UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO

The Development of Cognition, Emotion, Imagination and Creativity

As Made Visible through Adult-Child Joint Play:

Perezhivanie through Playworlds

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in
Communication

by

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2009

The dissertation of Beth Ferholt is approved, and is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm:

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2009

This dissertation is dedicated to the Laboratory of Comparative Human Cognition and Mike Cole, to “Michael” and his students, and to my grandmother, Ruth Leopold, and her “Pinky the Bunny Rabbit.”

"Few understand why it is imperative not only to have the effect of art take shape and excite the reader or spectator but also to explain art, *and to explain it in such a way that the explanation does not kill the emotion*."

-- L. S. Vygotsky (1971, p. 254)

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I could not have written this dissertation anywhere else than the UCSD Department of Communication and the Laboratory of Comparative Human Cognition. This department and laboratory provided the unique environment in which I was able to engage in my interdisciplinary project. I am grateful to all the people who created and sustained this department and this laboratory.

I could not have written this dissertation without all five of my committee members. Carol Padden reintroduced me to Vygotsky, Bennetta Jules-Rosette reintroduced me to film, Paula Levin introduced me to an ideal research site and kept me connected to my past and future in education, and Patrick Anderson introduced me to performance studies and also to my own voice (repeatedly). Michael Cole was the most inspired and inspiring teacher and mentor I could have hoped for.

I would not have wanted to write this dissertation without my cohort: Patricia Davis, by my side, and I will miss working with Robert Lecusay most of all. There are many people in the Department of Communication and the Laboratory of Comparative Human Cognition who shaped my work over these past seven years, and/or made my work possible through their guidance and support: Peg Griffin, Jay Lemke and David Serlin; Gayle Aruta, Claudia DaMetz, and Bea Vasquez; Bruce Jones, Jamie Lloyd and Brenda Macevicz; Tom Humphries, Boatema Boateng, Geof Bowker and Yrjo Engestrom; Heide Solbrig, Matthew Stahl, and Katie Vann; Ricardo Guthrie, J.R. Osborn and Kristen Clark; Jericho Burg and Emma Johnson, and others. I am also grateful to John Shotter and Ann Renninger for sending me to the

Laboratory of Comparative Human Cognition, and to Shaun Travers and the UCSD LGBT Center.

This dissertation was, in a very real sense, co-created with others who enter and study playworlds: Ana Marjanovic-Shane, Monica Nilsson, Pentti Hakkarainen, Kiyotaka Miyazaki, Sonja Baumer, Anna Rainio, Robert Lecusay, Lars Rossen and Gunilla Lindqvist. This work is closely tied to my most personal past, present and future: my grandmother, Ruth Leopold; my mother, Deborah Ferholt; my partner, Rachel Kahn; and my child. The crossroads of the place of playworlds and my own time, the center of this work for me, is with Sonja Baumer and Ana Marjanovic-Shane: My greatest hope is to pass on such friendship and guidance to my own students.

Finally, "Michael," the teacher I worked with, and his students of the Narnia playworld, *are* this dissertation. They were my "pivots," they are my "constants," and I look forward to seeing what they will become. I am still falling and flying in the Narnia playworld.

Funding for the research and writing of this dissertation came from a Fund for the Improvement of Postsecondary Education Travel Grant, a Malcolm Stacey Scholarship, and a writing scholarship from the UCSD Department of Communication.

Chapter 5, in part, has been submitted for publication of the material as it may appear in A Multiperspectival nalysis of Creative Imagining: Applying Vygotsky's Method of Literary Analysis to a Playworld, forthcoming, Ferholt, Beth, Peter Lang, forthcoming.

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"A multiperspectival analysis of creative imagining: Applying Vygotsky's method of literary analysis to a playworld" in Cathrene Connery, Vera John-Steiner and Ana Marjanovic-Shane, eds. *Dancing with the muses: A cultural historical activity theory approach to play, meaning-making & creativity*, New York: Peter Lang., forthcoming.

"Adult and child development in the zone of proximal development: Socratic dialogue in a playworld" (with Robert Lecusay). *Mind, Culture, and Activity*, forthcoming.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Development of Cognition, Emotion, Imagination and Creativity
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University of California, San Diego, 2009

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This dissertation makes a number of inter-related arguments that, at an abstract level, converge on the methodological project of challenging the divide between method and object in conventional social science. The three constituent claims that merge to create this overarching theme are:

1. The claim that it is possible to increase our insight into the complex dynamics between cognition, emotion, imagination and creativity, which are encapsulated in the concept of *perezhivanie*, or "lived-through" experience.

2. The claim that a particular form of play embodied in *playworlds*, in which adults actively enter into the fantasy play of young children as a means of promoting the development and quality of life of both adults and children, provides a strategically useful site in which visible instances of perezhivanie occur with unusual frequency under circumstances that make perezhivanie available for observation and therefore subsequent analysis.
3. The claim that by using various ensembles of methods of representation, some of which themselves evoke and manifest perezhivanie so that they constitute examples of the perezhivanie that they are intended to represent, this elusive phenomenon is made available for analysis in its full, dynamic complexity.

Cognition and emotion are still, often, separated in the social scientific study of development and learning. We accept this segregation in part because we do not have adequate means of observing, and then capturing for study, complex dynamic relations between such key psychological processes as cognition, emotion, imagination and creativity. In this dissertation, the above claims are supported through descriptions and analyses of perezhivanie using three different combinations of methods, each of which provides a different avenue of access to the manifestations and dynamics of perezhivanie on a different time scale.

CHAPTER ONE

Introduction:

Perezhivanie, and a New Form of Play that Can Make Perezhivanie Visible

A group of children sits on one side of the room insisting that the play be designed one way, while another group of children sits on the other side of the room and insists that the play be designed another way. Every child refuses to be persuaded by the opposing camp to change his or her view, or even to compromise. Finally the children's teacher, Michael, says that the dilemma is unsolvable and that the only way to proceed is to split the class in two, so that each person can create the type of play they desire.

The discussion has been difficult and long. The floor is littered with the bodies of the younger children, heads in arms, picking at noses and shoelaces. But one child, Pearl, sits on a table and speaks with great eloquence. She tells us: "Everyone (in this class) is my best friend."

As if they have been physically lifted by Pearl's words, several of the children on the other side of the room, children who have not budged all afternoon, simply stand up and walk over to Pearl's side of the room. The most outspoken advocate for the opposing camp, Nancy, crosses the room and sits down right next to Pearl, and then rests her head on Pearl's knee. Another child from the opposite side of the room, Alice, suggests that the whole class perform the play two times, one time according to each of the two designs, and her unexpected solution is greeted by children on both sides of the room with huge smiles and exclamations of "Oh!"

In celebration, Michael takes the class outside for a run in the field. One child, Rachel, says as she runs, "I feel like I'm flying." Pearl looks up at the sky as she runs and says, "I look up and I go faster." Andrea, Pearl's younger sister, runs backwards and asks, "Why am I walking backwards?" She answers herself, "I don't have to look. I know where am I'm going." Michael and I still look at each other in amazement when we watch the film of this event together: How did Andrea know then what it took us three years to understand about the power of Pearl's words?[i]

Cognition and emotion are still, often, separated in the social scientific study of development and learning. Vygotsky called this separation "a major weakness of traditional psychology" and explained that this separation "makes the thought process appear as an autonomous flow of 'thoughts thinking themselves,' segregated from the fullness of life, from the personal needs and interests, the inclinations and impulses, of the thinker" (1986, p. 10). We accept this segregation in part because we do not have adequate means of observing, and then capturing for study, complex dynamic relations between such key psychological processes as cognition, emotion, imagination and creativity. In this thesis I propose and describe a means of making these relations visible in all their complexity and fluidity. I argue that a new form of play, *playworlds*, in which adults actively enter into the fantasy play of young children as a means of promoting the development and quality of life of both adults and children, holds special potential for making *perezhivanie* [*pâr*-uh-jhi-*von*-yuh], or "intensely emotional lived through experience," visible, and hence available for empirical research.

Perezhivanie

The concept of perezhivanie has the potential to be a powerful tool in the project of reintegrating the subjects of emotion and cognition in psychological and educational studies of development and learning. Unlike any terms with roots in the English language, the term perezhivanie encompasses the dynamic relations of imagination and creativity, emotion and cognition. Translation of "perezhivanie" is difficult because the English language itself separates emotion and cognition[ii], but I hope both to strengthen the concept by discussing it in English, and also to minimize its dilution by turning to technical uses of "perezhivanie" within the disciplines of theater (Stanislavski, 1949) and psychology (Bozhovich, 1977; Vasilyuk, 1988; Vygotsky, 1994).

Perezhivanie was first used as more than an everyday word in the dramatic system of Constantin Stanislavski (1949). For Stanislavski (1949) perezhivanie is a tool that enables actors to create characters from their own re-lived, past lived-through experiences. Actors create a character by revitalizing their autobiographical emotional memories and, as emotions are aroused by physical action, it is by imitating another's, or a past self's, physical actions, that these emotional memories are re-lived.

Vygotsky himself described perezhivanie thus:

> The emotional experience [*perezhivanie*] arising from any situation or from any aspect of his environment, determines what kind of influence this situation or this environment will have on the child. Therefore, it is not any of the factors themselves (if taken without the reference of the child) which determines how they will influence the future course of his development, but the same factors refracted through the prism of the child's emotional experience [*perezhivanie*]. (1994, pp. 338-339)

In this way Vygotsky (1994) explains, generally, how cognition and emotion are dynamically related. And he follows this statement with two mandates that describe the import of this observation. The first makes more explicit the fact that, for Vygotsky, perezhivanie *is* the relationship between individual and environment, and therefore that this phenomenon is central to his theory of development: "*It (Psychology) ought to be able to find the relationship which exists between the child and its environment, the child's emotional experience [perezhivanie]"* (p. 341). The second states that perezhivanie avoids the loss of those properties that are characteristic of the whole, that perezhivanie retains the properties inherent in the whole, thus allowing analysis through units rather than elements:

> *In an emotional experience [perezhivanie] we are always dealing with an indivisible unity of personal characteristics and situational characteristics, which are represented in the emotional experience [perezhivanie]*. That is why from the methodological point of view it seems convenient to carry out an analysis when we study the role the environment plays in the development of a child, an analysis from the point of view of the child's emotional experiences *[perezhivanie]*. (p. 342)

Van der Veer adds that the concept of perezhivanie "also captures the idea of development by insisting on the ever-changing character of interpretations or emotional experiences (which are also dependent on changing word meaning, another of Vygotsky's units of analysis)" (Chaiklin, 2001, p. 103 as cited in Robbins, 2007a, no page number). And L. I. Bozhovich (a follower of Vygotsky's who focused on the relation of his theories of higher mental functions to the affective sphere of personality (Robbins, 2004)), argued that "for a short period of time Vygotsky considered perezhivanie as the "unity" of psychological development in the study of

the social situation of development" (Gonzalez-Rey 2002, p. 136 as cited in Robbins, 2004).

Fyodor Vasilyuk (1988) adapts Vygotsky's use of the term perezhivanie to describe a form of inter-subjectivity in which we insert ourselves into the stories of others in order to gain the foresight that allows us to proceed. He describes perezhivanie as an internal and subjective labor of "entering into" which is not done by the mind alone, but rather involves the whole of life or a state of consciousness. And although, for Vasilyuk, perezhivanie is the direct sensation or experience of mental states and processes, another person is needed for this experience. It is this inclusion of another that allows a person to overcome and conquer despair through perezhivanie.

Vasilyuk (1988), who is working from within the framework of cultural historical activity theory, gives us at once a broader and more specific definition of perezhivanie than does Vygotsky. But he has not actually moved further from the non-technical definition of the word "perezhivanie." As Robbins explains:

> "(P)erezhivat" means, if you look at it closely, that you have passed as if above something that had made you feel pain ... There, inside of a recollection that we call an "again living" –lives your pain. It is the pain that doesn't let you forget what has happened. And you keep on coming back to it in your memory, keep living through it over and over again, until you discover that you have passed through it, and have survived. (2007a, no page number)

There are also, of course, a range of scholars and artists whose studies of the properties of perezhivanie have converged, often without their using, or possibly even being aware of, the term "perezhivanie." Richard Schechner, whose work is most useful for us here, integrates the work of the psychoanalytic play theorist D. W.

Winnicott, Victor Turner and Bateson (in his discussion of the "play frame" (1972)) with his own work as a theater director. He (1985) claims that the underlying processes of the ontogenesis of individuals, the social action of ritual, and the symbolic / fictive action of art are identical, and he supports this claim by describing, in concrete detail, the process of perezhivanie without using the term itself (although he is, of course, familiar with Stanislavski).

For Schechner, performance is perezhivanie. He writes: "Performance means: never for the first time. It means: for the second to *n*th time. Performance is "twice-behaved behavior" (1985, p. 36). Schechner calls this "restored behavior" and adds: "Put in personal terms, restored behavior is "me behaving as if I am someone else" or as if I am 'beside myself,' or 'not myself,' as when in a trance" (1985, p. 37).

The essence of Schechner's argument is that there are three parts to the process of performance, not two, and that in performance time flows in more than one direction:

> Although restored behavior seems to be founded on past events -- ... -- it is in fact the synchronic bundle (of three parts) ... The past ... is recreated in terms not simply of a present, ... but of a future ... This future is the performance being rehearsed, the "finished thing" to be made graceful through editing, repetition, and intervention. Restored behavior is both teleological and eschatological. It joins first causes to what happens at the end of time. (1985, p. 79)

Specifically, the way that the flow of time becomes multidirectional is that "rehearsals make it necessary to think of the future in such a way as to create a past" (1985, p. 39). As Schechner explains: "In a very real way the future – the project coming into existence through the process of rehearsal – determines the past: what will be kept from earlier rehearsals or from the "source materials" (1985, p. 39).

Vasilyuk is describing the same phenomenon when he writes of the proleptic nature of perezhivanie in the development of Raskolnikov, the main character in Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment*:

> Although the given schematism "fault – repentance – redemption – bliss" is formally expressed as a series of contents following one another in time, this does not mean that the later elements in the series appear in consciousness only after the earlier stages have been traversed. They respond to one another psychologically and all exist at once in consciousness, as a Gestalt, though it is true they are expressed with varying degree of clarity as the series is gone through. Bliss is conferred even at the beginning of the road to redemption, as a kind of advance payment of emotion and meaning, needed to keep one going if a successful end is to be reached." (1988, pp. 190-191)

Schechner outlines the three stages of this phenomenon:

> The workshop-rehearsal process is the basic machine for the restoration of behavior ... (whose) primary function ... is a kind of collective memory-in/of-action. The first phase breaks down the performer's resistance, makes him a tabula rasa. To do this most effectively the performer has to be removed from familiar surroundings. Thus the need for separation, for "sacred" or special space, and for a use of time different than that prevailing in the ordinary. The second phase is of initiation or transition: developing new or restoring old behavior. But the so-called new behavior is really the rearrangement of old behavior or the enactment of old behavior in new settings. In the third phase, reintegration, the restored behavior is practiced until it is second nature. The final part of the third phase is public performance. (1985, pp. 113-114)

These stages closely match those stages of perezhivanie that Vasilyuk presents, even though Schechner and Vasilyuk's terms differ. (I will discuss this further in my analysis, chapter four.)

Cole (2007) has used the term "temporally double sided" to describe this phenomenon of growing back and towards the future and the past simultaneously. (He has used it to describe Dewey's relation of the notion of object to prolepsis.) *It is*

the juxtaposition of temporal double sidedness with these stages that creates perezhivanie. What Schechner argues is that this juxtaposition provides the rhythm that allows us to raise ourselves up and hover, suspended momentarily in a state of being simultaneously ourselves and not ourselves: our past and future selves (someone else).

Winnicott writes of play:

> Whereas inner psychic reality has a kind of location in the mind or in the belly or in the head or somewhere within the bounds of the individual's personality, and whereas what is called external reality is located outside these bounds, playing and cultural experience can be given a location if one uses the concept of the potential space between the mother and the baby. (1971, p. 53) (as quoted in Schechner, 1985, p. 110)

According to Schechner, this potential space is the workshop-rehearsal:

> The most dynamic formulation of what Winnicott is describing is that the baby – and later the child at play and the adult at art (and religion) – recognizes some things and situations as "not me." By the end of the process "the dance goes into the body." So Olivier is not Hamlet, but he is also not not Hamlet. The reverse is also true: in this production of the play, Hamlet is not Olivier, but he is also not not Olivier. Within this field or frame of double negativity, choice and virtuality remain activated. (1985, p. 110)

Schechner explains a central component of the formation of this doubleness by referring to Winnicott's transitional object (the blanket or stuffed animal that is the first "not-me," representing the mother (primary caretaker) when she (he) is absent):

> Restored behaviors of all kinds ... are "transitional." Elements that are "not me" become "me" without losing their "not me-ness." This is the peculiar but necessary double negativity that characterizes symbolic actions. *While performing, a performer experiences his own self not directly but through the medium of experiencing the others*. [italics added] While performing, he no longer has a "me" but has a "not not me," and this double negative relationship also shows how restored behavior is simultaneously private and social. A person performing

> recovers his own self only by going out of himself and meeting the others – by entering a social field. The way in which "me" and "not me," the performer and the thing to be performed, are transformed into "not me . . . not not me" is through the workshop-rehearsal/ritual process. (1985, pp. 111-112)

The workshop-rehearsal process allows one to use another person/fictional character as a pivot, to detach emotions that are personal from the self and to relive them through another, and this is the process that allows one to be that which one could not imagine without this process. As Vygotsky writes in *The Psychology of Art*:

> Art is the social technique of emotion, a tool of society which brings the most intimate and personal aspects of our being into the circle of social life. It would be more correct to say that emotion becomes personal when every one of us experiences a work of art; it becomes personal without ceasing to be social." (1971, p. 249)

The sensation of being at the center of this workshop-rehearsal process is what Schechner calls an experience of the "present moment":

> Actions move in time, from past thrown into future, from "me" to "not me" and from "not me" to "me." As they travel they are absorbed into the liminal, subjective time/space of "not me . . . not not me." This time/space includes both workshops-rehearsals and performances. Things thrown into the future ("Keep that.") are recalled and used later in rehearsals and performances. During performance, if everything goes right, the experience is of synchronicity as the flow of ordinary time and the flow of performance time meet and eclipse each other. This eclipse is the "present moment," the synchronic ecstasy, the autotelic flow, of liminal stasis. Those who are masters at attaining and prolonging this balance are artists, shamans, conmen, acrobats. No one can keep it long. (1985, pp. 112-113)

Schechner also describes this phenomenon through experience in the space of performance:

> A performance "takes place" in the "not me . . . not not me" between performers; between performers, texts and environment; between

> performers, texts, environment, and audience. The larger the field of "between," the stronger the performance. The antistructure that is performance swells until it threatens to burst. The trick is to extend it to the bursting point but no further. It is the ambition of all performers to expand this field until it includes all beings, things, and relations. This can't happen. The field is precarious because it is subjunctive, liminal, transitional: it rests not on how things are but on how things are not; its existence depends on agreements kept among all participants, including the audience. The field is the embodiment of potential, of the virtual, the imaginative, the fictive, the negative, the not not. The larger it gets, the more it thrills, but the more doubt and anxiety it evokes, too. (1985, p. 113)

Robbins describes this "present moment" and "field of between" of twice-behaved behavior, created in the juxtaposition of temporal double sidedness with the progressive stages of the workshop-rehearsal process, as the "anchor" of perezhivanie. She writes: "Perezhivanie ... is an anchor in the fluidity of life, it represents a type of synthesis (not a concrete unity of analysis), but an anchor within the fleeting times we have on this earth, dedicated to internal transformation and involvement in our world" (2007b, no page number). And Virginia Woolf, in her novel *To the Lighthouse,* describes this heart of perezhivanie most eloquently and accurately.

In *To the Lighthouse* Woolf explores childhood and the creative process through a study of the act of seeing oneself seeing. Central to this work is the description of moments when "life stands still here," and I am following Vivian Paley (unpublished) in applying this concept of Woolf's to analysis of play. The passage below concerns Lily Briscoe, the struggling artist character of Woolf's novel:

> "Like a work of art," she repeated, looking from her canvas to the drawing-room steps and back again. She must rest for a moment. And, resting, looking from one to other vaguely, the old question which traversed the sky of the soul perpetually, the vast, general

> question which was apt to particularize itself at such moments as these, when she released faculties that had been on the strain, stood over her, darkened over her. What is the meaning of life? That was all – a simple question; one that tended to close in on one with years. The great revelation had never come. The great revelation perhaps never did come. Instead there were little daily miracles, illuminations, matches struck unexpectedly in the dark; here was one. This, that, and the other; herself and Charles Tansley and the breaking wave; Mrs. Ramsay bringing them together; Mrs. Ramsay saying, "Life stand still here"; Mrs. Ramsay making of the moment something permanent (as in another sphere Lily herself tried to make of the moment something permanent) – this was the nature of a revelation. In the midst of chaos there was shape; this eternal passing and flowing (she looked at the clouds going and the leaves shaking) was struck into stability. Life stand still here, Mrs. Ramsay said. "Mrs. Ramsay! Mrs. Ramsay!" she repeated. She owed it all to her. (1927, pp. 240-241)

Play as a Site for Making Perezhivanie Visible

The project of integrating our analysis of learning and development with "the fullness of life" (Vygotsky, 1986, p. 210) is pressing. As Roth (2007) points out, cognition research still does not include affect, and this criticism applies to research conducted within the framework of cultural-historical activity theory as well as to research conducted outside of this framework. Roth (2007) states that, in much of the literature, "emotion and motivation are treated as variables external to but (usually negatively) affecting cognition, and the potential connections between cognition and identity are hardly ever explored" (p. 40).

Roth (2007) argues that there is a movement from the focus on the individual to a focus on the social in the study of emotions in disciplines other than psychology. He cites work in anthropology (Lutz and White, 1986), in sociology (Williams and Bendelow, 1998; Turner and Stets, 2006) and in neuroscience (Immordino and Damasio, 2007). (Smagorinsky and Daigle (in press) are also impressed with this

work of Immordino and Damasio (2007), and discuss their term for the interrelation between cognition and emotion: "emotional thought.") And Roth (2007) calls for the development of a generation of cultural-historical activity theory that would parallel these developments in other fields, for "a way in which emotions and the associated dimensions of motivation and identity can be incorporated into cultural-historical activity theory as part of its third-generation expansion and development" (p. 41).

Scholarly interest in perezhivanie, some of which responds to Roth's call, is increasing (e.g., Gonzalez-Rey, 2002; Jaques, Bocca, & Vicari, 2003; Mahn & John-Steiner, 2002; Moran and John-Steiner, 2003; Robbins, 2004; Sannino, 2008; Smagorinsky and Daigle, in press).[iii] However, there is still relatively little empirical support for the concept of perezhivanie. Vasilyuk's (1988) primary example is drawn from the experiences of a fictional character in a novel, and his statement that ethnographers should empirically examine his understanding of perezhivanie, which he makes at the end of his book, still stands today. Schechner (1985) provides a primarily introspective account, and primarily restricts himself to study of the theater. Obtaining evidence concerning non-fictional humans' experiences of perezhivanie remains essential to the further development of this important concept, and it is playworlds that have the potential to allow us to obtain this evidence.

Playworlds as Postmodern Play

I will begin my description of playworlds as a privileged site in which to study perezhivanie by first situating playworlds historically within other forms of western play, then describing the interactions and motivations of adults and children that

constitute current playworlds, and then situating the theoretical basis for playworlds within modern, western theories of play.

A brief history of forms of childhood play

The ideal of modern western childhood, with its emphasis on the innocence and malleability of children (Aries, 1962; Fass, 2007), has combined with various social conditions to promote adults' direction of children's play towards adult-determined developmental goals, and adult's protection of children's play from adults. In contrast, playworlds, in which adults actively enter into the fantasy play of young children as a means of promoting the development and quality of life of both adults and children, have recently emerged in several countries (Japan, Finland, Sweden, Serbia, and the United States)[iv].

Aries's *Centuries of Childhood* (1962) has been incorrectly interpreted to assert that childhood is a modern western invention, not in existence outside the west or before the late sixteenth century. However, it has been convincingly argued that various intellectual forces of the Enlightenment, such as those descriptions of children and childhood presented by Jean-Jaques Rousseau and John Locke, with their influence on political discourse, eventually combined with myriad other social forces to create a modern western childhood defined and maintained by a newly refined age consciousness (Fass, 2007; Wolff, 1998). [v] Furthermore, as models of play operate conceptually with ideas of childhood as well as empirically in the classroom and other play arenas, we can conclude that different models of play have dominated our

thinking of play and our enactment of play with children in certain places and at certain times.

I hypothesize that there is a pre-modern condition in which children's play is sometimes integrated with adult activities, and sometimes conducted apart from adults, but is neither directed, protected or jointly created and exploited by adults (Gaskins, 1999 [vi]), a modern condition in which children's play is isolated from adult activities, and then either directed towards adult-determined developmental goals or protected from adult interference, and a post-modern condition in which children and adults engage in adult-child joint play for the purpose of promoting the development and quality of life of both adults and children. (Some pre-modern communal rituals have been discussed as a form of play (Turner, 1969, etc.), and similarities between these rituals and what I am calling post-modern adult engagement in children's play are of great interest, but this adult-child joint play is not communal ritual.) This is by no means an argument in support of a narrative of enlightenment or progress, but is, rather, an attempt to think critically about play and childhood.

Henry Jenkins (1998) presents a portion of this argument. He outlines several historians' descriptions of the development of a modern western conception of childhood and describes what he and James Kinkaid call the modern myth of childhood innocence:

> Too often, our culture imagines childhood as a utopian space, separate from adult cares and worries, free from sexuality, outside social divisions, closer to nature and the primitive world, more fluid in its identity and its access to the realms of imagination, beyond historical change, more just, pure, and innocent, and in the end, waiting to be corrupted and protected by adults... (1998, pp. 3-4)

This powerful and current myth of childhood allows adults to use children and childhood to fulfill many and varied symbolic demands, and in the process enforces many of the patterns of adult-child relations with which we are most familiar.

However, Jenkins proposes an alternative, possible future model of childhood. He writes that if childhood is not timeless, if it is "not the result of purely top-down forces of ideological and institutional control, nor ... the free space of individual expression," (1998, p. 3), then "(c)hildren, no less than adults, are active participants in that process of defining their identities, though they join these interactions from positions of unequal power" (1998, p. 4). Therefore, he "seeks to provide children with the tools to realize their own political agendas or to participate in the production of their own culture" (1998, 30) and to "embrace the approaches to teaching and social policy that acknowledge children's cultural productivity and that provide them with the materials and skills they need to critique their place in the world" (1998, p. 31).

I would make explicit in Jenkins's agenda that such activities may promote the development and quality of life of both adults and children, and stress that the survival of all humans depends upon adults' successful enculturation of children (Jenkins seems, at times, to forget this). Then we can ask: What would such "post-modern" adult-child negotiations and activities look like in play? A fine example would be playworlds.

Interactions and motivations of adults and children that constitute playworlds

In playworlds adults and children enter and exit a common fantasy, together. They do this through a combination of adult forms of creative imagining, which require extensive experience: disciplines of art and science, and through children's forms of creative imagining, which require embodiment of ideas in the material world ("a pivot" (Vygotsky, 1978)): play. Playworlds promote the development and quality of life of both children and adults by creating the possibility for children to strongly encourage adults to participate with children in play at the same time as these adults are engaged in the more familiar project of strongly encouraging children to participate in art and science.

> In the words of the teacher participant in the playworld of this study, Michael: I (when not in a playworld) imagine the things I cannot be. I do not BE the things I cannot be. In the PW (playworld) I can BE a witch. A kid has to act because he cannot imagine. I have to act like the things that I know that I cannot actually be...
>
> A PW (is) kids and adults HAVING to act. Adults (are) acting things they cannot be. Kids (are) act(ing) things they cannot internally imagine. (Capitals are Michael's. Parentheses added.) (from an email "chat" that took place on January 25, 2009)

In other words, the children are playing because they cannot yet imagine without play. And the adults are not joining in play only to promote and guide the development of the children's ability to imagine. They are also joining in play because this allows them to experience things they are not able to experience through imagination alone, things which appear too far from the possible to be experienced through imagination without play. In a playworld the great need, the imperative, of children to learn adult forms of imagining, the art and science they traditionally learn in school, is coupled with the adults' desire to "BE" that which they cannot "BE"

through imagination without play.

Schechner explains this phenomenon when he writes that performance "offers to both individuals and groups the chance to rebecome what they once were – or even, and most often, to rebecome what they never were but wish to have been or wish to become" (1985, p. 38). Schechner also writes:

> When confidence – and the skills necessary to achieve what's promised – prevails, there is nothing performers can't do. A special empathy/sympathy vibrates between performers and spectators. The spectators do not "willingly suspend belief." They believe and disbelieve at the same time. This is theater's chief delight. The show is real and not real at the same time. This is true for performer as well as spectators and accounts for that special absorption the stage engenders in those who step into it or gather around it. Sacred a stage may or may not be, special it always is. (1985, p. 113)

Michael adds to his definition of a playworld that while children in a playworld benefit from adult expertise and experience in the arts and sciences, adults in a playworld benefit from playing with children because children do not simply request that adults play with this "special absorption," and demonstrate for adults the skills and confidence that allow one to reach this state. Children also encourage adults to play "with belief and disbelief at the same time" by refusing to play with adults if these adults do not simultaneous believe and disbelieve. Michael states: "(H)ere is an analogy... I have on my football helmet... and everyone else is playing basketball. The kids are playing basketball... and if we want to play, we need to get rid of the helmet." (from an email "chat" that tool place on January 25, 2009)

Theoretical basis for playworlds

What I have above characterized as modern and post-modern forms of adult engagement with children's play are paralleled in psychological theories of play. In contemporary Western European and American biological, psychoanalytic, cognitive-developmental and cross-cultural psychological theories of play we find assertions that children's play is fundamentally different from adult activities, and that adult knowledge, experience or developmental stage is a teleology for children's play. By contrast, Lindqvist (1995, 2001, 2003), the scholar who first created playworlds in Sweden, reinterprets Vygotsky's theory of play (1978, 1987, 2004) to argue that children's play is an early form of the artistic and scientific endeavors of adulthood, and, therefore, produces new insights that have intrinsic value for adults and children alike.

Following the former trajectory, Groos, one of the most influential modern western play theorists, presents a biogenetic theory of play in his famous book, *The Play of Man* (1901). In his account, play is the body's way, not of engaging in, but of preparing itself for, the tasks of adult life. In play, children are practicing for adulthood by developing the physical and intellectual skills necessary for their future functioning as adults. The psychoanalytic play theorists (A. Freud (1964), Klein (1986), Erikson (1963), Winnicott (1971) [vii], etc.) base their work in S. Freud's (1950) assertion that imagination is a form of consciousness present from the outset in the child, and that the child moves from a life in a fantasy world to a life in a real word (so that the play of childhood is of a different world than are the activities of adulthood). These theorists argue that children's play is a path to adult mental health.

Furthermore, S. Freud's theory that the child moves from life in a fantasy world to life in a real word greatly influenced Piaget's (1951) own theory of two worlds. In this theory (1951) there is first a stage of imaginative "autistic" thought, which is not directed towards the real world, and later a stage of realistic thinking, thinking in which the task is adaptation to and action on reality. For, Piaget, too, adult cognition is the teleology for child development in play (although this development is not contributed to by the play itself, but by the stage that determines the character of the play).[viii]

In contrast, Lindqvist (1995, 2001, 2003) reinterprets Vygotsky's theory of play through *The Psychology of Art* (1971) and through her own reading of his little known essay, "Imagination and Creativity in Childhood" (2004). This work is in dialogue with D. B. Elkonin, a student of Vygotsky's, who summarized Vygotsky's theory of play in his book, "Psychology of Play", published in Russian in 1978. Elkonin's (2005) main argument is that Soviet psychology crystallized an approach in which play is described as an activity performed by the child that embodies the child's relationship to the external world and to social reality. Vygotsky's (1987, 2004) claim is a rebuttal to those theories of play that position imagination and realistic thinking in opposition to one another. Elkonin states that the play theory of Vygotsky and his students, through the realization that imagination and realistic thinking act as a unity in the processes of invention and creativity, overcomes the naturalistic and psychoanalytic theories of children's play (2005, 94).[ix] Lindqvist agrees with Elkonin (2005) concerning the importance of Vygotsky's (1987, 2004) claim that imagination and realistic thinking act as a unity in the processes of

invention and creativity, but she argues that Elkonin did not sufficiently focus on Vygotsky's assertion that children's play is a creative cultural manifestation in humans.[x]

Lindqvist states that a significant result of this oversight was that Elkonin's work promoted adult intervention in children's play that stifles the creative potential of children's play, rather than a creative approach to children's play, which fosters this potential. She supported her reinterpretation of Vygotsky's theory of play by designing and implementing, and then studying, a pedagogy in which adults assume a creative approach to children's play. B. Sutton-Smith writes in *The Ambiguity of Play* (1997) that "...extrinsic academic, social, moral, physical, and cognitive play functions, with a progress-oriented thrust, have been the major focus of most child play scientists ... " (1997, p. 50). Lindqvist's studies of her "creative pedagogy of play" (1995)[xi] break with this tradition, as they focus on finding a "common denominator" of play and aesthetic forms, which she calls "the aesthetics of play" (Lindqvist, 1995). Lindqvist's pedagogy of creative play was designed to investigate not only how aesthetic activities can influence children's play, but also the nature of the connections between play and adult aesthetic forms of drama and literature.

Lindqvist considered one of the most important conclusions of her investigation to be that the development of adult-child joint play is made possible through the creation of a *common fiction*, for which she coined the term "playworld" (1995). This playworld, where adult activities and child activities meet, became her unit of analysis for a study of play which does not divorce play from aesthetic forms, and which, furthermore, allows for investigation of the dynamic relations of emotion

and thought in play. This conception of play is partially supported in Vygotsky's most well known work on play, his chapter, "The Role of Play in Development" in *Mind in Society* (1978).

In this chapter Vygotksy first defines play as a leading factor in child development, rather than the predominant activity of childhood[xii]. In doing so he exposes the tendency to equate childhood with irrationality, and to dehumanize children, which underlies those theories of play that define play as the world of children. Vygotsky reminds us: "To behave in a real situation as in an illusory one is the first sign of delirium." (1978, p. 102). And he states, bluntly: "Only theories which maintain that a child does not have to satisfy the basic requirements of life but can live in search of pleasure could possibly suggest that a child's world is a play world" (1978, p. 102).

Vygotsky then argues that play is not a prototype of everyday activity. In real life, action dominates meaning, but in play action is subordinate to meaning. In real life a child's behavior is not always guided by meaning, but, instead, the child is often spontaneous. It is only in play that the child can be strictly subordinated to rules, because it is in play that subordination to rules leads to pleasure. This argument allows us to focus on the creativity of play, as it is because of this difference between the child's play and everyday activity that: "In play a child always behaves beyond his average age, above his daily behavior; in play it is as though he were a head taller than himself" (1978, p. 102).

According to Vygotsky, at first the behavior of very young children is dictated by the things around them, by their situational constraints. This is due to the union of

motives and perception in very young children: perception stimulates activity. However, in play children act independently of what they see. Play allows children to develop a separation between perception and meaning. To explain this progression, Vygotsky uses his famous example of the stick that, in play, becomes the horse. The stick is the "pivot" which allows thought, word meaning, to be separated from objects, and action to arise from ideas as opposed to arising from things.

Although the stick is still needed to separate thought and object, the child's relation to reality is now changed because the structure of his perceptions has changed. For the first time meaning predominates over object. Vygotsky writes: "This characterizes the transitional nature of play; it is a stage between the purely situational constraints of early childhood and adult thought, which can be totally free from real situations" (1978, p. 98).

Vygotsky's concept of the zone of proximal development (Zo-ped) is defined as "the distance between the actual developmental level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers" (1978, p. 86). Vygotsky's claim that the "essential attribute of play is a rule that has become a desire" (1978, p. 99) helps us to understand how, in the zone of proximal development of play, a child is able to put forth the great effort, to make the stretch, to enter into dialogue with her future:

> Play gives a child a new form of desires. It teaches her to desire by relating her desires to a fictitious "I," to her role in the game and its rules. In this way a child's greatest achievements are possible in play, achievements that tomorrow will become her basic level of real action and morality. (1978, p. 100)

However, Lindqvist's claim that children's play is a creative cultural manifestation in humans is most powerfully supported when this chapter of Vygotsky's is read alongside "Imagination and Creativity in Childhood" (2004). In this paper, and also in "Imagination and its Development in Childhood" (1987), Vygotsky defines the creative act as "(a)ny activity that gives rise to something new" (2004, p. 2). He then hones this definition by making a distinction between "reproductive" activity, in which "nothing new is created," but, instead, there is "a repetition of something that already exists" (2004, p. 2), and a "combinatorial or creative activity" in which one is "not merely recovering the traces of stimulation that reached my brain in the past" (2004, p. 3). In creative activity, Vygotsky argues, "I never actually saw this remote past, or this future; however, I still have my own idea, image, or picture of what they were or will be like" (2004, 4).[xiii]

The creative activity that Vygotsky is discussing in these chapters is imagination. He argues that imagination is an important component of all aspects of cultural life, essential to the artist and the scientist alike: "(A)bsolutely everything around us that was created by the hand of man, the entire world of human culture, as distinct from the world of nature, all this is the product of human imagination and of creation based on this imagination" (2004, p. 4). And Vygotsky quotes T. Ribot, writing that all human-made objects, every one, can be called "crystallized imagination" (2004, p. 5).

Here Vygotsky is describing the role of imagination in the production of artifacts, as defined by cultural-historical activity theory: those aspect of the material world that have been modified over the history of their incorporation into goal

directed human action (Ilyenkov, 1977). Therefore, he is arguing that imagination is an essential aspect of all thought. As Michael Cole (unpublished) explains, human conscious experience is a process, a process which requires not just our phylogenetically constrained abilities and our culturally organized experience, but also our active reconciliation or "filling-in", our imagining, as we try to make sense of our world.[xiv]

> Vygotsky explicitly argues that all humans, including children, are creative: There is a widespread opinion that creativity is the province of a select few ... This is not true. If we understand creativity in its true psychological sense as the creation of something new, then this implies that creation is the province of everyone to one degree or another; that it is a normal and constant companion in childhood. (2004, p. 33)[xv]

Vygotsky stresses: "If we understand creativity in this way, it is easy to see that the creative processes are already *fully manifest* in earliest childhood" (2004, p. 6) (emphasis added). Furthermore, he writes: "We can identify creative processes in children at the very earliest ages, especially in their play...all these children at play represent examples of the most authentic, truest creativity" (2004, p. 6).

For Vygotsky, children at play are reworking impressions they have acquired, recombining them to construct a reality that meets their needs and desires. And Vygotsky claims that, "It is this ability to combine elements to produce a structure, to combine the old in new ways, that is the basis of creativity" (2004, p. 7). Specifically, Vygotsky describes four ways that imagination is associated with reality.

First, "everything the imagination creates is always based on elements taken from reality" (2004, p. 8). This leads to the first and most important law governing imagination: "Every act of imagination starts with this accumulation of experience.

All else being equal, the richer the experience, the richer the act of imagination" (2004, pp. 9-10). Therefore, we can make the child's act of imagination richer by joining him and contributing from our greater accumulation of experience.

Second, "It (imagination) becomes the means by which a person's experience is broadened, because he can imagine what he has not seen, can conceptualize something from another person's narration and description of what he himself has never directly experienced" (2004, p. 12). Imagination is based on experience. Experience is also based on imagination.

Third, emotions, which are a part of reality in that they are real and we experience them as real even if they don't correspond to the rest of reality as expected, influence imagination, and imagination influences emotions. For instance, impressions that produce similar emotional effects have a tendency to cluster together in our imagination, and imagination can satisfy emotional needs. Furthermore, Vygotsky explains that "the essential difference between the connections of imagination and realistic thinking with the emotions lies in the nature of the connection itself" (1987, p. 347). There is a difference in the nature of this connection, but both imagination and realistic thinking are connected to emotions. Vygotsky writes that in realistic thinking emotion does not dominate logic. In creative imagination, however, there is a more complex relationship with emotion than exists in either daydreaming or realistic thinking.

Fourth, imagination can become reality. "(A) construct of fantasy may represent something substantially new, never encountered before in human experience and without correspondence to any object that actually exists in reality"

(2004, p. 15). Nevertheless, "once it has been externally embodied, that is, has been given material form, this crystallized imagination that has become an object begins to actually exist in the real world, to effect other things" (2004, p. 15).[xvi]

Central to these two papers is Vygotsky's point that there is an internal connection between imagination and realistic thinking, while realistic thinking is not imagination. He concludes: "In sum, the apparent, metaphysical, and primal opposition that has been established between realistic and autistic[xvii] thinking is both fictive and false. The differences between realistic and autistic thinking are not absolute but relative" (1987, p. 348).[xviii] However, as Lindqvist is the first to stress, Vygotsky argues that the reason that imagination is an integral aspect of realistic thinking, the reason that the two are interdependent, is that imagination is linked with creativity.

Vygotsky argues that imagination is directed towards reality in the creative process, and that it is this process that leaves no firm boundary between realistic thinking and imagination. In his own words: "no accurate cognition of reality is possible without a certain element of imagination, a certain flight from the immediate, concrete, solitary impressions in which this reality is presented in the elementary acts of consciousness" (1987, p. 348). Invention and artistic creativity require realistic thinking and imagination: in these processes, "The two act as a unity" (1987, p. 349).

Lindqvist (1995, 2001, 2003) observes that in "Imagination and Creativity in Childhood" (2004) Vygotsky explicitly links his theories of art and play, as he describes the imaginary process as creative interpretation and play as an early basis for children's creativity, and this is her justification for turning to Vygotsky's theory

of art (1971) as she explains Vygotsky's focus on the creativity of play. Working from *The Psychology of Art* (1971), as well as from Vygotsky's three major writings on play, Lindqvist (1995, 2001, 2003) argues that Vygotsky starts from the study of art and literature in his efforts to describe the cultural development of humans. She also argues, working from his theory of art, that Vygotsky is interested in the dynamic links between human consciousness as it is reflected in children's play and the cultural, aesthetic forms of drama and literature.

Like Elkonin (2005), and also A. N. Leontiev (1981) (another play scholar working directly from Vygotsky's theories of play), Lindqvist (1995) argues against the view that children's natural development is separate from the culture which surrounds them, or that play expresses the child's natural development and is therefore free from adult influence. She, too, contrasts her approach with both a psychoanalytic and a cognitive approach to children's play, writing that in the psychoanalytic approach the child processes inner conflicts through play, in the cognitive approach the child builds knowledge through play, but that in both cases, unlike in her play pedagogy, the child is left alone with, and in, play. However, according to Lindqvist (1995), Leontiev and Elkonin ignore the fact that in Vygotsky's theory of play consciousness is the key concept and the principle of individual development, and, furthermore, it is because they ignore Vygotsky's claim that play is the activity through which children become conscious of the world that neither aesthetics nor emotions are emphasized in their interpretations of Vygotsky's theory of play.

The connection between play and consciousness that Lindqvist is describing is closely related to Gregory Bateson's (1972) understanding of the paradox of play. [xix] For Bateson (1972) play is a paradox because it both is and is not what it appears to be. For instance, the play bite is a bite but in play it is not. "The playful nip denotes the bite, but it does not denote what would be denoted by the bite" (1972, p. 185). (This is the same paradox that Schechner writes about, as quoted above, concerning performance.)

And for Bateson play is also a paradox because it is metacommunicative: Play is not just play, but is also a message about itself. The message "This is play." sets a frame for the play, creating a paradox by drawing a line between categories of different logical types. As Bateson explains, the picture frame (the equivalent of "This is play.") is an instruction to the viewer to not extend the premises that obtain between the figures within the picture to the wallpaper behind the picture, and this is a paradox because the frame does delineate things that are not of the same logical type (1972, p. 185). (Douglas Hofstadter identifies this phenomenon as "Epidemenides paradox," or "liar paradox" (1979, p. 17).)

Bateson claims that what we consider sanity requires these paradoxes of abstraction.[xx] He argues that without these paradoxes there could be no communication, *change* or humor. And as Lindqvist explains, play is creative in the sense that it allows children to think the new, but it is also creative in that it reflects the self-reflexive and proleptic process that Vygotsky identifies with art and with consciousness:

> Vygotsky's view of the dynamic structure of consciousness corresponds with the aesthetic form of art. In play, a meeting between the individual's internal and external environment takes place in a creative interpretation process, the imaginary process, in which children express their imagination in action. Play reflects the aesthetic form of consciousness. (1995, p. 40)

In Vygotsky's own words: "The potential for free action that we find associated with the emergence of human consciousness is closely connected with imagination, with the unique psychological set of consciousness *vis a vis* reality that is manifested in imagination" (1987, p. 349).

According to Lindqvist's interpretation of Vygotsky's theory, children's play is neither dualistic nor harmonious. She convincingly argues that Vygotsky is describing play "as a way for children of expressing their feelings and asserting themselves in relation to adults," while "at the same time, he senses a longing on the part of the children to move closer to the adult world" (1995, p. 50). In other words, children are often modeling themselves on adults in play, but play faces a future that will be created, in part, by those who are now children, and that will be created within some constraints that those who are now adults cannot even imagine. As Peg Griffin and Cole (1984) state, using the words of Caryl Emerson writing of M. Bakhtin: "Zo-peds is a dialogue between the child and his future; it is not a dialogue between the child and an adult's past" (1984, p. 62). And in Vygotsky's own words: "The human being (is) a creature oriented toward the future, creating the future and thus altering his own present" (2004, p. 3).

The hypothesis that I will support in the following chapters is that playworlds are a privileged site for the study of perezhivanie. This is so because playworlds

encourage adults to materialize their own perezhivanie in play with children. Playworlds give adults intimate access to children's perezhivanie in play, and also give adults unusual (for adults) access to their own perezhivanie that allows for the empirical study of adult perezhivanie. Furthermore, when researchers are participant-observers in playworlds they have a chance to enhance their methods for the study of perezhivanie through what they learn from play with people who are expert players, and who are in dialogue with a future that we adults can only ever glimpse through children.

Analysis of Perezhivanie in the Playworld of this Study

This hypothesis that playworlds are a privileged site for the study of complex dynamic relations between cognition, emotion, imagination and creativity in development was soon justified in terms of our everyday experiences in the playworld of this study, which we were assiduously recording in a variety of media as described below. We quickly noted that both child and adult participants were intensely emotionally engaged in the playworld activity. For example, most of the children chose to spend the majority of their free time at school, including their recess and before and after-school periods, playing in the playworld props, while the adults soon allowed their weekend rehearsals to last over five hours, instead of the under two hours that were scheduled. Several children passionately insisted to their parents that they would not stay home from school on a day when a playworld session was scheduled, even though they were sick or a family vacation was planned. And several adults cried during the playworld: Michael cried when he finally found the coat that

would become his costume; two researchers, one male, cried in front of the children when the researchers finished their final acting session; and Michael and one researcher, also male, declined their turn to speak in our final all-group meeting because they thought they might sob in front of the children if they tried to speak.

Given these quite unusual developments, particularly the extent of the intense emotional involvement and almost frenzied creative behaviors of children and adults alike, we have little doubt that there are several instances of perezhivanie made visible for study in this playworld. As a purely practical matter, however, it is infeasible to analyze all of these examples in a single thesis. Rather, I have chosen to provide descriptions and analyses in three different ways, each of which provides a different avenue of access to the manifestations and dynamics of perezhivanie and its links to cognition, emotion, imagination and creativity from the much larger corpus of examples that exist in the full corpus of materials.

In chapter two I will describe a synthetic-analytic methodology which consists of the coordination of representations through various means and media, that we designed for the analysis of these instances if perezhivanie. In chapters three, four and five I will analyze the perezhivanie that this playworld makes visible using three different combinations of methods to approach four instances that exist on three different time scales.

In chapter three I sketch the events in the implementation of this playworld supplemented by accounts of adult/research meetings at a sufficient level of detail for the reader to have some sense of the overall trajectory of the events and the ways in which phenomena constituting perezhivanie made themselves manifested on a

frequent, if not particularly predictable, basis. I rely primarily on field notes, although I correlate all of our forms of data: field notes, art works produced in the playworld, emails between adult participants, still photographs, and video and audio recordings, including recordings of interviews with child and adult participants, and short films[xxi] that we created from some of our video and audio footage, to create a narrative of the entire playworld. I illustrate this narrative using the children's paintings of and in response to the playworld. These paintings are chosen to capture the emotional mood, and only sometimes the literal event, at the point in the narrative at which they are inserted. This overview of the playworld shows us the interweaving and interdependence of the many instances of perezhivanie that this playworld makes visible. It highlights the fractal nature of perezhivanies within perezhivanies. And it also provides a necessary context for the three following more-detailed analyses.

In chapter four I examine a single, relatively long instance of Michael's perezhivanie as the children discuss how they will design a play about the playworld for their parents. (A brief description of a portion of this discussion introduces this chapter one.) I conduct a fairly traditional ethnographic analysis, relying primarily on discourse and communicative exchanges using transcriptions from video and audio recordings that are cross-referenced with field notes, emails and interviews. This example allows me to discuss, in great detail, the stages of perezhivanie that Vasilyuk (1988) and Schechner (1995) lay out, and also demonstrates the "temporally double sided" (Cole, 2007) nature of both perezhivanie and the synthetic components of my methodology.

In chapter five I examine first one child's perezhivanie during Michael's transformation into the White Witch, and then my own perezhivanie as I engage in a form of joint analysis of this playworld with Michael, several years after the end of the school year in which the playworld officially took place. These latter two are both examples of perezhivanie that take place in a single or few seconds and they are particularly important to my overall argument because in both analyses I rely primarily upon representations that are visually rich and self-consciously produced: non-conventional methods which I will describe in chapter two, and which are themselves embodiments of perezhivanie, cross-referenced with our other ethnographic data, particularly interviews of adult participants.

The first example in chapter five beautifully illustrates, through the medium of film, Stanislavski's claim that in perezhivanie we revitalize our own autobiographical emotional memories by imitating another's physical actions. This is also an example that showes the synthetic components of my methodology transforming the ongoing playworld itself, as I shall explain. And the second example in chapter five shows the recursive nature of perezhivanie through a static visual representation of this quality.

In brief, in the following chapters I will demonstrate that playworlds are indeed a privileged site to study perezhivanie among adults and children empirically, through analysis of the above-described instances of perezhivanie with their various time-scales and through various combinations of forms of representation. But first I will discuss the methodology of this study: a discussion that is, itself, a form of analysis of perezhivanie made visible through this playworld, as I will explain.

[i] All children's names throughout this dissertation, and the teacher's name, are pseudonyms.

[ii] Perezhivanie is a commonly used word in Russian and can be translated simply as experiencing. "Pere" means "again" and zhivaniye comes from the verb stem "zhit", meaning "to live". The verb, pereivat (perezhivat), does not have an exact translation in English but "refers to the process of worrying, taking things hard or experiencing them keenly, or, literally, suffering things through." "Pereit" is, in fact, one of the most frequently used words to describe emotion in Russia. It can be used in the past, present and future tenses, but only in the imperfect. And its perfective counterpart, pereit (perezhit) means to survive or to live through. (Smagorinsky and Daigle, in press). Smagorinsky and Daigle are drawing, here, from the work of Viktoria Driagins. (Dorothy Robbins goes so far as to state that perezhivanie "is difficult to understand for us outside of Russian, because it really captures the "Russian soul" in so many ways" (2007a, no page number).)

[iii] Many thanks to Smagorinsky and Daigle (in press) for helping me to expand this list of recently published scholarly work on perezhivanie.

[iv] See: Baumer et al., 2005; Ferholt and Lecusay, forthcoming; Ferholt and Nilsson, forthcoming; Hakkarainen, 2004; Lindqvist, 1995, 2006; Marjanovic-Shane, forthcoming; Marjanovic-Shane and Beljanski-Ristic, 2008; Marjanovic-Shane et al., submitted; Miyazaki, 2008; Nilsson, 2008; Nilsson, submitted; Rainio, 2005; Rainio, 2008a; Rainio, 2008b.

[v] For instance, in the United States, these social forces included the contradiction between the ideals of equal treatment for all and individual self-realization, and the reality of slavery. This contradiction came to wide spread public awareness in the 1840's, and one response was an effort to shape the American future through the careful design of children's lives. Literature and institutions were then produced or adapted for this purpose of ensuring democracy through properly created and effectively reformed childhood: *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* and *Little Women;* schools, orphanages, reformatories and juvenile courts; the invention of the ideal women "devoted to home, chastity, fidelity, and selflessness" (Fass, 2007, 247).

[vi] Goncu and Gaskins (Gaskins, 1999, 2000; Gaskins & Goncu, 1992; Goncu, 1999; Goncu et al., 1999) challenge assumptions that the origins, frequency and development of children's play follow the same general patterns all over the world by drawing attention to, for instance, young children who have little time to play because they are contributing to the economic welfare of their families in low-income urban communities or in small villages with subsistence economies. In a case study of

young Yucatec Mayan children's engagement in their world, Gaskins (1999) describes four kinds of activity: maintenance activities, social orientation, work and play, and explains that "Mayan children's moment-to-moment experiences are a constant interweaving of all four kinds of activities" (1999, p. 38). Gaskins provides a detailed description of an 18 month old child mixing all four activities while moving silently among her mother and siblings, and claims that even if you were able to isolate symbolic play in a Mayan child's day, it is much less prevalent among Mayan children than among those children who have been the subjects of such studies in the past. Also, Gaskins (1999) finds that for Mayan children under age 5 play occurs either in the house or compound with no support from adults or older children, or in large mixed-age groups at some distance from the house and without adult supervision. In this second play setting older children, sometimes 12-13 year olds, organize the play, assigning specific roles to the younger children, but in neither play setting is any adult structure or guidance provided.

[vii] Despite essential differences with Lindqvist, Winnicott does insist that "(p)sychotherapy has to do with two people playing together" (1971, p. 38), and that these two people are a child and an adult. And Winnicott states flatly that in the psychoanalytic literature he finds "a lack of a useful statement on play" (1971, p. 39). He critiques Klein for her concern with the use of play, instead of the play itself, and generalizes this critique to assert that "...the psychoanalyst has been too busy using play content to look at the playing child, and to write about playing as a thing in itself" (1971, p. 40).

Furthermore, when Winnicott does write about play itself, he does not shy away from comparisons with art. Nor does he shy away from comparisons between child play and adult activities. As Winnicott defines play he makes us of the work of M. Milner, quoting references to a poet who resides in each of us and creates the external world for us by finding in the unfamiliar the familiar. And Winnicott writes: "I suggest that we must expect to find playing just as evident in the analyses of adults as it is in the case of our work with children. It manifests itself, for instance, in the choice of words, in the inflections of the voice, and indeed in the sense of humor" (1971, p. 40).

At times Winnicott seems to be bordering on describing the paradox in play that interests Vygotsky, the paradox of "operat(ing) with an alienated meaning in a real situation," of requiring a pivot. And, at times Winnicott also seems to be bordering on describing the investment of the adult self in the play that Lindqvist's pedagogy of creative play requires. The holding environment between adult and child that Winnicott believes is necessary for development requires trust. (This holding environment has much in common with the "third space" of K. Gutiérrez, B. Rymes and J. Larson (1995).)

[viii] Lindqvist (1995) writes that the divorce between the child's play world and the adult real world in Piaget's theory of play is so complete that the theory limits adults'

participation in children's play to the modifying of the environment to make the environment conducive to the development of the child in play.

[ix] It is important to keep in mind that much of this critique was obligatory in the political climate in which Elkonin worked. Because of the constraints imposed on Soviets to dismiss Western authors, some of Elkonin's arguments may have been overstated, or even more significantly altered, in the interest of his professional and personal safely.

[x] Elkonin ends his summary of theoretical research on play with a quote from S. L. Rubinshtein's 1946 response to Vygotsky's 1933 lecture:

> In play there is indeed a flight from reality, but there is also a penetration of reality. For this reason there is no escape, no running away from reality to a putative special, make-believe, fictitious, unreal world. The lifeblood of play, everything that it embodies in action, it takes from reality. Play goes beyond the bounds of one situation and abstracts from particular aspects of reality in order to reveal others still more deeply. (1946, p. 592) (2005, pp. 93-94)

In this quote Rubinshtein may be discussing the creative quality of play, but it is unclear whether or not this is the case from the context Elkonin provides. And Elkonin himself states that "(p)lay is directed at the future and not at the past" (2005, p. 67). However, he is referring to his assertion that play is a central means by which higher forms of human needs evolve. This process is not necessarily creative.

[xi] "Creative pedagogy of play" is the translation from the Swedish used in the English edition of Lindqvist's book, *The Aesthetics of Play* (1995). However, I will use the phrase 'pedagogy of creative play' throughout the rest of this paper because it is less ambiguous in this context.

[xii] Vygotsky states that a child's advancement from one developmental stage to the next is always connected with a change in motives, and that a change in motives comes with the satisfaction of needs. According to Vygotsky, fantasy play fulfills the need of the preschool child to ease the tension that occurs when desires cannot be immediately gratified or forgotten, and with this need fulfilled the child's motives change. Therefore, play is a leading factor of development in early childhood, not the predominant activity of childhood.

[xiii] This basic distinction is what allows anyone who is engaged in creative activity, including children, to produce something novel:

> If human activity were limited to reproduction of the old, then the human being would be a creature oriented only to the past and would

> only be able to adapt to the future to the extent that it reproduced the past. It is precisely human creative activity that makes the human being a creature oriented toward the future, creating the future and thus altering his own present. (2004, p. 3)

[xiv] Cole (unpublished) notes that the Russian word normally translated as imagination, voobrazzhenie, is made of three roots. The translation of the word according to these three roots is into-image-making. Therefore, in the language in which Vygotsky was thinking and writing, within the word imagination were the concept that all representation is in part the result of an active processing by an individual, and also the concept that it is imagination that allows us to move into this process.

[xv] Vygotsky includes a long quotation from a "Russian Scholar" restating the above. The claim that it is not only those at the height of their creative abilities who can produce something of worth to many others of all ages, meaning that even a child in play might inspire an adult, is at the heart of my argument. For this reason, and because of this "Russian Scholar's eloquence, I have included most of this quotation below:

> (J)ust as electricity is equally present in a storm with deafening thunder and blinding lightening and in the operation of a pocket flashlight, in the same way, creativity is present, in actuality, not only when great historical works are born but also whenever a person imagines, combines, alters, and creates something new, no matter how small a drop in the bucket this new thing appears compared to the works of geniuses. When we consider the phenomenon of collective creativity, which combines all these drops of individual creativity that frequently are insignificant in themselves, we readily understand what an enormous percentage of what has been created by humanity is a product of the anonymous collective creative work of unknown inventors. (2004, p. 5)

[xvi] In regards to the question of how a child's imagination differs from an adult's, Vygotsky argues against those who claim that fantasy is richer and more diverse in childhood than adulthood. He argues that children's experience is poorer than adults', that their interests are simpler, more elementary, and so also poorer that adults', and that children's relationship to the environment is not as complex, subtle or diverse as that of adults. Therefore, "(t)he child can imagine vastly less than the adult" (2004, p. 29). While children and adults both engage in the process of imagination, they do so at different levels. Vygotsky states that those who conclude otherwise are using the term imagination to refer to all that is unreal, and that this how they come to their incorrect conclusions

The child "has greater faith in the products of his imagination and controls them less, and thus imagination, in the everyday, vulgar sense of this word, that is, what is unreal and made up, is of course greater in the child than in the adult" (2004, p. 29). The child's imagination it only equal to the adult's with regard to the elements used for the construction of imagination, reality, and the emotional roots of imagination.

[xvii] Here Vygotsky is referring to Piaget's use of the term "autistic" in Piaget's earlier work. Piaget does not use the word to refer to what is now thought of as the disability of autism, but to refer to a stage of development during which children's thoughts are not directed towards the real world.

[xviii] Specifically, Vygotsky (1987) explains that the verbal character of thought is inherent to realistic thinking and to imagination; that directedness, consciousness and the presence of motives and goals is found in autistic and realistic forms of thinking (and that the individual frequently lacks full consciousness of true motives, goals and tasks in realistic thinking); that both activities are characterized by high levels of affect or emotion (and that not all forms of imagination are subordinate to the logic of emotions and feelings). Also, the key transition point in development of both imagination and thinking corresponds with appearance of speech and school age is the critical point in development of both imagination and thinking.

[xix] It is important to note that there is some modern western play theory in the field of anthropology that shares key elements with Lindqvist's work. Lindqvist (1995) is particularly impressed with Bateson's (1972) contribution, writing that he avoids the twin pitfalls of considering play to be handed over from child to child, so that adult intervention is a hindrance, and considering play to be a way of learning social rules, so that adult intervention consists of teaching children to play. However, while Lindqvist (1995) admires the work of Huizinga, Bateson and Schwartzman for regarding play as a phenomenon with its own characteristics while still stressing the fact that play is shaped by the surrounding culture, she states that the overall drawback of this literature is that the role of adults in children's play is not elaborated upon, and that the artistic and fictitious qualities of play are not discussed. I believe that Lindqvist does not give this literature the attention it deserves, and that her criticism does not actually apply to the work of Bateson (1972) or Schwartzman (1978), or to the work of Turner (1969, 1982) or Geertz (1973).

[xx] Here is Bateson's discussion of the resemblance between the process of therapy and the phenomenon of play:

> Imagine first two (canasta) players who engage in a game of canasta according to a standard set of rules... We may imagine, however, that at a certain moment the two canasta players cease to play and start a discussion of the rules... Our imaginary players avoided paradox by separating their discussion of the rules from the play (separating

> discrepant logical types of discourse), and it is precisely this separation that is impossible in psychotherapy...
> As we see it, the process of psychotherapy is a framed interaction between two persons, in which the rules are implicit but subject to change. Such change can only be proposed by experimental action, but every such experimental action, in which a proposal to change to rules is implicit, is itself a part of the ongoing game. It is this combination of logical types that gives to therapy the character not of a rigid game like canasta but, instead, that of an evolving system of interaction...
> By the process of interpretation, the neurotic is driven to insert an "as if" clause into the productions of his primary process thinking, which productions he had previously depreciated or repressed. He must learn that fantasy contains truth...
> For the schizophrenic the problem is somewhat different. His error is in treating the metaphors of primary process with the full intensity of literal truth. Through the discovery of what these metaphors stand for he must discover that they are only metaphors. (1972, pp. 191-192)

[xxi] Although it is generally understood that there are differences between film and video, this will not be discussed in this dissertation. Discussion of video as concerning the real and film as concerning the imaginary is of relevance to my argument. However, this discussion is not necessary for my argument, and so I will use the words 'video' and 'film' interchangeably throughout.

CHAPTER TWO

A Synthetic-Analytic Methodology for the Study of Perezhivanie

It is the combination of this study's site, playworlds, with my methodology that, I will show in the following three chapters, makes perezhivanie an empirically researchable phenomenon. My methodology allows for various combinations of forms of representation according to the requirements of the differing instances of perezhivanie. And my methodology includes forms of adult-adult interaction that incorporate playful use of various media, including the creation of filmic representations of perezhivanie.

These synthetic components of my synthetic-analytic methodology are an extension of the researchers' engagement with children in the U.S. Narnia playword. Furthermore, as I will describe in chapter four, this methodological extension of play was partially designed amidst the initial play of the playworld. That my methodology is a successful means of analyzing the perezhivanie that playworlds make visible is due not just to its flexibility, but also to its inclusivity: the fact that it includes "subjugated modes of inquiry" (Conquergood, 2002, pp. 151-152) (play, film, etc.).

This dissertation is entirely focused on the process of "formative intervention" (Engestrom, 2008), and the way in which this formative intervention provides us with a methodology for analysis of perezhivanie.

Implementation of the Playworld: "Formative Intervention"

Our implementation of the Narnia playworld constitutes what Yrjo Engestrom (2008) refers to as a "formative intervention," combined with a pre- and post-test quasi-experimental intervention. The results of the second strategy are published in Baumer et al. (2008). In brief, when compared to children under a control intervention (conventional school practices without pretend play), children who had created a playworld in their classroom showed significant improvements in narrative competence.

Engestrom (2008) contrasts formative intervention with the "the linear interventions advocated ... by the literature on design experiments" (2008, p. 15). (Engestrom refers to the work of Cobb et al. (2003) and Collins at al. (2004) when discussing design experiments. Brown describes design experiments as "engineering innovative ... environments and simultaneously conducting experimental studies of those innovations" (1992, p. 141).) I use Engestrom's new term because his definition of a formative intervention allows me to describe the process of this study most adequately.

Engestrom states that the crucial differences between design experiments and formative interventions are as follows:

> 1) In linear interventions (design experiments), the contents and goals of the intervention are known ahead of time by the researchers. In formative interventions, the subjects (whether children or adult practitioners) construct a novel solution or novel concept the contents of which are not known ahead of time to the researchers. (2008, pp. 15-16)

We did not intend to produce or study intense emotional engagement when we began our study. Our intention was to study an implemention of Lindqvist's pedagogy of creative play (1995) in the U.S. after observing a Finnish version of this pedagogy at Pentti Hakkarainen's laboratory in Kajaani, Finland. Specifically, we set out to study whether or not this pedagogy would promote the development of narrative competence (Baumer et al., 2005). It was only in the process of playing with the children and Michael that we realized that playworlds are rich sites for the study of perezhivanie, or how we might make this perezhivaie available for analysis, e.g. that we constructed novel concepts and solutions the contents of which were not known to the researchers ahead of time.

The students and Michael helped us to understand the concept of perezhivanie through their recurring explorations, in a variety of media, of their "favorite moments" of the playworld – those moments when they were most intensely emotionally engaged (as I will discuss in the following chapter). Also, our development of methods in which we incorporated playful interactions between researchers mediated by representations of playworld phenomenon in various media took place not only as children performed this method for us. The children also insisted that we adults support their performance of this method, *and also* explicitly attempted to teach the adult playworld participants this method of representation, as will become evident in the analysis of the children's discussion of their own representation of the playworld in the form of a play (chapter four).

> 2) In linear interventions (design experiments), the subjects are expected to receive and implement the intervention without argument; difficulties of reception are interpreted as weaknesses in the design

> that are to be corrected. In formative interventions, the contents and course of the intervention are subject to negotiation and the shape of the intervention is eventually up to the subjects. (2008, pp. 15-16)

Constant negotiation among the researchers, Michael and the children produced the playworld from start through finish. Furthermore, it was Michael, guided by his students, who had ultimate say in how the playworld was created in his classroom. Michael several times told us what or whom to film, as well as which scenes to enact, how to enact scenes and which reflective activities would take place after enactments. Michael had the most say, as well as veto power, when we chose the novel from which we would work. Michael told us when our participation was disruptive or helpful, and supported our development of less disruptive behaviors. Also, we developed our acting techniques according to the children's responses.

> 3) In linear interventions (design experiments), the aim is to control all the variables and to achieve a standardized intervention module that will reliably generate the same desired outcomes when transfered and implemented in new settings. In formative interventions, the aim is to generate intermediate concepts and solutions that can be used in other settings as tools in the design of locally appropriate new solutions. (2008, pp. 15-16)

The playworld was a formative intervention according to this third criteria as well. In the course of completing this study we all realized that the majority of the ways that we were modifying the playworld intervention were context specific. For instance, one of the things that we found was most important to the development of this playworld was giving Michael sufficient time to create set pieces, built to the children's specifications, out of cardboard and duct tape, and also finding large and strong pieces of cardboard with which he could build (he provided the duct tape).

However, one of our findings, concerning the importance of certain qualities of collaboration between teacher and students, and researchers and teacher, in the creation and study of playworlds (discussed in all four of the following chapters), includes both concepts and solutions that are transferable to other settings in which playworlds are being created and studied.

Furthermore, as I have stated, the combination of this study's site and methodology amounts to the invention of a new method for making perezhivanie an empirically researchable phenomenon. This is one of the central claims of this dissertation, and as I have mentioned above and will discuss below in more depth, this methodology, and the development of playworlds in which researchers are participants, were both generated through this formative intervention. This method (both playworlds and methodology) could be adapted to study perezhivanie in different settings, for instance any of many settings outside of schools. And it has already been shown (Marjanovic-Shane, forthcoming) that some of the synthetic components of this methodology are useful for the study of forms of play outside of playworlds.

Again, a central focus of this dissertation is the way in which the process of formative intervention provides us with a methodology for analysis of perezhivanie.

Site

The playworld implemented in this research took place in a mixed kindergarten and first grade classroom located within a public elementary school on a military base in the United States. At the time of the study, 80% of the students in the school came

from military families. Half of the students in the school qualified for free or reduced-cost lunch. Approximately half of the students (who were neither starting kindergarten nor graduating) left or came into the school in the course of the year (although no children in the class we were studying left or came during the course of the year).

The playworld was implemented in the highwater mark of the Iraq war; many students in the school were experiencing severe emotional difficulties. As there was little or no useful, organized support from either the school or the military to deal with these issues, Michael spent considerable time developing and implementing an arts-based curriculum designed to teach the children to express their emotions without violence. Michael also lead several after-school activities on a volunteer basis, including a 'peaceful conflict resolution' mural painting activity for students of all ages and a painting and drawing club for fourth and fifth graders who were suicidal or particularly violent.

Participants

The participants in this playworld included the 20 students of the class (12 kindergarteners and 8 first graders), Michael, myself and three other researchers. Two of the other researchers were first year graduate students, unsure of their future topics of study but interested in human development (Lars and Robert). One of the other researchers was a postdoctoral scholar whose dissertation was about the transition from preschool to school (Sonja).

The class included 13 girls and 7 boys ranging in age from 5.3–7.2 at the start of the school year. The class was an English Language Learner (ELL) class, meaning that one third of the children in the class were classified as ELL, so the class had a higher percentage of Latino students than the school as a whole, more than 50%, and no African American students. In the school as a whole, the student population was 42% European American, 20% African American, 31% Latino, 2% American or Alaska Native, 2% Filipino, 1% Pacific Islander and 1% Asian.

Implementation of the Playworld

The playworld was based on C. S. Lewis's *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* (1950). The first half of the novel was read aloud to the children before the acting began but the second half of the novel was never read to the children. Instead the children became more and more active participants, throughout the course of the project, until they collectively wrote and directed their own resolution to the novel's central conflicts.

Over the academic year during which the playworld took place there were 14 adult-conceived playworld sessions in which some or all of the participants enacted parts of the novel. These sessions occurred on Friday afternoons and lasted approximately 2 hours. Most sessions included reflection upon the enactments in the form of discussion and then free play or art activities. (Adult planning meetings and rehearsals took place most weekends, at the university, and lasted anywhere from 1 to 5 hours.)

Most of these 14 sessions included all four researchers, who played the child heroes of the playworld. Michael joined during the seventh of these sessions, playing the evil White Witch, and the children joined during the eighth of these sessions, as themselves. This event will be analyzed in chapter three. For the final of these sessions the children were the primary planners of the adult-child joint play.

All of the playworld sessions involved set pieces and props created by both the adults and children, including some props that were designed to appeal to the participants' senses of touch, smell and sound. By the time that half of the 14 sessions were completed, Michael, who had been moving the set pieces to the side of the classroom at the end of each playworld session, began to leave the set pieces in place throughout the week. The classroom was filled with the large, colorful structures, and Michael conducted all of his classroom activities in and around a cardboard dam, cave, castle, etc.

Figure 2.1: The crowded classroom near the end of the year (White Witch's castle, Mr. Tumnus's cave and Beavers' dam, White Witch's dungeon, resting trees and the lamppost, White Witch's sleigh in action) and the children creating a mountain set piece.

Figure 2.1 continued

Figure 2.1 continued

Figure 2.1 continued

After the final session with adult-child joint acting, the children decided to present a play about the playworld to their families. This initiated a series of child-conceived sessions which were unanticipated by the adults (we thought the playworld would end after the fourteenth session). Michael, with minor input from one of the researchers, helped the children to design, direct and rehearse this play. The chronological, theoretical and emotional center of the preparation for this play was an intense discussion, a portion of which was described at the start of the previous chapter (to be analyzed in chapter four). The time the class spent on this process continued to grow, until it was taking whole days and crowding out other scheduled

activities. The children presented the play to their parents in the final week of the school year.

After the school year was complete the adults continued the playworld through analysis of the playworld. This process included many different forms of playful analysis, including adult-adult interaction that incorporated film, drawing and painting. This process continues to this day, and while I do not discuss these events in my overview of the playworld in chapter three, I analyze two of these events in great detail in chapter five.

Ethnographic Data

Our ethnographic data include detailed field notes of every site visit. Field notes were written by each of the four participating researchers and by an external observer. Michael wrote three field notes himself and occasionally used a video camera to record oral field notes.

Our ethnographic data include the children and adults' visual, plastic and textual art works that were produced during the playworld sessions. We still have several murals and many paintings that were produced during the playworld sessions. We have photographs of the set pieces and many murals, paintings, drawings, maps and stories.

Our ethnographic data also include email correspondence among the adult participants that were written over the course of the project. These emails provide additional insight into the adults' experiences in the playworld. Some contain logistical arrangements, others contain playworld-related discussion of educational

theory, literature, philosophy and theology, and others contain discussion of the developing acting skills and identities of the adult participants.

We also recorded and audio and audio-video footage, and often took still digital photographs of all classroom activities related to the playworld project. Often one of the researchers videotaped using a hand-held camera and a second camera recorded from its position on a tripod, but frequently as many as three video cameras were passed among all of the researchers and an occasional undergraduate filming assistant. At times the children also videotaped the proceedings. On two occasions we had professional filmmakers (a professor and two graduate students who were our video consultants throughout the project) come to the site and tape the proceedings with their professional-quality video cameras. We also used a video camera to record adult rehearsals, adult planning meetings and 1-4 individual interviews with each adult and child participant.

This audio and video footage was recorded for a dual purpose. We had made an ethnographic film of another U.S. playworld, a playworld based in folk tales of Baba Yaga, to show to teachers who were considering working with us on the next U.S. playworld, and the success of this film had prompted us to make another (as yet unfinished) ethnographic film of playworlds. Towards this end another of the researchers and I studied ethnographic filmmaking. We filmed, and trained other participants and our filming assistants to film, using various techniques of video and audio taping that are not traditionally associated with scientific work: While one camera remained with a wide angle lens on a high tripod, we often filmed with the other camera in such a way that we were deliberately framing shots, or making use of

high or low angles, or movement, to highlight certain experiences and perspectives. Furthermore, we were given access to and made use of particularly high quality cameras and microphones, including a digital audio recording device with both a unidirectional and a small, sturdy omni directional microphone which we taped to the floor (where the children often played, where the "audience" sat and gasped or whispered, etc.).

Data Analysis

My analysis includes discourse and communicative exchanges using transcriptions from the video and audio recordings that are cross-referenced with our other forms of ethnographic data: field notes, art works, emails, still digital photographs, and audio and audio-video footage. These methods are highlighted in chapter four. However, my analysis also includes forms of adult-adult interaction that incorporate playful use of various media, as mentioned above. These methods of analysis merged with processes of intervention design and data collection, and the presentation of our findings. Furthermore, the playworld itself can be described as still in progress through these second methods of analysis. I will discuss this phenomenon in chapter five.

Concretely, adult participants, researchers and teacher, made maximum use of our roles as participant-observers by enhancing our own and others' emotional re-engagement in the playworld during intervention design, analysis of our data and presentation of our findings, using art and play. We attempted to highlight what we observed as participants so that others (and ourselves at later times) could also

observe what we had observed. For example, we did not randomly select children's artwork to analyze, but chose drawings, paintings and maps that returned us to moments in the playworld that were particularly emotionally charged. We did the same with our audio and video footage and our still photographs. And we also viewed or listened to our "favorite" audio or video clips, photographs or artwork, those works that brought us the most pleasure, many times over, both individually and jointly.

We sought art about the playworld that captured the quality of its emotional intensity from our individual perspectives from a variety of sources outside the playworld. We shared these materials with each other throughout the year of the playworld intervention and during data analysis: songs, films, photographs and audio and visual collages that made us "re-feel" the playworld from a different perspective (Chris Marker's *La Jetée* (1962), Arnaud Desplechin's *Rois et Reine (Kings and Queen*) (2004), Nina Simone's *I wish I Knew How It Would Feel to Be Free*, *Fuck a War* by the Geto Boys and Helen Levitt's photographs of children at play in New York City (*New York City*, 1939), etc.). We re-read favorite novels and children's picture books that reminded us, in the emotions they aroused in us as well as in their form and content, of the playworld (Carson McCuller's *The Member of the Wedding* (1946), Tove Jansson's *Moominvalley in November* (1970) and *Who Shall Comfort Toffle* (1960), Maurice Sendak's *Where the Wild Things Are* (1963), etc.). And we individually and jointly mapped emotional stages of these books, films and songs against emotional stages of the playworld. These methods are discussed at length in chapter five using two illustrations.

The method of this type that took the most time, and was arguably most successful, involved our manipulating our video footage to create ethnographic films that are both social-scientific documents, in the sense that they assist in the analysis of empirical evidence, and also works of filmic art, in the sense that they designate a space into which the viewer falls, glimpsing the future, and in the sense that they retain a life of their own (these qualities of filmic art will be discussed in chapter five). Some of these films were directed towards an audience other than ourselves -- the children or an outside audience of amateur artists or professional scholars -- and some were created for our own individual pleasure, while some of these films were created solely for the purpose of guiding our analysis. Several of these films, in the form of short, experimental segment tapes, were re-edited many times to serve all of the above audiences and purposes. This method is highlighted in chapter five.

With these ethnographic films we attempted to enhance our own and others' emotional re-engagement in the playworld using a specific technique that we had learned from our play with children. In children's play the imaginary is intertwined with the real through the investment of inanimate objects with an emotional life and with agency. We invested our video footage with an emotional life and with agency by freeing our footage from the category of "data" and by pushing it to become "film," thus imparting to our footage that quality of film that Vivian Sobchack calls "lived momentum" (1992, 2004) (as discussed in chapter five).

In the social sciences, the explicit goal is, conventionally, to disentangle the imaginary from the real. One attempts to see that which one studies objectively, meaning, "without being influenced by personal feelings or opinions; in an impartial

or detached manner" (OED). In other words, one attempts to see that which one studies in precisely the way one tries not to see beings who have feelings with which we might empathize and the ability to act of their own accord. Therefore, the methods we use are a critique of conventional social science. (I will return to this claim in my discussion in chapter six.)

This method also constitutes an argument that filmic representation can be a form of play, and that this "film-play" can be of use to scholars. Our film-play did not work to show us play that was less 'real' than the play we had experience first hand, but instead revealed qualities of the play we had experienced which we could not see without film: specifically, the temporal double sidedness of film revealed the temporal double sidedness of our subject. Furthermore, this claim allows for the use of ethnographic film not only as a means of documenting, but also as an object of study. In this way it contributes to a discussion concerning the uses of ethnographic film in the social sciences. And this method, because it is derived from our play with children, shows that adults can learn about more than play, children, childhood and human development from the creative activity of children's play. It shows us some of what can be accomplished when we include in the social sciences the excluded knowledge, knowers and means of knowing of childhood.

Dwight Conquergood describes such inclusion eloquently:

> The performance studies project makes its most radical intervention, I believe, by embracing both written scholarship and creative work, papers and performances. We challenge the hegemony of the text best by reconfiguring texts and performances in horizontal , metonymic tension, not by replacing one hierarchy with another, the romance of performance for the authority of the text... Performance studies brings ... into the academy, a commingling of analytical and artistic ways of

> knowing that un-settles the institutional organization of knowledge and disciplines. The constitutive liminality of performance studies lies in its capacity to bridge segregated and differently valued knowledges, drawing together legitimated as well as subjugated modes of inquiry. There is an emergent genre of performance studies scholarship that epitomizes this text-performance hybridity . . .
>
> We can think of performance (1) as a work of imagination, as an object of study; (2) as a pragmatics of inquiry (both as model and method), as an optic and operator of research; (3) as a tactics of intervention, an alternative space of struggle. (2002, 151-152)

Juxtaposition of the Material and Poetic Representations of the Playworld

Although my methodology is a part of this "radical intervention" of performance studies, it is not new to psychology. Alexander Luria states: "When done properly, observation accomplishes the classical aim of explaining facts, while not loosing site of the romantic aim of preserving the manifold richness of the subject" (2006, p. 178). More specifically, Lindqvist describes a playworld as an activity in which adults and children "bring (a piece of) literature to life" (1995, 72), and in *The Psychology of Art* (1971) Vygotsky describes a simultaneously classical and romantic process of analysis that allows one to "witness how a lifeless construction is transformed into a living organism" (1971, p. 150).

Vygotsky writes of this process of analysis:

> It is useful to distinguish (as many authors do) the static scheme of the construction of the narrative, which we may call its anatomy, from the dynamic scheme, which we may call its physiology. We have already said that each story has a specific structure that differs from the structure of the material upon which it is based. It is also obvious that every poetic technique of treating the material is purposeful; it is introduced with some goal or other, and it governs some specific function of the story. By studying the teleology of the technique (the function of each stylistic element, the purposeful direction, the teleologic significance of each component) we shall understand the

> very essence of the story and witness how a lifeless construction is transformed into a living organism. (1971, pp. 149-150)

Vygotsky is arguing that it is only anatomy, components visible after murder and dissection, that either the structure of the material or the poetic technique, taken on its own, can reveal. To make physiology available for study we must juxtapose material and poetry, and then ask the function of the technique in relation to a whole. Vygotsky describes the first stage of this process, the "comparing the actual events upon which the story is based ... with the artistic form into which this material has been molded," as "establishing the melodic curve (he calls this curve of the story its "melody") which we find implemented by the words of the text" (1971, p. 150).

Vygotsky illustrates this first stage of his method with a diagram of the melody of Bunin's short story "Gentle Breath" (Figure 2.2). First, he puts the events of each of the two main character's lives in chronological order along a straight line. Next, he draws curved lines to show the order of events as they take place in the short story: "The bottom curve represents transition to chronologically earlier events (when the author moves backward) and the top curves represent transition to chronologically advanced events (when the author leaps forward)" (1971, p. 152).

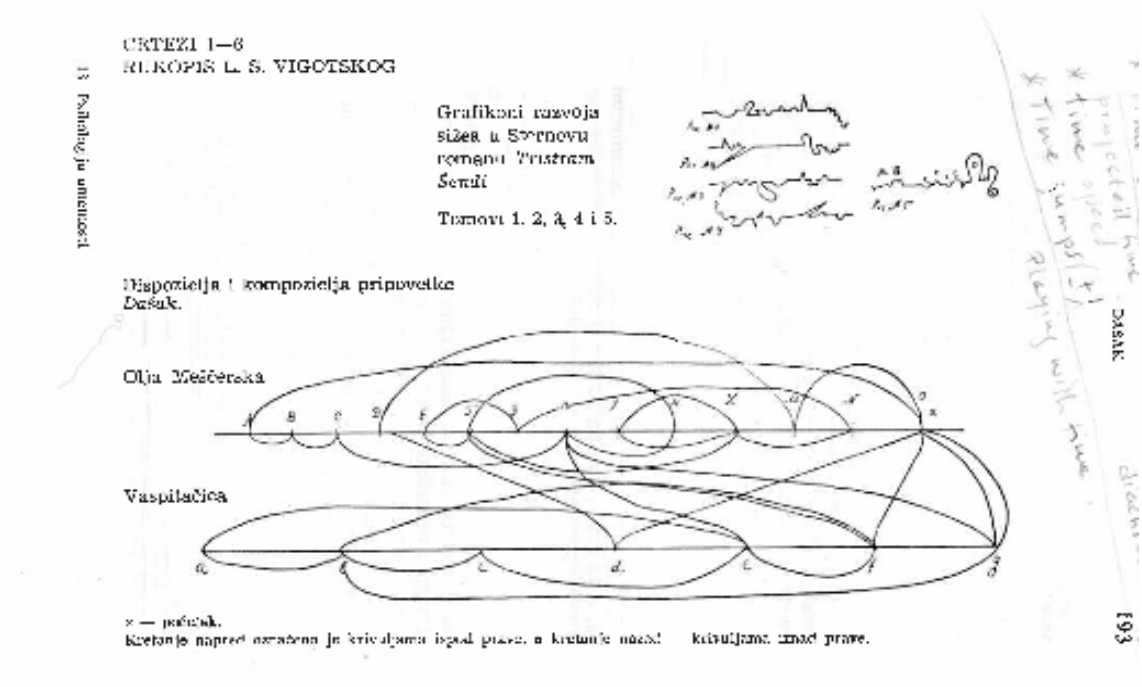


Figure 2.2: Vygotsky's (1971) diagram of the melody of Bunin's "Gentle Breath." (This diagram is omitted from the English translation of Psychology of Art. It is copied here from the Serbo-Croatian translation.)

As Sutton-Smith (1997) states, when one is studying play one's arguments can be expected to spiral through levels of analysis. Vygotsky notes of the diagram above: "The confused diagram reveals, at first glance, that the events do not evolve in a straight line, as would happen in real life, but in leaps and bounds" (1971, p. 152). And Schechner's (1985) diagrams (Figure 2.3) of the juxtaposition of temporal double sidedness with progressive stages that produces twice-behaved behavior are very similar to Vygotsky's diagram of his method of analysis of art:

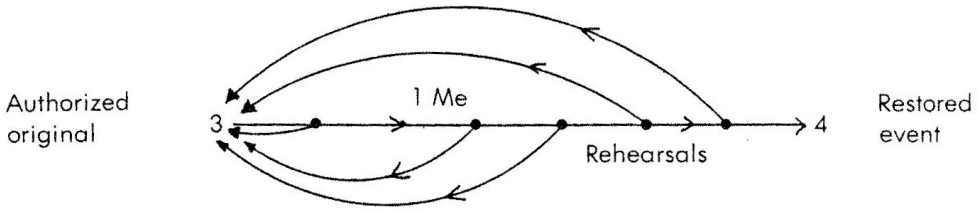


Figure 2.2

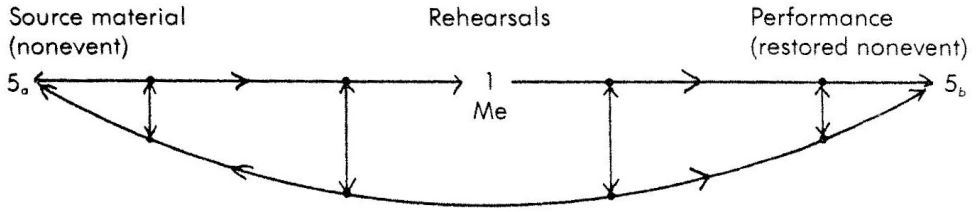


Figure 2.3

Figure 2.3: Schechner's (1985) diagrams of the juxtaposition of temporal double sidedness with progressive stages that produces twice-behaved behavior.

In the social sciences we often find ourselves studying the anatomy of our subject, but it is only possible to study complex dynamic relations between cognition, emotion, imagination and creativity (such as perezhivanie) when the physiology of a playworld is made visible for study. As Vygotsky prescribes the juxtaposition of material and poetry to reveal the melody of a short story, we juxtaposed the material of a playworld with poetic representations of this playworld to make the perezhivanie of this playworld visible for analysis. These poetic representations included the films, drawings, paintings, collages and mapped representations of this playworld that were created by the child and adult participants, as well as various songs, films, photographs and books which adult participants perceived to be representations of this playworld even though they were written, performed and published long before

the playworld was created.

Again, in the following chapters I will analyze the perezhivanie that this playworld makes visible using three different combinations of methods to approach four instances of perezhivanie that exist on three different time scales. Furthermore, due to the fact that some of my methods mirror my subject of study, my analysis of perezhivanie in chapter five will include analysis of my method of analysis as well as analysis of the playworld itself.[i] The method of analysis of the perezhivanie in chapter three also reflects and continues perezhivanie, although this process is less complicated that in the other three chapters.

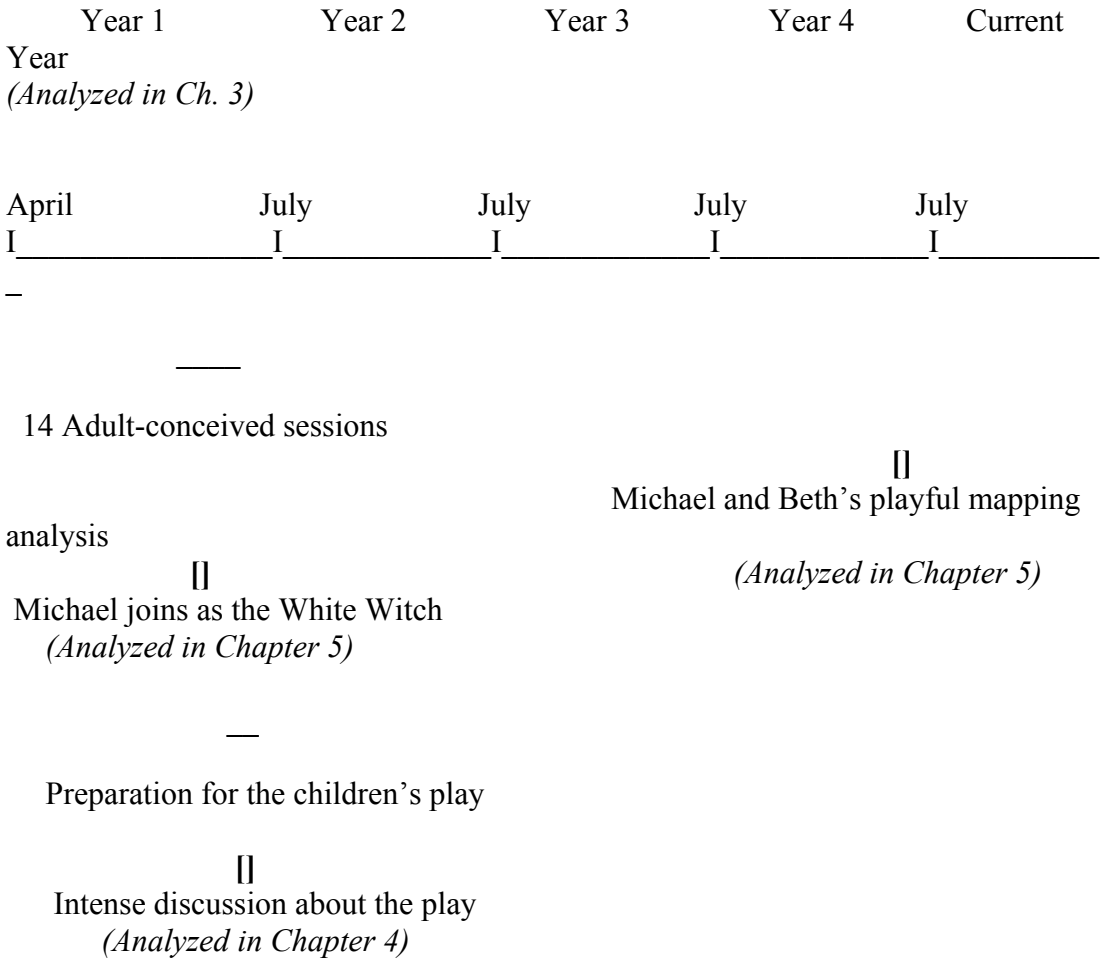
Stoller reminds us:

> Anthropologists who have lost their senses write ethnographies that are often disconnected from the worlds they seek to portray... That they have lost their senses of the smells, sounds, and tastes of the places they study is unfortunate for them, for their subjects, and for the discipline itself. (1995, p. 160)

In the chapter that follows I try to recreate the falling and flying of perezhivanie for the reader, to a certain extent, by producing an illustrated narrative of the entire U.S. Narnia playworld rather than a solely text-based, "disconnected" recounting.

The diagram below situates the events that I will analyze in the following three chapters within the chronology of the U.S. Narnia playworld:

Table 2.1: The events that I will analyze in the following three chapters.



[i] I am not alone in this move. Helen Schwartzman writes of her study of play:

> This book is about the anthropology of children's play; however, it is also about the play of anthropologists, as both children and ethnographers are continually constructing and transforming the contexts in which they exist in their efforts to make sense, and sometimes nonsense, out of the worlds in which they find themselves...Transformations, then, are the subject of this book – children's and anthropologists'. (1978, p. 1)

CHAPTER THREE

A Sketch of the Events in the U.S. Narnia Playworld

"Performances ... may seem to be recollections of the past, but they are actually conjunctions whose center can be located not in any single time or mood but only in the whole bundle, the full and complex interrelations among times and moods."

-- Schechner (1985, p. 55)

In this chapter I sketch the events in the implementation of this playworld. I give an overall trajectory of the events and show the ways in which phenomena constituting perezhivanie made themselves manifested on a frequent basis, and I provide a necessary context for the three, following more-detailed analyses. This overview of the playworld also provides a description of the interweaving and interdependence of the many instances of perezhivanie that this playworld makes visible: It highlights the fractal nature of perezhivanies within perezhivanie.

In constructing the following narrative I rely primarily on field notes, although I correlate all of our forms of data. I illustrate this narrative using paintings by the children of and in response to the playworld. These illustrations and my style of writing augment the emotional tone of the events as I have reconstructed them. The paintings do not always portray the literal event or object that is present at the point in the narrative at which they are inserted. However, the entire content of this narrative is taken from field notes and "unaltered" audio and video footage unless otherwise noted.

Quotations indicated with apostrophes (‘’) are from field notes. Quotations indicated with quotation marks (“”) are either from field notes in which it has been indicated that they are direct quotations, or they have been transcribed from audio or video recordings. Some of the children’s characteristics have been slightly altered to preserve their anonymity.

April

I drive north to visit Michael’s classroom to meet him and, if I think he seems like the teacher for our playworld project, to convince him to work with us. The entrance to the school is a wide driveway blocked by a barbed wire gate, now ajar, and barbed wire appears to surround the entire campus. After signing myself in at the abandoned front office I pass through many gates and fences, all unlocked and open, and make my way to Michael's classroom.

Before I step into his classroom I see Michael for the first time, from afar, through his classroom doorway. He is standing at the center of the room wearing a T-shirt with a picture of a Michael on it and he has the bleached Michael stripe in his brown hair, which his former advisor warned us about when she told us that he would be perfect for our project. He is holding his chin with one hand and his other hand is gently cradling his elbow.

As I approach I can hear that Michael is listening to a mother of one of his students as she explains that she has talked to her son and “he will be good today.” The child has a ‘tough guy’ expression but scared eyes, and his mother is in her teens or early twenties, with a toddler hanging onto her legs as she talks. Before I’ve

stepped into Michael's classroom I can see that Michael is listening to this mother with exquisite, blindingly intense, attention. And I can see the student likes his teacher very much: When Michael speaks the boy raises his downcast eyes and looks directly and steadily into Michael's face. Michael's voice is both serious and sincere.

Michael's classroom is large and open and the furniture is sparse and low. There are some lists of useful tips for working and reading on one's own (Does the word sound right? Does it make sense? Look at the first letter!, etc.) posted on the walls, but most of the wall space is covered with unusual artwork. The paintings, which are mostly the work of the children although some are by Michael, have dark black lines and bright colors, they are primarily pictures of faces with detailed and nuanced expressions, and while they all look like cartoons, they read like portraits: you feel that you are getting inside someone else's head as you look through the eyes.

During my first morning in Michael's classroom I watch his students move about the room freely and confidently. They show their ownership of the space but there are many ritualistic objects, such as pointers and reading boxes, which they appear to handle according to respected rules. One little girl shows me her journal story about her upcoming move to a military base in another state. She explains to me that her grandmother will sing to her in the car as they take the long drive and which of her toys she will need to leave behind. Later the children write letters to their mothers for "mother's day" and Michael's example is a real letter to his mother, remarkably loving and powerful. Before journal writing Michael reads from his journal, a story written and illustrated especially for this class which must have taken him hours to complete.

While I drive back down south, towards our laboratory, I feel exhilarated, but also like crying. Michael's former advisor will tell me many years later: "When you walk into Michael's classroom you feel like crying. This is because you wish that you had been a student in his classroom when *you* were six years old." I also think about a comment Michael made during my visit, a comment that I think is about destiny. Michael explained to me that he knew that he should work at his school the moment he walked in the door for his interview because he saw on this door a picture of the school's mascot, a Michael.

A few hours after I return to the lab Michael emails me that he has not had time to see the video of the previous playworld that I left with him, but that he "very very very much" wants to be a part of the playworld project (from an email sent April 25, 4:40 AM).

May, June, July

Sonja, another of the four members of our research team, visits Michael's classroom in May and agrees with me that we have finally found a wonderful site for our playworld project. In June the three of us meet to view the video of the previous playworld, and then Michael and I stop by a bookstore to get copies of some of the books we are considering. While we are at the bookstore Michael tells me a story about himself. In the fourth grade Michael had a teacher who turned him off reading. Then, in the fifth grade, his teacher put a copy of *The Phantom Tollbooth* (by Norton Juster) on his desk, no strings attached, and Michael started to read again. I am struck

by how alive this memory of childhood is in Michael's telling and my reaction to his story still stands for me as the front cover of this story of a playworld project.

In July we three meet a second time and choose the book from which the playworld will grow: C.S. Lewis's *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*. We choose this book in part because the parents of the child heroes are in danger from the bombings in London while the children are far away from their parents and in a safe place. This scenario corresponds to the lived dramas of many of Michael's students. There are also many magical objects in this novel that serve as windows into another world and that can be fairly easily recreated in the classroom -- the wardrobe, the fur coats, the streetlamp, the Turkish delight, etc. But the main reason we choose *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* is that Michael is so very excited to be the evil White Witch.

Michael lays claim to the role of the White Witch immediately. He describes his costume in detail and fluidly sketches the outfit, complete with flowing white fur coat, as he speaks. This is the first of many conversations in which Michael will draw as we all talk, and in which his finished drawings will help us to understand the topic at hand in a new way: When we see his drawing of the White Witch's coat we realize that Michael really wants to be the White Witch.

August, September, October, November

In August Michael's father builds us a solid wooden wardrobe. This wardrobe is large enough that four adults can stand in it together and its doors are

locked shut with a padlock. It has a back that can be easily removed, but this fact is ingeniously and skillfully concealed.

Figure 3.1: The wardrobe.

In September, on the first day of school, the wardrobe is already sitting in Michael's classroom with a thick red ribbon tied in a bow around its middle. Michael tells his students, when they ask, that he does not know how this object arrived in the classroom or what it is. None of the students call this odd addition to their classroom a wardrobe.

In October Michael starts reading the novel aloud to his class, a new installment every few days. We decide that we will end the readings at the students' winter break, after he has read aloud the first half of the book. After winter break the book will disappear and the world of the novel will appear in the classroom.

During these first months of school Sonja and I are joined by Robert and Lars, completing our four researcher team. And we researchers come to know Michael's students, in part through Michael's loving and detailed descriptions. Of Michael's twenty students eight were in his class last year. Two are siblings and many have had siblings in his class in previous years. About half speak English as a second language and all but one of these children, Anahi, who speaks Japanese as her first language, speak Spanish as their first language.

About half of Michael's students have family in the military, and of the parents who have been fighting all have recently returned home. Some of the children with a parent who has just returned home will have their second parent sent to fight shortly. Some parents who have recently returned will soon be sent back to fight again.

In Michael's class there is one child being medicated for "attention deficit disorder," Milo. Milo is a first grader who is new to Michael's class and Michael

describes him as ‘bright and impulsive.’ He says that Milo ‘has explosions, but, though he is not quiet, he is not aggressive.’ Later Michael tells us that Milo’s mother tends to give him his medication when he is difficult for her, and not other times, so that Milo is constantly re-adjusting to being on or off his medication. Milo is one of the many students put in Michael’s class because other teachers at the school ‘can not handle’ these students’ disruptive behavior.

There are also two children with severe speech disorders, Luke and Albert. One of these children, Albert, has significant hearing loss that could be remedied if tubes were inserted to drain his ears. However, throughout the year Albert’s parents will again and again fail to get him the medical attention he needs and he will remain deaf. His speech is nearly unintelligible to everyone all the time. Luke is living in a secure situation, with his grandmother, but he was born addicted to some combination of illegal drugs and temporarily lost some of his hearing either shortly after birth, or when his parents kept him with them as they sold drugs and were homeless. He has a severe speech defect. We researchers cannot understand much of what he says, but Michael and Luke’s classmates understand his speech much better than we do. Luke contributes often, and at length, to classroom discussions.

Michael’s class is shaped by several big events that occur at the start of the school year as well as by the students in his class: Martina’s adolescent brother is shot to death by the police in a mistaken drug arrest. We visit the day Michael hears the news and he is utterly distraught. We buy him a children’s book about death and grieving (*Nana Upstairs, Nana Downstairs* by Tomie dePaola) which he says

generates some useful discussion, but he has no support as a teacher dealing with this tragedy.

Martina is a four year old who speaks more Spanish than English, and whom Michael describes as the “baby” of the class. When I visit two Fridays after the death of her brother she sits under a table, rocking herself, for much of the afternoon. But she does come out from under the table to participate in the group mural of 'ways to make myself feel better when I'm sad', drawing herself, in tears, listening to music. During the first months of the school year Martina will often refuse to participate in any classroom activities.

The second big event of these first months of school is that Luke is suspended for standing up to an older bully at recess. Then the bully is, thanks to Michael’s intervention, also suspended. Michael describes Luke as a sweet and confident kindergartener who was in kindergarten in Michael’s class last year. He was physically abused by his parents before his grandparents gained custody of him and his siblings, and he continues to be beat by his older siblings.

The third big event of these first months of the school year occurs on October 8. On a previous visit, upon our arrival in the classroom, Michael had explained to us that the class had just had a lockdown drill. This is a drill that takes place if a person with a gun, most likely a traumatized soldier returned from the war, enters the school campus and tries to shoot children. To our disbelief, Michael told us that during the drill the children must hide in their classroom closet.

On October 8, just after the children have made Thanksgiving cards for wounded marines who cannot go home to their families for the holiday, a loud alarm

goes off. The children run to their coat closet in seconds flat and most of them pile into it. Those who do not fit inside the closet sit on the floor behind a bookcase that is just in front of the closet, and between them and the classroom door.

Michael then tells the bewildered researchers that this is a lockdown. He closes the door of the closet and joins the children behind the bookcase. We researchers seat ourselves on the floor near this bookcase, facing the closet and in front of the wardrobe, but we take the camera and tripod with us and film this entire event.

We all sit and sit and sit. The clock counts the minutes – one, two, three, four, five ... and the alarm continues while police sirens roar. Michael is hushing the children and they are hushing each other. Some of the children behind the bookcase seem scared, some less so, but we do not know what is happening behind the closed door of the closet.

Six, seven minutes ... It begins to occur to one after another of the adults that this is most likely not a drill. We can not know for sure, but why are we left without information for so long, why is the alarm still ringing, and why are the police cars here at the school? Should we researchers move behind the bookcase? But we cannot bring ourselves to do this.

Eight, nine minutes ... The children are remarkably silent and still, and we researchers think how horrible it is that four, five and six year olds are experiencing such fear that they can sit without moving or speaking for so long. Michael asks us if we see any police from our vantage point, spelling out the word, "P-O-L-I-C-E," and Sonja and I look, but see no one, and say so. Martina sticks her hand out of the closet

and is reprimanded by Michael, lightly but firmly. We all sit on and on, unmoving, at least the adults wondering if it is our lives that are in danger, or our sanity, or both.

Sonja, the only one of us who has personally experienced war, gets up to see if she can see anything out the window. She sees nothing and returns to her seat. Finally Michael comes out from behind the bookcase and also looks outside. He sees no one and walks to the button below the intercom speaker, calls the office, and asks, “Is this a lockdown?” The secretary says that the school has just had a fire drill but that it is over.

Michael says one word in response to this absurd announcement: "Interesting." He then asks the secretary if the principal was looking for us, the secretary says, “No,” and Michael, again, says, "Interesting." Michael then tells his students to go back to doing whatever they had been doing before. The children rush out of the closet. And they go right back to work.

What has just happened? It is as if we all fell into a ripple in the fabric of the school day, momentarily, and now all is smooth again. We researchers are in shock, both from the level of incompetence -- children piled into a closet to avoid a “gunman”? during a fire drill? and their principal does not notice that an entire class is missing during a fire drill? – and from the propagation of fear and normalization of fear in which we have just participated. Sonja writes in an email the next day: “I think this definitely IS a place to create a Playworld. Our Playorld will be MORE TRUE AND REAL than the real world in which massively induced panic, fear and general intolerance create a state where everybody feels like hiding in a closet” (from

an email sent November 21, 7:30 PM).

Albert is the boy who needs the tubes in his ears, a kindergartener full of cheerful goodwill who commands respect from the other students in spite of the fact that he can barely speak, in part because his older brother is a former student of Michael's. He runs up to the camera on the way out of the closet and howls into the attached microphone, breaking it. Tatiana, a generally cheerful kindergartener who is very social and whose older sister was in Michael's class the first year he taught, says she is scared. Nancy is a kindergartener who speaks like an adult. Michael will work through out the year to help her to be less condescending to the other children, particularly to Albert. She comes out of the closet after the lockdown hugging tight a huge, stuffed lion. These three children remind us that we did not make up this strange event, and then the school day continues as usual.

December, January

The last month of the old year is our last month with the story inside the covers of the book. In the first month of the new year we adults begin to rehearse. In the novel it is a rainy day that forces the children to remain in doors, where they play hide and go seek and Lucas, hiding, finds the wardrobe. The day of our first dress rehearsal it is raining so hard that we wonder if Michael will arrive at the laboratory, but he does arrive, and the rehearsal is great fun for us all. Sonja discusses Stanislavski's acting method, explaining that we must feel what we are trying to portray, and suggests that we focus on gestures. Michael suggests that we make sure to focus on the bombing in London during this first scene, as he senses from the

children that this aspect of the plot is still very much on their minds. And Michael does not have a role in this first scene, so he directs as we four researchers become the four sibling heroes.

The day that we adults know, but the students do not know, will be the last read-aloud from *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*, is also a magical day. Shortly after we arrive there is a time when the children run in the field outside and Sonja encourages me to join them. The two of us run with the children, fast, on the grass, and feel very free. Martina wants me to help her run by holding her hand when she gets a stitch in her side and I do this.

Also, the reading this day is fantastic. I sit by Milo, who is so eager to explain things to me, and three girls are lying with their heads on Sonja's lap. During the reading Michael asks us all to think about dreams we had that we later felt were real, or of times when we saw something related to a dream we had had, when we were awake, and were shocked. Luke, who has recently broken his leg, yells out twice that he has nightmares every night. Milo tells me a hair-raising nightmare about a mummy. And Michael tells the class that his mother is blind, so she can't drive, and that he used to dream that she was driving and be so frightened. He would see her in the passenger seat of a car when he was awake and be reminded of his dream.

During the next session there is, suddenly, no book to read: we adults have copied the cover of the book and bound it to sheets of blank paper, leaving the novel without words. When Michael takes out the book the children immediately exclaim that it is the wrong book, the wrong book! Michael opens the book towards them to show them that there are no words, just blank pages, and ... the pages fall out all over

the floor. Michael did not expect this to happen and he gulps and looks to us as if to say, "What do I do now?"

When this happens the children literally gasp. They are so shocked by the change in the book, combined as it is with their teacher's genuine surprise, that they can barely focus on the sound of rain issuing from our tape recorder and the four researchers' appearance in the room in costume, as the four siblings. However, the children do focus on our performance, and we perform well and enjoy ourselves. The four siblings, Peter, Susan, Edwina and Lucas, arrive at the professor's house.

Afterward, in class meeting, the children only want to talk about what happened to the book. When was it last seen in its original form and was Michael alone in the room since this time? Michael has an alibi for recess time as Albert, a kindergartener who often makes remarkably thoughtful and original comments, came in for a band-aid. Perhaps the White Witch did it, a few children suggest. Some of the children begin to look nervous.

Michael tries to steer the conversation away from the book and to the scene that we enacted, but only one or two children will comment on the scene. Nancy says we were 'faking' and 'tricking' when we came into the classroom as the characters. After meeting, the adults and children work together, in two groups, to make two murals of the day's events. While working on our mural Milo says to me that 'we moved into the book.' He says, 'What happened was like the book *The Cat in the Hat* (Dr. Seuss). Something made a mess of the room and something unexpected happened. The brothers and sisters had camping equipment that was not in the Wardrobe book. Unexpected things happening is what happens in books.'

Maribel is an athletic and large first grader who is at times a leader in the class. She had two older brothers, one of whom died a few years ago, when he was a fourth grader, of a heart disorder. She asks many questions about the professor and his outfit – What color were his pants? Was he wearing a tie? etc. – and then draws a detailed and expressive portrait of the professor in the mural. After school is over, while waiting to be picked up, she puts on the professor costume and hobbles along with the cane.

For some reason when I listen to the children's gasps as the book fell apart, on our high-quality audio recording in the evening, I cry. I think that maybe I am particularly moved because I did not hear this when it happened, as I was waiting outside of the classroom for my entrance as the professor. But all the adults listen to the tape during the following week and everyone is very moved by the audio recording: Lars laughs so hard, his eyes all squinched up, that I have to shut my office door; Luke gasps, his eyes bug out, and he keeps covering his mouth and eyes with his hand as if he is embarrassed to be laughing so hard; Sonja bounces in her seat as she listens because she wants to share the experience with others immediately; and Michael looks ecstatic and a few time he shouts (he can not remember that he can not hear himself because the headphones are over his ears) that I should come listen with him to something that one of the children is saying.

In the weeks after the four child heroes have appeared in their classroom the children make the most magnificent mural of Narnia, which Michael posts outside the classroom.

Figure 3.2: The mural.

Early February

The children have begun to bring in keys from home to try to unlock the wardrobe and flashlights to try to see through the crack between the doors. And they have checked the back of the wardrobe to see if it is connected to Narnia. The wardrobe has started to smell like the wardrobe in the book because Michael opened it one evening to put in the coats and added a few mothballs as well.

However, we researchers do not think the unlocking of the wardrobe will be an especially significant moment in the playworld, so we schedule it for a day when only one of us, I, can make it to the classroom. Michael has hidden the key in Albert's book box and when Albert's reading buddy, Luke, finds it it is silent reading time and the room is completely silent. Luke and Albert show the key to Maribel and Martina, who are reading behind the wardrobe, and the two girls look, pause and then gasp. These four children then begin to whisper, 'It's the key! It's the key!' Finally someone says 'It's the key!' out loud and half the class runs to show Michael. Then the whole class begins to exclaim and jump and hug each other and run towards the wardrobe. It is a building avalanche of noise and excitement.

As different children take turns trying the key in the sticky lock others hug themselves or their neighbors or strain their eyes out of their sockets. Martina says she is scared and crouches behind me. Then, when the padlock is taken off and the doors are opened, a sort of pandemonium ensues. Michael manages to quiet everyone down, eventually, and there is a discussion. Yes, there are coats, like there are in the wardrobe in the story, but what about the red thing someone saw in the wardrobe a few days ago using their flashlight? Perhaps there was nothing red, suggests Michael.

No -- his students are sure of what they have seen – the red something must have been there and disappeared.

Michael then asks the children if they want to try on the coats. The children want to try on the coats so badly that chaos descends, again. When order is restored, by Michael, they try on the coats two by two, standing in the wardrobe. Some of them stand very still, hardly daring to breath. Others horse around, perhaps breaking the tension or enjoying the attention.

Martina tries on a coat last, with Albert, because, as she explains, she is scared. At first she says she will not try on a coat or stand in the wardrobe at all. She is so frightened that she is willing to be the only one left out. And then she changes her mind. She stands in the wardrobe, her small frame in the large coat, her eyes gazing up at Michael with a slight smile of tired triumph. When she leaves wardrobe she will not take the coat off. She keeps it on, trailing it behind her, like a queen.

Soon it again becomes chaotic and noisy in the room and Michael says, 'Enough.' He tells his students that they are not thinking, that none of this is worth it if someone gets hurt, and that the activity will end if they cannot calm down. But he does not seem angry, at all, and when the children are calm enough that Michael will allow them to continue someone suggests that they all go in to the wardrobe and shut the doors. When they had tried on the coats they had stood inside the wardrobe but not closed the doors. They decide to go in in pairs, again, as going in alone is too frightening. There is some discussion about going in disguised as trees, but the final consensus is that if you are not wearing a coat you may not be safe. The children all borrow Martina's flashlight when they go in but she herself does not need her

flashlight because she and Albert decided not to shut the doors, but just to stand in the open wardrobe a second time. When the children are inside the wardrobe with the door closed they giggle and giggle.

Fernanda is a kindergartener who is academically advanced and shy. She cried often at the start of the year. At the end of the day she asks if I can email Robert right away to tell him what happened today. Martina still has her coat on and she is walking around the classroom on her own, smiling to herself.

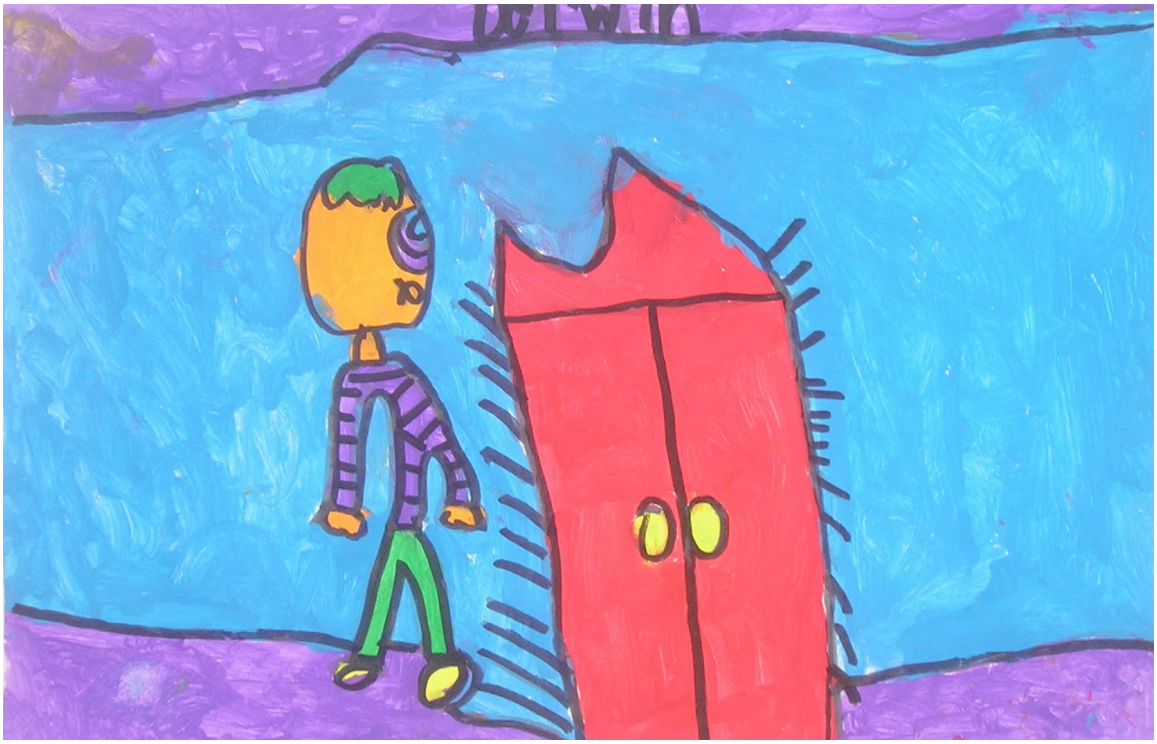


Figure 3.3: The wardrobe just before it opens.

Late February

Just after the opening of the wardrobe there is a day when we researchers

cannot come up due to a heavy rain. Pearl is a serious first grader who was in Michael's class last year. Her sister, Andrea, is also in the class this year, and Pearl is a leader, an older sister, for all the students. On this rainy day she says, "The wardrobe will open today, because it is raining." Then all the children take turns hiding under the coats in the wardrobe and reporting back with stories of what they have seen in Narnia.

The next week we do make it up to the school and during this session Lucas, played by Robert, hides in the wardrobe and finds that the back is gone. We use a slide projection of a winter scene to show Narnia in the wardrobe and the children watch in silent awe. Martina stands for the whole performance, grasping the book with its loose and empty pages.

After the enactment Martina is the first child to want to go through the wardrobe into Narnia. Then, trying on costumes, she says that she wants to take home the professor's watch and Michael allows her to do this. Michael tells us that she has told him that she has been having pleasant dreams about the wardrobe.

At the end of the day we researchers feel, for the first time, like a troupe who has put on a good play. We are proud of ourselves. Michael writes us an email right after the school day is over, saying that the children could not stop talking about the day's events during their final class meeting. Both bells rang, signaling the end of the day, and their parents gathered at the classroom window, but they did not want to end the meeting. However, Michael also expressed his concerns about the children's "wild" behavior (from an email sent).

During our planning session Michael tells us that Luke has been acting violently, pushing people. He is worried that the playworld is somehow connecting with Luke's violent past in a troubling way. Luke is the only child who goes into the wardrobe to try to get to Narnia when he is playing on his own and Michael wonders aloud if Luke is somehow fearless of Narnia, in a way that is harmful to himself, after all he has been through.

This discussion makes us concerned about how all of the children are handling the frightening aspects of the playworld. Lindsey is a Kindergartener who is a good friend of Fernanda's but social and bouncy, not shy. She cried a bit as she watched the last enactment. Anahi is a young kindergartener who is initially very shy with people who are new to her but soon becomes comfortable and very talkative. After the acting was finished she began to cry and went to sit by Sonja. Michael has also mentioned some crying about Narnia between the acting sessions. There is a board where words have begun to appear: "trees," "snow" and "lamppost," things from the novel that Michael suggests the children should build out of cardboard. One morning the tacks for this board were missing and Tatiana cried. Perhaps she believed that the White Witch had not just come to the classroom to leave words but had also begun again to take things away from the classroom.

In response to our shared concerns Michael develops guided imaginings, where the children close their eyes and he helps them to imagine a calm place by describing a beach or a garden or life as a cloud. He now leads the children in this activity before we act, often after the acting is completed, and anytime that he feels

that the students need the boundaries of the playworld enforced. He also tells the children that they can close their eyes, on their own, and go to these safe spaces.

After this discussion we sometimes we see one or two children closing their eyes and sitting very still when the playworld becomes frightening. Luke becomes much calmer, although he still has some bouts of violence, and Michael thinks that the guided imagining really helps him. Michael also thinks that the guided imagining helps Lindsay, whose parents are going through a divorce this year, and several of the other children.

During the following week the children and Michael begin to create a beautiful and fantastic Narnia in the classroom. They start with huge sheets of butcher paper that they paint, covering the carpet with multicolored snow. Michael emails that the children climb on tables to see what the snow looks like from above after they are finished painting. Their trees are also multicolored and Michael spends his evenings cutting them out of cardboard and designing and redesigning their trunks until they stand on their own.

This will be the first of Michael's many feats of creation and clever problem solving in his role of stage designer. He will spend many evenings in his classroom this winter and spring building three-dimensional cardboard and duct tape set pieces. Although these pieces are built to his students' specifications, and his students paint them, Michael takes great pride in his own as well as his students' workmanship. At the end of the project Michael will tell us that these evenings in his classroom, designing and building, were the times when he, himself, was most fully "in" the playworld.

At the end of the project Michael will speculate that it was during certain games with the wardrobe that the children were most fully "in" the playworld. The children are now choosing to play inside during recess, getting into the wardrobe and hiding under the coats. (The back of the wardrobe is in place whenever we are not acting – we put it back when the children go out for a run when the acting is finished.) Sometimes Michael grabs at the coat-covered children and they squeal in fear. Sometimes one child remains outside the wardrobe and closes and then opens the wardrobe doors, yelling: 'they are gone!' Then the doors are closed again, and after a few moments the children inside the wardrobe come out and tell all they have seen and done in Narnia.

The first appearance of Mr. Tumnus, the faun who will befriend the children and, later in the plot, must be saved from the White Witch, is the least energized of our performances. Mr. Tumnus looks wonderful with his brown paper packages, his umbrella over his head and his tail over his arm, to keep it from trailing in the snow, but there is no action and the children are not involved. Tea at Mr. Tumnus's cave is an entirely different matter.

Michael and the children are working overtime to finish the beautiful cave, complete with rug and table, fireplace and fire poker, dresser and a portrait of Mr. Tumnus's father. Sonja, Robert, Lars and I cook cakes and make tea, boil eggs and find appropriate teapots and cups, saucers and melba toast. Before the performance we even fit in one more last minute rehearsal at Lar's house, where we try to teach him to play the recorder and help him to cry. During the ride from Lar's house to the school I become fixated on helping Lars produce music from his recorder that will

make us all want to 'cry and laugh and dance and go to sleep all at the same time,' (a paraphrase from *The Lion, The Witch and the Wardrobe*) as does Mr. Tumnus's music in the novel, and soon everyone is in hysterics over both my absurd determination and the horrible noises Lars is producing.

When we arrive in the classroom the children jump up to show us the wonderful cave they have made. Some children point out their individual contributions and they are all thrilled with the results and as proud as can be. Even Michael comes over to explain how he figured out how to prop the cave open with a pole, and he is clearly as proud of his own work as are any of his students. The diagram below shows the cave's location:

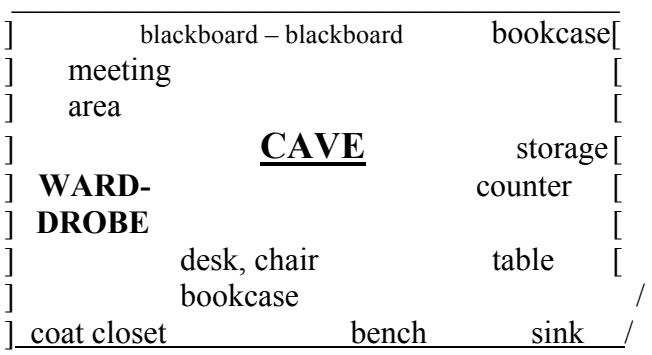


Figure 3.4: The location of the cave.

After silent reading time is over, we all walk through the wardrobe and into Narnia to watch the acting. We are still the audience but have moved through the wardrobe during the transition to the acting and this feels significant. Martina did not want to come back in the room when the children were returning from their pre-acting guided imagining. Now she does not want to come through the wardrobe and hides,

but Michael brings her in through the wardrobe and sits her down next to him. She sits very straight and watches the activities in the cave intently.

Lucas and Mr. Tumnus make a wonderful entrance and then squeeze into the cave with all their paraphernalia. (Later both Lars and Robert will say that the coziness of the cave helped them to fall into their roles more fully.) Their acting is impressive and we are all immersed in the scene until Lars begins to play his recorder. It sounds so horrible that the children cover their ears, and we adults are unable to stop laughing.

It feels good to laugh so hard but the mood changes immediately as soon as Mr. Tumnus starts to cry. He is explaining to Lucas that he played his flute to try to make Luca fall asleep, so he could turn Lucas over to the White Witch, but that now that he has gotten to know a human he can not bring himself to follow through with this plan. Lars cries very sincerely! Many of the children start to look sad. Then quite a few of the children begin to wipe tears from their eyes and to lean against each other.

I notice that my own eyes are becoming moist and see Michael mouthing something to me and pointing to Milo. I look at Milo, see that he looks particularly distressed, and then I do something completely unnecessary and odd. I break into the scene to tell Lars to stop crying. Lars does stop but later everyone tells me that the children were fine. Everyone also tells me that the interruption was minor but I experience it, at the moment and afterwards, as shocking. I am, perhaps because I felt out of my own control when I interrupted the scene, deeply shaken.

After the acting is done and Mr. Tumnus and Lucas have left the room Luke asks Michael if he can taste the toast they have left behind. Michael says they must first be invited to eat Mr. Tumnus's tea and then everyone calls for Mr. Tumnus to come back. Mr. Tumnus does return, with a little skip, and he invites the children to join him for the continuation of his tea.

Very soon the scene is chaotic as everyone piles in and around the cave, eating toast and eggs and cake with great gusto, and talking animatedly with their mouths full. Recovering from my shock, I stand back for a moment and think that this is one of the loveliest things that I have ever seen. The children are all eating with intent interest and it seems to me that they are understanding the story with their tongues, or, somehow, eating the story.

Figure 3.5: Tea with Mr. Tumnus.

Lindsay comes up to me and says with surprise, about the egg half-eaten in her hand, "It's real!" Michael tells someone to take the shell off the egg before eating it. A few children butter their eggs. These eggs are now a bizarre food, from another world, which the children are coming to know as if for the first time. Then some children begin to explain to Robert, who has re-entered the room as himself, what happened while he was gone -- even though the only change in his appearance is the addition of a blue sweater.

A little while later Michael pulls me aside to describe an odd sensation that he is having. He has to repeat himself several times, in part because I can only half-hear his whispers, but I finally understand what he is saying. He has had a flash realization, he says, that everyone needs to go back through the wardrobe at the end of the day. We need to make sure that every child and every adult who came into Narnia through the wardrobe goes back out of Narnia through the Wardrobe. I agree to this plan, and I realize that I am not one hundred percent sure that Michael's realization is unfounded. He looks simultaneously ecstatic, scared and flustered.

Finally, looking at the clock, Michael says that it is time to go back to the classroom. He says that as the teacher he knows that they all must go back through the wardrobe. Mr. Tumnus waves goodbye and starts to leave but he is smothered as the entire class tries to hug him at once. He almost falls over but does not. The children tell him to come back, to please come back, and Milo warns him very seriously to stay away from the White Witch's police.

At one point in the hugging the horns on Mr. Tumnus's head fall off. The children looked shocked for one moment. A few children say, "It looks like Lars, it looks like Lars!" Then the horns are back on and the moment is gone. The goodbyes continue. And Mr. Tumnus exits through the classroom door, not through the wardrobe.

We all exit through the wardrobe and as we do Michael says to me, very seriously, "I have a bad feeling. We all have to go out." Once he has walked through the wardrobe he immediately begins to gatherer the children at the door to the classroom so that they can all go outside for a run, but he asks me to check to make sure all the kids have exited through the wardrobe. I do, and then I reassure him that I think everyone went through when he asks me, one more time, before leaving the classroom for the run.

Oddly, I even ask the undergraduate student who occasionally comes to operate a camera to exit though the wardrobe. And from this day on we adults always make sure that everyone exits through the wardrobe at the end of the acting, although this clearly does not matter to the children. One night Michael even gets out of his car, before driving home, and returns to the classroom to exit Narnia through the wardrobe himself ... just in case he forgot to do this at the end of his acting.

Martina is scared of walking back through the wardrobe but does go through holding my hand. She has eaten so much, so eagerly, at tea, that I am surprised to see her scared again. Walking together, holding hands, I suggest that next week she may want to wear a coat or carry a watch as she goes through. She says, "Yes." At the end of the day, when she is waiting for her father, who is late, to pick her up, she puts

on a coat and goes into the cave to eat toast and explained to the older children, who have arrived for Michael's after-school art class, what everything is. She spends most of her time speaking in great detail about the portrait of Mr. Tumnus's father, which she helped to paint. She is very confident and happy in the cave with her toast and her coat.

March, April

After this tea we are given, and accept, the advice to find an external observer to take field notes: This advice is given because it appears to other scholars at our laboratory that we have "all gone crazy!" Our laboratory hires a graduate student to do this job. This graduate student will not attend planning sessions, ride with us in the car to and from the school, or speak with us about the project beyond telling us her observations.

Also, after the following acting session, while her classmates draw, Martina takes the camera from me and begins to film with glee. After this the children's filming of the playworld becomes a regular occurrence, with Fernanda and Milo joining Martina as the three children who spend the most time with the cameras. This allows us to see the playworld through the children's camera lenses.

In a session shortly before the appearance of the White Witch, Martina interrupts a class meeting to ask Michael if she can get up to check the back of the wardrobe and then reports back to the group that the back is still there. This checking-of-the-wardrobe has been occurring throughout every day, Michael tells us. Also during this meeting Martina shows her picture of the White Witch, dead. Milo

does not want to show his picture, but when Martina whines that she wanted to see it, repeatedly, he finally shows us his picture of the witch hanging over his bed as he sleeps. It is a very scary picture and when I asked him what the witch is going to do he explains, using exact and repetitive hand gestures: 'the space in the back of the picture, there, is the hall, this way, and then that way, and then my parents room, and then the door that we forgot to lock: this is how the witch got in.' The second anniversary of the death of Maribel's older brother will take place in exactly one month and she draws a picture of him in a wardrobe that looks like a coffin with the White Witch trying to kidnap him and Maribel shouting to the White Witch to stop.

The children are not the only ones who seem particularly apprehensive during this visit. At the end of the day Michael asks me, urgently, if Martina went through the wardrobe on the way out of Narnia today. (She had and I say so.) However, when we all leave the classroom to go home we are excited to see an absolutely magnificent rainbow, very thick and clear and stretching from horizon to horizon, arching high.

Also before the arrival of the White Witch, Sonja, Michael and I admit to each other the current extent of our immersion in this playworld. Sonja, blushing, says that she felt like a child during the last session. She says that she nudged the children in the circle when they all got restless, instead of helping Michael to keep the meeting in order. And Sonja says that she fanaticizes about the playworld when she is not there. Michael tells us: 'whenever I'm in the shower I'm thinking about how the witch will do this or that.' I reveal that the night after the last session I lost track of time while I

was brushing my teeth, and was brushing on and on and on, because I was thinking about the playworld day's events.

When the White Witch finally makes her first appearance we are taken by surprise. We expected her to appear in the classroom, but she appears in the laboratory. Michael comes to rehearsal in full costume. He has called ahead, he rarely calls because he prefers email, to say that he cried when he finally found the perfect white fur coat at the Goodwill store. And when he appears in this coat he is both frightening and beautiful.

When our rehearsals with Michael begin, the chemistry feels right from the start. Sonja is a wonderful Edwina, stuffing the White Witch's Turkish Delight into her mouth and promising to lead her siblings to the White Witch's castle. Michael is a fierce White Witch. The rest of us are fully absorbed, Robert, Lars and I are laughing and laughing, so hard, and then, at one point, I see both Robert and Lars looking as the children look, during our acting in the classroom. Their mouths are slightly open, their heads are bent forward just a bit, and they are staring intently at the White Witch and her prey.

Seeing Robert and Lar's absorbed looks, I am reminded of my own fear of the children's fear. I try to convince Michael to "stay a little bit Mr. Michael" even while he is the White Witch, saying this will help him to watch out for the children even while in character. I speak with great passion. Michael, remembering how I interrupted Mr. Tumnus's tea, then turns to me (he is still in costume) and says that what is most important is that we do not interrupt him while he is acting. He says this kindly but firmly and Sonja adds that I will be the one who needs comforting, not the

children. They go through the scene again, Michael beginning by telling the audience that even though he is about to dress as the White Witch, he will still be Mr. Michael.

When I enter the classroom on the day of the White Witch's scheduled arrival I am already watching Michael from afar, heeding his warning to not interrupt the performance before it even begins. Michael has emailed us an urgent message regarding this matter at 5:47 AM:

> The kids will be scared today, but please let me be the judge of when it is too much. In fact, can I ask that everyone sits away from the kids. As in, please do not sit with/next to the kids today...instead, view the events from behind where the kids are sitting. I want them to rely on each other for strength. Also, when an adult is next to a crying child, I cannot really tell if that child is indeed upset, or merely "acting" upset (they do indeed act different when y'all are there). So, in order for me to be able to tell how upset they are, I need the adults out of the picture. Does this make sense? See everyone in a little while. – Michael" (from an email sent April 8, 2005).

When it is time for Michael to dress as the White Witch, in front of the children, I settle myself and begin to film. He puts on the costume and then begins to act. Nothing has obviously gone wrong but somehow nothing seems to be working. I film shot after shot of children fidgeting. I cannot find a single slack jaw of engagement in the room.

Then, when the acting is over, Michael looks like he will cry. He sits on the floor, cross-legged, waiting for his students to join him in a meeting circle. His face is flushed, his eyes are glassy, and he is back in his street clothes but still in his stocking feet.

The meeting is difficult. The children say, one after another, that boys should not wear girls clothing: "Mr. Michael dressed up like a woman . . . and that's wrong,"

"Mr. Michael was funny because he dressed up like a woman," etc. I am suddenly more-than-musingly worried that Michael will get complaints from parents in relation to this project.

Milo speaks up during this discussion most emphatically. He says: "Mr. Michael embarrassed himself." He repeats his statement, squirming and bouncing off the floor, serious but sometimes smiling broadly. The other children seem to agree and then, one after another, they tactfully begin to suggest that we end the playworld for the day and move on to their other favorite activity, the "can" game. Michael says no, they are doing the playworld, and this authoritative pronouncement concerning the playworld sounds bizarre and absurd. Michael then brings out the Turkish delight we have saved for the children to try, but he orchestrates the tasting in such a way that there is no delight to be found.

The children are finally dismissed from the meeting for free play with props and costumes, but even this does not work today. Everyone is unfocused and no one wants to be in Narnia. There are audible sighs of relief when Michael announces that everyone should draw, and during this end of the session Michael still looks very sad and draws a picture of himself hiding under a massive wig.

The next morning, before our planning meeting, I interview Michael. He says he was very depressed all evening, after the acting, but that he woke up feeling better. He says that he does not think the children were engaged when he was acting, but that this will not ruin the whole playworld.

This assessment that the children were not engaged is unanimous among the adults. However, the children, as translated by Michael, and some of the video

footage, give us a different picture. On Monday Michael sends us an email describing the class discussion of Friday's performance. He stresses that the children do indeed think he is the White Witch and are scared, but are not too scared. At first we are not sure that Michael has understood the children correctly, but then we see the video footage.

During the White Witch's arrival Heide, a professional cinematographer, helps us to film. I have spent some time at the laboratory showing Heide our footage and describing our project, and before the acting begins I point out positions from which she may want to film and several children on whom she may want to focus. After Heide has become familiar with the classroom we decide that she should leave her video camera, which is more versatile than our own cameras, on a setting that allows it to imitate the quality of film.

We finally see Heide's footage a week after Michael's talk with his students and we are amazed by the disparity between what we see and what we experienced. The children's faces and gestures as they watch Michael dress as the witch are frighteningly intense, and the children appear to be experiencing some mixture of fear, wonder and joy. When Michael sees the footage he says that the children's expressions make him absolutely certain that he *is* the White Witch.

During the week between Michael's discussion with the children about the White Witch and our viewing of Heide's footage, the children enter Narnia with the adults and in their own costumes for the first time. The children knock on the wardrobe door during a point in the acting when the four siblings have entered the wardrobe to hide and are about to find *themselves* in Narnia, all together, for the first

time. When Sonja, Lars, Robert and I, playing the four siblings, hear a pounding and open the wardrobe doors, we can see that many of the children are beginning to giggle. Next some children start laughing, and then more children laugh, until almost every child in the class is roaring and rolling. This hysterical laughter continues for several minutes as the adults look at each other in bewilderment.

After this unexpected introduction we invite the children to come with us into Narnia and we help them to put on the beautiful paper bag coats they have made for themselves. We have put ice in large cardboard boxes on the ground of Narnia and we all take off our shoes to walk into the winter. It is thrilling for adults and children alike. The children 'ooooooohhhhh' and 'aaaaahhhhh' as we all crowd in among the trees and then around the lamppost. Lars tells us afterwards that the walk to the lamppost, during which we traversed five feet in less than a minute, felt like a long walk to him. And Robert writes in his field notes that he was deeply and personally comforted by some of the children when, while playing Lucas, he cried when he found Mr. Tumnus's cave in shambles and a note on the door of the cave from the White Witch's secret police.

Figure 3.6: The White Witch and a child, possibly Edwina, in the wardrobe.

Michael, however, is noticeably unengaged during this acting session. In the evening he sends us an email titled: "My Confused Mind." He writes:

> FEELING UTTERLY LOST and USELESS: I am feeling extremely confused about what I am supposed to do ... like an outsider looking in … (and) this confusion about what I am supposed to do has grown over course of this project. At this point, I am feeling: what is my actual role in this? Do you actually need me to be involved in the planning? Or, am I getting in the way? (from an email sent April 15, 5:33 PM).

After reading this email we researchers worry that a serious conflict has arisen between Michael and ourselves, but at the planning session the next morning we discover that this is not the case. Michael explains that he is upset because he did not

know how to be in Narnia as Michael when he "*is*" the White Witch when he is in Narnia. We discuss this dilemma and decide that Michael will not be Michael, but will instead be the White Witch disguised as a fellow child, a spy, when he enters Narnia with the children in the future.

Furthermore, this solution is not just for the future. It becomes clear that Michael needs us to change the past as well as the future, because his lack of a coherent role in the last session is disturbing him still. We need to find a way to make the past coherent, by retelling it, so that we can all, including Michael, move forward together.

Therefore, we also decide that Michael was not Michael during the last acting session. In future acting sessions he will wear a paper bag coat, as do the other children, but in this last session he was already disguised as a student and, we say, had just forgotten to wear his coat. It is possible to rewrite this past as we are planning no change in Michael's behavior when he becomes a spy -- only the paper bag coat will make Michael a spy and not a teacher.

As soon as we have looped back in time together, in this way, we smile. And, with these brief, conspiratorial smiles we adults suddenly feel closer to one another. In the evening Michael writes another email, this one titled: "Thanks." He writes: "Thanks for listening. Thanks for caring. Thanks for everything" (from an email sent April 16, 11:44 PM).

At the time we sense that this shift in the adult relationships marks a turning point the playworld project, and with hindsight this appears to have been true. After this point boundaries between child and adult participants, public and private, work

and play, documentation and creation, forms of documentation, and even between dreams and reality, are redrawn and made permeable. The following are a few examples of these shifts.

During a weekend meeting following this conversation and email, Robert leaves before the meeting it is over to go write field notes about the meeting. He says he 'just needs to get it all down.' I also begin to feel a need to stop meetings and acting sessions in order to write field notes and tape exhaustively, as if the recording of the playworld were somehow becoming the playworld itself.

Michael, Robert and I repeatedly come to meetings with suggestions for modes of presenting the playworld. Michael brings music for the soundtrack of a narrative film of the playworld, Robert emails us broadcasts of the radio show, "This American Life," and I bring clips of the footage that I think could be part of an experimental documentary of the playworld. We bring these burned CDs and DVDs to each other as gifts, sharing the work of our favorite artists with each other, and our discussions concerning these presentations of the playworld are both humorous and half-serious.

Field notes and emails merge, as emails are now inserted into field notes and emails begin to include long descriptions of playworld sessions and preparation. Emails also begin to include more frequent mentions of readings and films outside of the playworld. I experiment with merging personal journal entries with the field notes, but conclude by writing extensive and descriptive journal entries and then editing them into field notes.

Repeatedly, in our field notes, we write that we have amnesia. We forget whole swatches of time during playworld sessions. This occurs particularly when we are acting.

However, our efforts to employ other eyes and ears to record the playworld from the outside are fraught. I am relieved not to be fully responsible for the filming when Heide, the professional cinematographer, is with us on the day the White Witch appears, but I am also somehow embarrassed by how deeply involved with the project, and with each other, we must appear, and my embarrassment makes me hesitate in my engagement. Our external observer arrives for her second visit in pajama's, having been invited by the children to participate in Pajama day, and finds herself wiping away her tears as she makes her notes.

One recess, after the final day in Narnia, Albert and Luke ask me to film them telling Albert's dream of Narnia, a dream about the two of them and another child in a sack in the White Witch's sleigh. They ask me to film them in the White Witch's castle, so we all enter the cardboard shade. We can see Michael just outside making a cardboard wardrobe for the play about the playworld that will conclude our project. Albert tells his dream. When Luke helps out, explaining one part of the dream, Michael asks, "Did you have the same dream?" Luke says "No, he told me his dream this morning ... and I'm in it!" But, in a way, we *are* all dreaming together.

We have two cameras and the boys ask to see the footage of them telling the dream, and then for me to film them watching this footage, and then for me to film them watching *this* footage. From within this spiral they join me on the bit of castle floor from which I filmed them and we see Michael through the castle window in the

camera's VCR and in "real" life, simultaneously. After a moment Luke raises his hand, pointing to the camera and then to Michael, then to the camera again, and we all begin to giggle. We have all experienced, simultaneously, a moment of truly not knowing where we are, or what is real – a split second of falling so fully into the film that we do not know which Michael is moving in our field of vision *now*. This is so much fun that Albert runs to his lunchbox and returns with crackers to share with Luke and me. We grab and munch, as if we are at a movie theater, and try to recreate the falling sensation we have just enjoyed by watching the film we have just made of our watching and falling.

When recess is almost over, Michael warns Luke, Albert and me that we will have to stop filming in a minute. I realize that I need this warning as much as the children, as I am having 'the most fun, ever,' and need a minute to prepare myself for the end of this fun. When I emerge from the castle I tell Michael that I have just experienced the one moment during the entire playworld when I knew I was just having fun, not doing research.

Furthermore, the playworld project literally begins to become a part of our daily lives as we adult participants begin to discuss the playworld project, through email, by phone or in person, thoughout most of every day. Unbelievable as it may seem, in April we begin writing to each other, between us, an average of thirteen emails a day; in May we are writing an average of seventeen emails a day; and in June we are writing even more frequently each day. These emails discuss schedules, funding and acting tips, concerns and news about the students, thoughts about future sets and props, emergencies that have come up concerning props and sets for the

week at hand, and also our playworld-related dreams. (In the first half of the academic year we wrote an average of one email a day, to each other, between us, in February we began to write an average of three times a day, and in March we wrote an average of eight times a day.)

May

Michael has said at several points during the playworld, as things did not work out as we had planned, that things always work out in the end. As the final day approaches we adults begin to feel an inevitability to the playworld's finale. It seems that the more furiously we plan every detail, and the more furiously the children plan every detail for us -- making potions, weapons, shields, capes, lists of tasks, etc. -- the more certain we all become that the ending of the playworld will be out of our hands but, hopefully, ultimately, for the best.

At the penultimate acting session Milo tries to break things: the mood, the frame that sustains the performance of Narnia (the open wardrobe) and the props themselves. Also, the adult participants have great trouble ending this session. At the end of a feast in the beaver dam Sonja/Edwina and Michael/the spying-White-Witch-disguised-as-a-child disappear. When their disappearance is discovered almost all the children want to remain in Narnia to rescue Mr. Tumnus immediately. We can barely convince them that we must all leave Narnia to plan our strategy before proceeding with this rescue.

We have three guest actors during this session: the robin who leads the children to the safety of the beaver's dam is played by a scholar who creates

playworlds in Japan, Kiyo; Mr. Beaver is played by an undergraduate assistant, Christian; and Mrs. Beaver is played by Lars' wife, Helle. The children have prepared a beaver's dam complete with a banquet table that seats us all and Michael has designed and built a roof for the dam that filters the light like snow and ice might. We researchers have prepared another feast: potatoes with butter, creamy milk, fried fish (actually zucchini, as Michael is vegetarian) and a marmalade roll.

Throughout the session Milo points out inconsistencies in details of the playworld, such as Mr. Beaver's costume: "He's wearing shoes!" He will not eat or drink anything in the beaver's dam. And he even considers ripping a prop, a paper fish. Milo leaves Narnia walking around, not through, the wardrobe, and returns with pen and paper. He closes the wardrobe doors and prepares the doors to be locked, although the padlock is no longer in the room. And he draws an elaborate picture while sitting just outside the dam, making critical comments as he draws, such as, "Mr. Michael, he (Mr. Beaver) didn't make the dam, we did."

However, Milo's behavior during this session not entirely destructive of the playworld artifice: it is contradictory, as if he has a desire to continue engagement with the playworld and creation of the playworld from a position that is outside by near by the playworld. Milo's picture is drawn in the style of the map of Narnia that is in the novel and it is a picture of both Narnia and Milo's "real" life. When Milo becomes interested in a discussion of a plan to save Mr. Tumnus he says to Michael, 'Come on Mr. Michael, you are the White Witch! Put on your uniform!' And when the children notice that Michael has disappeared, as they hug each other and make exaggerated wailing noises, Milo says, 'I know where Michael is. Don't be stupid.

Don't you know he's changing into his uniform? Are you guys blind?' After we have all left Narnia, when a student suggests that we should all help the Beavers clean up their dam and Michael says that we would all have to got back into Narnia to do this, Milo says, loudly, 'I was the one who left Narnia.'

Figure 3.7: Milo and the robin.

At our final adult rehearsal, ten days after Milo's protest at the beaver dam, we confirm our decision to follow the children's plan concerning the ending of the book. The children will make the White Witch good rather than having Aslan the lion arrive and save the day, as he does in the novel. After this rehearsal I find myself suddenly very sad to be ending this project: I want only to remain in Narnia. The other adults

experience their sense of loss later in the project.

Figure 3.8: Three pictures of children's experiences of being separated from Mr. Tumnus, who has been made into a stone statue and then imprisoned by the White Witch.

Figure 3.8 continued

When I arrive the children first finish their beautiful shields and capes, and then they meet to try to decide upon a plan to save Mr. Tumnus. They sit by the door instead of in their usual meeting area because their shields and capes are drying all over the room. Milo is having a hard time during meeting, he is rolling around on the floor and interrupting people. However, the majority of the students still work with great concentration.

First, Michael hands each child all of the drawings and paintings of the playworld that he or she has created over the course of the entire year. He asks each child to look for plans they have made to save Mr. Tumnus and to choose the one plan they like best. Then each child puts their unchosen work aside and uses their chosen picture to explain their plan to the group.

As the children describe their plans, Michael collects the drawings and paintings and categorizes them, putting those where the White Witch is captured in one pile, those in which magic is used against the White Witch in another pile, those in which the White Witch is made good in yet another pile, etc. At every step he asks if his choices are OK and his students agree that they are. Then Michael asks the children to decide on one plan.

Michael asks Milo to sit apart from the group twice during the meeting, to calm down, saying that Milo can return whenever he wants. The first time Michael does this, two children go to get Milo after a short while. The second time Milo starts to cry and Michael goes to talk to him, and then brings him back to the group looking much calmer. Milo explains his plan, which is that we blow up the whole school to save Mr. Tumnus. Michael includes this plan in the group discussion.

By the end of the meeting everyone is in high spirits and horsing around. Milo puts a canvas bag over his face in a silly way. Michael moves the bag, looks at Milo, and then puts the bag back over Milo's face again.

After school Martina, who is again waiting for a parent to pick her up, takes a camera and asks me to sit in the wardrobe and tell her about my favorite part of Narnia. She has an impressive interview style and I say that I remember how Martina used to be so scared, and how she used to hide behind me, but that now she is not scared at all. She says 'Yah, I am not scared at all now.'

Then Martina asks me to get some loose pages from the book and to read these pages, all disjointed as they are, to her into the camera. I do this until we are interrupted, and then she gives me the camera and reads the pages to me. In an amazing feat of early reading she uses her imagination and memory, even pretending to have difficulty reading certain words although she cannot yet decode, to weave a story that continues for several minutes. This story ends with all four sibling heroes dying.

After Martina has gone home, Michael asks me to remain in the wardrobe for my interview. I have been interviewing all the adult participants, and filming these interviews as we talk, irregularly, but interviews of me are conducted and filmed by each of the other participants in turn. Michael's interview style is to ask many specific questions, and after he asks Martina's question, "What is your favorite part of the playworld?" he insists that we switch seats, me taking the camera, as he wants to answer this one of his own questions right away. Throughout the remainder of the playworld, Michael's eagerness to answer this question continues, and this eagerness

is soon shared by almost all of the other adults, and also the children. In interviews, rehearsals and classroom discussions it is not uncommon to hear someone asking: "Can you ask me: "What is your favorite part of the playworld?"" or "My favorite part of the playworld is ..."

I visit the classroom again the following day, the final day of preparation for the rescue of Mr. Tumnus. I am, again, the only one of the researchers who is free to come up. I have already told Michael that my favorite day was the day the wardrobe was opened, but this final day of preparation for the rescue of Mr. Tumnus soon becomes my new favorite day.

In morning meeting Michael explains that he has decided that they should try to use everyone's plan and he begins to work with the students to put the piles of plans in an order. He and the students create a storyboard by placing the piles of pictures in a row on the floor. The class works with fierce concentration, talking and listening with their full attention, and the children reason through various complicated narratives: Why hit the witch with a tree when she was already made "nice" by a potion? The hitting with trees must happen earlier! etc.

At one point the following question arises: "Why sit on the four thrones if there is a prophesy that this will kill the White Witch, and she has already been made into a good person?" This seems to stump Michael and all the children, so they begin to reorder their storyboard. I try not to interrupt, I have never offered an unsolicited contribution to a class discussion before, but I cannot restrain myself: I suggest a close reading of the poem in the novel that contains the prophecy. Then I wait nervously until I see that my contribution is made use of in such a way that it is

helpful, not disruptive. Nancy recites the poem, from memory, and Michael and some of the children realize that the evil *times* will be over and done when the thrones are filled but that the Witch will not die. I think to myself that it has been a breakthrough of some sort, for me, to step into this class discussion successfully, and I observe that I feel deeply and joyfully relieved.

Michael then stops the discussion. He tells the children that they look tired and tells them to do whatever they want to do, that they can even just lie down for a while if they want to. I experience my second surprise of the day. As I watch the children take their "rest" among the props, preparing to finish their play by lying and playing in and on the setting of Narnia that they and Michael have created over the course of the school year, I see the world of the classroom and the world of Narnia lying right next to each other, breathing together, both porous. I see the room anew and I feel a sense of great awe for the children: It seems to me that when I first came to this classroom I couldn't believe that I would find anything new here, but that I am, right this moment, being shown a newness. When I describe these feelings to Michael he says that he forgets that I don't see what he sees all the time, the children's free play in the classroom with its wardrobe, trees, lamppost, cave, beaver dam, castle and cage, but I am not convinced that he sees daily what I am seeing now.

When the children return to the meeting Milo says, 'this plan is a good plan because everyone gets to do their plan (the plan that is derived from their own picture).' The children are now sitting facing the board, and Michael works with them to make a list of all the things to do and who will do them. He wants the numbers to work out evenly: 7 tasks and 20 children, and just two children do the first

task, so three children to each task. But Pearl repeats Milo's suggestion that they each do the task that derived from their own picture. Michael sees the wisdom of Milo and Pearl's point immediately, and the children literally cheer after Pearl has spoken. It occurs to me that the children have hit upon a central lesson of our playworld: that we each must live this joint world in our own way, simultaneously.

I stay for lunch and during lunch Rachel, one of the oldest and most mature first graders, asks me why I am still in the classroom, as adults from the university rarely stay for lunch. I respond that I am still in the classroom because I am having too much fun to leave, and then I realize that this is true. As well as the events described directly above, this morning has included another wonderfully fun time for me: the recess in which Luke and Albert and I were in the castle, recording and viewing their dream telling in an endless spiral.

After lunch yet another series of unusual events occurs. When the class is lining up to go outside, Lindsey's father arrives and explains that he is picking her up early because they are leaving in the morning to fly to Mexico. Michael looks very upset and sounds slightly desperate as he explains to Lindsay's father why tomorrow, the day we try to save Mr. Tumnus and Narnia from the White Witch, is such an important day, so unfortunate to miss. Lindsay's father becomes visibly uncomfortable as Michael passionately tries to convince him to have Lindsay attend school the next morning until 10:00 AM. Lindsay's father insists, repeatedly, that they have to catch a plane tomorrow morning. The children watch the conversation intently, and I feel simultaneously protective of Michael, and full of admiration at his level of investment.

Then, when the class enters the classroom after their return from recess, Michael decides that they are too noisy and makes them come in and out again and again, over and over. He finally raises his voice and almost yells at his students as they stand outside the door, waiting to enter, yet again. I am so troubled by this that I overstep another boundary that I have set for myself as a visiting researcher in Michael's classroom: I give Michael unsolicited advice while he is in the midst of teaching. I touch Michael's arm and say to him, "Chill."

As soon as I have spoken this one word I immediately I think, 'I've surely done it (made Michael wish I was not in his classroom) now.' But I also worry that we are somehow messing the whole thing up, that the rehearsal for the next day's finale will never take place and that we are loosing everything we have built with the children if we become authoritarian, now. Just a short while later this last concern seems founded. The rehearsal of the plan has finally begun and Milo is being inattentive and disruptive, and Michael confronts Milo in such a way that I suddenly think that he is being selfish and that he is demeaning Milo. However, it turns out that I am wrong on all counts: Michael will express his appreciation of my intervention in the evening, we will finish the rehearsal this day, and Michael appears to strengthen his relationship of mutual respect with his students through his difficult interaction with Milo.

Michael speaks right to Milo in front of all the other children, saying he is sorry to single Milo out but that Milo cannot be part of the plan unless he commits to go through with it because they all need him. Then Michael asks Milo what he will choose to do. Milo's response makes it sound like he does not want to be in the

playworld, but this is because he misunderstood the construction of Michael's question. When Michael responds to Milo's mistaken response, Milo bravely and clearly, with great focus and impressive articulation, states several times that he has been misunderstood. Milo's voice and posture are powerfully respectful and self-respecting.

In the next hour we make it through the entire rehearsal of the plan. At one moment it seems that a large group of boys with shields cannot stay still long enough to let some other children poison and trap the White Witch and I suggest that this band, which is already being led by Milo, follow his instructions and form a wall to protect the other children. My suggestion is cheered first by these boys, then by all the children, and Michael is pleased with my suggestion as well. This response makes me feel that my whole self has been accepted by the whole class, including Michael, for the first time: I am moved and very happy. Formerly shy Anahi plays a brave guard and after rehearsal is over I see her pushing some boys.

When I finally leave I am barely on time to get to my class at the university. I tell Michael that with each time I postponed my leaving I felt more and more "nuts." The final time I decide to stay 'just a little longer' I almost need to lie down on the floor, literally, because I have such a strong sense that I will never get out of Michael's classroom.

Preparation for our last day in Narnia goes on until the very last minute. In the evening I interview Robert. Then we both call Michael on the phone to consult about final details. On the phone I apologized for saying "Chill" to Michael earlier in the day, but he says that I helped him calm down, that he really appreciated this, and that

he really appreciated the benefit of having another adult in the room. Michael also tells us that when the children had finished writing down their plan, so they could read it to the four siblings the next day, they asked Michael to keep the plan safe from the White Witch by sleeping with it under his pillow. He says that he knew he would do this if he said he would do it, and that he could not sleep well with a piece of large paper folded under his pillow, so he asked the children if he could keep the plan under his bed. They said no, this was not a good idea, so he suggested sleeping with the plan next to his bed and under a set of noise keys and they did agree to this plan.

Finally the big day arrives. Michael emails us, at five AM, **"Today is the day!!!** Is anyone else as excited as I am?" (from an email sent May 6). However, when we enter the classroom the children are relatively subdued. I am also quite calm, perhaps because I sense that the playworld is finally out of our hands, but the other researchers are quite nervous.

Once this session is completed Robert will have particularly severe amnesia concerning the day's events. I will have almost no memory of this session from the minute I am in costume until the cameras are packed to go. This amnesia may be due, in part, to the fact that during this session Michael is often in character as the White Witch. As the two adults with the children (Sonja/Edwina is the White Witch's prisoner and Lars/Mr. Tumnus is a stone statue and caged), Robert and I concentrate on trying to prevent chaos from descending. We organize and calm the children to allow each child to carry out their own piece of the plan to save Mr. Tumnus. However, we are not sure why we can remember so little of this exciting day.

Each child is utterly thrilled to carry out his or her piece of the plan. Milo's part of the plan has been reduced from blowing up the whole school to blowing up the four thrones after the four child heroes, and also the twenty children, have sat on these thrones. When it is time for Milo to carry out his part of the plan, he throws a "hand grenade" that he has brought through the wardrobe into Narnia. Milo then engages everyone in a dramatic countdown to the explosion after making sure, in a very assertive and sincere tone of voice, that everyone is standing clear. However, Milo refuses to stop destroying thrones: after the explosion he spends many minutes tearing apart the cardboard thrones, first with a few other children and then on his own, with no signs of tiring. My reminding him that we need him to finish the plan finally convinces Milo to join his classmates in bringing the stone Mr. Tumnus to life.

At a certain point we enter the ultimate crescendo of a mad rush to let everyone have his or her moment with the White Witch before utter chaos descends. Then Mr. Tumnus is breathed upon and comes to life and leaves his cage to embrace the now-good White Witch, ending the conflict. All the children begin to chant "Party! Party! Party!" in unison and I see Michael looking about in utter bewilderment as the chanting goes on and on and on, louder and louder and louder.

I am a bit nervous about the class being so loud, but the other adult researchers have a different response to this chanting. They feel completely drawn into the pandemonium. Robert writes that he has had only one other experience, in his lifetime, of "just being sucked into a moment and coming out the other without really knowing what happened." This was his experience when he was a part of a crowd at a music festival that "became a human wave and tore down the (chain

linked) fence with our collective strength." Robert writes in his field note of the entire session: "(T)he feeling of togetherness was at many times for me absolute, especially during the moments when we were chanting, moving, and huddling together."

Somehow we all, eventually, assemble at a long table for the feast. The children feed each other generously, handing eggs and cake and potatoes to all, and everyone is eating as if they are famished. The children eat more and then more, and no one eats with more gusto than Milo.

However, late in the feast Milo leaves the table to try to destroy the wardrobe. Michael turns to me and says he thinks Milo will succeed in tearing the wooden wardrobe apart. He asks me what I think he should do and I say that I guess he has to stop Milo. Michael takes off his costume, takes Milo off of the wardrobe and out of Narnia through the wardrobe, and walks Milo outside of the classroom. Outside the classroom he tells Milo that Milo could hurt himself, that Mr. Michael is not the witch but is Milo's teacher, now, and then asks Milo if he wants to come back to draw or to go back to Narnia. Milo says that he wants to draw and he comes back into the classroom and makes me a beautiful flower. When he presents it to me I am deeply touched and I pin it to my shirt.

Michael then decides that everyone needs a break. He tells the children to come out of Narnia and we all leave through the wardrobe. Some of the children have to be dragged out kicking and screaming and, intermittently, smiling. Maya is a first grader who was in Michael's class as a kindergartener and who is very feisty. It takes three of us to pry her off the wardrobe and when I put her down outside she runs

back in. This pulling the children out of Narnia is, for some reason, a pleasure for all of us. The adults are all smiling, the children who had already left Narnia are laughing, and later Maya says that this was her favorite part of the entire playworld.

The children go with Michael for a run and we, the adults from the university, collapse. Robert is literally in a corner, the meeting corner, lying prone and spent under some paper 'snow'. The whole room is a wreck and we are utterly exhausted. In the final class meeting one of the children will say "The whole class is party animals." We are in the pause after the wild rumpus of the party animals. We are in the powerful quiet after the storm. Or, perhaps, we are in the quiet in the eye of the hurricane with the second half of the turbulence yet to come.

We clean up, put the back on the wardrobe, and then the children return. I have forgotten to take off my bandana, a part of my Susan costume, and the children stand outside the door and ask "Is Susan here?" They refuse to reenter the classroom until I realize and rectify my mistake.

When everyone is back in the classroom we begin work on four murals, using magic markers to draw and eating apples as we work. I draw with a group of children that includes Anahi, Milo and Marcel, a quiet, mellow and silly first grader who was in Michael's class as a kindergartener. Milo takes a camera and spends half of his time filming and half of his time drawing. Marcel says that that the White Witch was not really the White Witch because she had 'boy hair' and I respond that I have 'boy hair' but am a girl, so perhaps the White Witch could have 'boy hair' too. She could, everyone agrees, but then Anahi says that there was a stripe in the White Witch's

hair. The conversation stops here, however: no one suggests that Michael was the White Witch.

The children then begin dressing up. I film them from inside the wardrobe alongside Anahi, who now has a second camera. We film what Michael says is his favorite game with the wardrobe: the children hide in the fur coats and Michael says "Is there no one there?" and then squeezes their faces through the heavy cloth and soft fur.

When the children leave the classroom for their second time outside I suddenly, strongly, want to run with them. There is much cleanup to be done inside and so I do not go outside immediately, but soon I walk out to Michael in the field. He is standing, hands on hips, watching his children run in the green grass surrounded by high fences and barbed wire. I think to myself that he is the catcher in the rye, and then I start to run and many children come to join me. I stop to tie someone's shoe, and then we are running again and we are on the grass and it is a real romp. We run a bit all holding hands, a long chain of us, and then we collapse on the grass and do not want to get up, so we look for pictures in the clouds.

When it is time for us to go back to the university Pearl tells Michael that they should all make cards for us. This is a part of the ritual goodbye for a child whose parents are moving to another military base. Michael tells the class that they do not have time to make cards now, but that in a few minutes they will complete the rest of the goodbye ritual for students who are moving to another base. First I finish packing up the costumes. Martina is wearing my Susan bandanna and wants to keep it. Unfortunately it is not mine and so I have to take it back. She tells me, nervously,

that she still has the professor's watch at home, and she is visibly relieved when I say that this is OK. Michael asks me to leave the White Witch costume with him in the classroom.

When it is time for the goodbyes to begin we all come to the meeting area and sit in a circle. Everyone says, in turn, his or her "words." The children say that they do not want us to stop coming to their classroom. They say that they "really appreciate" our coming and that they "had so much fun." After they have all spoken, Nancy and Luke and Maribel are crying.

When it is Michael's turn to speak he says that he appreciated us coming to work with him all these Fridays and Saturdays, especially the Saturdays. As he speaks he is tearing up. Then his voice breaks and he is crying too hard to speak. Next it is my turn to speak and I feel detached, consciously emphasizing memory over loss as I tell the children that I will think of them whenever I read *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe*. Robert has also begun to cry. He is not shedding tears but he is shaking and when it is his turn to talk he cannot speak at all. Sonja manages to say a few words but then she covers her face and cries and cries and cries. Lars tells the children that they taught him how to play again, and that when they are 27 they needed to do the same thing he has done, they need to find someone to play with again. Everyone comes to hug us individually, then there are group hugs, with Lars nearly falling over from the weight of the children's exuberance, then we all blow movie star kisses to each other, and finally we rise and gather our things to go.

As we walk out the door Michael calls out to me, "Did you remember to leave the Witch's costume here? I did, and say so. Sonja is sobbing so hard in the parking

lot that we cannot get in the car until she is comforted. We four siblings drive down the school's driveway, past the barbed wire fence, and then go out for a drink.

When the day is done it seems that most of us have forgotten something somewhere. Robert left the rented DAT in the classroom and his cooking pot in my car, Christian left his sweater in the classroom and his suit in my car, Lars left his shirt somewhere, then Michael leaves the sweater and DAT in his garage, etc. This leads to many emails and extra meetings.

Figure 3.9: Confronting the White Witch, attacking the White Witch and one of the four thrones before it is destroyed.

Figure 3.9 continued

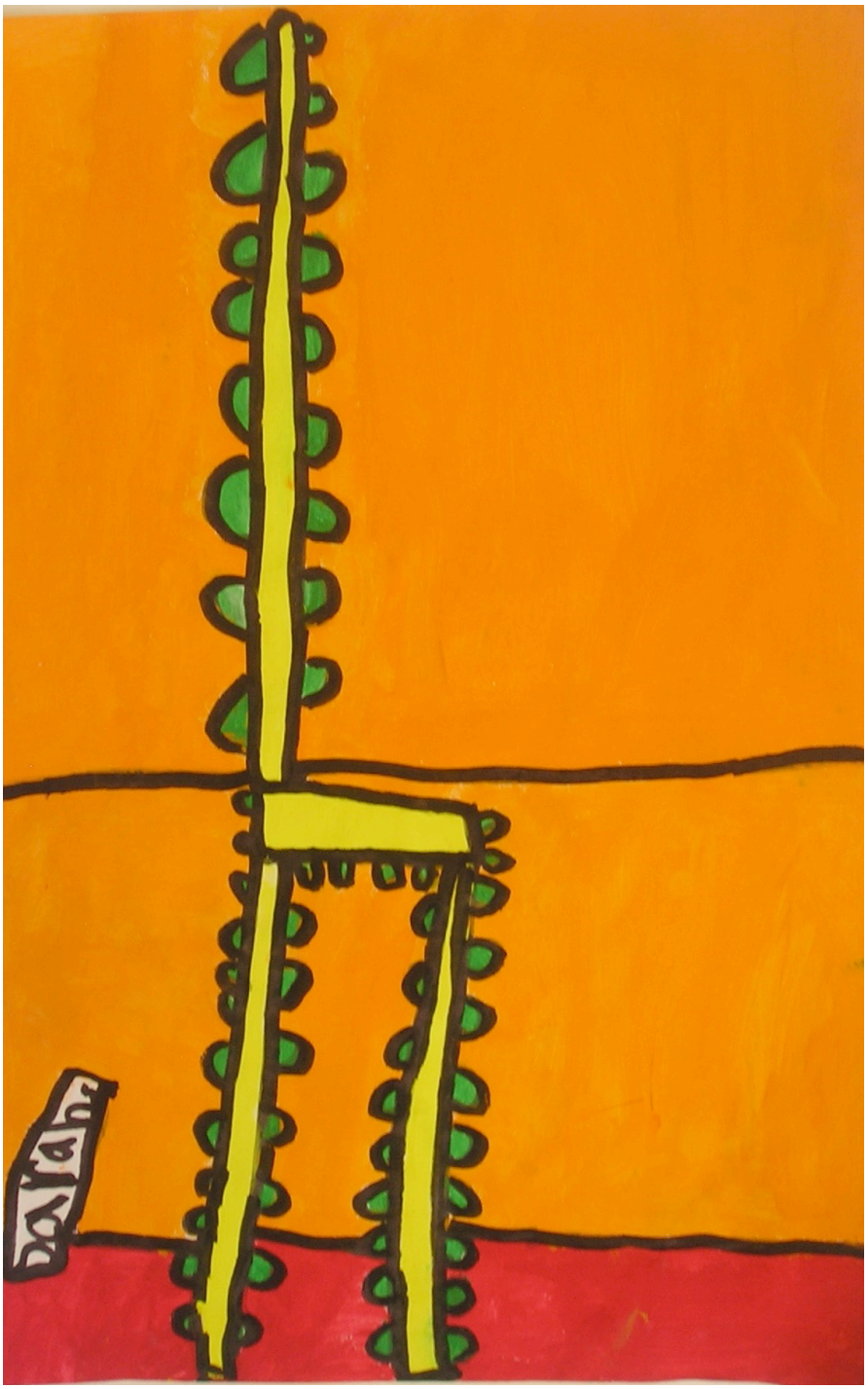


Figure 3.9 continued

June

In the following week Sonja and I return to the classroom to ask the children what part of the playworld they would like to see in the film of the playworld that I will make for them. When he sees us Michael tells us right away that the playworld is 'anything but over!' Michael explains that excitement is still high in his classroom and that the children have decided to make a play about the playworld for their families.

We sit on the lawn to eat lunch with the class on a white sheet. Under the trees and on the green grass the children, Michael and Sonja make an idyllic picnic party. Martina gives me the professor's watch but tells me her father has promised her that he will buy her one very much like it.

We all look at photographs of the playworld on Sonja's computer, sitting bunched together in the shade in front of her small screen. All except for Milo, who spends his recess finishing his mask of a beaver's face. Michael comments that Milo, like Michael himself, never tires when working on an art project.

Two days after this visit with Sonja I return to the class on my own. On the drive up I listen to music played very loudly. I have felt a very strong urge to listen to music, lately – something I have not felt in many years. And for the first time I feel reluctant to go to the classroom. However, on this day the children will hold the most amazing discussion I have ever heard (the discussion that was briefly described in the introduction).

When I arrive, the class is in the midst of an intense discussion concerning the construction of the one prop they have decided to create in duplicate for their play

about the playworld, the wardrobe. Mr. Tumnus's cave, the Beaver dam, the castle, the cage and even the trees and snow and lamppost can, apparently, play themselves in the play about the playworld, but the wooden wardrobe must be played by a cardboard box. When I walk in Milo is suggesting that there should be just one front door to this second wardrobe, not two, 'so that you can not see light through the crack,' but he is alone in this opinion. The rest of the class wants realism, two front doors on the cardboard wardrobe because the wooden wardrobe has two front doors. Michael agrees because, he says, this construction will take less space in the already-over-crowded classroom.

During lunch I come inside to photograph the classroom from above, climbing on the furniture to do so. Milo is also inside, missing most of his lunch period. He is drawing madly. He draws quickly, page after page, and he throws each page in the trash after he is finished with it. He asks me not to take any photographs of him and I do not.

After lunch the children gather for the meeting in which they will write the play. However, the list of characters soon includes a monkey, a parrot and baby fauns, and Pearl says that she does not like these 'extra characters.' Nancy responds, eloquently, that 'this is our play,' not the playworld or the book, so that 'extra characters' are welcome.

Michael states that this issue must be decided before they can continue with the writing of the play, and he suggests that people who agree with Pearl move to one side of the meeting circle, while those who agree with Nancy move to the other side. The class splits fairly evenly and then a heated and impressive debate begins. Nancy

and Pearl, particularly, pit their arguments and rhetoric against each other like professionals.

After an insanely long amount of time for six and seven year olds to sit for a meeting, Michael finally stops the conversation. He tells the children that they just want two different things, and so they will have to choose between the two options, instead of trying to find a resolution. No one is changing his or her mind despite the great talking, he says.

Michael then turns to me, in front of the children, telling me he had not anticipated this dilemma and asking me if I can think of a metaphor to help him explain to the children that there is no compromise to be found. I tell Michael to use a metaphor that he used just yesterday, in an email, and he says this a great idea. He tells the children: on Christmas you enjoy anticipating opening the gifts, and also enjoy the gifts themselves, but you cannot possibly enjoy both of these things at once.

Pearl is not yet sure of her response to Michael's intervention but she begins to take charge immediately. She is sitting on a low table and uses beautiful head and hand gestures as she speaks. She observes that everyone on the other side of the room is crowded around Nancy and asks why. She points out that her younger sister, Liz, a kindergartener in the class, has something to say, and she asks why no one else on her side of the room is talking, motivating some of her followers to speak up. She is an amazingly rousing and eloquent, passionate and thoughtful, proud and sensitive speaker.

Someone then suggests that the class should split into two groups and do two different plays of the playworld. Pearl says, simply, "No." Her face is so honest and

expressive as she speaks this one word that we all are all brought to attention, waiting for what will come next.

Michael gazes at Pearl intensely and fixedly, seemingly supporting her with his eyes. The children who have become tired and are lying on the floor, picking at their noses and shoelaces, sit up straight and still their hands. I become aware that I am reeling, I can actually feel my stomach sinking. I think to myself that the situation is becoming a bit overwhelming. And then Pearl delivers a speech in which she tells the class that that they are all her best friends and that she does not want two separate plays.

After this speech the most unexpected thing happens. Nancy silently stands up, walks across the circle, and sits down on the floor next to Pearl. There is a still in the room, a static, as the rest of us pause and wonder what has just happened, and if we can believe our eyes.

It seems, now, that we have no solution, no possible direction to go from here. Then Alice says, "We can do two plays, one each way, each with all of us." Pearl asks her to explain this again, and she does, and then Pearl smiles the very biggest smile.

Everyone is practically cheering. Then Nancy then tells Michael his own metaphor as story, ingeniously changing the meaning by adding time: we anticipate opening our gifts as we walk towards the tree, then open our gifts, so we have both the anticipation and the gifts! And then Michael takes everyone outside for a run.

We go out to run in the field but the children do not all race to the end of the field and back as they usually do. Instead, many of the children weave from side to

side as they run, some of them waving their arms. Michael tells me that in all of his fifteen years in the classroom he has never witnessed a class discussion as amazing as this one.

The following week I return to the classroom with Sonja to see a rehearsal of the play. The play is fantastic. It is moving, exciting and surreal with its multiple actors playing one character simultaneously, and it's combination of improvisation and chanting in unison.

Everyone, Michael included, is relaxed and happy, in an end-of-the-year celebratory mood, and the children are showing their affection physically more than usual. Nancy rubs her face on my velour sleeve, Albert and Cayden, an immature and young kindergartener who speaks little English and is best friends with Albert, each want to rub my nose, and a few different children come to me and hug my head while I am sitting on the floor. Sonja also notices that she is the recipient of more physical affection than usual.

I next visit the classroom on my own and everyone, again, seems happy and calm. Nancy gives me a big hug when I arrive, Luke tries to put a barrette in my hair and Luke and Parker come to have me film their dreams about Narnia with obvious pleasure. During the rehearsal of the play Milo is surprisingly shy as he acts, and he has decided to only play two small parts: the robin and Father Winter.

During this visit I am particularly moved by the following event: Martina and Fernanda tell me that they have changed their names and Martina gives me a piece of paper with her new autograph: "Arrow," and explains that she is giving me the paper so that I will remember her new name. Just as my reaction to Michael's story of

reading *The Phantom Tollbooth* stands for me as the front cover of this story of a playworld project, this gift of Martina's, the actually scrap of paper with the word "Arrow" on it *as she gives it to me*, seems to me to be the whole playworld, itself. As with my reaction to Michael's story, I note this sensation at the time of the event but it feels as accurate and strong, now, as it did then.

Sonja, Robert and I visit the classroom one last time all together to see the dress rehearsal of the play and to show the children and Michael the film of the playworld. The film is a great success and it is wonderful to watch the faces of the children as they watch the screen. They cry again when Mr. Tumnus cries, gasp again when the White Witch yells at Edwina, etc.

Finally, Sonja and I go up in the evening for the final performance of the play. It is a pleasure to stand in a corner and see Michael and the children with the third, and previously unseen, piece of the class – the children's families. After the play is finished Sonja and I speak with the families while Michael takes the children for a run. We are overwhelmed by the parents' excitement about the project, and by their unsolicited suggestions that we involve parents in the next playworld we do. Many parents say that they were so struck by the intensity of their children's enthusiasm that they would have attended a monthly seminar to learn how to help their children play and read about Narnia at home. Alice's mother says that Alice would tell her she was the White Witch whenever she wore white, and Rachel's mother reminds us that she had to leave Rachel at school, lying in the corner on a mat, one day when Rachel felt too sick to participate but refused to leave school and miss a playworld episode.

All of the adult participants meet one last time on a weekend at the laboratory, to inscribe and sign the books we have bought for the children. The inscription is a modified quotation from the book: “Dear (child’s name), This is only the beginning of your adventures in Narnia. – Michael, Sonja, Beth, Robert and Lars." We then wrap each copy of *The Lion, The Witch and The Wardrobe* in brown paper and pack the books in a large cardboard box.

Lars and I bring this box of books to the classroom on the last day of school. Michael had asked us to come on the second to last day of school, so he could have the last day of school alone with his students, but when we drove up the day before we were stopped by a tremendous traffic jam when we were half way to the school. We feel nervous about intruding upon Michael’s final goodbyes with his students. However, this ending to the playworld turns out to be a most wonderful ending. It is an ending day that is worthy of the past playworld year, for Michael and his students as well as for Lars and I.

Lars and I leave so early, just in case there is another traffic problem, that we have time to stop for breakfast near by the school. The chain restaurant in an abandoned strip mall sets the dream-like tone of the visit. We begin to expect the unexpected.

As Lars and I park in the school parking lot Michael drives up right behind us, waving, and the base of his Geto Boys (music) literally shakes our car as well as his. When we are taking the cameras and box of books from the trunk, Michael strides across the parking lot towards us, grinning, and he looks ethereal wearing an electric orange Hawaiian shirt in an odd light. Next, it begins to rain: the signal that the

wardrobe will open! Lars holds my green umbrella over me as I set up the camera, so I can film our final entrance, and Michael says that Lars looks like Mr. Tumnus when he first met Lucas under the lamppost, holding his umbrella and his brown paper packages.

Inside the classroom the walls are relatively bare. Artwork to be taken home covers the floor and the furniture. We have to hold the class meeting by the door, as this is the only bit of empty carpet. First I hand each child a DVD of the playworld film. Then Lars brings the box to the meeting area, opens it, and hands everyone his or her brown paper package.

The children tear off the paper and appear not to know what to expect. As soon as they realize that they each have their own copy of *The Lion, the Witch and the Wardrobe* they are ecstatic, and immediately begin to "read" according to their ability. Some children look at the pictures as if they have never seen them before, exclaiming over this detail or that, although this is the same edition of the book that Michael read them at the start of the year (and that reappeared in their class, in tact, after the final feast). Nancy points out that the younger children are Edmund and Lucy, not Edwina and Lucas, and I explain that we changed the names when Sonja wanted to play Edmund but did not want to play a boy. Albert and Cayden together find the picture of Mr. Tumnus's cave, look at each other, and exclaim, "Let's go to visit Mr. Tumnus! Let's *go*!"

The children read their books with eager awe for almost twenty minutes. Michael, Lars and I raise our eyebrows at each other because we did not realize that the children's love of the playworld had already been translated into a love of

reading. We had hoped that the playworld would inspire a love of reading, but had not expected to see this displayed immediately, so definitively or in every single child.

Neither Michael nor I, in our combined decades in the classroom, have seen anything like this passion for reading before. And then, as the reading winds down, we are all three moved to tears by the display. Robert and Sonja, when they see the footage of the event later in the day, are similarly moved.

Lars and I leave shortly after the children have opened the books. Just before our farewell, Milo follows Michael around while holding a White Witch's whip from the play about the playworld. He is whipping the orange string of the whip around Michael's neck, Michael is letting him do this, and they both look so sad that I have to look away.

Lars and I hug most of the children, all who come to us for hugs, as we wave goodbye. Then we gather the cameras and walk out the door. When I cross the classroom threshold I look back, and I do not see Michael, but I do see Milo. Milo says to me, "Bye, sis."

Figure 3.10: A picture that was created at the very end of the year.

CHAPTER FOUR

Stages of Perezhivanie:

Michael's Perezhivanie as the Children Discuss their Play about the Playworld

If perezhivanie is to retain the properties inherent in the whole (Vygotsky, 1994) (as discussed in chapter one), perezhivanie cannot be fully described in any of the specific playworld events without reference to analysis of the whole playworld. However, analysis of this entire playworld is an impossibly large task. Therefore, I have chosen for deeper analysis portions of the playworld whose boundaries do not destroy the *"*indivisible unity of personal characteristics and situational characteristics*"* (Vygotsky, 1994, p. 342).

This chapter presents a discussion of the stages of perezhivanie, working from the three stages outlined by Schechner (1985) and Vasilyuk (1988). I developed these three stages, describing them each in more detail using nine stages of perezhivanie. (In the remainder of this chapter, for ease, I will differentiate between the broader three stages and my more detailed nine stages by referring to the three stages as "phases" and the nine stages as "stages".) These phases and stages will be presented in more depth, below, but are outlined here:

0) Fixed boundaries

Schechner's first phase / Vasilyuk's fault

1) Conflict arises
2) Boundaries blur
3) Traveling into another world

Schechner's second phase / Vasilyuk's repentance

4) Interacting in the other world
5) The worlds merge
6) Becoming a world designer

Schechner's third phase / Vasilyuk's redemption, including the public performance / bliss

7) Longing
8) Closure in the other world
9) Synopsis

In the discussion in which the children worked with Michael to design the play about the playworld that they would perform for their families, the children and Michael managed to retain the properties inherent in the whole playworld through their discussion: Their discussion *about* the play became a *rehearsal* of what would become their attempt to accurately represent these properties through their play. In

this discussion the children and Michael retraced their path through the playworld, in this way showing us the whole playworld. In this chapter I will show how, in this discussion, the children and Michael re-lived their past lived-through experiences of their past adult-child joint play in the playworld, in order to move forward with their play about the playworld.

What I Will Show through Analysis of the Phases and Stages of Perezhivanie

In my analysis of this discussion I will show the following: Several of the children and Michael create a mode of being, or persona (a character), by revitalizing their autobiographical emotional memories of their performances in the playworld, by imitating either another's (Michael will imitate Andrea's caresses of Thomas when he touches Cayden), or a past self's (Pearl will place herself on Mr. Tumnus's cave, a position she inhabited in the playworld), physical actions, so that these emotional memories can be re-lived. And I will show that emotional experiences of the children, particularly of one child, Pearl, and of Michael, refract the various factors of the playworld, thus determining how these factors will influence the future course of development of and in the discussion.

I will also show the following: When it appears that there is no solution to an impasse that is reached in the discussion, several of the children and Michael insert themselves into the stories of their past, playworld selves (children saving Mr. Tumnus and the White Witch) in order to gain the foresight that allows them to proceed. They perform an internal and subjective labor of "entering into" these characters, which is not done by the mind alone, but rather involves the whole of their

lives or states of consciousness. And other people are necessary to these feats, as they help the children and Michael to overcome and conquer despair, or at least a feeling of hopelessness.

Michael helps the children and the children help Michael to pass as if above something that had made them feel pain, again and again, until they have lived through this pain repeatedly, and discovered that they have passed through it, and survived. (These words are strong, but perhaps not inappropriately so, considering the intensity of emotional involvement in the discussion and the gravity of the personally-troubling topics that the discussion evoked.) Pearl will struggle and survive her need for solidarity with Michael and her classmates' late but strong support (only Pearl's younger sister, Andrea, supports her from the start of the discussion). And the need for solidarity was a central theme of the recently-ended adult-child acting sessions of the playworld: the siblings and the children healed their divisions to join together and collaboratively save Mr. Tumnus, the White Witch was made "good," and adults and children joined together in play to create a world. At many of his students' relentless urgings to return to his playworld-teacher mode of interacting with his students, Michael will be forced to wrestle with a philosophical-ethical dilemma that he has been worrying in relation to the playworld.

Michael will also use me as his "pivot" (Vygotsky, 1978) as he re-enters his play-world teacher mode of interacting with his students, specifically his ability to play with the children, his ability to BE that which he could not imagine without the playworld. He will do this in at least two ways. He will literally realize his personal investment to the discussion through a metaphor of his own that he compels me to

remember, when he cannot remember this metaphor. He will "practice" playful laughter with me before enacting this playful laughter with his students during the discussion. And, as his emotional engagement with the discussion intensifies, during the discussion, he will be anticipating sharing his enthusiasm for the discussion when the discussion is over, with me, another adult who has witnessed and perceived the same extraordinarily playworld-like adult-child joint collaboration and joint emotional investment in this classroom activity. Following the recursive pattern that appears repeatedly throughout this playworld and my methodology, Michael could not have shown his students the extent of his intense emotional investment in the discussion, during the discussion, if he had not anticipated, throughout the discussion, the experience of discussing this enthusiasm with me at the end of the discussion.

Finally, I will show the following: Most clearly Michael and Pearl, but also other participants, twice behave, meaning they behave as if they are someone else, or beside themselves, or not themselves – at certain points in the discussion, as if they are in a trance. And there is juxtaposition of the stages of perezhivanie with temporal double sidedness that provides a rhythm that allows the discussion participants to raise themselves up and hover, suspended momentarily in a state of being simultaneously themselves and not themselves: their past and future selves (someone else). It is impossible to make this second claim for the children, as we, unfortunately, did not interview them about this discussion, but we can conclude, from field notes, interviews and discussions about the discussion, often after viewing a film that we made of the event, that Michael and I both experienced a measure of Woolf's "Life stand still here" (1927).

The Phases and Stages of Perezhivanie

As discussed in chapter one, Schechner's phases of the workshop-rehearsal process are the following:

> The first phase breaks down the performer's resistance, makes him a tabula rasa. To do this most effectively the performer has to be removed from familiar surroundings. Thus the need for separation, for "sacred" or special space, and for a use of time different than that prevailing in the ordinary. The second phase is of initiation or transition: developing new or restoring old behavior. But the so-called new behavior is really the rearrangement of old behavior or the enactment of old behavior in new settings. In the third phase, reintegration, the restored behavior is practiced until it is second nature. The final part of the third phase is public performance. (1985, pp. 113-114)

Vasilyuk's (1988) schematism of perezhivanie, which he calls a "time-content series," borrowing the term from M. M. Bakhtin[i], is: "fault – repentance – redemption – bliss." Raskolnikov 'enters into' and 'passes through' this series, and it is this process that allows him to 'take up residence' in a world of new values. First there is the conflict that motivates the development of perezhivanie / the workshop-rehearsal process, and then the series is jump-started by temporarily stepping into the new world, in Raskolnikov's case an engagement in acts of charity when he has previously been disengaged and disconnected from humanity.

For Vasilyuk, it is most important to understand that another is the "pivot" that allows this process to occur:

> What does it mean – to accept a new system of values? First of all, it means rejecting the old one, i.e. rejecting oneself. But this cannot be done by the self, alone, just as it is impossible to lift oneself by the hair; for this process it is in principle essential to have Another, on

> whom one can lean. And one must lean unconditionally, in entire reliance and trust. (1988, p. 190)

For those who have read the novel, in Raskolnikov's case the other is Sonja, whose love provides the "fulcrum" from which he is able to "do the engineering required for restructuring the value system of his consciousness" (Vasilyuk, 1988, p. 190).

First, Raskolnikov acknowledges his fault by confessing to his crime to another. This is Schechner's first phase, as Raskolnikov's confession to Sonja breaks down his resistance (to engagement with and connection to humanity). There is a dialogue between Raskolnikov and Sonja concerning his confession, and the confession is only complete when Raskolnikov has accepted Sonja's attitude toward the crime, thus stepping into her space and time.

Next, through repentance, Raskolnikov rearranges his old behavior, or reenacts it in this new setting. He breaks down his attitude of being above others, and also his secrecy, as he kissed Sonja's feet, his mother's feet, and then, at Sonja's instructions, the earth . This is Schechner's second phase of initiation or transition: developing new or restoring old behavior.

> Vasilyuk describes the sensation of this second phase in this way: The result of these actions is that Raskolnikov succeeds from time to time in making contact with the schematism, each time entering into it more and more deeply. Subjectively this penetration is expressed in the feeling of "the soul being softened," in the sense of radical changes to come in his own self, in a clear, illuminated state of consciousness. (1988, p. 193)

Finally, in the process of redemption, Raskolnikov struggles between the old and the new systems of consciousness, experiencing diffusion between the two systems and also abrupt leaps between one system and the other. This is Schechner's

third phase, reintegration, in which restored behavior is practiced until it is second nature. In other words, Raskolnikov is practicing that which his three kisses represent, until it is maintainable.

At the very end of this process is bliss. For Schechner, this is the public performance, with its attendant "chief delight:" "that special absorption the stage engenders in those who step into it or gather around it" (1985, p. 113). Again:

> During performance, if everything goes right, the experience is of synchronicity as the flow of ordinary time and the flow of performance time meet and eclipse each other. This eclipse is the "present moment," the synchronic ecstasy, the autotelic flow, of liminal stasis. Those who are masters at attaining and prolonging this balance are artists, shamans, conmen, acrobats. No one can keep it long. (Schechner, 1985, pp. 112-113)

Vasilyuk, in turn, writes of the passage from one world into another, which is Raskolnikov's public performance:

> Only at the very end of the novel, when Raskolnikov has truly come to love Sonja, is there a turning-point in the struggle, and only then does the prologue end and the story begin "of a man's gradual renewal, his gradual re-birth, his gradual passage from one world into another. . . (1988, p. 195)

Working with other adult playworld participants, I developed this work of Schechner and Vasilyuk through a rough analysis of adult and child experiences in the entire playworld, and through a literary analysis of Maurice Sendak's description of imagination and the creative process in his picture book, *Where the Wild Things Are* (1963), as well as analysis of other works of art that concern the creative process. Through this process I have been able to describe Schechner/Vasilyuk's three/four stages in greater detail, using nine/ten stages. These nine stages are still in the process of being refined, more analysis of adult and child experiences in the entire playworld

is required, but they enhance our understanding of perezhivanie even in their rough form, as I will show.

My nine stages of perezhivanie are as follows:

0) (fixed boundaries) Boundaries of some sort are firmly fixed and non-porous. This apparent stasis takes considerable effort to maintain.

Schechner's first phase / Vasilyuk's fault

1) (conflict arises) One has an interaction with another that creates a conflict that calls for a resolution, because this interaction throws one out of the known and safe. One looks backwards with a certain strong emotion.

2) (boundaries blur) The unexpected occurs and this causes boundaries to blur. There is a change in tone as the relation between the parts is disrupted, itself a process, and one experiences a series of different emotions.

3) (traveling into another world) One travels into another world when a vehicle, a physical object or action, which appears to be made specifically for oneself, arrives. For the first time one looks at the other straight on, making contact and expressing a confident welcome.

Schechner's second phase / Vasilyuk's repentance

4) (interacting in the other world) There is a first encounter in the other world and this is experienced as a visceral shock.

5) (the worlds merge) Something happens that shows that two worlds are one, and the conflict that led to the creation of this journey, in the first place, reappears, but in reverse. One looks forward with same gesture and expression as used in stage one.

6) (becoming a world designer) One becomes more active, after realizing that stage five did indeed occur, and then a change in tone is experienced as the relation between the parts is disrupted, itself a process. One experiences wild abandon, giddy joy, and proud and knowing calm (stage two, reversed).

Schechner's third phase / Vasilyuk's redemption, including the public performance / bliss

7) (longing) One experiences a longing for the 'real' world, and in doing so "sees the frame again," sees that one does not want to remain in 'play'. If stage three is "hello," then this stage is "goodbye."

8) (closure in the other world) One reenacts in the imaginary world something done to oneself in the 'real' world, but this time as the perpetrator instead of the victim. One accepts the fact that one cannot stay in imaginary world, and is happy about what future in real world that this world has made possible. One repeats the main gesture or action of stage four, but with an opposite emotion and in an opposite direction.

9) (synopsis) This is a synopsis of the entire process, culminating in a public creation. One retraces the stages, returning to the 'real' world by re-passing through all stages. There one finds that which one longed for, in the conflict that motivated the process of perezhivanie. One experiences a warp in time and a flying sensation.

The Stages of Perezhivanie as Manifested in the Event under Analysis

As the children are performing as students in the classroom -- achieving this performance is arguably the central curriculum in kindergarten and first grade – it is their performance as students in the following discussion with their teacher, not their

performance in the play that they design for their parents, that is the performative public creation at the end of their perezhivanie in this discussion. The film of this discussion is attached to this chapter. And because the transcription is complete it maintains the rhythm of the oral performance. Therefore, all of the sense of the discussion as a performance is not lost, below. However, to fully appreciate the whole discussion as the performance that it is, it may be useful to keep in mind the epigraph by Ian McEwan that Jill Dolan places at the start of her book:

> There are these rare moments when musicians [or performers] together touch something sweeter than they've ever found before in rehearsals or performance, beyond the merely collaborative or technically proficient, when their expression becomes as easy and graceful as friendship or love. This is when they give us a glimpse of what we might be ... (2005, no page number)

I suggest viewing the film before reading the discussion below, and in segments during the reading of the dialogue (whenever the film helps the reader to follow the transcripts, understand the analysis, etc.). The film (33 minutes and 48 seconds) is in two "quicktime" files on the enclosed CD titled "Chapter Four". The first file is the first two thirds of the discussion and the second file is the final third of the discussion. This division of the discussion and the use of the "quicktime" software makes it easy to maneuver through the discussion.

The discussion begins with the students sitting on the floor facing Michael, who is also seated on the floor in the usual meeting area. A low table that forms the base of a playworld set piece, Mr. Tumnus the faun's cave, protrudes into the meeting area. I sit on the floor to the left of Michael, recording the proceedings with one camera and no additional microphone

(except for a few seconds near the start of the discussion, when I get up to get the power cord for the camera, and one point near the middle of the discussion, when I replace the tape).

Everyone is returning from a break and Michael begins the discussion by reading aloud the cast of characters that the children have suggested, earlier, for their play. Some of the characters are from the playworld and novel, some are from the playworld or novel, and some are from neither the novel nor the playworld. The students disagree on the question of whether or not characters who were neither in the book nor in the playworld should be in the play.

Before the discussion starts, Michael counts his students. One child is missing, and Beth remembers whom this child is and says, "Maribel went home." This is the first time that a researcher has contributed, while *not* in Narnia, to this ever present and pervasive responsibility of the current U.S. elementary school classroom teacher: making sure that you don't lose any children. It was something that I did frequently in Narnia, from making sure the children left through the wardrobe, as Michael's requested of me, to herding the children through their final triumph over the White Witch's evil, while Michael was occupied as the White Witch, but I feel distinctly out of place as I say the words, "Maribel went home."

Before the discussion starts, Michael also asks when he should make the cardboard box, which will be the wardrobe in the play, into this wardrobe. The children say that they want to play in the box for a few more days before it becomes a play set piece, and Michael agrees to this, but he requests that they be careful with the box, stating:

> "This may look like it's strong. You may think, 'Oh, it's like a wardrobe, it's made of wood.' It's just ... (the children and Michael together:) cardboard. And finding this type of boxes will be really difficult to find (unintelligible). Like Beth and I found this box—Or actually, Beth found this box. This is like, a *great* box to have. We probably won't find another one like this very easily. So, we don't want to mess this box up."

This is the first time that Michael has alluded to researcher participation in the creation of a set piece, although we researchers had brought in supplies for these pieces through out the year, and although Michael frequently mentioned his own contributions to the students: that he bought more duct tape over the weekend, how late he stayed at school to finish a piece so it would be ready for them to paint the following day, how he solved an engineering difficulty, etc.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, at the end of the project Michael will tell us that the times when he was creating these set pieces were the times when he, himself, was most fully "in" the playworld. Also, throughout the playworld Michael presented the cardboard constructions to his class, after the children had specified the designs of the pieces and before they painted the pieces, as gifts to the children, and the children received these gifts with tremendous excitement and appreciation. It is hard to overestimate the importance of this exchange between Michael and his students: In subsequent playworlds in his classroom, Michael has joined the children in the playworld through this process alone, not acted, and Michael has now tentatively concluded that this process is the key to the creation of all successful playworlds in his classroom.

I mention both of these incidents because Michael's inclusion of me in these epitomizing tasks of his classroom teacher and playworld teacher roles foreshadows

my role as a "pivot" in the discussion to come: "(J)ust as it is impossible to lift oneself by the hair(,) for this process (of perezhivanie) it is in principle essential to have Another, on whom one can lean. And one must lean unconditionally, in entire reliance and trust" (Vasilyuk, 1988, p. 190). Furthermore, Michael's discussion about the cardboard box being "really" cardboard foreshadows what will be his initial insistence, during the discussion, that the planning of the play proceed as a traditional school activity, based in the "real," not as a playworld activity, based in imagination. The playworld began when the wooden wardrobe appeared in the classroom and Michael fostered the children's perception that it was magically other than it appeared, that its wooden back could become a passageway to Narnia, by denying any knowledge of what it was or how it had come to be in the classroom. During the discussion, Michael will even have the children whom he perceives as attempting to construct arguments that emphasize logical reasoning, sit by this cardboard box, and the children whom he perceives as making statements of personal preference or emotion, sit in front of the playworld set piece that is Mr. Tumnus's cave. In the film, the box and the cave, the future wardrobe and what was once only a box (but is now the home of a good friend, Mr. Tumnus), are the respective backdrops for the children who are speaking in support of each of the two sides of the 'debate'.

Stage Zero

At the start of the discussion the fixed and non-porous boundaries are between Michael's and his students' desires. He wants them to have a rational debate, reach

consensus, and then "move on" to the production of their play. What the children want is, as of yet, unclear, but does not lead them to behave as Michael wishes.

Michael states that his goal is to have the class reach consensus on this matter so that they can "move on," and leading up to this statement he actually ignores and dismisses children's statements, and even interrupts two children. Michael finally declares, "OK, here's what we'll do," and then instructs the children to move their bodies so that they are facing each other, an empty space between them, physically and literally two sides in a debate with no apparent means of continuing whole group play planning until the disagreement is resolved. However, this demarcation between the children and their teacher is visible in more subtle verbal interchanges, as well.

Michael highlights and corrects what he views as the children's inarticulateness. He does this by repeating some children's statements in his own words after they have spoken. And when Anahi says he has not represented her statement accurately, he interrupts her.

Michael asks "Why?" of those children who use statements of personal preference or emotion to support their positions, but not of those children who attempt to construct arguments that emphasize logical reasoning to support their positions. He is, apparently, using this question to encourage children to support their preference for one character list or another using an argument that emphasizes logical reasoning. At one point he even repeatedly questions Pearl until she does produce an argument that emphasizes logical thinking, and his "Why?" question, asked when Luke raises his hand, before Luke has had a chance to speak, is followed by Luke's refusal to speak.

Michael finally tells the children "what the question *is*," not waiting for them to develop a question, or giving himself time to listen to where the discussion might be heading. When his characterizations of the two 'sides' is met with statements of personal preference and reminders of details he has overlooked ("baby fauns"), he ignores these statements entirely, does not allow the children who have made these statements to elaborate, or tries to places the children into the two categories he has designed by saying "he want ... , she wants ..." instead of using children's names. He also, at this point, summarizes an argument that emphasizes logical reasoning. This argument is his restatement of Anahi's argument, which she originally characterized, outright, as inaccurate.

1 Nancy	A monkey?!
2 T	A monkey, yup. He said a monkey with the White Witch. Yeah.
3Nancy	I think that we should put a parrot ... a magic parrot!
4 Pearl	I don't like different characters.
5 Michael (T)	Pearl, you're saying?
6 Pearl	I don't like different characters.
7 T	You don't like different characters? Why?
8 Pearl	Because, maybe, if we don't know how to do it with different characters.
9 T	You say don't know how to do it ... Anyone else feeling like we shouldn't have different characters? Luke, why not?
10 Luke	Like – oh. Nothing.
11 T	Milo?
12 Milo	'Cause maybe, um, maybe, um, we forgot a line, but maybe we don't know what to say.
13 T	We don't know what to say, but we could make up lines, but --
14 Albert	Maybe we could make words. We could make words.
15 T	We could make up the words, but, you know, we don't know exactly what they might say? OK. Anahi.
16 Anahi	Uh, I don't think we could, we should make different characters because maybe can't. We don't know how to make them.
17 T	We don't know how, like, how they'll act, kinda? Is that what you're saying?
18 Anahi	No, I mean like how to make like, how to like, like --
19 T	Well, this would be us, we'd be these characters, right? (She nods.) So, you're saying we don't know how to, uh, act like that character, like to be that character?
20 Anahi	Yeah.
21 T	OK. Marissa.
22 Marissa	I think we shouldn't do them because, because um, maybe, because maybe we will forget like how to how to like to do ...
23 T	Forget what?
24 Marissa	Forget like how to do 'em.

25 T	We might not know how to do it? OK. Bev.
26 Pearl	I don't want to do new characters because, um, if we do like a monkey, um, that would be like – confusing.
27 Luke	But all the monkey is ...
28 Luke, Milo, etc.	Oooh-oooh, Ahh-ahh ...
29 A child	Anyway—
30 T	It it doesn't really matter. It doesn't matter. The point is like if someone, you know, if we wanted to have characters like the monkey and the parrot in there or not.
31 A child	(Unintelligible.)
32 T	And why.
33 Luke	Or like, we could do, like, or we could make up our own lines, like if you did did it like this say something else – like, something?
34 T	Say that again?
35 Luke	Like this. Or you could make up your own lines like, just make the—
36 T	So you could make up the—you're saying make up the lines for the monkey, right?
37 Luke	Yeah.
38 T	Yeah, we could make up the story for the monkey. The question is, the question *is*, do we want to put a monkey in there at all. Because –
39 Albert	Yeah.
40 T	Now some of you want a monkey.
41 Albert	Yes, I do.
42 T	OK, you want to change the story. Yeah, he wants a monkey, she wants a monkey. Some of you are like, now we can't change the story, because we don't know how the monkey will act. Umm. So, we gotta like, we gotta like kind of decide. Because we have, like, the monkey – and so before I start adding other characters – do we do that or not?
43 Milo	Yeah, what you do is he pops out and scares me, on a bird, and I have to fly away, 'cause --
44 T	We have the monkey, we have the boar, and we have the knight. Those weren't in our story, right?
45 Nancy	And baby faun?
46 T	And baby fauns. SO, we gotta, we gotta decide this, we gotta decide this before we move on. Nancy.
47 Nancy	I think we should do it like this because, um, if, if we just do it the other way it'll be boring because we don't really wanna, some of us don't really wanna do those, because some of us like want a pet or something in the story, and I was thinking that we should add like everything that we want like elks, or something else, or otter, or something ...
48 Albert	Or something! (laughs)
49 T	OK, you know what I think we need to do? OK, here's what we'll do. If you wanna have ... (coughs) if you want to have the monkey, the baby parrot, the boar, the knight –
50 A child	Baby faun –
51 T	Baby faun. If you think we should keep the added stuff, your here. If you think no, you're over here.

Michael points to his right for the "new stuff" and to his left for the "no." All of the children crawl and walk, moving very quickly, to one side of the meeting area or the other: It is powerful to see his autocratic command result in this movement of

people's bodies during his efforts to establish a mock "democratic" debate. Michael has not indicated the space between the two sides of the argument / two sides of the meeting area, and none of the children remain in the center of the meeting area.

However, two of the children do not confine themselves to the two spaces that Michael has made available through his instructions, but instead choose seats that, because they are partially within the confines Michael has delineated and partly outside the boundaries that have been drawn, slide the class into the "sacred" or special space (of performance). While Pearl and Anahi do move their bodies quickly to Michael's left, they seat themselves on the low table that is a part of the Mr. Tumnus's cave. They are on the very border of the meeting area and physically above everyone else, including their teacher.

Pearl and Anahi are, also, partially in a set piece from the playworld, a space in their classroom that was literally jointly designed and created by the students and Michael. As I described in chapter three: "When we arrive in the classroom the children jump up to show us the wonderful cave they have made... as proud as can be. Even Michael comes over... clearly as proud of his own work as are any of his students."

Pearl and Anahi's choice of seats, but also the fact that there is an empty space, perhaps a space waiting to be filled, between Michael's two sides and directly in front of him, is the start of Schechner's first phase / Vasilyuk's fault. The following portion of the discussion will break down Michael's resistance to dissolution of the clear boundary between his own and the children's desires, and allow him to step into the children's "space and time." First, Michael will have an

interaction with the children that creates a conflict that calls for a resolution, because this interaction will throw him into a world without these clear boundaries.

Once the students have picked sides, Michael takes out the toy Michael that the class uses in some group discussions to assign speakers. The person speaking must hold the Michael while speaking and no one is allowed to speak if they are not holding the Michael. With this system in place, Michael occasionally calls on a child but does not need to actively regulate the discussion so that only one child speaks at a time.[ii]

First, the children advocating for "different" characters begin to argue that the class would gain freedom to choose in the creation of the play, and ownership of the play, not just avoid boredom, by including "different" characters in the play. While making this argument, these children begin to make explicit references to the playworld, implying that at least some of them are making a connection between the planning of the playworld and the planning of this play. Michael supports this change in the discussion by offering his affirmation that a detail from the playworld, which a child mentions to support this new argument, has been correctly remembered by this child, and in doing so he also continues to encourage logical reasoning through evaluative statements.

52 T	OK. Let's start with Nancy.
53 Nancy	I think that we should keep on adding new characters because if we don't have, like, if we don't have new characters then some of us, we we could have, like, pets in the movie because we could *really* make up our own. And *if* we don't *really* do like fun things then we will be bored doing the same thing over and over again. That's why I think that we should add different characters to the movie.
54 T	OK. Over to this side. Why not?
55 Pearl	I don't think we have to get like new characters or like all that stuff because – (clears throat) – its gonna get like, um, like, if the monkey is there, um, we don't know what will the monkey say. And, um --
56 Albert	The monkey would say oo aa.

57 Pearl	And we don't know what's that!
58Anahi	Yeah!
59A child	(Unintelligible.)
60Luke	Like, we, like, we did the trees like like we did the trees different colors and everyone liked that and, like how come we can't add new stuff. Like like everything like not the same, and how come we can't add new stuff. (This is a reference to the multicolored trees that were not in the novel, but that the children created for the playworld.)
61T	So you're saying why not add new stuff?
62Luke	Uh-huh (affirmative).
63T	'Cause not everything's always the same, right?
64Luke	Uh-huh (affirmative).
65T	OK. On this side.
66Andrea	I think we shouldn't pick the monkey because if it said like "ooh-ooh ah-ah" like, nobody will know what's that.
67T	Like –
68Luke	(Unintelligible.)
69Rachel	We could make pets because, we could, we don't have to like say "ooh-ooh ah-ah" or something, we could like just like make up real words.
70Maya	Yeah, how like Beth and Sonja (two researchers), all them did. How Mr. Beaver --
71T	Right, like, the beaver talked, right?
72Maya	Um-huh (affirmative).
73T	So you'd have like the monkey talk? You'd have the parrot talk.

Phase One / Fault

Stage One

Now Michael has an interaction with Milo that constitutes Michael's stage one. As mentioned in the previous chapter, Michael says that Milo, like Michael himself, enjoys creating visual and plastic artworks: Michael identifies most with Milo of any of the children in the class, and describes Milo several times throughout the year as "like me." In this interaction with Milo, Michael, for the first time, abandon's his quest for a rational debate, consensus, and "mov(ing) on."

In this interaction Michael briefly steps into Milo's time by focusing on the playworld instead of the play about the playworld. Michael also briefly joins Milo in his primary orientation towards the content of the discussion, instead of remaining oriented towards where the discussion should lead or what the discussion could teach.

As occurred in the playworld, both adult and child enter and exit a common activity through a combination of adult forms of creative imagining, which require extensive experience: disciplines of art and science ("symbolism"), and through children's forms of creative imagining, which require embodiment of ideas in the material world: play ("the robin"). In doing this, Michael abandons his efforts to guide, shape and correct the children's words. He expresses his own musing interest. He also uses a word that Milo may not understand without giving a definition of this word or using a synonym as well: Michael is not thinking only of his students' deficits. And, in this brief interaction, Michael looks backwards, towards the playworld, with strong emotion, in this case wonder or curiosity, which are the gesture and emotional intensity that characterize stage one.

74Milo	Why not the robin?
75T	The robin didn't talk. That's weird, huh?
76Milo	Yeah, 'cause the rest doesn't – talk.
77T	I guess it's symbolism or something. I don't know.

Again, his stage one is a part of, as Vasilyuk describes the acknowledgement of fault, a dialogue concerning a confession, and the confession is only complete when one has accepted the other's attitude. Michael and Milo's interaction is the taste of the future, in the present, that makes the arrival of the future possible. Again: "Bliss is conferred even at the beginning of the road to redemption, as a kind of advance payment of emotion and meaning, needed to keep one going if a successful end is to be reached" (Vasilyuk, 1988, pp. 190-191).

Stage Two

After this interaction, Pearl stops answering Michael's "why" question. Michael responds by emphasizing the fact that the "different" character position will allow the children freedom to choose what they would like to do. For the most part the children on Pearl's side of the room do not engage with this logical argument, which, and the importance of this will soon become apparent, is also an argument prioritizing freedom of choice over solidarity.

Faced with this unexpected refusal to submit to his pressure, on Pearl's part, in this dialogue concerning confession, Michael arrives at his stage two. There is a change in tone as a process begins, a process of three laughs, the first laugh with Beth as he turns to me in an attempt to talk to me, apart from the children, about Pearl's means of arguing. Interestingly, Michael interrupts himself, and a child, as he attempts to engage Cayden, just before this stage two, and he will interrupt himself and others at several turning points in his perezhivanie.

78T	I'm sorry, Elizabeth has -- sidetracked.
79Alice	We should like, what if you get bored bored if doing the same thing, 'cause, we, what if we get bored of doing the ri -- same thing, 'cause what if we get bored of that then we want to do different characters?
80T	Anyone wanna say anything about that? Bev.
81Pearl	I don't like it when we do it different characters.
82T	Can, can -- Explain why. Maybe they've not heard why. Perdro ... can you join us please? Why?
83Pearl	It's because, um, like, like if, if we ... (pausing while Michael says something unintelligible to Cayden)
84T	Go ahead, I'm sorry.
85Pearl	If we, um, like, do the same characters, we don't know what to say.
86T	Well, but Rachel said, she, Rachel, in response to that Rachel said, that we could make up lines. You could make new lines for them, the monkey could say, like the monkey's with the White Witch you could say "don't trust the beavers." Or, or, whatever, or whatever lines they want to say. Right? But, OK, why else don't you want to have new characters?
87Pearl	Because ... if, if if we like, um, do do new characters we don't, we won't like it.
88T	You might, you might not, you won't, you 'cause like it. You guys won't like it. Hmmm ... (in a lower voice to Beth:) It's a (unintelligible) I didn't -- I don't know, Beth. (laughs)

89Beth (in a lower voice to Michael:) Yeah, you got two groups doing the play.
90T (in a lower voice to Beth:) Oh, that's true. But we have two different – There --

After this first laugh in the series of laughs that is Michael's stage two, Nancy repeats Michael's argument. However, Michael interrupts Nancy, saying that he can hear that Pearl has something to say. Pearl and Michael then begin a mutually supportive interchange in which, over several minutes, Pearl will make a nuanced and complicated logical argument in response to Michael's argument, as it is stated by Nancy. Michael will subtly support Pearl as she begins to articulate her interest in group action, and in the process of the discussion itself, thereby meeting Michael on this meta plane and in his interest in the structure of the discussion, while, simultaneously, convincingly articulating her own desires.

Pearl first points to a text they all know, the Disney film *Sleeping Beauty*, and reminds everyone that the Queen's crow in this story did not speak when spoken to. She offers this as evidence that even with the inclusion of new characters, such as parrots and monkeys, these characters would still be unable to speak, and would therefore offer neither relief from boredom nor the opportunity for the children to exercise their freedom of choice in deciding the words these animals should speak. The children sitting around Nancy respond by reasserting their appeal to freedom of choice.

Then, after Michael makes a comment that shows that he notices that Pearl is getting little support from the people on her side of the room, Pearl points out that no one but her sister has been speaking with her. Michael does not focus on this statement, instead urging Pearl to return to her argument concerning Sleeping Beauty.

However, in the process of returning the discussion to this argument Michael moves his own focus from "mov(ing) on" to Pearl's process and her desires.

Michael avoids characterizing Pearl's position as merely one side or the other of a debate when he refuses to paraphrase her words. In turn, children on Nancy's side of the room begin to make references to emotion, instead of attempting to produce logical arguments: Maya raises the subject of sadness. Michael interrupts Maya (perhaps *because* he feels that a shift in the discussion is occurring --), but the relation between the parts has been disrupted, as now Michael and Pearl are joined in their bridging of a divide to work together. They are together moving away from the debate structure in the process of discussion (while also continuing to work against each other (Michael is still in the first phase --)), and the children are beginning to bridge the divide between the "logical reasoning" and "statements of personal preference or emotion" sides of the room.

Furthermore, the relation between the parts has been disrupted because Pearl proves Michael's initial reason for clearing a space in the planning of the play for this discussion, wrong. (Michael had said, "So, we gotta like, we gotta like kind of decide ...") Pearl moves on with the planning of the play as a way to resolve the disagreement between the children, and this brings on Michael's second laugh, again with Beth: an expression of joy after having just sounded either annoyed or detached.

91Nancy	I think we, we um, we shouldn't do like those k – just the plain old characters, because if we do that we'll start getting bored of doing those characters. And, um, if we do the parrot with the, um, the White Witch, than the parrot could say, "Don't trust him. Never trust him! A child -- " And it could do all these, all these weird lines, but *you* yourself can make up your own mind. Like, pretend I was the, uh . . .
92T	(cutting her off) You know, I think we get the idea. Just about – Pearl wants to say something, right, and she has the – Go ahead, Pearl, what did you want to say?

	Yeah, go. Pearl, what were you going to say? She was going to say something, I could hear her --
93Pearl	Um, like, you guys are doing it like, um, like Sleeping Beauty, like, the the queen, she has like a pet a, a crow, and, um, she just talks to it and then, then she, it doesn't speak.
94A few children	Yeah, but it's our play, its all of our plays.
95Nancy	We can do whatever we want, in the play.
96Rachel	Well, um, like –
97T	Jenn, can you join us please
98Rachel	Like, 'cause it's our play and we can say whatever we want in our play. It's our play and we can say whatever we want in our play.
99T	Someone over here? Marcel, you want to say anything? (Marcel is on Pearl's side of the room.)
100Pearl	Nobody else wanna speak right here. (gesturing to her side of the room) Only us. (gesturing between herself and her sister, Andrea)
101T	Marissa. Marissa wants to speak.
102Marissa	I think, um, I think we shouldn't make like different characters, um, because, because, I think we shouldn't make, um, characters, because, um, maybe, maybe, maybe, because, um, we shouldn't make, like, different ones because, maybe we don't know, what they like talk like, what they like talk like.
103T	But like Rachel said, we could make the lines up. But Pearl's point is, Pearl's point, say your point again about why, even it we have no lines, what's your point, Pearl?
104Pearl	Um ... I, I, I didn't know what did, what did you say?
105T	Like what, like why – OK, the point, the point being, OK, like why don't you wanna have new characters? Like tell them like again like why you don't want to have new characters. Like, it's not just, so if they give you lines, you you had something to say about that. Rachel said well we could give them lines and you said ... even if we have know the lines ... your point was ... OK, how do I say this? OK. Remember how Rachel said we could just give them lines, like if they ... what you say, "I don't trust them," and Nancy said we could have them say, "Yeah, they're evil." And you said something else. What'd you say? You remember?
106Pearl	You mean like, Sleeping Beauty?
107T	Yeah, so, say that point again.
108Pearl	Like, sleeping beauty, like the queen, she has like pet, a crow, and, like, she speaks to the crow and then the crow it it just listens to her and go away, that's it. It doesn't speak to her.
109Nancy	Yeah, but we're not doing that in our play. We are doing it like that, but we aren't.
110Luke	But that's, I mean, like, it, like if you make this, like if you hear a story its about Sleeping Beauty, you might do it that way.
110T	Nancy, what do you wanna say?
112Nancy	Well, um, if, if we, we're not even doing it like Sleeping Beauty, because, if we did it like that then it would be kind of boring, because, if, someone was playing the parrot, then they wouldn't say anything, and they would be like, and they would be thinking in their mind, "Why can't I say something in the movie? Why can't I?"
113A few children	(Unintelligible.)
114Nancy	Well it's kinda like a movie.
115T	The play. It's a play. She's right, but, we know, we know what you mean. Go ahead.
116Nancy	And also, that, if, if the monkey doesn't wanna, if the monkey doesn't wanna say anything the person that's playing the monkey is gonna be bored too. That's why ... trust your own instincts. Ow.
117T	Um. (sighs)
118Pearl	My sister has one.
119T	Ok. Yeah. Liz.

120Andrea	Um, I, I, it's, m-, what, what, what if you for--, what if you practiced first and now and now you know it and now when its the pl--, play, now you forgot.
121T	Well you could forget, I mean not just – Elizabeth, you want to say --
122Maya	It's 'cause we don't, if somebody, if somebody gets bored, we never, we could, like, be our different character, a monkey, because if we don't add, if we don't add one, then, um, then it'll get bored. Or, it, it, where, and, it's our play, it's all of ours play, and if we don't, if we don't add that, then, then we'll, then we will sad and we will be, and then we'll, we'll --
123T	(cutting her off) So you're saying it would be boring, it would be sad, and -- Pearl, what do you want to say? Bev.
124Pearl	If, it doesn't mean like if we're bored, it doesn't mean we have to have new characters. It means, like, um, we could like go back, like stop, and then somebody else could be like, if I had, if I was the White Witch and I was tired, and somebody else was the White Witch. I could stop and go down, down the stage, and stop doing the play, and then, somebody else could do it.
125T	So she's sayin' like just because it's boring it would – or it was easy to get bored – there's, you could, she's saying you could be, you could be, be like the White Witch and then do something else or even go off the stage, OK? Hmmm. Hmmm, Hmmm. (in a lower voice to Beth:) (laughs) She's immediately not ... It's like both sides, it was like –
126A child	My turn.
127Beth	(in a lower voice to Michael:) I know, it's (either "awesome" or "a tough one").

The end of this stage two occurs with Michael's third laugh. This time, he is laughing not with another adult, Beth, but with the children. Michael's resistance is breaking down as he is coming to accept that, while he does not know what he and the children are engaged in, if it is not the debate he was trying to construct, he can and will, with eagerness, adopt the children's interest in the process of the discussion for its own sake.

This third laugh of Michael's stage two occurs after Nancy speaks, again emphasizing the freedom to choose afforded by the "different" character list, but also addressing her sense that the two sides of the room are coming together. Pearl does not appear to respond to the content of Nancy's speech, when she replies. However, she may be addressing Nancy's emphasis on the word "everybody," perhaps a reference to the class as a collective, when she asks about the division of the class into two groups: "Why is everybody around Nancy?" With this question Pearl is

returning to a focus on the process of the discussion, and through examining the process of the discussion she is able to begin to formulate what she wants from the play, in order that the play represent the playworld faithfully. Perhaps Michael laughs with pleasure, both at her clever, nuanced thinking and her skill in argument, and also at his anticipation of her future success.

128T	OK. Liz, what do you want to say? Jenn, can I have you sit up, please?
129Andrea	Yeah, it doesn't matter, it doesn't mean we don't have to get new characters, Like my sister said. (gestures towards Pearl) It doesn't mean.
130Albert	(laughs as the stuffed Michael hits him)
131Andrea	Sorry.
132T	Alright guys.
133Nancy	It's kinda like what Pearl said but it's, but it's the opposite.
134T	OK.
135Nancy	Because like it's not about just having *one* of each, it's not about just *have* to not make new characters. You could do whatever you want because this is *our* play, *everyone's* play. So, all, all of us could do what we wanna do, not what, not like, not what the real book says. We have we could make up our own play, that's why, that's why we could do our own things.
136Pearl	Why is everybody around Nancy?
137T	I don't know. (laughs, along with some of the children)
138A child	We didn't hear.

Stage Three

Michael is now ready for stage three, and his "vehicle," or the physical action made for his own transport, arrives in the form of Andrea's caresses of Thomas. This vehicle appears to be made specifically for him for two reasons: It embodies a type of behavior in the classroom that is very important to Michael, and it encourages Michael to behave in a way that he has been avoiding. Michael mentions many times throughout the year that his primary goal as a teacher is to promote kindness in his classroom, and that his primary goal as a teacher of this class is to help his students (particularly Nancy, who can be haughty about her academic achievement) to be kind to Thomas, who struggles to speak because he cannot hear well. And Michael

responds to Andrea's caresses of Thomas by physically teasing Cayden, a behavior that is uncharacteristic for Michael. Michael rarely touches any of his students under any condition.

139T	Thomas, what did you want to say? Thomas, do you want to say something? What do you want to say? Shhh. (snaps fingers and points to Thomas) Shhh.
140Thomas	(incomprehensible)
141T	You just want to have Lucas, or Mr.Tumnus and Lucas and Peter and have a party? Mr. Beaver? (Thomas nods in agreement.) OK, why don't you wanna have a monkey? Why?
142Thomas	Huh.
143Andrea	'Cause why?
144Thomas	I don't like it (almost incomprehensible --).
145T	Huh?
146Andrea	You don't like it?
147T	You don't like it? (Thomas shakes his head no.) You don't like it? OK. 'Cause he didn't like it. Hmm. Ah – Luke, you wanna say something?
148Luke	Uh, neh.
149T	Cayden, what do you wanna say?
150Cayden	No.
151T	Yeah, what do ya wanna say?
152Cayden	No.
153A child	It was (incomprehensible) him –
154T	Yeah, I know. You're, you're gonna say?!

While Thomas speaks, Andrea tenderly caresses Thomas's ear and neck while smiling at him teasingly. When Cayden, who is sitting directly to Michael's right, raises and then lowers his hand, Michael pulls Cayden by his shirt, gently and playfully, actually lifting him off of the carpet by his shirt. This is done as Michael is asking Cayden, teasingly, to speak. Michael appears to have had his resistance to joining the children's form of discussion broken down. With his direct attention to Cayden, and his welcoming Cayden -- one of the children who has, himself, most resisted joining his classmates in the discussion -- Michael steps into the children's space and time and accepts their (or at least Pearl's) attitude towards the disagreement between those children who want to have "new" characters in the play, and those who

do not want these characters in the play. He accepts that we should try to support each other, as does Andrea.

At this point in the discussion Luke says that he was going to say something, but that it was something supporting the other side's argument. Maya helps him to finish his thought and it suddenly seems possible that Michael's physical separation of the room, the children and the discussion into two opposing sides, will collapse.

Phase Two / Repentance

Michael now enters his second phase, a phase of initiation and transition. He will reenact old behavior in a new setting. He will break down the separation between his own and his students' desires for this discussion through a series of radical changes, which will allow him to "each time enter... into (the children's attitude toward the discussion) more and more deeply" (his "soul being softened") (Vasilyuk, 1988, p. 193).

Stage Four

Michael's stage four, his first encounter in the children's "world," which is experienced as a visceral shock, occurs when he realizes that he is already in their "world:" that, this whole time, while he thought he was pushing for a rational debate, so as to reach consensus and then "move on" to the production of the play, he was, actually playing. However, there is a build up to stage four, and this build up is full of contradictions and oscillations. Just after Luke threatens Michael's division into two parts, Michael calls for a break in the discussion. Almost 15 minutes have

passed since the last break in the discussion, but there are no apparent signs of increased fatigue among the students, so it is not clear why Michael calls for a break at this very moment. And when everyone returns to the discussion after this break (and after Michael has just said, kindly and jokingly, "even Cayden can't bother you," --), Michael tells the children that he does not think anyone will ever switch from one side to the other. However, Michael is also speaking with a tone of excitement in his voice that has not been there at any earlier point in the discussion. Michael's characterization of the children's arguments is no longer working towards a rational debate, as he stresses that both sides are arguing for what they "like." And Michael allows himself to be interrupted mid-sentence by Pearl.

Pearl does not waste a minute, she interrupts Michael soon after he begins to "lecture," and she is again moving on with the planning of the play as a way to resolve the disagreement between the children. (The first time she did this she brought on Michael's second laugh of his stage two.) However, Michael does not respond to Pearl, but continues with his point. He also prevents Pearl from speaking by interrupting her, silences the students with the first and only "shh" of the discussion, and then requests that his students give him only an affirmative or a negative in response to his question. Michael even asks the students, by pausing, to speak his point along with him, that there is no possible compromise between two disagreeing sides and he cuts Nancy off when she appears to be about to make a very thoughtful and complicated point. However, Michael talks until he has led himself to a dilemma that he has recently been puzzling over in many long, enjoyable and playfully philosophical emails with the other adult playworld participants, the

researchers: Michael has been arguing that it is best to acknowledge when you simply 'can not have your cake and eat it to,' while several researchers have been arguing that 'whenever a door is closed a window is open' (from several emails in May).

155	Luke	Like, my, my thing was, like, I was gonna say, like, like I thought about it, (incomprehensible) like I was gonna say, but, like, it was, like, something from theirs (he points across the room to the other group of children, 'Pearl's group'.) Like something from theirs like, I was gonna say something like that, like I was gonna say like –
156	Maya	For some, for theirs (she gestures across the room to the other group of children, 'Pearl's group'.)
157	T	Alright. You know what, OK, let me just, OK, touch your ears so I know you're listening. Let me just – everyone stand up real fast and stretch for a second. And stretch. And touch your toes – (Michael leads the children through a guided imagining ...) ... and aphids can't bother you, and even Cayden (he is walking through the children who are acting out Michael's story) can't bother you. And you're strong flowers and someone picks you, and puts you in a vase, and you're sad. And then you drop your seeds out, and it makes bunches of more flowers all around the house. OK. And you're sitting back down. Now, if you hear me, touch your nose. If you hear me clap once. OK, here's the thing, there's two sides. Just let me recap. We have a side that says, "Hey! We want new characters, we like new characters, we like this idea." Then we have -- Right? OK. Then we have this side that's like "No. The book's OK the way it is, we don't need new characters, that's what, we don't *like* new characters." And we have two sides that are really (pauses to make balancing gesture with hands) different. OK? And we can't –
158	T	Yeah?
159	Pearl	Um. Like.
160	T	Go ahead.
161	Pearl	Someone says it's like our play and I wanna do it like the book says and like what if Mr. Michael could read it and we follow the directions. (Pause as Michael says something incomprehensible to Jenn.) What if we follow, um, the directions that has in the book, and if we don't, um (makes a face and lifts hands in the air). I --
162	T	OK. So yeah what I'm hearing is, one (few incomprehensible words). I don't think you're ever gonna convince Pearl to add new characters, and I don't think you guys are gonna be convinced that you can't have a monkey, right?
163	A few children	Yeah. Yeah. (incomprehensible)
164	T	Shhh. Right? Just say yes or no.
165	A few children	Yeah.
168	T	So what I'm s-- what I'm seeing is is that we have two sides that are very different. I'm mean we can't – There's like nothing we can like kinda have a middle ground on here. Either we have new characters or we don't. We can't have like half a new character. We kinda have a new character. If we have a new character we have a new character or we (pause – he appears to be waiting for the children to finish his sentence with the word "don't" and a few children do say "don't" along with him) . . . don't. Do you see what I'm sayin'?
169	A few children	Yeah. Um-hmm (affirmative).
170	T	Do you you see that? No no no, no more trying to convince em. Not more trying to convince them. OK?
171	Nancy	No I'm not.
172	T	OK. Go ahead.

173Nancy	It's kind of like the opposite, but we're convincing. We're like, we're like, we're, like, some of these people want more people to come so they could just get new characters –
174T	Right. But they're also convincing you too – They're trying to convince you the opposite. SO they're trying to conv -- They're convincing too.
175Nancy	Yeah but –
176T	They're saying no, come on our side, we don't want new characters.
177A child	Yeah but they're like exciting –
178T	(speaking loudly and at the same time as the above) But my point is – My point is – And no one, no one is like is like switched sides.
179Milo	It's getting hard because that's eight and this is nine.
180T	We're no no no -- (children are saying "They're-- " "Because-- " but he speaks quickly and at the same time as them) you're OK – yrr OK – that's what I'm saying – OK – Everyone touch your nose and everyone everyone voices off for a seconds, OK, let me s-- Yeah go.
181Albert	I need to get my shoes.
182T	Yeah. OK. Le'me, le'me try and explain it this way, OK? OK. Either I have ... this in my hand ... or I don't. Right?
183Several children	Mmm – hmmm (affirmative).
184T	Either I ... I don't know, I don't know how to explain this, um – Ahhh, what do I say – Look, Luke, sit down for a second. Either the lights – (under his breath to self) argh that's not going to work – Um –

Michael still does not see that this discussion has merged with what has been one of the most pleasurable aspects of the playworld for him, the adult-adult discussions and rehearsals. (After the final playworld acting session, when Michael is unable to speak for fear of crying, he has just said that he especially appreciates all the adult-adult times on Saturdays.) However, Michael now does something he has never done before outside of Narnia: He turns to a researcher for help with his teaching. In Narnia Michael asked a researcher for help only one time. He asked me what I thought he should do when Milo was destroying the wardrobe during the final acting session. Michael now turns to me again, this time asking for a metaphor that will help the children to understand his point. I tell Michael to use the metaphor that he used in his own email, just the day before, to make this same point. I actually think that Michael must be joking with me, that he must have realized several minutes ago that he has been continuing our adult conversation of the previous evening with

his students this morning, but his great excitement, in response to my answer, shows that he is sincerely asking for my help.

185B (unintelligible)
186T Right, Thank you! OK. OK. S-- OK, OK, I got it I got it. So. OK – Remember at Christmas?
187Several children Yes.
188T When, when, when we have the gift from Santa, right?
189Several children Mmm – hmmm (affirmative)
190T Either we *open* a gift ... or we *don't*. Once you open it and see what it is ... you've opened it. Right?
191Several children Mmm – hmmm (affirmative).
192T "Oh it's new socks!" You know? You can't *half* open a gift. (pause – it seems to me that he is trying to convince himself) So we have two sides: this side wants to keep the book *the same*, this boo—this side wants to keep the book, make the book *different*. OK? Neither one is ee-- better than the other, it's just, what you like, vanilla or chocolate? Right?
193Some children Mmm – hmmm (affirmative). Yeah.
194T OK. It's whatever you like. You guys try to convince them. They try to convince you. No one's switched sides. So what I'm saying is, what *I'm* saying is, I'm thinking that since we have two separate things . . . and you guys don't -- no one seems to be convincing the other side, like their – like Bev-- No one's gonna convince Pearl that we need new characters. I can see that. And I *know* no one's gonna convince you guys that you guys can't have a monkey. I don't think anyone's gonna budge, I think, I think we cou-- We could spend the next *two years* debating this and *Pearl* will not have a monkey in her play, and you guys *will*. Ya see what I'm saying?
195Some children Mmm – hmmm (affirmative).
196T So either we're gonna sit here and debate it for forever *or* we have a – y-- go ahead. You were gonna say something.
197Nancy (clears throat) Because ii-- *If* we have four plays then um each of us could have our own, like Pearl and to Pearl and her team could have two and we could have two.
198T So that –
199Nancy (speaking quickly and at the same time as Michael) So we cou -- So like this team could make their own and that team could make theirs.
200T So that's what I was gonna say. That's what I was thinking like it's two, two plays. This play over here. And you guys have the characters from the book. Yeah?
201Nancy And they don't have a monkey.

When Michael has recovered from the shock of his first encounter in the children's world, he allows Nancy to interrupt his monologic description of his metaphor. She completes his thought for him (her use of the number four instead of two appears to be a mistake, not an integral part of her argument), and it appears that Michael and his students may have reached a conclusion to the discussion to which

they can all agree, despite the fact that this solution was discovered through Michael's solo epiphany. However, the discussion seems to have reached a climax of emotionally intense engagement for many participants. There is no denouement, as one might expect to feel when a resolution has been reached. And Pearl is not to be silenced.

Stage Five

Here at the center of Michael's perezhivanie I will first leave the transcript of the entire stage intact to preserve the perezhivanie (lines 202-240). I will then repeat the transcript in segments as I analyze it further. In this way my method itself demonstrates that perezhivanie *is* "twice-behaved behavior" (Schechner, 1985, p. 36): I show this with a "@" (close to a spiral --) in the transcript as I re-present these words.

Pearl holds firmly to her position, her face remarkably sincere and expressive, even when Michael accuses her, explicitly, of "really want(ing) them to be like you." Michael, in turn, states that he is trying very hard to understand Pearl's argument and appears transfixed by her words when she is speaking, supporting her with a gaze of loving respect and hope. I write of my experience of the following exchange, in my field notes: "I become aware that I am reeling. I can actually feel my stomach sinking, and I think that the situation is becoming a bit overwhelming." Most of the children have, by this point, begun to show signs of exhaustion, but at this point in the discussion many of them sit up straight, stop moving their hands and direct their gazes at Pearl and Michael.

202Pearl I don't want like two, two, two plays here and they have two plays.
203T So, how are we going to solve this, we'll--
204Pearl (shrugs)
205Nancy Yeah because--
206T OK go ahead but what do you want, Pearl? Us ...
207Pearl Well I don't have, I don't want new characters or, like –
208T Anahi, can you join us please?
209Pearl Like four --
210Nancy But Pearl, but you can have your own play. And –
211Several children (Unintelligible.)
212Pearl If we have – If we have three plays then you guys could do your *own* and we could do *our* own. With no – with no monkey no parrots no no baby fawns.
213T Wait wait --
214Several children(Unintelligible.)
215T Wait wait wait wait I'm not--
216Nancy (Unintelligible.)
217T Wait, wait (unintelligible) .... are you saying – aren't you saying the same thing like they have a play and you can have a play so two plays? Isn't that what you're saying?
218Pearl No, three plays! Like --
219T (cutting her off) But why three? We have two groups. I don't get it. Why three?
220Pearl You – you -- you said before we're gonna have three and we're gonna, do it three times.
221T No no. No. We'll start with – We could do it two. It was – We just had said two because we were gonna so it two different ways, and that's how, an issue to talk about later. No, we said two, but – go ahead –
222A child (Unintelligible.)
223T Three was just like an example. We could have three or four or five. That was just a number I wrote on there. It doesn't have to be three. It's just a number I wrote.
224Nancy Mr. Michael --
225T Yeah.
226Nancy 'Cause if we have – if we have three --
227T Wait wait wait wait before before I wanna I wanna so– (unintelligible few words) finish your ideas before I hear anyone, so I'm just trying to get yrr-- what you're saying straight. OK. You're say – So-- Forget the number three. Would you be OK with a play here and a play here, like two plays? (pause) But you look like you're saying like No. Why? At first you were like no you don't want to have two diff-- you were like-- You really want them to be like you. I, I'm hearing that in your voice. You're like you want them to be like you. But they want you to be like them too. You don't think two plays'll be a good way? I mean that's . . .
228Pearl Well I only wanted to have one.
229T You just wanted to have one. You wanted to have everyone together?
230Pearl Yeah.
231T OK, I un-- I understand that– She wants you heard what she's saying?
232Several children Yeah.
234T She wants you guys *all* to be in one big play. She like want you to play-- , 'cause, she doesn't want to do just a play with just by her self and these guys, she wants to do a play with you guys too. You see what I'm saying? Nancy.
235Nancy Because --
236Pearl (simultaneously) Because everyone is my best friend –
237Nancy Because --
238T Yeah. Did you hear what she said?
239Several children Yeah. Because I'm her best friend. We're her best friends --
240T Right.

This exchange is Michael's stage five. This exchange shows that the two worlds, those of Michael's and his students' desires for the discussion, are one. And the conflict that led to the creation of this journey in the first place, Michael's attempt to convince the students to have a rational debate, reach consensus, and then "move on" to the production of their play, reappears in reverse.

Near the very start of the discussion Milo tried to help Michael to abandon his quest for a rational debate, consensus, and "mov(ing) on," and to join the children in their approach to this planning of the play about the playworld as a continuation of the playworld. Milo succeed in reorienting Michael towards the content of the discussion, in moving Michael from his orientation towards where the discussion should lead or what the discussion could teach. However, although Milo and Michael entered a space in which Michael and Milo combined adult and child forms of imagining, and in this space Michael abandoned his efforts to guide, shape and correct Milo's words, instead expressing his own musing interest, Michael remained in this space for only a few seconds before dismissing his and Milo's joint creation of this space by returning to his former stance. He even returned to his former stance with an apology for interrupting the essence of the discussion, and characterized his exchange with Milo as a brief interlude in which he was "sidetracked." Again:

74Milo	Why not the robin?
75T	The robin didn't talk. That's weird, huh?
76Milo	Yeah, 'cause the rest doesn't – talk.
77T	I guess it's symbolism or something. I don't know.

It appears that Nancy may have also attempted to move Michael from his quest for a rational debate, consensus, and "mov(ing) on," employing Michael's own means of looking at the form of the discussion, not it's content, but that she had not even momentary success. Because Michael cuts Nancy off, it is difficult to tell if this is what she was doing. However, judging from another "meta" comment that she makes later in the discussion, which I will discuss below, perhaps Nancy raised the concept of "opposite" in an aborted effort to tell Michael that *he* was the one trying to convince the children of the correctness of his point, and that *he* should realize that the children also had a point that they were trying to convince him to follow. Again:

170T	Do you you see that? No no no, no more trying to convince em. Not more trying to convince them. OK?
171Nancy	No I'm not.
172T	OK. Go ahead.
173Nancy	It's kind of like the opposite, but we're convincing. We're like, we're like, we're, like, some of these people want more people to come so they could just get new characters –
174T	Right. But they're also convincing you too – They're trying to convince you the opposite. SO they're trying to conv -- They're convincing too.
175Nancy	Yeah but –

At the start of this discussion, reorienting Michael towards the discussion as continuation of the playworld was merely sidetracking him from his main goal. Michael was the one reorienting the children, literally, as he placed them on either side of the room to satisfy his own vision of a rational debate. But in this exchange Pearl reorients Michael towards the solidarity and collaboration that was central to the playworld, and she does so not by convincing Michael with a rational argument. Instead, she shows her desires with her facial expressions and body, as well as her words, performing what she wants and moving Michael, against his own conviction, to support her in her performance. Together Pearl and Michael demonstrate the

respectful and loving collaboration that has been their playworld all year, that Pearl has been criticizing the other children for not joining her in creating during the course of the discussion ("Nobody else wanna speak right here," and "Why is everybody around Nancy?"), and that, she soon articulates with Michael, is her "reason" for disliking the current solution to the play planning dilemma.

At the start of the discussion, the children reached an impasse that Michael tried to help them to bridge with a solution: rational debate towards consensus. Now it is Michael who reaches an impasse, and Pearl refuses to acknowledge this impasse. Again:

@Pearl	I don't want like two, two, two plays here and they have two plays.
@T	So, how are we going to solve this, we'll--
@Pearl	(shrugs)

With her refusal to acknowledge this impasse, Pearl finally motivates Michael to ask her, with tender concern, what she "wants." For the first time Michael leaves his efforts to help Pearl to design a rational argument to support her desires, and pursues this question of what she wants, focusing his whole attention on trying to understand how she feels. Michael does not let either himself or Nancy distract him from trying to understand what Pearl is trying to tell him, and he says explicitly that he is trying to understand what Pearl is saying to satisfy his own interest, instead of pushing for clarification for the sake of the other children. Also, he now tries to read Pearl's performance of her meaning, instead of focusing just on the argument that her disembodied words might constitute. He refers to her body and her tone explicitly: "you look like you're saying" and "I'm hearing that in your voice." Again:

@Nancy	Yeah because—

@T OK go ahead but what do you want, Pearl? Us ...
@Pearl Well I don't have, I don't want new characters or, like –
@T Anahi, can you join us please?
@Pearl Like four --
@Nancy But Pearl, but you can have your own play. And –
@Several children (Unintelligible.)
@Pearl If we have – If we have three plays then you guys could do your *own* and we could do *our* own. With no – with no monkey no parrots no no baby fawns.
@T Wait wait --
@Several children(Unintelligible.)
@T Wait wait wait wait I'm not--
@Nancy (Unintelligible.)
@T Wait, wait (unintelligible) .... are you saying – aren't you saying the same thing like they have a play and you can have a play so two plays? Isn't that what you're saying?
@Pearl No, three plays! Like --
@T (cutting her off) But why three? We have two groups. I don't get it. Why three?
@Pearl You – you -- you said before we're gonna have three and we're gonna, do it three times.
@T No no. No. We'll start with – We could do it two. It was – We just had said two because we were gonna so it two different ways, and that's how, an issue to talk about later. No, we said two, but – go ahead –
@A child (Unintelligible.)
@T Three was just like an example. We could have three or four or five. That was just a number I wrote on there. It doesn't have to be three. It's just a number I wrote.
@Nancy Mr. Michael --
@T Yeah.
@Nancy 'Cause if we have – if we have three --
@T Wait wait wait wait before before I wanna I wanna so– (unintelligible few words) finish your ideas before I hear anyone, so I'm just trying to get yrr-- what you're saying straight. OK. You're say – So-- Forget the number three. Would you be OK with a play here and a play here, like two plays? (pause) But you look like you're saying like No. Why? At first you were like no you don't want to have two diff-- you were like-- You really want them to be like you. I, I'm hearing that in your voice. You're like you want them to be like you. But they want you to be like them too. You don't think two plays'll be a good way? I mean that's . . .

Here Michael is actually stating his own shortsightedness, not Pearl's. And he responds to his criticism of Pearl as if he has heard himself criticizing himself. Pearl does not want the other children to be like her. She wants Michael and the other children to remember, with her, the ways that they all worked together in the playworld, weaving all their plans together to defeat the White Witch, for instance – even Milo's plan to blow up the school. She has been stating again and again what she wants, in an effort to be heard. Michael, however, has been wanting the children

to be like him, to try to construct a rational debate, reach a consensus, and move on. Michael has been trying to push the children to be like him throughout the discussion. And Michael has not seen that the children also have an idea of how to proceed that is viable, although it may not yet be fully articulated. As if responding to his own words, directly after articulating this criticism of Pearl, Michael is suddenly able to hear Pearl. (He even immediately perceives that she is sad and then stops talking so that she can speak.) He is able to help her to articulate what she is saying, and to understand her point (that she does not want her own play, as Nancy offered her, but wants everyone to be together!), appreciate her point, and bring her point to the attention of the other children. Again:

@Pearl Well I only wanted to have one.
@T You just wanted to have one. You wanted to have everyone together?
@Pearl Yeah.
@T OK, I un-- I understand that– She wants you heard what she's saying?
@Several children Yeah.
@T She wants you guys *all* to be in one big play. She like want you to play-- , 'cause, she doesn't want to do just a play with just by her self and these guys, she wants to do a play with you guys too. You see what I'm saying? Nancy.
@Nancy Because --
@Pearl (simultaneously) Because everyone is my best friend –
@Nancy Because --
@T Yeah. Did you hear what she said?
@Several children Yeah. Because I'm her best friend. We're her best friends --
@T Right.

Pearl does not yet have the support she has been looking for from children other than her sister, but she now has Michael's support. Furthermore, in showing his support, Michael is demonstrating this 'being a best friend' that Pearl is referring to; this being a best friend across differences, differences of opinion, status, age, etc. The question of how best to be true to the playworld in the play about the playworld is, it turns out, not a question of which characters to include, but a question of how to

keep the playfulness of the playworld intact in the "real" world of Michael's classroom.

In fact, the performance that matters most to Michael and his students is not the performance of the play, but their performance as teacher and students in the classroom after and concerning Narnia. And, as we adults should have known after our year of joint play with children, and after studying Vygotsky's theories of play, imagination and creativity, what is at stake in the classroom is closely connected to what was at stake in Narnia: Will the children succeed in making the White Witch/Michael "good" / in making Michael their teacher able to merge his adult forms of imagining with their own forms of imagining in the classroom as well as in the playworld?

Until this moment it has seemed that Michael was not able to play in his classroom when he was "outside" of Narnia. He was able to be sidetracked by Milo, to physically tease Cayden, but his white fur coat was nowhere to be seen: He refused to step into role. Then, in this exchange with Pearl, there was a moment of truth and Michael took the leap: All of a sudden he wanted to know what the children wanted him to be like.

Furthermore, when Michael was able to hear what Pearl wanted of him, he complied: He 'got rid of his helmet' (Michael's words, quoted in chapter one). He gave up his conviction that he knew what to do, as a teacher, to help his students move on with a classroom task. Instead he wondered if Pearl might be able to show him an alternative to the metaphor that bothered him not as a teacher, but as a person. This distinction is Michael's, from an interview in which he said that he was changed,

by the playworld, in three ways: changed as a "Person -- being a human in the world. Teacher in the classroom. And then teacher involved in this Narnia."

Of course, Michael is still a teacher when he is a person, he is just more than a teacher as well. Therefore, as soon as he decides that his goal is not to show the children how to move on with the planning of their play, but to learn from them concerning a conundrum that interests his whole self, he is doing his best teaching. He and Pearl together show the other children how to bring the playworld back to life in their classroom, and immediately the literal gap at the center of the meeting area is bridged, and the planning of the play can continue: This even is on the boundary between stages five and six, or the outer edge of stage five.

241A child	Mr. Michael? Can I go over there?
242T	Yeah, if you want to.
243Milo	Ten.
244Jenn	Can I go over there?
245T	Yeah.
246Jenn	Yay.
247Milo	Awww... Ten. Nine eight.
248T	OK, so, Nancy, you were gonna say?
249Nancy	If we had three plays then it would be difficult because if we if like they had two and we only had one that wouldn't wouldn't been fair.
250T	Wait a second. Um, Albert went to the bathroom with Luke?
251Cayden	No, no, he was right there outside.
252T	Oh, he's wearing his shoes. OK, good. I thought I made a mistake for a minute. Sorry.
253Nancy	If--
254T	(interrupting) Go ahead.
255Nancy	Because if we have three and they had two and we only have one that've been not fair.
256T	Well, we, well three, just, OK, three was just a number I put up there that one day. It doesn't necessarily-- It's just a number I put. That was just a number I– I could have chosen 95.
257Rachel	You could've chosen any number.
258T	Right. Pretend like I said two, so there's like two plays, there was gonna be two plays. OK?
259Nancy	I want to go over there.
260T	You ... don't want new characters any more?
261Nancy	Hmmm. (pause)
262T	You can, you can switch. That's fine. That's what-- I just wanted to make sure that's what your--

263Nancy	Pearl, are you going to have Aslan in the play? (Aslan is a character from the novel who was not in the playworld and whose name is similar to Nancy's.)
264Pearl	Yes, of course.
265T	(to Beth) Oh ... this is being more complicated.
267Beth	(Unintelligible.) (Beth and Michael laugh.)

Here stage five ends, as Michael looks forward with the same gesture and expression that he used in stage one: Instead of expressing wonder and curiosity about the playworld, he uses the same tone of voice that he used with Milo, as he pondered the symbolism of the mute robin, to express wonder and curiosity, this time to Beth, about where this discussion will go. As Nancy finishes crossing the meeting area she walks up to the table where Pearl sits. She sits on the floor next to Pearl and puts her head on Pearl's lap.

Stage Six

In Michael's stage six he realizes that his playful enthusiasm, and his whole person involvement in the discussion, helps his students to learn not just in Narnia, but in his classroom as well. He is tremendously impressed with the quality of his students' thought, expression, activism and bravery in this discussion, and he realizes, after Pearl's astounding performance and Nancy's astounding response, that he is engaged in a joint search with people who are his equals in this search. With these realizations Michael becomes a more active participant in this process of joint creation, not guiding his students towards his preconceived goal but instead working with his students to produce the new.

In this stage six there is a change in tone of the discussion as this teacher and his students reorganize their relations to one another through a process, and in this

process Michael shows the wild abandon, giddy joy, and then proud and knowing calm of stage six. As stage six is the opposite of stage two, Michael's three laughs, we see Michael backtrack through three displays of emotion, but this time from the more to the less raucous and group-oriented, instead of vice-versa. Again, as we have already seen many times, Michael interrupts himself or another before a turning point in the perezhivanie.

268T	OK, go ahead.
269Alice	(takes a deep breath) We still--
270T	You're what?
271Cayden	(Unintelligible) bathroom.
272T	OK, go ahead.
273Alice	We still could have two plays but we could do – but you mean your idea was one play with all together, and our plan to do –
274T	(simultaneously starts snapping and pointing with one hand at Alice, and laughs)
275Alice	-- two. We can, so we can have all together for one play and all together for the other play.

Michael suddenly appears very excited and is snapping his fingers loudly and laughing as Alice speaks. He has realized what Alice will say before she says it and he wants to say what she will say *with* her. After Alice has finished speaking, Michael does not even make a pretense of carrying out the 'teacherly' duties of listening to his students when he asks them if they heard what she said, or of letting them respond to a fellow student in this 'debate.' And then, instead of repeating Alice's point, he interrupts himself (again) to move his students' bodies with his words for the second time in this discussion – but, this time, with a twist.

276T	Did you guys hear what she said?
277Most of class	Yeah.
278T	I don't think you did, OK, I, OK, you you didn't hear what she said?
279Pearl	I didn't know what she—
280T	OK, well she, what she's saying is, OK –
281Many children	Yeah.
282T	I don't think you did. OK you didn't hear what she said? Ok what she's saying is – You know what, um, guys, away from the camera. I'm really worried about that

> camera. I mean, Pearl you're fine because I know you're not gonna bump it but everyone else, I mean, no offense.

During this second movement of children's bodies by verbal command, Michael exempts one student, Pearl, from this act of submission. Considering his earlier movement of all of the children en masse, a physical action in which individual children with unique emotional investments and ideas became pawns on opposing sides, or numbers in a game (as Milo keeps reminding us with his counting of the children on each side), Michael's exemption of Pearl is a powerful declaration that he is not solely in the role of "teacher," imposing "fairness," but is rather an individual interacting with other individuals. In a decidedly uncharacteristic move for an elementary school teacher, he publicly and physically demonstrates his respect for Pearl as a whole person, not only a "student."

All the children who had joined Pearl on the low table do move to the floor. Pearl remains on the table and has a pleased expression on her face. Michael then continues, still with great excitement, and, for the first time, and following Pearl's earlier lead, allows himself to move on with the planning of the play as a way to complete the resolution of the disagreement between the children, instead of trying to reach a resolution before moving forward with the planning.

283T	Um, OK. Here's what she's saying – you ready? You want to hear this? OK? What she's saying is we do two plays, but you guys are part of their play,
284A child	And they're part of–
285T	they're part of your play, and so we have one play where we have new characters, and we have one play where we have just the same characters. OK, Pearl, you hear that's what she's saying.
286Nancy	like, um –

287T (Interrupting) So one play would be the way you like it where its only new characters – I mean – sorry, only the characters that are in the book. Then you'll do it a second time like how they like where there's ...
288Rachel Like monkeys.
289T Where there's a monkey and a parrot? Does that, does that sound OK?
290Nancy That sounds OK.

In his third display of emotion in stage six, Michael notices that Pearl looks sad, before she speaks, and expresses concern. Michael is correct that Pearl is sad, she may even be having trouble speaking because she is choked up. Also, in his great effort to listen to Pearl so that he can help her to alleviate this sadness, Michael is able to identify and correct Pearl's misunderstanding of the solution, which was the cause of her sadness.

Finally, speaking to himself through Nancy, as he spoke to himself through Pearl earlier, Michael lets himself know what he has learned: "She's got to figure it out." The teacher cannot "figure it out" alone, or even first. Instead, the children and the teacher must work and play jointly, if they are to be "best friends," truly caring for one another, and trusting each other with problems that interest their whole selves.

291T You still look sad, why, Pearl?
292Pearl Because, I don't-- (clears her throat) want to do–
293Several children (Unintelligible.)
294Maya All of us are gonna do it your way, then you guys are gonna do it our way.
295Pearl *Oh* – you mean like, first time ...
296Nancy Ooh, I got it—
297T No no no no wait, she's got to figure it out. Now--
298Pearl Um, like first we could do it like
299A child Your way.
300Pearl like our way first and then when it's done we could do it like your way.
301T Exactly.

Pearl's smile is huge. Schechner's second phase / Vasilyuk's repentance is now complete. The initiation or transition into a new mode of adult-child interaction

in the classroom has taken place, and this so-called new behavior is really the rearrangement of old behavior, or the enactment of the playworld behavior in the classroom, outside of Narnia.

Phase Two / Redemption, including Bliss

Michael now moves on to Schechner's third phase / Vasilyuk's redemption, including the public performance / bliss. In this phase Michael will reintegrate his new way of interacting with his students into his classroom, and he will give us a glimpse, in this discussion, of what this restored behavior might look like if it was practiced until it was second nature. His bliss will be a synopsis of the discussion, to me and directly after the discussion is finished, with its attendant "chief delight" of "special absorption;" a synopsis that will become, with hindsight, the first performance of the analysis that you are reading now.

Stages Seven and Eight

The first stage in this third phase is stage seven, in which Michael sees the frame of this activity -- his classroom in a public elementary school on a military base in the U.S. at a time of war – again. He says "good-bye" to this world he has created with his students, just as he said hello to this world when he lifted Cayden off of the carpet by his shirt. In this stage Michael again interrupts himself at a turning point in the perezhivanie. However, this time the interruption constitutes the turning point. Michael counts his students, as he did just before the discussion started.

302Nancy (simultaneously) (*Oh*!! I have – I know I know ... Mr. Michael, I figured it out.

303T Uh-huh.
304Nancy because you know how you said that gift thing? Like *first* you have breakfast, then you go downstairs –
305T Uh-huh.
306Nancy -- then *first* you see you see what's under the Christmas tree.
307T Uh-huh.
308Nancy *Then* the first part is like, we, the first part we do it our way, with, like, it's our play with no, with – and then you're going to open the gift, so that's their part.
309T So what you're saying is, like . . .
310A child Mr. Michael, can I go to the bathroom?
311T Um, no, you gatta be here. Where's Luke? You mean –
312A child Oooh, they always go to the bathroom!
313T No, I need you guys back over here.

Michael's counting of his students appears to occur after Nancy has spoken about what she 'figured out,' but Michael is already counting his students as he is listening to Nancy speak: his 'Uh-huh's' are distracted. Stage eight, therefore, actually begins with Asylnne's epiphany. In stage eight Michael, who, the day before in an email to the researchers had been defending a point that is dear to him using his metaphor of the gift, has this metaphor given back to him as a freeing gift, by Nancy.

What Nancy is doing is appropriating Michael's own metaphor as a means for describing the solution that the class has now reached. She appropriates Michael's teaching tool to answer *his* question, ingeniously adding time to the story of opening the gifts, so that the same metaphor now takes on an opposite meaning. Interestingly, her revised metaphor appears to mirror the solution the class has developed, in which all of the children act the play first with one cast list and then with another cast list.[iii] Again:

314Nancy (simultaneously) (*Oh*!! I have – I know I know ... Mr. Michael, I figured it out.
315T Uh-huh.
316Nancy because you know how you said that gift thing? Like *first* you have breakfast, then you go downstairs –
317T Uh-huh.
318Nancy -- then *first* you see you see what's under the Christmas tree.
319T Uh-huh.

320Nancy *Then* the first part is like, we, the first part we do it our way, with, like, it's our play with no, with – and then you're going to open the gift, so that's their part.
321T So what you're saying is, like . . .

Michael reacts to this gift by accepting the fact that he cannot stay in this "world" of the discussion forever, and that it is time to see what this discussion will make possible throughout his classroom. If the first time his metaphor came into this discussion (stage four), he realized he was "in," he now realizes he is "out," and where as at the time I reminded him of his metaphor he made his point with a long monologue, here he explains to those children who were out of the room what they "missed" in a truly collaborative dialogue with Nancy and Pearl. In this last moment of the discussion, just when Michael declares that he is about to end the discussion, we find that the joint creation which occurred in Narnia, in which teacher and children worked together, each bringing their expertise to a question at hand that mattered to them all, has been successfully restored in the classroom: In Michael, Nancy and Pearl's joint response we can see that this restored behavior could become second nature to Michael and his students alike.

322T OK, you guys missed a lot. You guys have *missed* a lot. No, on the rug with us. You guys missed a lot. OK. Um, Nancy you wanna tell us what, kinda like what we decided?
323Nancy Yes.
324T OK. Tell 'em what we decided.
325Nancy Because, um, Elizabeth said, Elizabeth said that --
326T OK, are you guys listening? 'Cause you guys missed this so you might want to hear it –
327Nancy Elizabeth--
328T For everyone to hear, just -- I think we need to move on, so let's -- . OK go ahead.
329Nancy Elizabeth said that *first* part we do it Pearl's way, then we do it--
330Pearl (interrupts) and then when it ends we are gonna do it like your way.
331A child Yeah, but all together ... with all-- first we do it your way, with all of us over there
332Pearl Like turns, like taking turns.
333Same child Yeah, like taking turns.
334T Right, so we'll do two plays, one with ... only the characters from the book and one play with ... with some new character ...
335A child Like the parrot and the monkey.

336T OK? Alright. You know what I think we need to do, I think we need to go out the door and go for a run.
337Several children Awwww –
338T No, just go, just go.

Stage Nine

The class rises noisily and runs and walks towards the door to line up for their walk to the field. Michael also starts to rise, but pauses in a squat with one hand on the floor to balance himself, and says to Beth, "The best conversation in my thirteen years of ... " "School," I say, finishing his sentence for him.

This is the start of stage nine, which is a synopsis of the entire process. While the children run, Michael returns to this "world" by talking me through the discussion, now that we know its conclusion. He speaks very fast, so as to have time to finish what he must say before the children have finished their run, and he is utterly joyful.

Michael tells me what happened in the discussion in the classroom, but continues the discussion from the emails, merging the two into one story. This is the merging of his own and the children's desires, now no longer separated by a non-porous boundary, as Michael is now fully in the class as a "human in the world," as he was in the playworld. The children are running towards us down the field, many of them weaving from side to side and waving their arms, and Michael and I become aware that we are suspended in time and space ("Life stand still here"). This is not yet the public performance, but we have, for some reason, achieved a portion of the "experience… of synchronicity as the flow of ordinary time and the flow of performance time meet and eclipse each other" (Schechner, 1985, pp. 112-113). We

have both been working with young children for over a decade, and what we have just experienced in this discussion has surpassed our dreams of most meaningful classroom activities, but we are experiencing something more than pride and pleasure at our own and the students' accomplishments.

Several weeks later I have a dream about this discussion in which the classroom is dark and close, but instead of the particle board ceiling there is just a blue sky full of sunlight above. Several years later Michael writes that, through the Narnia playworld, I have become his "constant for when I am teaching:" "When all is chaotic (in my classroom) and I need something to "right my ship" I think of (Beth)." He writes that a "constant is someone who helps you reflect back on what you yourself did... (a) constant helps you remember your own experience (and this person may/may not have experienced anything you did)," and he adds: "A constant is sort of like a beacon...guiding you back on course. But, also giving you hope" (from an email sent March 15, 2009, 7:01 PM).

[i] Bakhtin, M. M. (1975). *Literature and Aesthetics*. Moscow: Khudozhestvennaya Literature Publishers. (in Russian)

[ii] This toy shares Michael's name. This is interesting as we think about ways that Michael's authority is dispersed through physical space, and how the children's voices are controlled by physical actions.

[iii] Nancy's reworking of Michael's metaphor is fascinating. However, we do not have enough information for further analysis of its meaning and significance. My initial interpretation is that she is expanding the field of the metaphor until it bursts:

> A performance "takes place" in the "not me . . . not not me" between performers; between performers, texts and environment; between performers, texts, environment, and audience. The larger the field of "between," the stronger the performance. The antistructure that is performance swells until it threatens to burst. The trick is to extend it to the bursting point but no further. It is the ambition of all performers to expand this field until it includes all beings, things, and relations. This can't happen. The field is precarious because it is subjunctive, liminal, transitional: it rests not on how things are but on how things are not; its existence depends on agreements kept among all participants, including the audience. The field is the embodiment of potential, of the virtual, the imaginative, the fictive, the negative, the not not. The larger it gets, the more it thrills, but the more doubt and anxiety it evokes, too. (Schechner, 1985, p. 113)

CHAPTER FIVE

Access to Perezhivanie through Processes of Representation That, Themselves, Include Perezhivanie

In this chapter I analyze two examples of perezhivanie that merged with the creation of representations of themselves. These representations, one a "film-play" and the other another form of synthetic analysis involving joint mapping, are embodiments of the perezhivanie they represent, and have become events in the U.S. Narnia playworld in their own right. Therefore, my analysis of perezhivanie in the playworld events via these representations includes analysis of the representations themselves.

First I analyze one child's behavior during Michael's transformation into the White Witch (session seven) to illustrate various components of perezhivanie, particularly the revitalizing of one's autobiographical emotional memories by imitating another's physical actions. Second, I will illustrate the recursive nature of perezhivanie through an analysis of my own perezhivanie as I engage in a joint analysis of the playworld with Michael, three years after the end of the school year in which the playworld acting sessions took place. Both of these examples of perezhivanie took place in a matter of seconds, and in both analyses I rely primarily upon representations that are visually rich and self-consciously produced, cross-referenced with our other ethnographic data, particularly interviews of adult participants.

Milo's Perezhivanie during Michael's Transformation into the White Witch

In response to the playworld session when Michael joined the acting as the White Witch, a discrepancy arose between adult and child understandings of the event. The adult participants unanimously agreed that the children were not engaged in this day's playworld session. In fact, we were all concerned that we had jeopardized the success of the playworld with this failed performance. Michael was also initially quite distressed by his performance and its reception: "But when doubt overcomes confidence, the field collapses like popped bubble gum. The result is a mess: stage fright, aloneness, emptiness, and a feeling of terrible inadequacy when facing the bottomless unappeasable appetite of the audience" (Schechner, 1985, p. 113). Then, on the Monday after the Friday performance, the children told Michael that he was indeed the White Witch and that they could not wait for the White Witch to arrive in the playworld again.

Apparently the children *were* engaged and the White Witch's appearance was a success, not a failure. How can we understand this divergence of interpretations? The answer to this question was essential to the success of the playworld, which depended upon coordination between the adults and children, and also upon Michael's conviction that he was the White Witch.

This discrepancy was eventually resolved through film-play. Again, this is a form of adult-adult interaction that incorporates playful use of filmic representations of events that appear to involve perezhivanie. Film-play is the creation and appreciation of ethnographic films that are both social-scientific documents and also works of filmic art.

In the process of resolving the discrepancy between adult and child understandings of the playworld we discovered that film-play was a powerful tool for making the perezhivanie visible in playworlds available for analysis. In assessing why this was so, we concluded that film-play works by recreating perezhivanie in film-makers and audience. The following analysis of Milo's perezhivanie is also an analysis of the perezhivanie-inducing film of Milo's perezhivanie.

Resolving the discrepancy between adult and child understandings

The video footage of this performance was filmed using an excellent camera by a professional cinematographer, a friend of mine whose autobiographical documentary works I like: they are lyrical and gripping. We asked the cinematographer to film for the stand-alone ethnographic film of the playworld we were planning to make, not to create footage reserved for objective analysis. And we encouraged her to enjoy the process of filming and to experiment with various angles, frames, movements, lighting and camera settings.

When we researchers viewed this footage of Michael's first appearance as the White Witch we were shocked. The children were, very obviously, intently engaged with Michael's arrival as the White Witch. We researchers were now convinced that Michael had correctly understood the children when they told him that he was the White Witch and that they could not wait for the White Witch to arrive in the playworld.

We could not understand how we had been in the same room with these children, some of us even, also, observing the children through a video camera lens,

and had not seen what this footage showed us. For Michael, viewing this footage was one of the most important turning points in the playworld. In his own words, he felt at this moment "relief (and joy) that I was able to be the White Witch... especially juxtaposed with the fact that just prior to seeing the tape ... I had felt as though I had failed my students (i.e. I had not become the White Witch)" (from an email sent July 28, 2008, 3:21 PM).

Once Michael felt sure that he was "able to be the White Witch," we were able to proceed with the planning of the acting sessions much differently than we would have if he or we had not felt that the White Witch had arrived in the classroom. But this footage has had an interesting trajectory through the presentation of our findings to others and back to analysis. This particular film-play began with the interactions between researchers and cinematographer that led to the production of the footage, and continues through the presentation of this example of perezhivanie right now, as the reader reads this chapter and views the attached film

This instance of film-play changed our approach towards data collection. After this event we paid even more attention to the quality of our equipment, the skill and quality of engagement of the people filming, and our interactions with these people. We also manipulated this footage for a series of audiences and for a variety of purposes: We edited it to use as we discussed perezhivanie with other playworld scholars and as we presented our work at academic conferences; We edited it so that Michael could review it in an interview, and describe its significance for him; And we edited it to show a group of scholars who were sharing their amateur and professional art to each other.

For this last audience, and to satisfy our own need for artistic catharsis (Vygotsky, 1971), one of the other researchers and I spent many hours selecting just those moments of the footage that would bring literal tears to our eyes. We then slowed these few seconds down until the duration of the entire film was just over two minutes, and placed the film in a public location where it could be viewed by others accompanied by any of a few songs, each carefully chosen because it further enhanced our own emotional responses to the film. This incarnation of the footage turned out to be the most useful to us as researchers, as we found, after the process was completed, that we had "captured" an instance of perezhivanie: As I will show, we had managed to represent perezhivanie in the playworld in such a way that the emotional content of the event remained intact and also legible to those who were not participants in the event that created this perezhivanie.

Analysis of Milo's perezhivanie

The following is a description of a version of the film with one selection of music. Included are several still images from the film. The film itself is on the enclosed DVD titled "Chapter Five," and should be viewed after viewing the still images. At this point in the text the reader may wish to reread the description of the film before continuing on to the analysis.

The film has two scenes. It is in color. It is two minutes and twenty-three seconds long.

While Michael is moving his gloved hands on the side of the frame, one child, Milo, is holding his own right arm. He holds his arm while his finger points to

Michael, joining his classmates in response to Michael's questions: "So, who do you think is the White Witch?" Then, all of a sudden, Milo's right arm breaks free and starts to point back to Milo. At this point in the film Milo's face moves from bored wariness to pride and Michael, who is still out of the frame, moves towards Milo in such a way that it appears that he may fall fully into the frame.

A second child who is sitting next to Milo, Luke, then takes Milo's arm himself and moves it down, ending the pointing. He falls into Milo from the side, embracing him, while another child who is next to Luke, Maya, also leans in. Heads touching, faces turned upward, the three children turn to look to Michael. Then Milo, who now has an exhausted, ecstatic look on his face, raises his arm slightly and, with Luke still holding his arm, knocks his chest with his fist, thumb up.

In the second scene of the film Michael reaches down for his coat, which Luke is holding. Milo mirrors the large white hands and arms, his own small hands and arms reaching up, as if he was a much younger child who was asking to be lifted. Then Milo's hands are opening and falling to his lap, palms up. And Milo looks to be at great peace.

The soundtrack is the band Cibo Matto performing the song "Sing this Song All Together" by the Rolling Stones, and the Japanese Miho Hatori sings with a heavy accent. The vocals are therefore choppy, highlighting (and translating into another medium) the visual effect of the extreme slow motion, in which the frames follow each other so slowly that they almost appear as a series of still frames. And the lyrics of this song can be interpreted as describing some aspects of perezhivanie:

“Why don’t we sing this song all together / Open our minds let the pictures come / And if we close all our eyes together / Then we will see where we all come from.”

Below: First three pictures -- At first Milo holds his arm while his finger points to Michael, and then his right arm breaks free and starts to point back to Milo (himself). Second three pictures -- After Luke falls into Milo from the side, embracing him, Milo mirrors the large white hands and arms, his own small hands and arms reaching up.

Figure 5.1: Film-play stills.

Figure 5.1 continued

View film.

In this instance of perezhivanie, as seen through this film-play, Milo is revitalizing his autobiographical emotional memories by imitating another's physical actions: He appears to experience himself as the White Witch, and it is his hand that seems to do his remembering for him (like Dr. Stangelove's hand, as it escapes his grip to point to him, in the Stanley Kubrick film of that name (1964)). And in the second half of the film we see Milo's mirroring of Michael's hands as Michael reaches for his fur coat. This mirroring of movement is echoed, and so enhanced, by the children on either side of Milo: first one child and then another leans in to hug Milo from screen left, and from screen right arms and faces move in unison in response to Michael.

Visually the single, odd, gesture of Milo in the middle of the two mirrored movements on either side actually represents the stages of perezhivanie discussed in chapter four. More obviously, illustrating the 'repetition with slight alteration' that we saw through the stages of perezhivanie in the children's discussion of chapter four, we see Milo's hand rise again to point to himself, a while after the initial self-pointing, and despite Luke's adding his own restraining gesture to Milo's. And the fact that Milo's perezhivanie is being shown in both time and space, within one work of play/art, creates a juxtaposition of time and space that shows how the social and individual are connected through proleptic development: Or, as I described this convergence of time and space in chapter one, this alludes to the juxtaposition of temporal double sidedness with these stages that creates perezhivanie.

Milo is strikingly behaving as if he is "someone else" or "as if (he is) 'beside (him)self,' or 'not (him)self,' as when in a trance" (Schechner, 1985, p. 37). Rouch connects film and trance (1978), as will be discussed below, and there is a certain vacancy in Milo's eyes, as well as a fleeting and superficial quality to his ever-changing expressions, that is trance-like. In any case, it is part of a trance that "While performing, a performer experiences his own self not directly but through the medium of experiencing the others," (Schechner, 1985, pp. 111-112) and through the pointing to himself and his inward-looking facial expressions it appears that Milo is certainly experiencing himself through his experience of Michael: Both Milo and Michael are not not the White Witch.

This same example illustrates the idea that, "In a very real way the future – the project coming into existence through the process of rehearsal – determines the past: what will be kept from earlier rehearsals or from the 'source materials'" (Schechner, 1985, p. 39). We can surmise that something about himself will be kept, or become more 'real,' now that Milo has seen this something in Michael's, and Milo's own, future as the White Witch. Furthermore, Milo's initial look of joy and triumph at the start of the film shows us "Bliss ... conferred even at the beginning of the road to redemption, as a kind of advance payment of emotion and meaning, needed to keep one going if a successful end is to be reached" (Vasilyuk, 1988, pp. 190-191). Milo perseveres through this clearly difficult as well as joyful experience (we know it is difficult if only from the physical support we see him receiving from his friends) after he has a grand look of joy on his face, at the very start of the film. And, in conjunction with this early arrival of bliss, Milo spends the rest of the film growing

back and towards the future and the past simultaneously: moving faster towards a future peace as he looks backward towards the former bliss.

So we see that Milo is inserting himself into the story of others in order to gain the foresight that allows him to proceed (Vasilyuk, 1988). We also know that he is including another, Michael / the White Witch, as an important source of his perezhivanie. And, although we have no other evidence, I believe that it is often a look of deep despair that we see flutter across Milo's face: He appears to "pass as if above something that had made (him) feel pain ..." (Robbins, 2007a, no page number).

Finally, in the film, Milo experiences his unique response to the White Witch's arrival amongst the excitement and fear of his classmates. As we focus on Milo, centered on the screen, he also merges into the dance of gestures and facial expressions around him: "Art is the social technique of emotion, a tool of society which brings the most intimate and personal aspects of our being into the circle of social life" (Vygotsky, 1971, p. 249). And it is in this personal social space that time stands still. Again, the sensation of being at the center of the workshop-rehearsal process is what Schechner calls an experience of the "present moment:" "... the synchronic ecstasy, the autotelic flow, of liminal stasis ... No one can keep it long" (Schechner, 1985, pp. 112-113).

Milo experiences the "anchor in the fluidity of life" (Robbins, 2007b, no page number), the "Life stand still here" (Woolf, 1927), as his movements make him appear slower than his classmates, and as we experience the film as still frames because of the extreme slow motion. As in Chris Marker's *La Jetée* (1962), a film

composed almost entirely of still photographs, Milo moves us because he contrasts with his moving classmates while the film's stills contrast with the medium of film itself. Lupton writes that the individual images of *La Jetée* are: "like memories of a film, which in our mind seem to be motionless and quantifiable, but if we search through the print never exactly correspond to one individual frame, or to the frozen drama of production stills" (2005, p. 91). In other words, this film of Milo provides gaps between illusions of movement, and the contrast between these gaps and these illusions of movement is what allows us to generate our own, powerful, perezhivanie. The primary colors and accented, staccato music highlight this effect, and thus our, the audience's, affect, even as this effect creates a deeper understanding of the events and experiences that the film is representing. This brings us to analysis of the film's effect on its audiences.

Analysis of perezhivanie that is created by this film-play

Throughout our editing, viewing and presentation of this film of Milo's perezhivanie, and even in the initial filming of the footage, we were engaged in film-play. We carried our playworld mode of interacting into the initial filming of the footage in several ways. We chose a cinematographer who produced films that were not scientific footage but works of art, and we chose a cinematographer whose work I knew and liked and who was a friend: someone we trusted. We instructed our cinematographer to film footage for a stand-alone film, not to create footage reserved for analysis. And we encouraged her to enjoy herself and to experiment as she filmed. Furthermore, as described in chapter three, I had spent some time showing this

cinematographer our footage and describing our project, so that she was already familiar with the playworld. Before the acting began I pointed out positions from which she might want to film and children on whom she might want to focus, so that I was actively involved in this initial filming. And we decided that she should leave her video camera on a setting that allowed it to imitate the quality of film, and in this way create footage that, even without any editing, reminded its viewers of film (which we might associate with artistic moving image, at this time in history) and not video (which we might more readily associate with documentation for scientific or educational purposes).

That quality of film that we were striving for in our filming and editing, what Sobchack calls "lived momentum" (1992, 2004), is the illusion of time flowing which we, the audience, fall into, even as we are aware of, in fact because we are aware of, the disjointed still photographs that film actually is. This quality is similar to Bateson's (1972) observation that play is a paradox because it both is and is not what it appears to be. And Schechner writes:

> When confidence – and the skills necessary to achieve what's promised – prevails, there is nothing performers can't do. A special empathy/sympathy vibrates between performers and spectators. The spectators do not "willingly suspend belief." They believe and disbelieve at the same time. This is theater's chief delight. The show is real and not real at the same time. This is true for performer as well as spectators and accounts for that special absorption the stage engenders in those who step into it or gather around it. Sacred a stage may or may not be, special it always is. (1985, p. 113)

It is this creation of a paradox by drawing our attention to the frame (Batson, 1972) that is occurring when we acknowledge that our film-play was and is a manifestation and embodiment of the perezhivanie we are studying.

Sobchack's (1992) argument is that film shows us the frame through which it is created. She claims that the paradox of film is that our knowledge of this frame, our knowledge that the movement we experience is just an illusion, is what makes this illusion convincing. Film designates a space, by drawing attention to the frame of this space, and we, the viewers, then fall into this space and, in falling, glimpse the future.

Sobchack argues that film allows us to glimpse the future because there is a connection between filmic time and "real" time: "The images of a film exist in the world as a temporal flow, within finitude and situation. Indeed, the fascination of the film is that it does *not* transcend our lived-experience of temporality, but rather that it seems to partake of it, to share it" (1992, p. 60). We inhabit the live space of film, and in our new habitat we feel so at home *in time* that the fantastic we experience through film lives on in our memories, as a part of our pasts, and in this way shapes both our present and our future. We do not fly above or into the future through film, but instead, through film, we can see the possibility of the future we may soon inhabit: To use Michael's terms, film allows us not to imagine, but to BE, things we cannot be.[i]

Furthermore, because the medium of film has momentum (by definition), the ability to develop towards a future, a film is in some sense "alive." Sobchack claims that film has an active life of its own: You can live in film, but film also lives within you. She makes her point by connecting film's qualities of being habitable and alive:

> Along with its objective existence for us as spectators, a film possesses its own being. That is, it *has being* in the sense that it *behaves* ... Abstract space is dynamized as habitable, as "lived in," as described in

> the depth that lived movement, not geometry, confers upon the world. (1992, p. 61)

Vygotsky describes this same quality, which exists in certain "filmic" novels, through the following anecdote:

> Tolstoy was once told by a reader that she felt he had dealt cruelly with Anna Karenina, the heroine of his novel, by having her throw herself under an oncoming train. Tolstoy answered: You remind me of an incident that happened to Pushkin. Once he said to a friend, "Just imagine, what Tanya has done to me, she has gone and gotten married. I never would have expected it of her." I could say the same thing about Anna Karenina. My heroes and heroines sometime do things against my wishes. They do what they must do in real life and what happens in real life, and not what I desire. (2004, p. 19) [ii]

As ethnographers harnessing the "lived momentum" of film we are not alone. Joseph Tobin and Yeh Hsueh (2007) are other academic scholars of children's play who create films for use in their analysis that are both social-scientific documents and works of art. They create films that include protagonists, dramatic tension and coherence, and that are compelling and inviting, although, in their "multi-vocal ethnography," it is the dialogue that the films stimulate, not the films themselves, that constitute their data. They write: "(T)he video functions primarily neither as data nor as description but instead as rich non-verbal cues designed to stimulate critical reflection" (2007, pp. 77-78). While our film-play embodies and represents perezhivanie, their films do not embody their topics of study and are not a central form of representation in their analysis.

We are most directly influenced in this analysis by the "direct cinema" of Jean Rouch (1978)[iii]. Our method of film-play makes perezhivanie the subject of empirical investigation both because it keeps perezhivanie "alive" for study, and

because it is, itself, a form of perezhivanie. Rouch's ethnography, like our own, mirrors his topic of study, so that increased understanding of one leads to increased understanding of the other.

Furthermore, in both our own and Rouch's work the "filmmaker-observer" (Rouch, 1978) both modifies what she films and is changed by what she films. When the filmmaker-observer shows the film to the subjects of the film, "a strange dialogue takes place in which the film's "truth" rejoins its mythic representation" (Rouch, 1978, p. 58). It is for these reasons that I took the term "film-play" directly from Rouch, who draws a detailed parallel between his ethnographic filming and the possession dance, magic and sorcery that he filmed, writing: "(I)t is the "film-trance" (ciné-trance) of one filming the "real trance" of the other" (1978, p.64).[iv]

In our video ethnography of the playworld we not only re-experienced the playworld when viewing it: This process of experiencing the film itself reflected the processes that interested us in the playworld. And, to continue this spiral, while this doubleness was a result of our "ciné-play," it was also simultaneously an act of re-framing (Bateson, 1972) that made our film playful. The reason that our films give us access to the physiology of perezhivanie is that they "allow us to confront (e.g. experience) the intersecting of the worlds they describe" (MacDougall, 1991, p. 348) (my addition in parentheses), and generate new perceptions. David MacDougall is celebrating our ciné-play when he asserts that when we cross cultural realities with our ethnographic films we are "on the verge of the surreal," and that we should take from surrealism the lesson that the "experience of paradox is in itself significant and must be grasped to generate new perceptions" (1991, p. 348).

Moreover, as described above, when we engaged in the playworld we agreed to learn from the children about play. In so far as our analysis is a continuation of the playworld, any marginalization of the "play" in our use of film is a breach of this contract with the children who had agreed to join us as equal contributors in the playworld. The question of whose story the film tells is a question of both moral and ontological import: The dignity of the subjects is at stake (Rouch, 1974, in his advocacy of "shared anthropology") when the film is "inside someone else's story" and we ask ourselves "Whose story is it?" (MacDougall, 1991, p. 354)

Just as the children, through their play, taught us how to film, our film-play, in turn, helped us to play in the playworld: Our ciné-play merged with our creation of a playworld. Our filming became a means of "creating the circumstances in which new knowledge (could) take us by surprise" (MacDougall, 1991, p. 355), and when this happened our films became ongoing research processes in themselves. The divide between adult and child perceptions of this event might not have been bridged if filming the children had not created a shared space in which adults and children could meet with more ease than they could elsewhere, or, in Rouch's words: "I find that in certain places, close to certain people, the camera, and especially the sync camera, seems necessary... what is there is that sudden intuition about the necessity to film, or conversely, the certainly that one should not film" (1974, p. 55).

Our work is a continuation of the work of Rouch, and of the work of MacDougall, primarily because, through *essentially respectful* study of art that is not divorced from science (play is imagination in the material world), we have found that our filmmaking provides "a strange and intensive mode of access to the world, both

more immersed and more detached" (MacDougall, 2006, p. 91). This movement between / double existence in immersion and detachment is both a part of the content of our short experimental segment tapes: perezhivanie, and also the quality that film-play brings to our endeavor to represent this content. And it is what we adult participants needed to achieve if we were to play with the child participants.

In this playworld our use of film-play allowed us to enter into play with children because, as discussed above, the children encouraged the adults to play "with belief and disbelief at the same time" by refusing to play with the adults if they did not simultaneously believe and disbelieve. Our simultaneous belief and disbelief, in the White Witch and in Michael and in many other creatures of Narnia, was partially made possible by the shift in the adults' perspectives that our film-play engendered. Rouch accurately describes this aspect of film-play when he writes of the ciné-trance: "... the filmmaker can throw himself into a ritual, integrate himself with it, and follow it step by step. It is a strange kind of choreography, which, if inspired, makes the cameraman and soundman no longer invisible but participants in the ongoing event" (1978, pp. 63-64).

And I will add that this choreography can make the actual event continue, as well.

As I discuss in the second half of this chapter, when the playworld was officially complete, three years after the final school day of the year which the playworld officially took place, Michael and I continued our participation by spending several days creating a diagram of the playworld that was very similar to Vygotsky's diagram of the melody of Bunin's "Gentle Breath." In this process, analysis and play process merged fully. For the purposes of our mapping we defined

the playworld as still continuing, and while we mapped we realized we were missing, and searched for, a certain essential stage of the playworld – something that was present in the poetic but that we could not find in the material -- only to realize that this stage was our current activity of creating this diagram.

Again, this is why analysis of perezhivanie in this dissertation has included analysis of our method of analysis as well as analysis of the playworld itself. And, again, this is entirely fitting. In play children are lifted above their current potential, achieving that which they could not achieve outside of play, and briefly inhabiting what we could call their future selves. Film can also allow us to glimpse a future of potential and a future self, can make a "brief flight into life, out of the fixed frames and inexorable logic of the fated narrative" (Lupton, 2005, p. 93). And in play children push themselves to the limit, placing themselves just next to their greatest fears, and just by those demons that truly threaten their physical and emotional selves. They enter a designated space in which they are at risk because they are challenging themselves, and in which they could not challenge themselves without risk. Within the frame of film the ability to glimpse a future coexists with the whirling sensation of vertigo, as we fall into a film time which is somehow more our own than the "real" of time unmediated by film (Alter, 2006).[v] Perezhivanie in a playworld and the 'lived momentum' of film-play are both the fall that becomes a flight, or the flight that becomes a fall. In the children's words: "I feel like I'm flying," and, about temporal double sidedness of both play and live representation of play: "I look up and I go faster." or "Why am I walking backwards? I don't have to look. I know where am I'm going."

Beth's Perezhivanie during Joint Analysis of this Playworld with Michael

Michael was involved in many aspects of preliminary analysis in several studies of this Narnia playworld (Baumer et al., 2005; Ferholt and Lecusay, forthcoming; Marjanovic-Shane et al., submitted). Here I will analyze an example of stage five of my perezhivanie when, three years after this playworld was complete, Michael and I sought to map the "physiology" or "melody" (Vygotsky, 1971, p. 150) of the entire playworld using Vygotsky's method of literary analysis (Figure 2.1, chapter two). This mapping exercise is a particularly useful example of "restored behavior" (Schechner, 1985) because it resulted in a map that clearly, visually shows the recursive quality of "twice-behaved behavior" (Schechner, 1985, p. 36), a quality that is very difficult to describe solely with words.[vi] It is not necessary to trace the phases and stages of perezhivanie in this mapping process to show its recursive quality. By contrast, as was the case with the film of Milo that captured Milo's perezhivanie in his encounter with Michael becoming the White Witch, my experience, an example of Woolf's "Life stand still here" is made visible in the finished map.

Michael and Beth "restore" the playworld: Perezhivanie in analysis

Michael and I conceived of this mapping exercise as an extension of the adult participants' play that the Saturday playworld rehearsals had become during the Narnia playworld, and therefore as an improvisational stage of analysis. Because this analysis was so "playful" we had several reasons for doing this mapping that were not directly related to analysis of the Narnia playworld: I had attempted this exercise

earlier, on my own, with little success, and had developed the hunch that making this map with Michael might help me to overcome a mild writers' block; Michael enjoys working on communal art projects, particularly murals, whenever he can find the time. However, we came up with the idea to map the melody of the playworld when we were re-viewing and discussing the film of the discussion analyzed in chapter four.

During this particular re-viewing and discussion we lost, and then tried to recapture, the "lived momentum" of the film of the discussion in our dialogue about the discussion. In these attempts we became progressively more inarticulate and soon Michael began to draw in response to my words. We decided to explore a type of dialogue, in which words and drawing were combined.

To do this we first found a large, light room at the university and reserved this room for two full afternoons. We decided to draw on an approximately 45 by 5 foot piece of butcher paper with black markers and then to paint within these black lines. This method is derived from cartooning techniques and allows one to portray intense and varied emotional expressions efficiently. Michael teaches this method to his students and uses it in his own work, including the picture books that he writes and illustrates for his classes. And we worked on a very large piece of paper, which we placed on the floor, so that we could both draw at the same time, if needed, and also because the idea of sitting on the mural as we created it appealed to us both.

Again, Vygotsky argued that it is only anatomy that either the structure of the material or the poetic technique, taken on its own, can reveal. This is Vygotsky's (1971) diagram, as seen in chapter two:

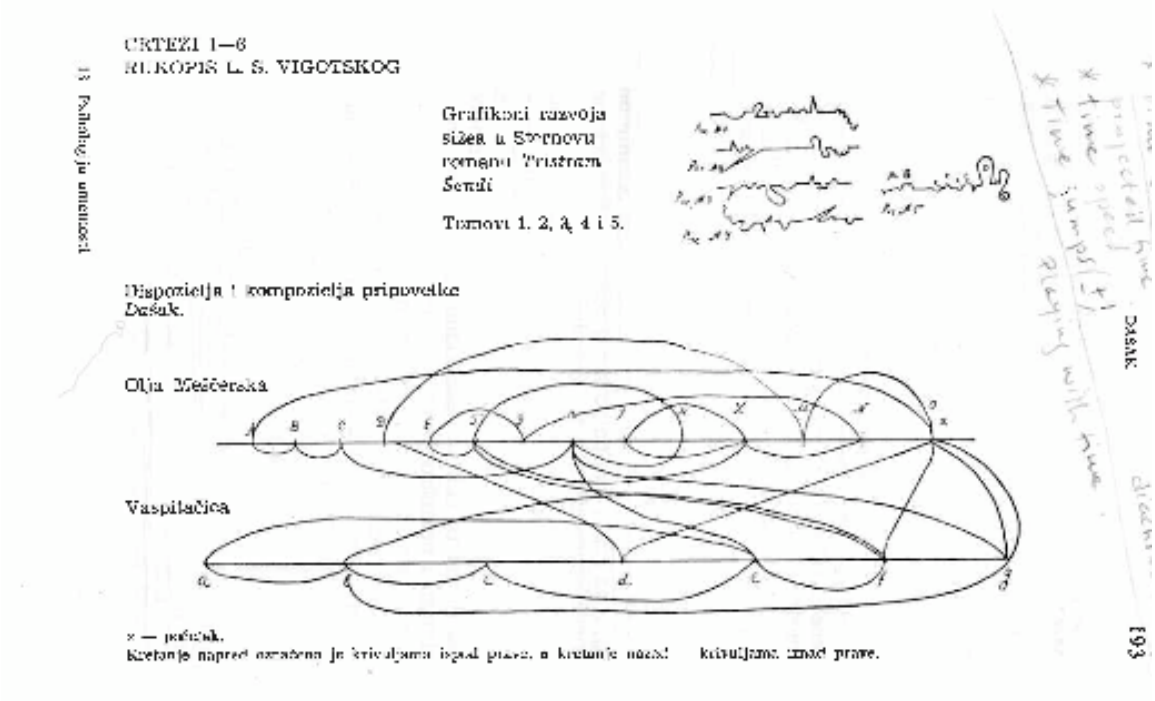


Figure 5.2: Vygotsky's (1971) diagram of the melody of Bunin's "Gentle Breath."

To make physiology available for study one must juxtapose the material and the poetic, and then ask the function of the synthetic technique in relation to a whole. Therefore, in order to map the playworld as Vygotsky mapped Bunin's "Gentle Breath" Michael and I had to decide upon the actual events upon which our story was based, and specify the artistic form into which this material was molded. This proved difficult because it was not clear what the final artistic form of the Narnia playworld was, or even if there was a final artistic form at all. Furthermore, because our main characters were also real people whom we either were or knew, not fictional characters, there were too many actual events for us to choose from.

We decided to use an artistic form that we both experienced as the playworld's final artistic form, whether or not this creation was "actually" in the playworld or we just experienced it as a part of the playworld. We chose Sendak's *Where the Wild Things Are* (1963) as our final artistic form of the playworld. Michael and I were, at the time, both deeply immersed in this picture book and exploring its parallels with playworlds. I had already used it to describe a working version of what would become the nine/ten stages of perezhivanie discussed above. Michael had recently performed a play of this book with the class he had just graduated, and he believed that this performance was somehow related to the playworld he had completed with this class earlier in the year (even though the playworld had been based on Norton Juster's *The Phantom Tollbooth* (1961)).

Vygotsky (Figure 2.1) placed the events of each of the main character's lives in chronological order along a straight line, and then drew curved lines to show the order of events as they took place in the short story that he was analyzing. Because our main characters were too numerous, and because we were not working with a representative child, we grouped the children together, leaving us with three main characters: the students, Michael and Beth. And, because there were many too many events in these "characters'" lives during this playworld year for us to map, we decided to draw the order of events in the "poetry" which each character experienced (the order of the events in *Where the Wild Things Are)*, and then (as shown below) to juxtapose the material with the poetry by superimposing (through the equivalent of Vygotsky's curved lines) the chronology of the playworld itself into these timelines: the opposite of Vygotsky's approach.

Concretely, we paired an event in the playworld with each of the events in *Where the Wild Things Are* for each of the main characters: Beth, Michael and the children. We did this by studying the gestures and facial expressions of Max, the main character in *Where the Wild Things Are*, and placing this information about Max's emotions in the context of each illustration as a whole and Sendak's story as a whole. Then, following our separate intuitions but reaching consensus through discussion, we selected the event in the playworld that best matched Max's event as an emotional, aesthetic and functional (within the whole story) whole for each of our three main characters (Beth, Michael and the children).

We then laid out these three timelines of perezhivanie, one for each of our three characters, in such a way that we showed how these three timelines occurred in and around each other in the real time of the playworld. The way we did this was to recompose the playworld in chronological order using only events from the main characters' timelines of perezhivanie. (In the final map Michael divides the chronology of the playworld into three parts, using a different color for each part, which allows us to see the temporally double sided quality of the three character's perezhivanies' when they are combined into one playworld more clearly. However, this is complicated to describe in words, particularly as the final map is not yet complete. And it is not essential to this discussion.) The initial diagram itself is now a mass of Michael's drawings that only he can decipher, but the following is the information included in the initial diagram:

Table 5.1: The information included in Michael and Beth's initial diagram.

key: B = Beth, T = Michael, C = children; B0 = Beth's stage 0, etc.; events are described

B0: Beth drives up to the school for the first time
T1,2,3: Beth enters Michael's classroom for the first time
T4: Michael's decision to be the White Witch
B1: Michael describing reading *The Phantom Tollbooth* in the fifth grade, Beth's reaction
C0: reading the book out loud to the children
C1: the words in the book disappear
C2: finding the key to the wardrobe
C3: calling for Mr. Tumnus to let them join him for tea
C4: eating with Mr. Tumnus
T5: Michael finding his coat
C5: the White Witch appears
T6: seeing the film of Milo ... and realizing that S4 & S5 had indeed occurred
B2: when we decide that Michael can enter as the White Witch disguised as a child
B3: email from Michael saying "thank you"
B4: Beth saying "chill" to Michael
C6: capturing the White Witch on the final day
C7: the feast on the final day
C8: deciding to do a play for their parents
C9: the discussion about the play
B5: Michael 's field note describing his three concentric circles of self in the playworld
B6: conversation with Michael before final play about the playworld
T7: saying "Good-bye": adults and children crying
C final production: The Play
B7: overcoming a difficulty in conceiving of playworld as accessible to non-participants
B8: turning in the first chapter of the thesis
B9: creating this timeline
B final production: The Thesis (or a future book about the playworld)

During the two mapping sessions, Michael and I verbally discussed the timelines while Michael also drew the timelines and used written words to describe events on the timelines. At the end of the second session Michael sketched his vision

of the layout of the timelines on the final map and we agreed upon various modifications to this vision. Michael then worked to create the final map on his own, over the course of the following year. (The map is not yet complete.)

In the discussion analyzed in chapter four, while the children bring Michael back into the playworld "mode" during restoration of the playworld, I am the "pivot," the "Another, on whom one can lean" (Vasilyuk, 1988, p. 190). In this mapping process, while Michael worked with me to me to revitalize my autobiographical emotional memory of my "experience ... of synchronicity as the flow of ordinary time and the flow of performance time meet and eclipse each other" (Schechner, 1985, pp. 112-113) in our Narnia playworld, it was *the playworld itself*, our joint play with the children, that functioned as the pivot in this process. In the mapping process carried out with Michael, the playworld itself allowed me to remember the tone and type of my behavior in the playworld: emotionally intense and in close coordination with another, so that I could restore this tone and type of behavior. During the discussion analyzed above, the first laugh of the three laughs that changed Michael's tone occurred with me (stage two of his perezhivanie). The playworld reminded me of what I had been trying to tell myself about the significance of this playworld: that the blending of method and object leads to conceptual breakthroughs while being simultaneously exhilarating. I reminded Michael of his metaphor during the discussion described above (stage four of his perezhivanie). I felt understood in the context of this playworld when I experienced a merging of worlds: The merging of my worlds actually became a part of the playworld (as it became a part of the map, which was a continuation of the playworld). Michael's excitement when Pearl said,

"Because everyone is my best friend -- " and then Nancy crossed the no-man's-land between the "sides" (stage five of Michael's perezhivanie) became a part of me as I shared his excitement with him.

All of the nine stages of my perezhivanie during the mapping process are not represented in our data in any way that they can be usefully analyzed. However, stage five of my perezhivanie during the mapping process is made visible in the map itself. Again, this is the stage when something happens that shows that two worlds are one, and the conflict that led to the creation of this journey, in the first place, reappears, but in reverse.

During this mapping process, Michael and I were trying to find all nine stages for all three characters, but we could not figure out what stage nine of my perezhivanie in the entire playworld could be. Then I realized suddenly, during the time between our two days of mapping, that my stage nine was this mapping itself. This realization itself was stage five of my perezhivanie during the mapping process.

With my realization that my stage nine was this mapping itself, the original conflict that led to the creation of our mapping, an attempt to recapture the "lived momentum" of the film of the discussion about the play (from chapter four) in our dialogue about the discussion, reappeared in reverse. With this realization, as I will describe below, we were creating, not losing, "lived momentum" through our playful verbal-visual analysis. Furthermore, because the mapping process (a form of analysis) was my stage nine, it appeared on the map (in the playworld, as the map was a continuation of the playworld), literally making these two worlds one.

I will analyze this stage five of my perezhivanie further through a discussion of the ways in which the mapping process was, indeed, my stage nine, and through a photograph of the map itself. Again, this is my definition of stage nine: Stage nine is a synopsis of the entire process, culminating in a public creation. One retraces the stages, returning to the 'real' world by re-passing through all stages. There one finds that which one longed for, in the conflict that motivated the process of perezhivanie. One experiences a warp in time and a flying sensation.

This mapping process was a synopsis of the entire process of the playworld for me, as I re-experienced the entire playworld. I felt that this process was necessary if I was ever to portray the whole of the playworld for an "outside" public in the form of a book or a film. I was retracing the stages of my perezhivanie, as this was the explicit exercise in which Michael and I were engaged. As Michael and I each tried to convince the other to concur with our own, preferred matches between playworld events and Max's events, we each tried to remind the other of their experiences of events. In this remembering of these experiences we partially relived them. Furthermore, through this process of re-living I returned to the 'real' world because, as I mentioned above, this mapping process was to culminate in a representation of the playworld for a public. If the conflict that motivated my perezhivanie was my working to merge my past self as a practitioner, during my decade as a kindergarten teacher, with my new self as a theorist, in my current role of graduate student, then this theorizing with a teacher (about a playworld) was the culmination of what had started as my teaching with a teacher (in a playworld) even as I was, now, a graduate student. Through this mapping I saw a way for me to be fully a theorist-practitioner.

And, as soon as I saw Michael put the map on the map as my stage nine, I experienced the time warp and flying sensation of "Life stand still here": "lived momentum." This mapping process in its entirety and also this final experience of the "anchor" of perezhivanie were the equivalent of that moment, after the discussion with the children, when Michael talked about this discussion with me while the children flew down the field and we become aware that we were suspended in time and space.

Again, "me behaving as if I am someone else" or "as if I am 'beside myself,' or 'not myself,' as when in a trance" (Schechner, 1985, p. 37) becomes metacommunicative, not just play but also a message about itself, as the message "This is play." sets a frame for play, creating a paradox by delineating things that are not of the same logical type (Bateson, 1972). The emerging map of the playworld, which Michael and I were creating, now framed the playworld itself. And, on the nearly completed map we can simply *see* this.

This first photograph of the nearly completed map (Figure 5.3, below) shows a portion of the map. It gives a sense of the overall structure of the final map: events in cells that can span several time lines and/or loop forward and back through "tunnels." On the left you can see the cell of tea with Mr. Tumnus. In the center cell, which spans several timelines, is Michael dressing as the White Witch, seen from behind, with Milo at center holding his arm before he points to himself: Michael drew this from behind himself because, in his words: "that moment, for me, was the reaction of the kid(s)" (from an email sent May 10, 2009 at 5:34 PM). This cell is flanked by Michael finding the White Witch's coat in a store, on the left, before he

cried for joy at finding the coat, and by him seeing the film of Milo's perezhivanie, on the right, a "before shot" and an "after shot" of his own face.

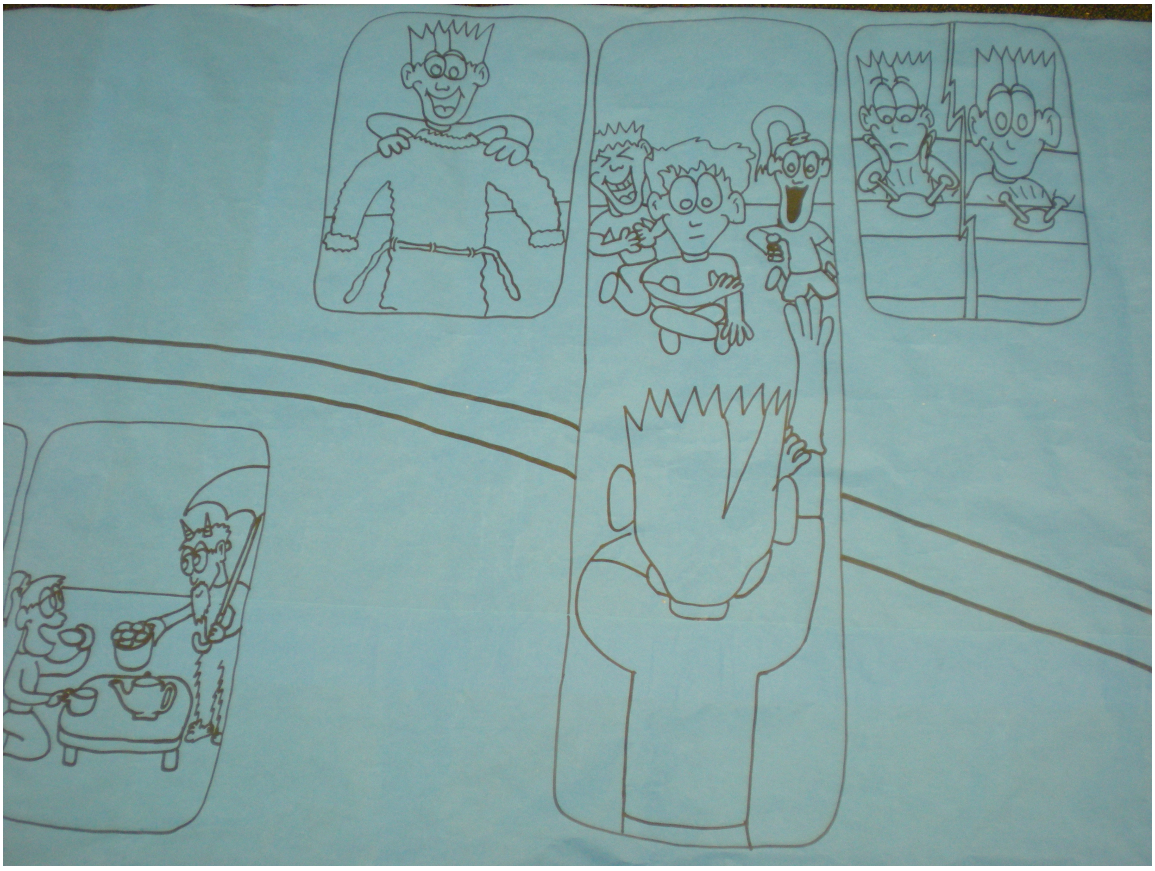


Figure 5.3: A portion of the map.

The second photograph of the map (Figure 5.4, below) shows one cell of the map: the stage in which the map itself is represented. It is a drawing of our initial diagram, a "Sharpie" pen (that Michael used to sketch out initial diagram) and stage nine in Sendak's picture book.

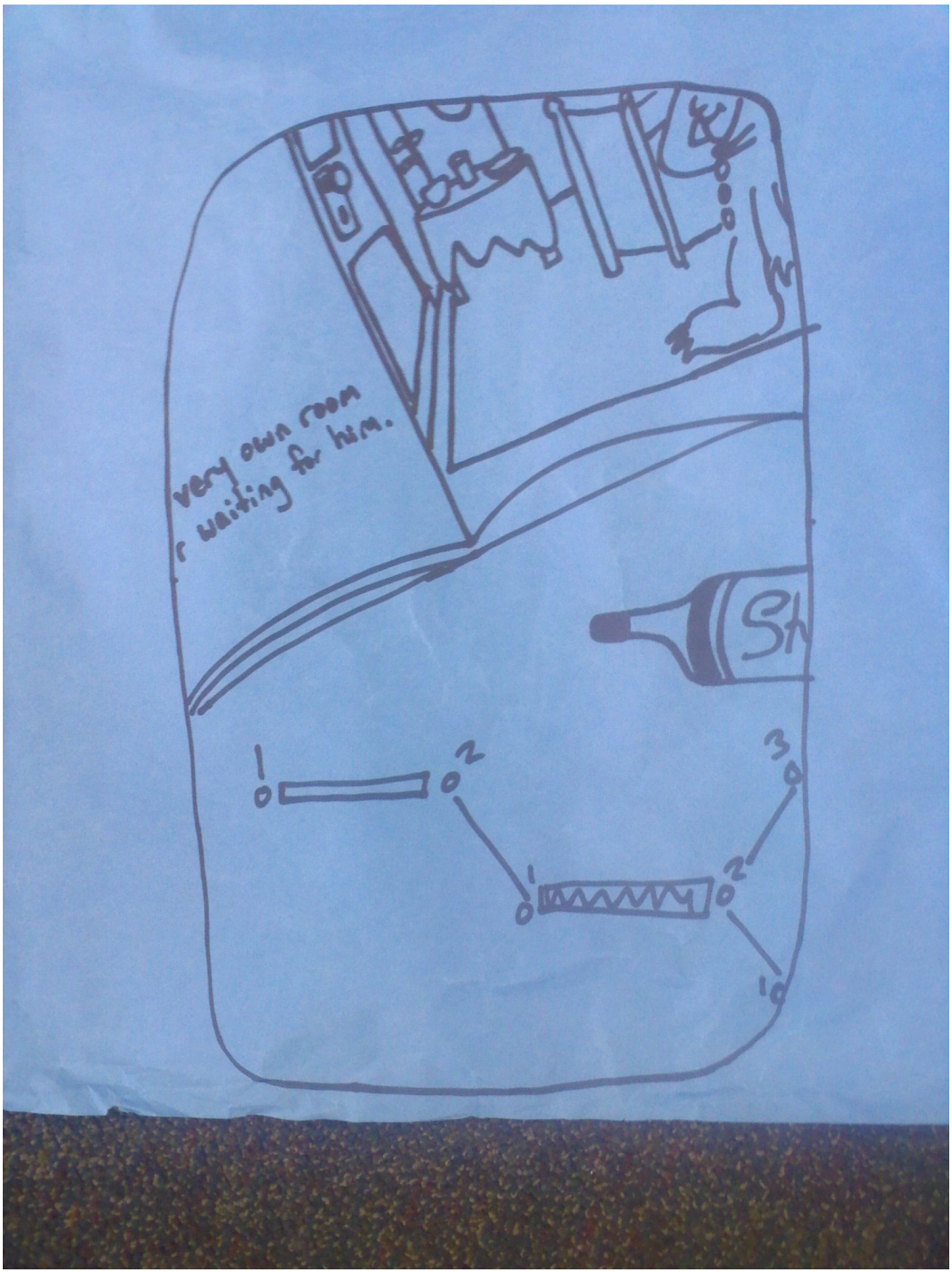


Figure 5.4: One cell of the map: the stage in which the map itself is represented.

The recursive quality of perezhivanie *is* this appearance of the map itself on the map.

Chapter 5, in part, has been submitted for publication of the material as it may appear in A Multiperspectival Analysis of Creative Imagining: Applying Vygotsky's Method of Literary Analysis to a Playworld, forthcoming, Ferholt, Beth, Peter Lang, forthcoming.

[i] Sobchack's support for this claim comes from a distinction between the forward-facing medium of film, film "always in the *act of becoming*" (1992, p. 60), and the nostalgia of photography. Walter Benjamin (1972) wrote of the photograph's movement into a future that is in the viewer's past. He describes a picture of a woman whom we, the viewer, know has already committed suicide:

> (L)ook at the picture of Dauthendey, the photographer, father of the poet, taken when he was engaged to the woman whom one day, shortly after the birth of her sixth child, he was to find lying with slashed wrists in the bedroom of his Moscow home. Here she is seen standing next to him, he appears to have his arm around her; yet her gaze reaches beyond him, absorbed in an ominous distance. (1972, p. 7)

Benjamin then explains that when viewing a photograph we look for a glimpse of a future that is already a past. We look for a glimpse, which, because it is a glimpse not of our future, but of our past, can only mark the subject of the photograph. It cannot mark ourselves. He writes:

> However skillful the photographer, however carefully he poses his model, the spectator feels an irresistible compulsion to look for the tiny spark of chance, of the here and now, with which reality has, as it were, seared the character in the picture; to find that imperceptible point at which, in the immediacy of that long-past moment, the future so persuasively inserts itself that, looking back, we may rediscover it. (1972, p. 7)

Sobchack finds in film the same inserted future that Benjamin finds in photography, but claims that where the future of photography is still in the spectator's past, making the photograph about loss, past and death, in film this future is also the spectator's future, making film about "life and the *accumulation of experience* – not its loss ... (--) a visible representation not of activity finished or past but of activity coming into being and being" (2004, p. 146). Sobchack describes *La Jetée* as a film about film. She then makes use of that central moment in *La Jetée,* when the woman opens her eyes, looks at the camera and blinks, to add to her description of film as always being in the act of becoming, and therefore being habitable. One can wonder what reality a photograph memorializes, but we can crawl into a film and live there. Sobchack writes of this moment when Marker abides by film's most fundamental rule:

> Thus, even as we are seemingly prepared, and even though the photographic move to cinematic movement is extremely subtle, we are

> nonetheless surprised and deem the movement startling and "sudden." This is because everything radically changes, and we and the image are reoriented in relation to each other. The space in between the camera's (the spectator's) gaze and the woman becomes suddenly habitable, informed with the real possibility of bodily movement and engagement, informed with lived temporality rather than eternal timelessness. (2004, pp. 145-146)

[ii] Vygotsky explains Pushkin's point in this way:

> We frequently encounter similar confessions on the part of artists, referring to the same kind of internal logic. [Wilhelm] Wundt gave an excellent example of this logic of fantasy when he said that the thought of a wedding could give rise to the thought of a funeral (the joining and separation of bride and groom) but not to the thought of a toothache.
> Thus, in works of art we often encounter juxtapositions of features that are far removed from each other and seemingly unrelated, but that, however, are not foreign to each other, like the thought of a toothache and that of a wedding, but rather are united by internal logic. (2004, pp. 19-20)

[iii] Rouch first explains that for Vertov the camera was a new organ for seeing and cinematic vision was a new way of seeing -- hence his term "ciné-eye" for filmic perception. Moving slightly away from Vertov's use of the term cinéma-vérité to define his entire discipline, Rouch uses the term cinéma-vérité to mean the particular truth that is filmic truth. Rouch's direct cinema is combination of a "ciné-attitude" or filmic attitude with Robert Flaherty's "participating camera:" the participation of the subject of the film in the creation of the film, beyond acting, and the incorporation of this technique as "an indispensable part of filmmaking in the field" (1978, p. 63).

[iv] Rouch draws this parallel up until the film developing process, comparing the sending of the film to the laboratory for development to the "devouring of the double by the sorcerer" (1974, p. 64), etc. After describing this stage of the filming process, he recounts the process of bringing the footage to (what I have turned to Sobchack to describe as) "lived momentum," and the effect of this process of representation on the audience, who were participants in the event filmed. Rouch writes: "The "stolen" image comes back several months later, and when projected on the screen, recovers life for an instant" (1978, p. 64). He adds: "The reflection is bestowed with such strange power that its viewing is enough to make a "horse of the spirit" *[the person who is possessed in the possession dance]* see itself possessed on the screen and immediately enter into trance."

[v] Simply think of the last time you entered a great film in the daylight, and left in the evening darkness, feeling unsure: 'Am I now most alive in the day, or the night, or in the light of the film I have just left?'

[vi] Woolf succeeds at this task, throughout *To the Lighthouse* (1927) particularly (and, due to the fractal-like nature of this novel, in the quote from this novel that is in chapter one), and Shakespeare's *Hamlet* has the play within a play, etc.

CHAPTER SIX

Conclusion:

Challenging the Divide between Method and Object

In Conventional Social Science

By Superceding the Segregation of Emotion and Cognition

This thesis has had a number of inter-related goals that, at an abstract level, converge on the methodological project indicated by the title of this chapter: challenging the divide between method and object in conventional social science. The three constituent goals that merge to create this overarching theme are:

1. The claim that it is possible to increase our insight into the complex dynamics between cognition, emotion, imagination and creativity, which are encapsulated in the concept of perezhivanie.
2. The claim that a particular form of play, embodied in playworlds, provides a strategically useful site in which visible instances of perezhivanie occur with unusual frequency under circumstances that make perezhivanie available for observation and therefore subsequent analysis.
3. The claim that by using various ensembles of methods of representation, some of which themselves evoke and manifest perezhivanie so that they constitute examples of the perezhivanie that they are intended to represent, this elusive phenomenon is made available for analysis in its full, dynamic complexity.

The Significance of Improving our Ability to Study the Dynamic Relations between Cognition, Emotion, Imagination and Creativity

My primary motive in focusing on the concept of perezhivanie lies with its potential to help reintegrate the subjects of emotion and cognition in psychological and educational studies of development and learning. This reintegration seems possible because perezhivanie encompasses the dynamic relations of imagination and creativity, emotion and cognition. I have combined several technical uses of "perezhivanie," derived primarily from the disciplines of theater (Stanislavski, 1949) and psychology (Bozhovich, 1977; Vasilyuk, 1988; Vygotsky, 1994), to produce a composite definition of perezhivanie that could guide my analysis.

Stanislavski (1949) contributes the idea that perezhivanie, the re-living of past lived-through experiences, occurs when we revitalize our autobiographical emotional memories by imitating another's actions. Vygotsky (1994) offers the idea that perezhivanie *is* the relationship between individual and environment. Vygotsky (1994) also points out that perezhivanie avoids the loss of those properties which are characteristic of the whole of human experience, thus allowing psychological analysis through units rather than elements. Vasilyuk (1988) uses the term perezhivanie to describe a form of inter-subjectivity in which we insert ourselves into the stories of others in order to gain foresight. He also adds to the concept of perezhivanie the component of overcoming despair: The foresight that we gain allows us to proceed. And Vasilyuk stresses that another person is needed for this experience: that it is the inclusion of another that allows a person to develop. Hence, human communication is also central to perezhivanie.

I have also drawn from performance theory scholars and artists whose studies of the properties of perezhivanie have converged with those given above although they do not use the term "perezhivanie." Particularly important in this regard is that I have combined insights of Schechner (1985), with the work of Vasilyuk (1988). For Schechner, performance is perezhivanie: He describes performance as "twice-behaved behavior" (1985, p. 36) or "restored behavior" (1985, p. 37). He outlines three parts to the process of performance and argues that, in performance, time flows in more than one direction. Schechner writes of a first phase that breaks down the performer's resistance, usually by moving him to a "sacred" or special space and unusual use of time, a second phase of initiation or transition, and a third phase of reintegration, ending in public performance. Vasilyuk divides perezhivanie into the stages of: fault, repentance, redemption / bliss, and he notes that "Bliss is conferred even at the beginning of the road to redemption" (1988, pp. 190-191).

Using all of my sources on perezhivanie, I have highlighted the fact that perezhivanie is "temporally double sided" (Cole, 2007), growing back and towards the future and the past simultaneously. And I have brought together the ideas of several other scholars and a novelist (Robbins, 2007b; Winnicott, 1971; Woolf, 1927) to argue that it is the juxtaposition of temporal double sidedness within and among these stages that creates perezhivanie.

In perezhivanie we find a transitional, precarious, doubly-negative space between being aware of boundaries between real and imagined, and self and other, and simultaneously unaware of these boundaries. We experience ourselves through others as we use another person / fictional character as a pivot, to detach emotions

that are personal from the self and to relive them through another. This is the process which allows us to BE that which we could not imagine being without this process, to "bring… the most intimate and personal aspects of our being into the circle of social life (Vygotsky, 1971, p. 249). The experience at this center is of stillness and exhilaration, a falling flight, the "anchor" (Robbins, 2007b), or "Life stand still here" (Woolf, 1927).

As I noted in my introductory chapter, while scholarly interest in perezhivanie is increasing (e.g., Gonzalez-Rey, 2002; Jaques, Bocca, & Vicari, 2003; Mahn & John-Steiner, 2002; Moran and John-Steiner, 2003; Robbins, 2004; Sannino, 2008; Smagorinsky, in press), there is still relatively little empirical support for the concept of perezhivanie in the social sciences.

Playworlds as a Privileged Site for the Study of Perezhivanie

In this dissertation I have claimed that playworlds are a privileged site in which to study perezhivanie. I have supported my claim through my analysis, and by examining the interactions and motivations of adults and children that constitute current playworlds, situating playworlds within other forms of western play historically, and situating the theoretical basis for playworlds within modern, western theories of play.

I believe that I have amply supported my claim that playworlds are a privileged site in which to study perezhivanie. Playworlds combine adult forms of creative imagining, which require extensive experience, with children's forms of creative imagining, all of which require embodiment of ideas and their associated

emotions in the material world. Playworlds also create the possibility for children to strongly encourage adults to participate with them in play, at the same time as these adults are engaged in the more familiar project of strongly encouraging children to participate in art and science.

In playworlds adults actively enter into the fantasy play of young children as a means of promoting the development and quality of life of both adults and children. Adults join in play with children because play allows the adults to experience things they are not able to experience through imagination alone, things which appear too far from the possible to be experienced through imagination without play. And adults benefit from joint play with children because children encourage adults to play "with belief and disbelief at the same time" (Schechner, 1985) by refusing to play with adults if these adults do not simultaneous believe and disbelieve.

I have also argued that playworlds contrast with the play that the 20th Century ideal of modern western childhood has promoted: adults' direction of children's play towards adult-determined developmental goals, and adult's protection of children's play from adults. And I have argued that what I have characterized as modern and post-modern forms of adult engagement with children's play are paralleled in psychological theories of play.

In contemporary Western European and American biological, psychoanalytic, cognitive-developmental and cross-cultural psychological theories of play we find assertions that children's play is fundamentally different from adult activities, and that adult knowledge, experience or developmental stage is a teleology for children's play. By contrast, based upon Lindqvist's (1995, 2001, 2003) reinterpretation of

Vygotsky's theory of play (1978, 1987, 2004), I assert that children's play is an early form of the artistic and scientific endeavors of adulthood, and, therefore, produces new insights that have intrinsic value for adults and children alike. Lindqvist (1995, 2001, 2003) reinterprets Vygotsky's theory of play through *The Psychology of Art* (1971) and through her own reading of his little known essay, "Imagination and Creativity in Childhood" (2004), to argue for the importance of Vygotsky's (1987, 2004) claim that imagination and realistic thinking act as a unity in the processes of invention and creativity, while simultaneously focusing on Vygotsky's assertion that children's play is a creative cultural manifestation in humans. Lindqvist's studies (1995, 2001, 2003) focus on finding a "common denominator" of play and aesthetic forms, which she calls "the aesthetics of play" (Lindqvist, 1995). Her pedagogy of creative play (a seminal form of playworlds) was designed to investigate not only how aesthetic activities can influence children's play, but also the nature of the connections between play and adult aesthetic forms of drama and literature.

Playworlds as Formative Interventions

The playworld of this dissertation study embodied Engestrom's (2008) description of a "formative intervention." Engestrom states that in formative interventions, "the subjects construct a novel solution or novel concept the contents of which are not known ahead of time to the researchers" (2008, pp. 15-16). Our intention was to study an implemention of Lindqvist's pedagogy of creative play (1995) in the U.S., and to study whether or not this pedagogy would promote the development of narrative comprehension (Baumer et al., 2005). It was only in the

process of playing with the children and Michael that we realized that playworlds are rich sites for the study of perezhivanie, or how we might make this perezhivaie available for analysis, e.g. that we constructed novel concepts and solutions the contents of which were not known to the researchers ahead of time.

For instance, a child participant in the playworld, Martina was the first to begin to ask the question, "What is your favorite part of the playworld?" Michael then asked and answered this question. Robert and I then adopted this question as we edited the film of Milo to find those moments that were most emotionally powerful for us: those moments that made us cry.

This question was both a new method of finding instances of perezhivanie, and a means of simultaneously analyzing and creating perezhivanie. In the enormous, dynamic conglomeration of emotions, interactions and performances that made up the playworld, this unanticipated question helped us find transitions between stages within longer instances of perezhivanie, and also to find several seconds-long instances of perezhivanie. Furthermore, this question was central to new forms of collaboration between researchers, between researchers and Michael, and between adult and child participants. We were thus not only creating more instances of perezhivanie, as we came to re-experience our own favorite moments through inserting ourselves into another's favorite moments (often, it appears from preliminary analysis of some of these instances, while imitating the another's physical movements). We were also coming to understand the components and qualities of perezhivanie as we tried to understand another's description of their favorite moments, asking follow-up questions that, in their repetition through different

interviews, began to reveal unanticipated structures, categories and aspects of perezhivanie. Furthermore, in the process of describing our favorite moments to another person, we found we were forced to be specific, but (as with formative interventions themselves) not required to shape our memories and descriptions to fit a preconceived concept, as we would have been if the question we asked was, for instance: "When did you experience perezhivanie?"

The most powerful example of a subject constructing a novel concept or solution in this playworld is Nancy's retelling of Michael's metaphor of the gift being either opened or not, during the discussion I analyzed in chapter four. I will use Nancy's metaphor even in this concluding chapter, below, as I seek to explain where my argument has the potential to make a contribution to our understanding of playworlds, perezhivanie, and their significance for understanding and human experience. But there were a multitude of examples of a subject constructing a novel concept or solution in this playworld . Examples of this phenomenon occurred at all of the times when the students, in designing their recess time play amongst the set-pieces, gave Michael an idea for how to proceed with the acting sessions and at the times when Michael had an epiphany about how to construct a set piece, or structure an enactment of the novel, and both his idea and his description of his process of realizing this idea gave us a new understanding of playworlds and perezhivanie. Additional examples occurred at those points when the children and Michael reconceptualized the boundary between the 'real' and the imaginary in a way that gave us insight into both playworlds and our methods for analyzing perezhivanie, such as when Milo would not join the feast in the Beaver dam, or when Michael

would not enter the playworld as himself but would enter as the White Witch disguised as a child.

Engestrom also writes that in formative interventions, "the contents and course of the intervention are subject to negotiation and the shape of the intervention is eventually up to the subjects" (2008, pp. 15-16). This also occurred throughout our playworld intervention in the classroom. Constant negotiation produced the playworld from start through finish, from the choice of the novel, to Michael becoming the White Witch, through the mapping of the playworld using Michael's personal style of painting. And it was the children and Michael who ultimately made the most important final decisions about the playworld. We deferred to the children, whose opinions were interpreted through Michael, on the question of whether or not the White Witch had actually arrived when Michael went into role, whether or not the playworld had ended when the adults stopped acting, and whether or not the children would produce two plays, each with half the class, or two plays, each with the whole class, for their parents, etc.

Engestrom states that in formative interventions, "the aim is to generate intermediate concepts and solutions that can be used in other settings as tools in the design of locally appropriate new solutions" (2008, pp. 15-16). The playworld was a formative intervention in this regard as well. Our understanding of the importance of certain qualities of collaboration between teacher and students, and researchers and teacher, in the creation and study of playworlds, includes both concepts and solutions that are transferable. I will discuss this in more detail at the close of this chapter.

Furthermore, the combination of this study's site and methodology amounts to the invention of a new method for making perezhivanie an empirically researchable phenomenon. This methodology, and the development of playworlds in which researchers are participants, were both generated through this formative intervention. The site and methodology, combined, could be adapted to study perezhivanie in different settings, and the synthetic components of the methodology have already been used (Marjanovic-Shane, forthcoming) to study forms of play outside of playworlds.

A New Synthetic-Analytic Methodology for the Empirical Study of Perezhivanie

My methodology is synthetic-analytic. I included not only conventional forms of ethnographic data such as field notes and unedited video recordings filmed from a tripod, but also specially organized forms of video documentation, art works produced in the playworld, emails between adult participants, still photographs, as well as video and audio recordings of those "off stage," but essential aspects of the playworld. My analysis has included analysis of discourse and communicative exchanges using transcriptions from the video and audio recordings that are cross-referenced with the other forms of ethnographic data, and also forms of adult-adult interaction that incorporate playful use of various media, as mentioned above.

These methods of analysis merged with processes of formative intervention design and data collection, as well as the presentation of our findings. In fact, the playworld itself can be described as still in progress because these supplementary methods of analysis are still in progress and are generating new forms of production,

representation, and theorizing even as I write. Within these supplementary methods of analysis, most useful to date has been our "film-play." In film-play adult participants, researchers and teacher, make maximum use of our roles as participant-observers by enhancing our own and others' emotional re-engagement in the playworld using the art form of film and play. Film-play occurs during intervention design, analysis of our data and presentation of our findings.

Analysis of the "Whole" Playworld: Chapter Three

In chapter three I sketched the events in the implementation of this playworld in order to make the case that phenomena constituting perezhivanie manifested themselves on a frequent basis. Relying primarily on field notes, I created a narrative of the entire playworld, which I supplemented with the children's paintings of, and in response to, the playworld. This chapter provided a plausible case for the interweaving and interdependence of the many instances of perezhivanie that this playworld makes visible, and highlighted the fractal nature of perezhivanies within perezhivanies.

Within the entire playworld, as presented in that overall narrative, there were several instances of engagement that appear, even at the relatively superficial level of analysis provided there, to have been instances of perezhivanie. Several examples are prominent in the narrative.

To start with, in January, after the first acting session, in which the words in the book disappeared and the book fell apart, the adults were all deeply moved by listening to the audio recording of the children gasping during their intense emotional

experience of the book falling apart. It is interesting, in light of my methodology, to note that this first example of perezhivanie was discovered not during enactment of the playworld itself but when we were listening to a high quality audio recording of the playworld.

In early February, Martina had a powerful reaction to wearing a coat in the wardrobe on the day the key to the wardrobe was found. She refused to take the coat off after the session was over, just walking around in the coat, smiling to herself. I also had a powerful reaction to Martina's quality of engagement.

In late February, several children cried in response to acting sessions or to playworld-related discussions and activities between acting sessions, and one child, Luke, began to exhibit violent behavior that Michael thought might be related to the playworld. During this time, Michael also manifested clearly his first perezhivanie while designing and building the cardboard forest that the children would paint. And the children began their deeply engaging game in which Michael grabbed them while they were in the wardrobe, hidden among the coats.

Next, in preparation for Mr. Tumnus's tea, I seemed to lose sight of the 'real' as I franticly encouraged Lars to learn to play the recorder beautifully in a brief car ride before the performance. During Mr. Tumnus's tea I continued this irrational behavior when I interrupted the acting because I thought that members of the child audience were becoming too sad. Many of the children, including Milo, were moved to tears by this performance, and most of the children were ecstatically involved in having the tea, some children commenting in surprise that the food was 'real.' The children also showed in two instances, when Robert reentered and when Lars lost his

horns momentarily, that their 'belief' in these characters was more complete than we had imagined. As for the other adults, Robert and Lars entered into their characters fully when squeezed into the cave. This was also the event during which Michael developed his odd premonition, that everyone needed to exit Narnia through the wardrobe in order to avoid some danger, a premonition with which we all acted in accordance.

In March, the children drew their frightening pictures of the witch, inserting themselves and their lives into these pictures: for instance, Maribel drew the picture of her dead brother in a coffin-like wardrobe. Also in March, Sonja, Michael and I discussed our immersion in the playworld, how it was now bordering on an obsession. These pictures and this discussion may prove to be, upon further analysis, self-reflection upon instances of perezhivanie.

In April, there was the arrival of the White Witch. During this event not only the children experienced perezhivanie. I have analyzed the film of this session and Milo's perezhivanie during this session (in chapter five), but not yet the adults' strong reactions to the film, particularly Michael's reactions. In the session following the White Witch's arrival, when the children joined the adults in the playworld as characters for the first time, and when we had put ice on the floor, Lars had the experience of walking for a long time when he took a few steps to the lamppost, and Robert felt deeply and personally comforted when he was comforted while in character, as Lucas, by the children.

Continuing his blurring of the "real" and imaginary, Michael first became upset and was comforted by our agreeing that he would be, and had been White

Witch disguised as a child, a spy, and not Michael, when he had entered Narnia with the children. As described in more detail in chapter three, this perezhivanie-laden experience in effect "rewrote history," and thus made it possible for Michael to continue as both teacher in a classroom engaged in a playworld, and White Witch in Narnia. Moreover, the adults experienced a shift in their relationships when they created this solution to remedy Michael's distress. As I described in chapter three, at this point the frequency of the instances of perezhivanie began to increase rapidly. (I will return to this episode at the close of this chapter.)

Robert left a meeting to record the meeting before it was over, overcome with the desire to write his field notes about the meeting: he looped back on himself in real time. Also looping in the midst of the process, many of the adults began to offer representations, in the form of music and films, to each other. Our emails (of the present) and field notes (of the past) began to merge, and we also, often, experienced amnesia, as time stood still or stretched out during our performances.

At this time, recognizing that the borders between researcher and researched, fantasy and reality, cognition and emotion, were blurring for everyone involved, we sought objectivity by hiring an external observer. But our external observer found herself in tears on her second visit. I had the experience of seeing Michael on film and in the classroom simultaneously, and becoming confused, and then giggling, with Albert and Luke. And the number of emails between adult participants became so great that it seemed that the playworld itself might have begun to live primarily through this relatively unconsidered (by ourselves) medium.

In May, we encountered a previously unnoticed component of perezhivanie, when Milo began disrupting the acting session at the Beavers' dam while drawing a split picture of the 'real' world and Narnia. We also had several interviews between the adults about the playworld, and Martina's "reading" of the novel to me in the wardrobe, in which events a form of partial perezhivanie may have been occurring, judging from the quality of engagement of the participants. During one of the relatively early planning sessions for the play about the playworld, I also experienced some exhilaration when I contributed to a class discussion more actively than I had previously, and then, perhaps, even experienced a moment of "Life stand still here" as I watched the children playing in the set pieces during a break in the scheduled class activities.

Soon after this came the event in which I told Michael to "chill," and I experienced this as a significant change in identity with respect to the class. On this same day, Milo and Michael had a passionate interchange about whether or not Milo would continue to participate in the playworld. And this was also the day that I felt trapped in the classroom, as if I would never be able to return to the university, a feeling so intense that I felt physically incapacitated.

This day was also the day before the incredibly emotional penultimate acting session, in which Mr. Tumnus was rescued and the White Witch was transformed. These were instances of perezhivanie that may reveal themselves, upon further analysis, to be a part of two-day long extended episodes of perezhivanie. The final acting session, itself, had so many instances of perezhivanie that an entire dissertation could be written using only these materials: certainly all the children, and all the adult

actors (with our heightened amnesia and our joining the children in the "Party" chant), experienced and manifested perezhivanie that can be reconstructed; and even the guest cinematographers and people at the laboratory who read our field notes of this day were emotionally and cognitively moved. This day also included my run with the children, through which I came to see Michael and his class at one remove, and of course there were the adults,' and a few of the children's, tears, and even sobbing, at the researchers' departure.

In June we had ended the fourteen planned playworld sessions, and moved into the child-conceived sessions which were unanticipated by the adults, but the instances of perezhivanie did not abate. In addition to the instance perezhivanie in the children's planning of the play for their parents, analyzed in chapter four, Martina and Fernanda changed their names, and I experienced Martina's gift to me of her new autograph as if it were the whole playworld itself. There was also the viewing of the film of the playworld by the children, during which the children gasped to hear themselves gasp and cried to hear themselves cry, etc., and the viewing of the play about the playworld by the children's parents, with their parents' expressions of their interest in the playworld throughout the year.

The final day of the school year, when Lars and I brought gifts to the children, the books and the copies of the film, contained several other instances of perezhivanie. There were the children's reactions to the book, for instance Thomas and Peter shouting, "Let's go visit Mr. Tumnus! Let's *go*!" and also the adults' reactions to the children's reactions, both in life and, later, on film. And there was

Milo's beautiful and extremely sad performance with Michael, as he whipped him with the White Witch's whip from the play about the playworld.

Analysis of Three Instances of Perezhivanie in Greater Detail

These instances of perezhivanie are merely described in chapter three, albeit through a form of illustrated narrative that is the start of a synthetic method in my synthetic-analytic methodology: We could call this method narrative-play. To place the instances chosen for deeper analysis in context, and to present the near-entire arch of the playworld in chapter three, was necessary, although I provided a relatively superficial overview in this chapter. In addition, it was necessary to turn to the micro dynamics of perezhivanie of even a few of these many instances, in the previous three chapters, to reveal and discuss those many qualities of perezhivanie that cannot be analyzed at this broad time scale, but which are important both theoretically and to provide methodological illumination. This task was carried out in chapters four and five, each of which highlighted different aspects of the dynamics of perezhivanie, and each of which employed various combinations of forms of representation according to the requirements of their respective time-scales and other qualities.

Analysis of the Nine Stages of Perezhivanie: Chapter Four

In chapter four I began to examine perezhivanie in detail with a single, relatively long instance of Michael's perezhivanie, as the children discussed how they would design a play about the playworld for their parents. For this purpose I relied primarily on discourse and communicative exchanges using transcriptions from video

and audio recordings that were cross-referenced with field notes, emails and interviews.

This example allowed me to discuss the nine stages of perezhivanie within the three phases of perezhivanie that Vasilyuk (1988) and Schechner (1995) lay out. And in this chapter I demonstrated the "temporally double sided" (Cole, 2007) nature of both perezhivanie and the synthetic components of my methodology. The latter I accomplished most obviously as I looped back on myself in my analysis, repeating a portion of the transcript.

In this chapter I showed how the children's discussion *about* their play became a *rehearsal* of what would become their attempt to accurately represent these properties through their play. Specifically, I showed how several of the children and Michael created a mode of being, or persona (a character), by revitalizing their autobiographical emotional memories of their performances in the playworld, by imitating both another's or a past self's physical actions, so that these emotional memories could be re-lived. I also showed several of the children and Michael inserting themselves into the stories of their past, playworld selves in order to gain the foresight that would allow them to proceed.

In this chapter I showed how Michael was forced to wrestle with a philosophical-ethical dilemma that he had been struggling with in adult-adult emails, in this adult-child joint activity. I showed Michael using me as his "pivot" (Vygotsky, 1978) to enable him to re-enter his play-world teacher mode of interacting with his students. And I showed most clearly Michael and Pearl, but also other

participants, behaving as if they were someone else, or beside themselves, or not themselves.

Analysis of the Merging of Method and Content, and the Recursive Nature of Perezhivanie: Chapter Five

In chapter five I examined two instances of perezhivanie that took place in a single or few seconds, providing access to perezhivanie through processes of representation that, themselves, include perezhivanie. Because these representations, one involving "film-play" and the other a "mapping-play" mimicking Vygotsky's diagram from *The Psychology of Art* (1971), are embodiments of the perezhivanie they represent, my analysis in this chapter included analysis of the representations themselves. I showed that these examples of perezhivanie, first one child's perezhivanie during Michael's transformation into the White Witch, and then my own perezhivanie as I engage in a form of joint analysis of this playworld with Michael, merged with the creation of representations of themselves.

Using the first example in this chapter I supported Stanislavski's claim that in perezhivanie we revitalize our own autobiographical emotional memories by imitating another's physical actions. I also showed how our film-play transformed the ongoing playworld itself: Our simultaneous belief and disbelief in the White Witch, which was necessary for the playworld to continue, was partially made possible by the shift in the adults' perspectives that our film-play engendered. In the first example I showed Milo imitating Michael's physical actions and pointing to himself when Michael, who is dressing as the White Witch, asks "So, who do you

think is the White Witch?" I showed this using an analysis of an example of film-play and through this film-play itself: the film that I included in the chapter. I also used this film-play to illustrate the method by which it came to reconcile a marked discrepancy between the adults' initial interpretation of the children's response to Michael's transformation into the White Witch, which was incorrect, and the children's experience of intense engagement.

The film that I included within chapter three was an integral part of my argument in chapter three. This is in contrast with the photographs of the children's paintings that simply augmented my narrative in chapter three, and the film of the discussion that I included with chapter four and that aided, but was not essential to, my argument in chapter four. Therefore, I discussed the "lived momentum" (Sobchack, 1992) of this film in order to describe *both* its ability to portray perezhivanie and perezhivanie itself.

In this discussion I turned to Sobchack (1992), who describes the paradox of film: that our knowledge that the movement we experience is just an illusion, is what makes this illusion convincing. I turned to Rouch, whose ciné-trance is "strange kind of choreography, which, if inspired, makes the cameraman and soundman no longer invisible but participants in the ongoing event" (1978, pp. 63-64). And I turned to MacDougall to describe our film-play as, "a strange and intensive mode of access to the world, both more immersed and more detached" (2006, p.91).

In the second example in chapter five I described a moment in my own perezhivanie while Michael and I continued analysis of the playworld, three years after the "end" of the playworld, through an adaptation of Vygotsky's (1971) method

of literary analysis. I used a photograph of a portion of the product of our analysis, a map of perezhivanie of all playworld participants throughout the entire playworld, to show the appearance on the map of the map itself as an illustration of stage nine in my playworld-long perezhivanie (which was the production of this map). This photograph clearly, visually shows the recursive quality of perezhivanie or "twice-behaved behavior" (Schechner, 1985, p. 36), a quality that is very difficult to describe solely with words, and so this photograph itself constitutes the bulk of my argument in this second half of chapter five.

Future Study of Perezhivanie through Playworlds, and Future Study and Improvement of this Synthetic Method

This dissertation is a first foray into the uses of this new method, and only begins to further explore the phenomenon of perezhivanie. There is certainly much work yet to be done in the study of perezhivanie, but also much that needs to be done to better understand and improve this method. Most importantly, the boundary conditions of this new method have not been determined.

These efforts have already begun. As mentioned above, other scholars of play have begun to adapt this method to the study of several phenomena in play outside of playworlds (Marjanovic-Shane, forthcoming). And playworld scholars collaborating through The Laboratory of Comparative Human Cognition are adapting this method for the cross-cultural study of playworlds (we are currently applying for a Swedish grant to pursue this endeavor).

However, the study of this dissertation has much more to offer future research efforts. Because of the long duration and the success of the U.S. Narnia playworld, and the extent and varied means of our documentation of this playworld, further exploration of both perezhivanie and this method can begin with further analysis of the data collected in this study.

We have sufficient data to employ our synthetic-analytic methodology, in which several different types of representations of an event are coordinated, in fruitful analysis of perezhivanie in almost all of the instances of possible perezhivanie mentioned above. Furthermore, while we may have analyzed perezhivanie at the shortest possible time-scale with the few seconds of Milo's perezhivanie in chapter five, our discussion of the entire playworld in chapter three is primarily descriptive: There is much more analysis of the entire playworld that needs to take place. It would, perhaps, be useful to have Michael and I continue our mapping analysis using film-play of the entire playworld: There appears to be a trajectory of perezhivanie that lasts five years for me, nearly as long (or, perhaps, longer) for Michael and for Sonja, and ten months for several of the students, most obviously Milo.

We have also barely begun analysis of perezhivanie beyond what we are defining as the entire playworld: the academic year that included the fourteen plus sessions. We have done no formal follow-up interviews, but four years after the "end" of this playworld more than half of the adult participants, including Michael, feel that their participation in the playworld gave them the foresight that 'allowed them to proceed' with the achievement of some life goal, or even helped them to 'overcome and conquer a degree of despair' in the face of some challenge. While it is

nearly impossible to follow the development of most of the students in the class, it also might be worth pursuing the possibility of interviewing or observing those few students who have not yet graduated from Michael's school or moved to another military base. We know that at least one of these students, two years after this playworld ended, showed precocious narrative comprehension after spontaneously creating puppet shows of the texts she was assigned to read in her new class. And we know that many children speak excitedly about playworlds to Michael years after they have graduated from his class.

In order to support the findings of the previous chapters, and to study particular aspects of perezhivanie in further depth (for instance: the central role of space in the creation of perezhivanie; the role of patterns of communication, particularly the alternating of silence and disclosure, in the creation of perezhivanie; and the nature of the trust among a group of people and objects that constitutes perezhivanie), what is needed is analysis of many instances of perezhivanie. As I have shown, many of these instances can be take from the U.S. Narnia playworld. Others may be found in Michael's several more recent playworlds, future playworlds with other teachers, and international playworlds.

Possible Future Uses of Playworlds

My analysis has shown that perezhivanie is present for both adults and children in playworlds. And, as I describe in chapter three and discuss in chapters two and five, my methodology could not have been produced without the inspiration that the children provided through our mutual perezhivanie in a playworld. Therefore,

through the development of my methodology, I show the potential of this perezhivanie of both adult and child participants in playworlds to be of use to scholars studying the development of cognition, emotion, imagination and creativity.

This perezhivanie of both adult and child participants in playworlds also results in marked improvement in several valued academic achievement markers in children. Again, we (Baumer et al., 2008) have shown that children who had created a playworld in their classroom showed significant improvements in narrative competence. As we (Baumer et al., 2008) discuss, narrative competence, which includes "narrative comprehension," the understanding of story events and actions as temporally sequenced and causally motivated, and "narrative production," the ability to produce longer, more coherent, and more linguistically complex stories, is an essential literacy skill that is highly predictive of academic success.

Furthermore, Michael has presented his preliminary observations (in a conference paper which I will not cite to preserve his anonymity) that his students who participated in the U.S. Narnia playworld showed increased motivation to read. He claims that this increased motivation was shown by all of the students in his class, regardless of their reading ability, and that the contrast of their level of motivation to read with all of his previous classes was marked. He concludes that during this playworld, his students read "with more passion and ... more often than in any year prior," and that his students "enjoyed reading, and thus, they read outside of school." And he draws these conclusions from convincing and rich evidence. For instance (again from his conference paper):

> (D)uring exploration time (when the students have time to choose any activity of their liking), the majority of the students would choose to read books inside of the castle (or inside some other set). Legos and/or watercolors, two of the most popular exploration activities, were ignored; whereas, each of the Narnia sets was brimming with students (reading books while inside)...
>
> (S)tudents would regularly stay inside the classroom during recess to read the class copy of "The Lion, the Witch, and the Wardrobe," act out a scene from the book, and/or read inside of one of the sets. While students in years past also stayed inside, it was solely to play with "toys" (e.g. Legos, watercolors)...
>
> (S)ilent reading, partner reading, and reading workshop never lasted long enough for my students: they wanted to read ALL day long. For example, in years past, after 10 minutes of silent reading, the students were ready to stop. Whereas, this year, they would read for 20 minutes, and even then, they regularly asked for more time to read...

The perezhivanie of both adult and child participants appears to have the potential to benefit teachers and teacher-educators, as well as scholars and children. This study provides a fine example of a playworld effecting lasting trust and collaboration between teachers and researchers (and also between the collaborating scholars who were participant observers, together, in this study). And this study shows a teacher, Michael, who wants to BE, in a playworld, something he cannot BE outside of play, and thus becomes newly motivated to join his students in a school activity.

Adult perezhivanie joined with child perezhivanie appears to have the potential to promote not only child development that allows students to succeed in formal educational settings or progress toward adult stages of knowledge, wisdom or skill (Baumer et al., 2005), but also teacher motivation that benefits both teachers and students. For instance, describing this potential of playworlds in his discussion of the Saitou pedagogy, founded by Kihaku Saitou, Japanese playworld scholar Kiyo

Miyazaki writes that successful teaching in the Saitou pedagogy depends upon: "the teacher… discover(ing) something new and interesting. To do so, teachers should suspend their understanding of the teaching material they once established as adults and see the teaching material with new eyes" (2008, p. 2). And Ana Marjanovic-Shane quotes an adult participant in a playworld for refugee children during the wars in the former Yugoslavia: "When this cursed war came, I became depressed... It was the optimism of the children that lifted me up. ... The children helped me... And then, of course, I invested my whole self... (Marjanovic-Shane et al., submitted).

As discussed in chapter one, at stake are conceptions and practices of childhood, and therefore conceptions and practices of adulthood as well. What if we could imagine and create many, varied settings in which adults and children work together to promote the development and quality of life of both adults and children? This would be a radical departure from the ideal of modern western childhood, with its emphasis on the innocence and malleability of children (Aries, 1962; Fass, 2007), and also from family and school, as we know these institutions here and now.

This dissertation contributes toward a reunion of cognition and emotion in the social sciences, toward a reunion of learning with "the fullness of life" (Vygotsky, 1986, p. 10) in child education, and also toward a reunion of children and adults in activities in which both children and adults are motivated to join and invest their whole selves. After a lifetime of studying children's lore and literature, including the rhymes and songs that are passed from child to child over hundreds of years without adult intervention, Iona Opie observed: "Children never refer to each other as children. They call themselves, rightly, people, and tell you what it is people like

them -- their people -- believe and do" (Gopnick, 2006, p. 12). Hopefully this dissertation is the start of a body of work that will help adults to more often also refer to children as people, and we may find that thinking of our former selves as people will help our future selves to be more humane.

Final Reflections

My argument challenges the divide between method and object in conventional social science. I argue that a form of art is of use to social scientists. I do this by employing the temporal double sidedness of film to reveal the temporal double sidedness of our perezhivanie. Thus, ethnographic film becomes not only my means of documenting, but also my object of study. I agree with Vasilyuk (1988) that it is through art that we can best represent perezhivanie for analysis, but am not content to follow Vasilyuk, who bases his discussion of perezhivanie on a fictional character as presented in a novel: I am striving for the equivalent of a non-fiction novel.

The idea of Luria's combined motor method, presented in Luria's *The Nature of Human Conflicts* (1932), is that the "*selective* disruption of the smoothly coordinated baseline system of behavior reveal(s) the subject's special state of knowledge" (Cole, 1996, p. 280). In order to see perezhivanie we needed to create a smoothly coordinated baseline, then ask why there were disruptions (between the stages of perezhivanie, for instance). It was the activity of playworlds that created this baseline, and it was in moments of disruption of the participants' coordination that our method and object became visible and, also, merged.

This method is a form of Vygotsky's method from *The Psychology of Art* (1971). In order to understand how the short story worked Vygotsky asked where and why Bunin disrupted the chronological order of the characters' lives to create his short story. And our method is closely related to Luria's (1932), as well as Vygotsky's (1971), as in our film-play and other synthetic methods we attempt to recreate moments of disjunction after recreating our baseline (one other researcher / film-maker and I creating a film that would make us cry, etc.).

The examples in chapter five illustrate this phenomenon in many-layered spirals, as discussed in this chapter, but there is one instance in chapter three that most plainly illustrates the disruption of our smoothly coordinated baseline revealing and merging our film-play and perezhivanie in the playworld. This was when I filmed Albert and Luke telling Albert's dream of Narnia, and then filmed them watching this film, etc. As I describe this event in chapter three, "We are all dreaming together."

Again: when the two boys and I saw Michael through the castle window in the camera's VCR and in "real" life, simultaneously, and after Luke raised his hand, pointing to the camera and then to Michael, then to the camera again, Albert, Luke and I began to giggle. The reason that we giggled together was because, in our split second of not knowing which Michael was moving in our field of vision *now*, we all three knew what had caused this disruption in our smoothly coordinated baseline. Furthermore, the description of this event is repeated twice in chapter three, doubly illustrating my point: the representation of this event must itself be a disruption of the smoothly coordinated baseline that I created through my narrative.

I am entirely mistaken when, after Albert, Luke and I have finished our filming and falling, I tell Michael that I have just experienced the one moment during the entire playworld when I was just having fun, not doing research. This moment turns out to be one of the most fruitful points in my research. However, my mistake is to be expected.

The pleasure of feeling oneself fall into the object of scrutiny through this scrutiny is not usually associated with science, but with film. However, the pleasure of coming together in a space from which we could see disruption was not incidental to this research, but was rather essential, on many levels: essential to the creation of the playworld, essential to our film-play, and itself essentially temporally double-sided, because it is, itself, perezhivanie. Arnaud Desplechin describes all this beautifully when discussing his film, *Rois et Reine (Kings and Queen)* (2004):

> What should be the specificity of cinema? I don't think that would be images or stuff like that ... What part of our lives it can describe? (I)t's bizarre, it's quite abstract and so concrete and it's just emotions ... Accepting that we are mourning ... it's a truth which can appear just on screen but not – not anywhere else. Not in novels, not in a poem ... that's what cinema taught me. I know that it can sound like enigmas, but when you look at the films, it's obvious that *Vertigo* is describing you. It's not describing Hitchcock. It's describing you. (2004)

There is also a particular instance in chapter four that clearly illustrates the disruption of our smoothly coordinated baseline revealing and merging our film-play and perezhivanie in the playworld. There is the moment when Michael briefly steps into Milo's time by focusing on the playworld instead of the play about the playworld, and briefly joins Milo in his primary orientation towards the content of the

discussion, instead of remaining oriented towards where the discussion should lead or what the discussion could teach:

74Milo	Why not the robin?
75T	The robin didn't talk. That's weird, huh?
76Milo	Yeah, 'cause the rest doesn't – talk.
77T	I guess it's symbolism or something. I don't know.

Again, in Michael's perezhivanie in this example Michael and Milo's interaction is the taste of the future, in the present, that makes the arrival of the future possible: When Michael looks backwards to see forwards in this discussion, this moment is what he sees.

A third example of this phenomenon took place this spring, as I finished writing this dissertation and as Michael began his current, and third, playworld. In the four years since the "end" of the U.S. Narnia playworld, through my analysis and writing and Michael's adaptation of the playworld pedagogy to his and his students' needs, Michael and I have continued a smoothly coordinated baseline: our playworld collaboration. A disruption in this baseline occurred when Michael reached a breakthrough in his planning of his new playworld.

Michael now has, for the first time, children in his current class who have created a playworld with him during the previous year. He realized that he could enlist these children in the creation of the playworld from the start, skipping any equivalent to the mysterious arrival of the wardrobe or disappearance of the words in the book. In his current playworld the children will help Michael to construct even this initial artifice, making them aware of the frame of the playworld throughout the entire process. (Perhaps this playworld will look something like the acting session

when Milo was simultaneously destroying and creating the playworld from his position both outside and nearby the playworld (the day of the feat in the Beavers' dam), or like the children's final play about the playworld, with some of the many White Witches intoning their lines in unison while other White Witches simultaneously improvised lines and its mix of set pieces from the playworld and replications of these set pieces.)

With this realization, Michael and I experienced a disruption in our smoothly coordinated baseline that revealed and merged our methodological play and perezhivanie in the playworld. We 'giggled,' like Albert, Luke and I, and then experienced a moment of "Life stand still here." Just as Pearl knew that the way to create a successful playworld is to insist on joint involvement, "Because everyone is my best friend -- " we suddenly saw that the experience of opening the gift (of Michael and Nancy's metaphor) is actually *in* the walking down the stairs to open the gift.

I realized that for Michael and me to continue to explore playworlds, and to recreate playworlds to suit the changing needs of Michael's classes and himself, a smoothly coordinated baseline of adult collaboration is needed so that disruptions can be made sense of. Michael realized that he needed to form his baseline with his students *before* the initial disruption in his playworld. In these realizations, as mentioned above, we accomplished the aim of this study, a formative intervention: "to generate intermediate concepts and solutions that can be used in other settings as tools in the design on locally appropriate new solutions" (Engestrom, 2008, pp. 15-16), and we will test and hone our new tools in future playworlds.

Finally, as we are still in the play of this U.S. Narnia playworld, we must have looked backwards to our joint play with children to see this way forward. The initial instance of a disruption of Michael and the researchers' baseline to reveal merging of method and object took place when Michael had us stop to rewrite the past, to make himself the White Witch disguised as a child, and we became aware that the adult relationships in the playworld were not merely helpful in the construction of the playworld, but that they were an essential part of the playworld. And that this looping, the looking backwards to move forward, occurred just before, during and/or after an increasing intensity of perezhivanie, was apparent in all of the examples that I have analyzed in this dissertation: I was compelled to repeat a portion of the transcript in the analysis in chapter four during stage five of Michael's perezhivanie, Milo repeated his self-referencing hand motion during the intense perezhivanie that the film represented, and just when I saw the map within the map was the most intense moment of my own perezhivanie during analysis with Michael.

Working from this aim of formative interventions (Engestrom, 2008), I find myself back at my own starting point: that the separation of cognition and emotion in the social scientific study of development and learning segregates thought "from the fullness of life, from the personal needs and interests, the inclinations and impulses, of the thinker" (Vygotsky, 1986, p. 10). Returning to the theoretical basis of playworlds, Vygotsky (2004) argued that imagination can become reality: "(A) construct of fantasy may represent something substantially new, never encountered before in human experience and without correspondence to any object that actually exists in reality" (2004, p. 15). Nevertheless, "once it has been externally embodied,

that is, has been given material form, this crystallized imagination that has become an object begins to actually exist in the real world, to effect other things" (2004, p. 15).

This is the circular path of development in imagination: The elements out of which a product of imagination is constructed are taken from reality, and once a product of the imagination is constructed it may be returned to reality, in turn altering the reality from which new products of the imagination will be constructed. And, as emotions (which are a part of reality in that they are real and which we experience as real even if they don't correspond to the rest of reality as expected) influence imagination and imagination influences emotions, this circular path of imagination leads to the conclusion that intellect and emotion are both necessary if an act of creation is to occur: "Feeling as well as thought drives human creativity" (2004, p. 16). This is why, as Rachel, Pearl and Andrea told us long ago: When you look backwards to move forwards, you feel like you are flying.

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