malaysia, Saudi Arabia and Finland, bring early childhood peer play into a new theoretical consciousness for a changing international world view of the learning that happens through collective social relationships.

As Nicolopoulou et al. (2014) argue, peer life involves a rich complexity with great potential for children to influence each other and thus become aware of their own stories and enrich their lives. The reconceptualisation of peer play and relationships within this book promotes new thinking of children's play development and how young children interact in their contemporary worlds.

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Chapter 2

Long-Term Peer Play and Child Development



Pentti Hakkarinen

2.1 Introduction

A widely accepted hypothesis is that children's play promotes psychological development. Peer play has a specific function (intimacy and trust) in development according to Howes and Matheson (Howes and Matheson 1992a, b) research group. Evidence about causality between play and development was sought for in a survey of play studies recently published on the Internet in English by Lillard et al. (2013a). Collected evidence on positive influence of pretend play was tested using Smith's (2010) concept of 'play ethos' (pretend play is *crucial* to optimal development) and two alternative causality models (*equifinality*: Pretending helps some developments, but it is only one possible route, and pretending is an *epiphenomenon* or by product of some other capability and does not contribute to development) as criteria for demonstrating causality between pretend play and child development. Due to unsound methodological practices (e.g. interpretation of correlations, replication of experiments, and unmasked experimenters) only descriptive review was carried out. It is necessary to ask if effective causal relation between pretend play and development can be tested on the basis of available review material. Found evidence was quite scarce and mostly against existing beliefs about strong causality.

Lillard herself described the paradox of experimental study of pretend play by asking how genuine, authentic play could be studied experimentally. Children may decide to change the setting and pretend something different from what the experimenter has designed. It might be impossible to adapt flexibility of pretending to the strict causal – effect linearity. She ended in proposing field and laboratory studies of pretend play. Intervention studies should be better designed and executed in

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order to increase pretend play. Important variables are children's intrinsic motivation, active learning, and high levels of engagement, not just pretend play (Lillard et al. 2013b).

Howes and Matheson (1992a, b) team studied how peers collaboratively construct joint pretend in play. This was associated with the development of emotional mastery, trust and intimacy. The team argued following Gottman and Bretherton's model (Gottman 1986) "that this is the major function of social pretend play in older preschool children" (Howes and Matheson 1992a, b, p. 5). It was supposed that before peer play collaborative construction of pretend in toddlerhood happens with mother (aiming at communication of meaning) and older siblings in the early preschool period (expressing and exploring issues of control and compromise). The research group proposed emotional mastery, trust, and intimacy as three developmental stages of social pretend play before four years of age.

Timing of and continuity of play functions are problematic in Howe's study. There is no explanation why and how the three functions are connected. Different persons (mothers, siblings and peers) just stimulate different functions. Researchers mention Vygotsky's zone of proximal development, but it does not help to explain data. Developmental changes were limited to early functions, which were separately studied using different child samples. Continuity of development was lost when transitions between functions were not studied with the same children. An additional problem is self-development and its relation to collaborative construction of pretend play. In Vygotsky's analysis the crisis at three frees the child from situational influences and active self is possible. Specific zone of proximal development in social pretend play appears in play from the age of 3–7 years or later (Hakkarinen and Bredikyte 2008). Collaborative pretending should also be studied at the stage of storyline-roleplay. Howes and Matheson (1992a, b) study stopped however when the oldest children were four years.

2.2 Story Form and Narrative Learning in Play

In my academic play research Zaparozhets' (1986) claim about similar structure in fairy tales and children's play has been important. He saw the only difference in abstractness of a fairy tale – children have to imagine the whole story, but in play, visible support is available. Bruner (1987, 1992) proposed to analyze play as stories by claiming that a story or narrative is a tool for making sense of our lives and organizing memories. The role of story forms is essential in carrying out psychological functions (e.g. memory does not produce separate details, but stories combine them). His concept of narrative construal of reality (Bruner 1996) was a necessary route to understanding the world. He explained narrative construal with the help of nine universals of narrative realities. He claimed that narratives search for intentional states behind actions and deal with reasons, not causes.

The Lillard et al. (2013a) survey revealed that in play studies development was a direct result of play or learning, and was named as development. Hakkarainen's research group concluded that narrative learning mediates effects of play to developmental changes. This type of learning we named 'free learning' because play does not have any defined learning goals. 'Playful learning' at school has learning goals. 'Free' narrative learning is based on narrative logic, which is different from the rational logic of traditional school learning (Fisher 1984). In traditional schools, children seldom have an opportunity to select their own problems and assignments. In play learning, the challenges are not defined in advance and no exact criteria of truth exist. Children may reveal their own individual understanding without fearing mistakes. There is an essential difference of motivation between narrative and factual learning. Play is described as demonstrating intrinsic motivation because no concrete products are produced (Leont'ev 1995).

Story form is a type of generalization, which is not based on realistic facts. My research team supports the idea that children's play has a story form (Hakkarainen and Bredikyte 2014). Stories have a central role in long-term peer play in this case study.

2.3 The Unit of Pretend Play

One of the basic tenets of Vygotsky's cultural -historical approach was the claim that human development can only be studied by analyzing it into units. The unit is essential in the study of pretend play and general psychological development as well. A criterion of a unit is a system, in which all essential elements and their relations are included. Vygotsky's example was properties of water (H₂O). On a molecular level, water extinguishes fire. But on an atomic level both elements oxygen and hydrogen stimulate fire. On the level of elements, development is lost (Vygotsky 1997). He characterized development as a chain of qualitative changes of psychological systems. An additional aspect in Vygotsky's analysis was multi-disciplinary. He was developing his ideas in 'pedological' multidisciplinary frame and e.g. his general genetic law has sociological – psychological character.

Vygotsky claimed that pretend play creates the zone of proximal development only when ideas start to guide children's play actions instead of their visual field (Vygotsky 1966). He supported Köhler's conclusions about differences in apes and human child development: "the ape is the slave of its own visual field." (Vygotsky 1999, p. 85). Vygotsky's own analysis produced three differences between apes and human child: (1) greater flexibility of the child by breaking the direct line between the actor and goal. Planning and tool crafting can be separated from problem solving and (play) actions on this basis, (2) inner motivation and postponed intentions guide a child's actions, and (3) children acquire the capacity of being both subjects and objects of their own behavior (Vygotsky 1978, p. 28).

Another precondition for pretend social role-play¹ is indicated in the analysis of self-development of the child as a result of the crisis at three years. According to Vygotsky the crisis ‘me-self’ creates potential subject of (play) activity. The child starts to separate their own and others’ actions, see consequences of own actions, and follow rules in actions. These are essential in role interaction of play.

A problem in the analysis of development is that the whole process is not visible and observable. We can observe tendencies or prerequisites and conditions, but not direct facts of development. We cannot use the classic causality. Facts are a result of interpretation. Slobodcikov and Isayev (2000) proposes that we should use four types of determination in the construction of the object of development: causal, goal-oriented, value-oriented and sense-oriented. Different types of determination as a system form the genuine causality of development.

2.4 Case Study of Long-Term Peer Play

2.4.1 *Research Problems*

An unexpected long-term peer play, started from buying bunny puppets for the three girls Caroline, Eve and Hazel who were already used to playing together. The two older girls started bunny peer play at five and half years and continued to eleven and half. Their play continued for about six years transforming all the time. It was really children’s own activity. Traditional research approaches were impossible because children did not like videotaping. In this study, observations had to be made from a distance. Due to play settings in two families and children’s independent play elaboration, adults could not systematically observe and follow all play sessions. At all meetings of the three children the bunny play was launched over six years’ time. But the character and type of play changed radically in those years. Tension between “the three adult bunnies” and bunny kids was created in several play themes. The last two year’s (10–11 years) play themes can be characterized as “experimentation with identity” (e.g. “rock star” -play, writing “yellow paper stories”) (“Play with self-picture” in Kravtsovs’ terms).

Problems are mostly descriptive and explanations intuitive rather than fact-based. But, as examples earlier demonstrate, often used causality models are not adequate any more. The following questions guided the work:

1. What was thematic trajectory and play types over six years?
2. What was the prehistory of long-term peer play?
3. Are there long-term potential developmental effects of peer play?

¹El’konin (2005) separated theme and content of play from each other. “Hospital” could be pretend role-play, but moral quality of role relations was the content of play. Content (understood as moral quality of role relations) was essential in the analysis of developmental potential of play in cultural-historical approach.