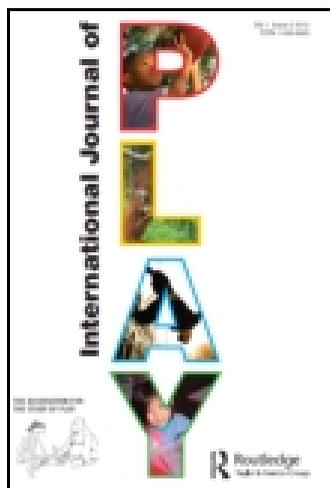


This article was downloaded by: [The University of British Columbia]

On: 18 August 2015, At: 11:02

Publisher: Routledge

Informa Ltd Registered in England and Wales Registered Number: 1072954 Registered office: 5 Howick Place, London, SW1P 1WG



International Journal of Play

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/rijp20>

Living in a broken world: how young children's well-being is supported through playing out their earthquake experiences

Amanda Bateman^a, Susan Danby^b & Justine Howard^c

^a Early Years Research Centre, Faculty of Education, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand

^b Children and Youth Research Centre, School of Early Childhood, Faculty of Education, Queensland University of Technology, Australia

^c Centre for Child Health and Well-being, College of Human and Health Sciences, Swansea University, Wales, UK

Published online: 13 Dec 2013.

To cite this article: Amanda Bateman, Susan Danby & Justine Howard (2013) Living in a broken world: how young children's well-being is supported through playing out their earthquake experiences, *International Journal of Play*, 2:3, 202-219, DOI: [10.1080/21594937.2013.860270](https://doi.org/10.1080/21594937.2013.860270)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/21594937.2013.860270>

PLEASE SCROLL DOWN FOR ARTICLE

Taylor & Francis makes every effort to ensure the accuracy of all the information (the "Content") contained in the publications on our platform. However, Taylor & Francis, our agents, and our licensors make no representations or warranties whatsoever as to the accuracy, completeness, or suitability for any purpose of the Content. Any opinions and views expressed in this publication are the opinions and views of the authors, and are not the views of or endorsed by Taylor & Francis. The accuracy of the Content should not be relied upon and should be independently verified with primary sources of information. Taylor and Francis shall not be liable for any losses, actions, claims, proceedings, demands, costs, expenses, damages, and other liabilities whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with, in relation to or arising out of the use of the Content.

This article may be used for research, teaching, and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, redistribution, reselling, loan, sub-licensing, systematic supply, or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden. Terms &

Conditions of access and use can be found at <http://www.tandfonline.com/page/terms-and-conditions>

Living in a broken world: how young children's well-being is supported through playing out their earthquake experiences

Amanda Bateman^{a*}, Susan Danby^b and Justine Howard^c

^aEarly Years Research Centre, Faculty of Education, University of Waikato, Hamilton, New Zealand;

^bChildren and Youth Research Centre, School of Early Childhood, Faculty of Education, Queensland University of Technology, Australia; ^cCentre for Child Health and Well-being, College of Human and Health Sciences, Swansea University, Wales, UK

(Received 1 May 2013; final version received 18 October 2013)

The therapeutic value of play can be shown in spontaneous play situations following children's experiences of traumatic events. Following the events of the Christchurch earthquakes in New Zealand in 2010 and 2011, an investigation was conducted of how children used the earthquake event as a catalyst in pretend play with peers and in discussions with teachers. Supporting children's well-being is a focus area in New Zealand early childhood education, as it is a strand of the national curriculum *Te Whāriki* [Ministry of Education. (1996). *Te Whāriki. He whāriki mātauranga mōngā mokopuna o Aotearoa: Early childhood curriculum*. Wellington: Learning Media]. In this article, children are observed engaging in pretend play episodes, and with personalized Learning Story books, to explore personal reflections of the earthquake, prompting the children to make reference to things being 'broken' and needing 'fixing'. Analysis shows how the content of the pretend play experiences helped the children to come to terms with their experiences. Affording children time and interactional opportunities to play out and discuss traumatic experiences contributes to the psychological well-being of participants following a traumatic event.

Keywords: Christchurch earthquake; pretend play; conversation analysis; well-being; *Te Whāriki*; preschool

Well-being, children's play and traumatic events

Play is important for children's emotional health and well-being. Children learn in a variety of ways but they learn more effectively when they learn through play (McInnes, Howard, Miles, & Crowley, 2009). When children engage in play they demonstrate increased meta-cognition and self-regulation (Whitebread, 2010). They make sense of the world around them, trying out and trying on roles, identities, and experiences. The concept that play is 'not real' offers dramatic distance and, to a certain extent, frees participants from the consequences of their actions. Play protects children from the fear of failure and acts as a defense mechanism for self-efficacy and esteem. Play is also a means by which children can express worries and concerns, and communicate their understanding of the world (Haight, Black, Ostler, and Sheridan, 2006). In their play, children may feel more comfortable discussing thoughts and feelings and, as such, play is an effective resource for counselors and therapists to draw on to understand children's degrees of well-being. The

*Corresponding author. Email: abateman@waikato.ac.nz

inherent therapeutic potential of play, apart from therapy, manifests in spontaneous play situations also, particularly when children have experienced traumatic events (Webb, 2007).

Children may re-enact stressful events directly in their pretend play. Particular themes may permeate their activities as they try to come to terms with their experiences. When painful or difficult feelings are not talked about, they can manifest as problematic behaviours or neuroses (Sunderland, 2006). When children have opportunities to play and talk about challenging events, conflict and anxiety are less likely to be repressed and less likely to impact negatively on behaviour and development (Little, Little, & Gutierrez, 2009). With caution, adults can observe children at play to learn about their thoughts and feelings. In addition, as play partners, adults can help children come to terms with difficult situations and act as role models, providing emotional cues as to how stressful events might be managed. Haight et al. (2006) have described how sensitive adult–child interaction and calm communication during play enhances resiliency and the successful resolution of trauma. Talking and storying about traumatic experiences serves multiple purposes. These opportunities allow children to express how they have understood an unfamiliar or distressing situation and to explore their feelings about it. Sensitive interaction with adults through this process means that children can receive acknowledgement that an event was extraordinary and be assured that the event need not undermine their sense of trust and confidence in the world around them.

Play is an important mechanism for children faced with adverse situations such as war, poverty, or abandonment (Fearn & Howard, 2011). Play contributes to children's feelings of emotional well-being (Howard & McInnes, 2012). Talking about traumatic events facilitates clear and coherent remembering that, in turn, enables the process of forgetting to begin (McMahon, 2009).

The emphasis on well-being in the New Zealand early childhood curriculum, *Te Whāriki*

The New Zealand early childhood curriculum, *Te Whāriki*, is world renowned for its holistic approach to young children's development (Waller, 2005). The framework is structured by weaving together principles that encompass five strands: Well-being, Belonging, Contribution, Communication, and Exploration. Guidance under the Well-being strand states that children should 'experience an environment where: their health is promoted; their emotional well-being is nurtured; they are kept safe from harm' (Ministry of Education, 1996, p. 15). The curriculum document recognizes well-being as the child's right in order for them to develop secure relationships with people, places, and things.

The teachers' attention to supporting children's emotional well-being is evident in how they promote and support spontaneous play activities and record them in Learning Story books for children's later reflection. The materials and prompts used in play episodes can stimulate the recall of events and experiences, often to a greater extent than verbal questioning alone (Priestly, Roberts, & Pipe, 1999). These materials and prompts need not necessarily be directly associated with events and experiences and might be metaphoric (Cirillo & Cryder, 1995; Schaefer & Drewe, 2011). Of importance is that the dramatic distance created via pretense enables information to be processed and organized in a safe context where the sense of self is protected.

Although children use their talk to communicate during free play, they also engage in talk with teachers when discussing learning episodes, which teachers then record in the child's Learning Story book. Sharing in dialogue about play events provides children with an opportunity to experience agency through engaging in talk about their personal experiences (Carr & Lee, 2012). The promotion of children's agency is essential in the development of well-being in order to support their feelings of self-worth (Mashford-Scott & Church, 2011). Through recall and reflection, children's talk about their play experiences affords the process of

meaning-making and understandings, about events to be shared with valued others such as friends and family members. Through narrative, whether *in* free play or during exchange with teachers *about* play, children's talking about their experiences is 'an achievement of social practice that lends stability to the child's social life' (Bruner, 1990, p. 68).

This article contributes to understanding how teachers promote children's well-being in everyday teaching practice following a natural disaster, as observed recently following the Christchurch earthquakes in New Zealand. At the same time, the teachers themselves were experiencing the same traumatic aftermath as the children in their classrooms. As shown here, children engaged in pretend play and talked about their experiences using Learning Story books as tools to support emotional well-being. Telling stories is a strategy often used by counselors and other professionals to support trauma recovery with children and young people (Ertl, Pfeiffer, Schauer, Elbert, & Neuner, 2012; Stokoe & Edwards, 2006). Within early-years settings, teachers are responsible for promoting young children's social and emotional health, particularly in times of traumatic events.

Much of the literature surrounding the value of play in relation to children's ability to cope with traumatic events is clinical, establishing the efficacy of a play-based approach to counseling or psychotherapy (Bratton & Ray, 2000; Bratton, Ray, Rhine, & Jones, 2005). Petriwskyj (2013) describes how re-enactment through play, along with talking and storying, were particularly powerful tools for increasing children's confidence and resiliency when recovering from trauma following natural disaster. In particular, with play as their tool for communication, children were able to reframe the traumatic event, rebuilding their confidence and security in an environment that had, through the disaster, become associated with instability and fear. Children can also re-enact specific traumatic events in their play so that they are able to gain control over any negative effects. Baggerly and Exum (2008) describe the play of a five-year-old boy with a toy dinosaur who had experienced Hurricane Katrina. During therapy sessions, the boy named the toy dinosaur 'the sea monster' and spun it in circles, repeatedly knocking down the doll family and furniture in the doll house. In a later session, he used the army men to kill the sea monster. This, they argue, demonstrates how the boy re-enacted his hurricane experience in order to gain mastery of the situation. Although focusing on effective clinical techniques for children following natural disaster, Baggerly and Exum (2008) not only describe the effectiveness of combining cognitive behavioural therapy, family therapy, and play therapy, they also highlight the importance of children's day to day play experiences with friends, family members, and non-clinical professionals. Howard and McInnes (2012) demonstrate that event within a day to day educational context, when children engage in activities they perceive as play, they show heightened signs of emotional well being such as contentment, confidence and perseverance. In addition, the same study demonstrated that during play, children tried out far more purposeful problem solving skills compared to the skills they used in less playful situations; in less playful contexts, they more often repeated actions they knew to be incorrect. Whilst this study was focused on problem solving from a cognitive perspective, the same is true when children are dealing with problems at an emotional level. When engaged in play, children develop ideas as to how a problem might be resolved and test these out at their own pace and in their own way. Through their play, children are able to discern adaptive coping mechanisms from those that are maladaptive (Felix, Bond, & Shelby, 2006).

The Christchurch earthquake

On 4 September 2010, the first of two significant earthquakes hit Christchurch, New Zealand. The first earthquake measured 7.1 in magnitude, occurring during the night with no deaths recorded. The second of the large earthquakes involved a 6.3 magnitude that struck on 22 February 2011

during the daytime; the second earthquake resulted in the death of 185 people (police.gov, NZ Police 2012). As the February earthquake struck in the daytime, when it occurred many people were at work and their children at school or preschool, heightening anxiety amongst families as to the state and whereabouts of their loved ones. This was the case at the New Brighton Community Preschool and Nursery in Christchurch; its location was severely affected by the earthquake and many family members were working in the city centre at the time. All parents and children of the New Brighton Preschool were reunited at the end of the day. Following a structural inspection, the preschool reopened shortly after the earthquake event. Many post-earthquake events such as loss of water, aftershocks, and road closures had occurred and were still occurring during the study. The teachers made a conscious decision to support communication and play involving earthquakes, in order to support children to come to terms with their experiences. The teachers are not counselors or psychologists, and they did not engage in clinical therapeutic sessions with the children. They did, however, make themselves available to talk with the children, support them through their play experiences, and let them share their experiences of the traumatic events of the earthquakes.

The following story was written by the New Brighton Community Preschool and Nursery teachers and distributed to the families following the February earthquake; it offers insight into the events of the earthquake from the perspective of teachers who experienced it:

Our Earthquake story ...

On February 22nd lives were changed and will struggle to be the same again. Christchurch came to a stand still as the whole world watched in shock. Buildings were brought down, and searched by hand and machine ... the list [of victims] grew longer.

On this day the world became one, joining hands with us, bringing love and hope as we stick together to rebuild this city, our city, the city of Christchurch, Aotearoa ...

Just before 1pm on the day of the magnitude 6.3 earthquake the teachers and children at the centre were going about their daily routines and play. Preschool kai time [meal] had come to an end and many of the children were playing outside. The nursery was quiet and calm too; most of the children were sleeping in the sleep room.

We heard a long, low rumble and the building started to shake. It did not take us long to realize this was not just another aftershock but something bigger. The teachers in the preschool playground gathered the children onto the grassy area (many of the children were here already, playing a game, which made this task much easier!) Teachers worked together to form a safe circle around the group of children, calling it the 'Ring-a-ring-a-rosy hug'. Children in the preschool indoor environment were told to get under the tables. The teachers got under the tables too, around the outside with the children in the middle. The teachers in the nursery reached for the toddlers and stayed down on the floor where it was safe.

The shaking and rocking subsided. Those people inside were instructed to exit the building and meet the rest of the whanau on the grass. We quickly realized that the sleep room door had jammed. Thanks to some quick thinking and MacGyver-like actions, some teachers got the door open. Some children in the sleep room were crying but as soon as a teacher appeared and said, 'Hi everyone, I'm here,' the crying stopped and was replaced with broad smiles. We worked together to get these children outside to be reunited with their friends.

More quick thinking and action meant that in no time at all we had a collection of beanbags, pillows and blankets to make a lovely calm and comfortable outdoor lounge. Food and water was shared out and we had a make-shift picnic, complete with lots of singing and story telling! One-by-one our parents arrived to pick up their children ...

To the children present at preschool on that day, you did yourselves and your parents very proud. You were all so brave and trusting that we could make this situation work.

To the parents who walked through the gates wondering what on earth they would meet, we saw your pain and then your relief. We knew we had your greatest treasures in our care and worked to ensure your treasures were kept safe and sound.

To the teachers there on the day, you all made this work and ensured all with us were ok to say the least.

New Brighton Community Preschool and Nursery, long will you remain a key and important part of our community. This is due to the foundation the centre is built upon, that is the people, the people, the people.

Supporting children to talk about their experiences is a central concern of early childhood curricula (Ministry of Education, 1996). There are few documented examples, however, showing how teachers sensitively engage in conversations, after children have experienced traumatic events. As Bateman, Danby, and Howard (2013) discuss, communicating about ongoing everyday events following a disaster helps children come to terms with, and make sense of, their situations. Encouraging children to talk about their everyday experiences helps them to communicate their feelings and beliefs and to develop strategies for building relationships with others. When traumatic events are being talked about, these interactions place even greater emphasis on adults to support the children in sensitive ways. These communications support young children as members of their local communities, helping them realize that they are not alone in being affected by the disaster. This sense of belonging strengthens the children's sense of well-being, important for building positive identities as individuals and as members of society.

The method

Investigating everyday interactions

Investigating the interactions of children and teachers moment by moment in everyday early childhood settings builds understandings of how children and teachers attend to the daily activities of the setting, and the strategies they employ to make sense of what they are doing and how they engage with others around them. Using ethnomethodological (Garfinkel, 1967) and conversation analysis (Sacks, 1995) approaches, analysis can examine the joint interactions of participants as they produce social action and collaboratively construct together shared meanings of events. A particular analytic focus is on the sequential development of interactions (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974), where attention is given to how participants orient to what the speaker has just said and then contribute further to the talk. Known as adjacency pairs, where the first utterance sets up the second utterance, these turns work to build intersubjectivity, as participants work to build and maintain shared meanings and shared social orders (Danby & Baker, 2000; Heritage, 1984). In this article, analysis shows how the children and teachers oriented themselves to talk about the earthquakes through their play and reflective talk, providing interactive spaces to build and share meanings of the event. For the sake of readers who are not linguists, the talk is shown without formal linguistic notation. The analysis shows how the teachers engaged in the strategy of using recipient design, listening for how the children wanted to be heard and designing their subsequent turns accordingly (Danby, Baker, & Emmison, 2005; Sacks, 1995).

The New Brighton Community Preschool and Nursery is physically located on the outskirts of Christchurch city centre on the East coast of the South Island of New Zealand. As with most early-childhood centres in New Zealand, the outdoor area is used as a play space, where a considerable amount of time is spent during everyday activity. The outside area has structured play equipment including a large fort, a bridge over a concrete slope, a large grassy area, a large sunken sandpit,

and decking with a roofed conservatory room. This setting affords opportunities for free play as well as more structured play activity.

At the time of the project, there were an approximately equal number of girls and boys attending, ranging from birth to school age; the children attending were from a range of backgrounds including Māori and white New Zealanders.

Data collection

The study was initiated to investigate the ways in which teachers and children engaged in everyday teaching and learning following the Christchurch earthquake. Ethical consent was gained from the lead researcher's academic institution, as well as all teachers at the preschool, all families who had children attending the preschool and all children present at the preschool. Consent to participate in the project was secured from 8 teachers and 52 children. The preschool-aged children and toddlers took turns to wear a wireless Bluetooth microphone and to be video recorded during their everyday activities. Eight hours and twenty-one minutes of video footage was collected over the period of one week from Monday 14 November to Friday 18 November 2011. Talk about the earthquake and the associated continuing disruptions, as well as pretend play involving safety jackets and traffic cones, were evident throughout the data even though the footage was collected nine months after the fatal earthquake event.

Planning and organization of this research, following an unpredicted earthquake, necessitated the nine-month delay before data could be gathered. A team needed to be assembled; the lead researcher approached two co-researchers with relevant expertise. Cooperation of a preschool team, who were in a relevant location to be involved in the research, was sought. Ethical issues arose, given the goal of investigating post-disaster human behaviour. Ethical matters were complicated by the almost overwhelming presence of journalists and researchers who swarmed to post-disaster sites, often creating unintentional barriers due to the 'little consideration for the ethical boundaries surrounding highly sensitive post-disaster issues [resulting in] ongoing trauma and waning tolerance for outsiders' (Parkes, 2011, p. 31). Once an interested preschool was found, the process of achieving ethical consent for the project from the lead researcher's university ethics committee, the preschool teachers, families, and children was undertaken. All these issues contributed to the research being initiated some time following the earthquake; nevertheless, this process was essential for establishing a sound and ethical research design, where ethical considerations were paramount.

Earthquake talk in teacher-child discourse

In this section, we present two extracts that show two children, Cayden (Extract 1) and Baxter (Extract 2), talking about their earthquake experiences using their Learning Story books, part of the school's curricula, to support their telling. Both Cayden and Baxter were four-year-old white New Zealand children; they were almost ready for transition to primary school and had been friends for some time during their attendance at New Brighton Community Preschool and Nursery. In Extract 1, Cayden talks about his experiences of the earthquake and, towards the end of his story, enters into playful talk about the earthquake with Baxter. In Extract 2, Baxter talks about his experiences involving significant others, as documented in his Learning Story book. Both extracts show how children made sense of elements from the earthquake by recounting their shared experiences and normalizing aspects of what happened, through their descriptions and assessments of the effects of the earthquake. The children oriented to their environment as one that was broken and fixed, revealing the connection between their documented experiences here (Extracts 1 and 2) and their play activities in the play episodes that follow (Extracts 3–5).

Extract 1: Cayden

Cayden approached the researcher and asked if he could show her his book. The researcher agreed and Cayden placed his book on the table and opened it on a page about the earthquake. Cayden held the clip-on microphone close to his mouth and began speaking into it whilst pointing, with his other hand, to the picture in his book.

- 01 Researcher okay
 02 Cayden: thethe earthquake broke the stuff so we
 03 so we didn't go there (*pause*) coz
 04 there was there was lots of holes (*pause*) and
 05 and er(*turns 2 pages*)oopsy(*looks at*
 06 *Baxter and turns 1 page back*) coz the
 07 earthquake was strong (*pause*) and and
 08 Baxter: and it broke our fence(*laughs and leans towards*
 09 *Cayden and makes eye contact*)
 10 Cayden: and it broked the preschools fence(*looks at*
 11 *his book*)
 12 Baxter: and that was and they was say that was the
 13 earthquake was a poopoo
 14 (*long pause*)
 15 Cayden: (*smiles and looks at researcher, then to*
 16 *Baxter and then at his book*) coz the
 17 earthquakes strong but we don't know what
 18 happened
 19 Baxter: say so so say now the earthquake was
 20 a poopoo okay(*leaning across the table*
 21 *towards Cayden*)
 22 Cayden: coz the earthquake (*pause*) is re:allytough
 23 (*Baxter leans in, Cayden makes very brief*
 24 *contact with him and looks down at his book*)
 25 Baxter: say that the earthquake is a poopoo
 26 Cayden: (*cough*) the earthqake is really strong
 27 Baxter: no the earthquake is a poopoo
 28 (*long pause*)
 29 Cayden: I didn't write that in my book ((*leans*
 30 *towards Baxter*))
 31 Baxter: okay say it (*pause*) and then it might get in
 32 your book
 33 Cayden: the earthquake is a really reallyreally
 34 tough
 35 Baxter: and the earthquake is a poo (*laughs*)
 36 Cayden: the earthquake is really stro:ng
 37 Baxter: and it's a
 38 poopoo
 39 Cayden: don't go in don't go near the glass or uh
 40 hurt you
 41 (*Baxter leaves the table and talks to the*
 42 *researcher. Cayden waits until Baxter leaves the*
 43 *researcher and then continues with his story*)
 44 Cayden: and the earthquake (*pause*) iis
 45 not really nice (*pause*) but (*pause*) itis
 46 really strong(*pause*) but it break
 47 everythingof the preschool (*pause*) the some
 48 of it is broken(*pause*) so we needed the
 49 wor um eh a different world (*long pause*) and the
 50 earthquake come all the preschools houses

51 (pause) and the earthquake was really strong
 52 (pause) but (pause) you live somewhere else if
 53 the earthquake happens (pause) that's it
 54 ((looks at researcher and smiles))

Cayden began talking about the events in his book by immediately referring to the earthquake and how it broke things (line 01) and how there were lots of holes (line 04). He continued to make further references to the earthquake breaking things throughout his entire telling. His reference to 'we didn't go there' (line 03) is made relevant later in the transcript (lines 49, 52–53) when reference is made to the many families, including Cayden's, having to move to another location, while their houses were assessed and possibly repaired following the earthquake damage. Cayden's introduction of the earthquake as a topic showed how these events are significant to him, despite happening nine months earlier. He chose to talk about this and not other topics (Enfield, 2013).

When Baxter joined in with Cayden's storytelling (line 08), Cayden initially accepted Baxter's contribution to the story as he reiterated what Baxter said about the preschool's fence (line 10). Baxter then instructed Cayden to say that the earthquake 'was a poo-poo' (line 13). As Danby and Baker (1998) show, young boys use scatological language such as 'poo-poo' to assert declarations of power over an event. Used here, Baxter's scatological language worked to counteract the effects of the earthquake. Cayden took some time to respond, perhaps aware the researcher was listening as he looked at her, and then smiled, indicating that Baxter's scatological formulation of the earthquake was received positively. However, Baxter continued quite insistently throughout the episode to refer to the earthquake as 'poo' or 'poo-poo'. This could also indicate that Baxter found the experience of talking seriously about the earthquake uncomfortable and attempted to manage this by interacting playfully in order to reframe the negative experience (Baggerly and Exum, 2008). Baxter's need to increase the playfulness in this episode could also have arisen because the story did not belong to him. As he was a listener and not in control of events he may have attempted to manage this by adding playfulness and humor, acting as a distraction from the traumatic event and/or restoring feelings of wellbeing (Berg, Parr, Bradley, & Berry, 2009). This position is supported when we consider Baxter's own factual recall of events with no inclusion of humor below (Extract 2).

Despite Baxter's persisting attempts to have Cayden say that the earthquake was a 'poopoo' (lines 20, 25, 27, 35, and 38), Cayden continued to reiterate that the earthquake was 'strong' (lines 17), 'really strong' (lines 26 and 36), 'tough' (line 22), and 'really really really tough' (lines 33–34), placing additional emphasis on these words (Walker, 2013). The more that Baxter insisted that Cayden call the earthquake a 'poopoo', the more Cayden's descriptions recognized the power and force of the earthquake. Cayden ignored Baxter's comments and followed his own agenda as he went on to give a justification for his action and explained that he 'didn't write that in my book' (line 29). His rationale oriented to a rule about Learning Story books: if something is not explicitly written in the book, then you cannot say that it is. On hearing this, Baxter aligned with this rule when he suggested that Cayden should 'say it' so that this idea legitimately could be written in his book (lines 31–32). The topic of how to describe the earthquake was brought to closure when Cayden introduced a new topic, a rule that people must avoid glass as it can be harmful (lines 39–40). Following this, Baxter left, and Cayden went on to tell more about the earthquake events that were documented in his book, making explicit reference to remembering the earthquake as being very destructive (lines 44–53).

Shown in this episode is the value of children being able to reflect upon, and talk about, their experiences, identifying the seriousness that children bring to authoring stories based on their

experiences and events. Both boys' persistence to pursue their own descriptions of the earthquake shows that each made meaning of the event in their own way. Being able to share these meanings through the Learning Story books shows the value of such classroom resources, and how opportunities to talk with friends helps with the process of shared meaning-making. Providing contexts for such talk is a way that teachers can plan for opportunities for children to engage with other members to support emotional well-being (Ministry of Education, 1996).

Extract 2: Baxter

In this episode, Baxter showed the researcher his Learning Story book and started talking about events depicted within it. The researcher did not say anything as Baxter turned the pages of the book, selecting events to talk about.

01 BAX: so these two truckshere(*points to*
 02 *page*) they brokecoz coz w coz w coz thather
 03 some of them got broken coz coz from the
 04 earthquake s soum w we got some new trucks and
 05 steelloaders and (*pause*) th we still gotthese
 06 (*pause*) rollers (*points to picture*) andand
 07 then we h went to (*turns page*) have a lookand
 08 and we sawthis (*points to picture and moves*
 09 *fingerin a circular motion*) big big digger and
 10 (*pause*) then one day (*turns page*) fromthe
 11 earthquake we we me and Corbin and mymum and my
 12 friend Sandra and Pete and (*pause*) hisother friend
 13 comed around andhad a look but we hada first
 14 lookso we so we um we did itall in
 15 here(*points to picture*) with (*pause*)u with my
 16 friend Corbin with somvivasurvivaljackets from
 17 my hou some fromfrom actuallySandra bought it
 18 that day(*turns page*) sothen (*pause*) Corbin
 19 didn't want it so I so he tookit off sothen um
 20 they were maked a new fence(*pause*)(*looks at*
 21 *researcher and then out of thewindow and points*
 22 *towards the window*) ofoverthereand (*pause*) so
 23 that's (*pointsto picture*)the same fence as that
 24 one(*points towards thewindow*) and thenthis
 25 fence (*points to picture*)broke dfr/ from the
 26 earthquake s so then we hadgot this one and
 27 that's the kia* teacherLeane andthere's me and my
 28 friendMataioand my friend Kiro and my friend
 29 Oliviaand my friend Lucy and my friend Lukeand
 30 my friend u a amber and my friend Daniel so
 31 and so then(*continues talking about events*
 32 *documented in his book*)

**Kai* is the Māori word for food

Baxter began telling about the events documented in his Learning Story book by referring to the pictures to prompt his talk and using photographs for 'setting up visual cues for remembering after the event' (Carr & Lee, 2012, p. 36). He pointed to specific photographs (e.g. lines 01, 06, 08–09) to direct the researcher's attention and chose to talk about only some photographs, making his reference as 'a matter of selection' (Enfield, 2013, p. 433). In introducing the topic, there were many instances of pauses as he broke off what he was saying (lines 1–6) and repeated words (e.g. 'coz' in lines 2–3); this feature of talk is found to be one of the

conversational strategies used when telling difficult news (Silverman & Peräkylä, 1990). Within these initial turns of talk, Baxter placed emphasis on the words ‘broke’ (line 02) and ‘earthquake’ (line 04), which drew attention to the importance of these words for the teller (Walker, 2013). In introducing the topic, Baxter produced his agency through the choices he made in relation to what he talked about, and what he did not talk about, in his book.

As his telling continued (lines 11–12), Baxter used the word ‘we’ twice and self-repaired by naming who the people were (Corbin, his mum, and three friends). The use of the word ‘we’ ties together people as members of a specific group (Butler, 2008), where those members are affiliated through friendships (Bateman, 2012b). In this instance, Baxter demonstrated his preference for using names of people rather than using the collective ‘we’. Naming participants can be explained as an interactional resource designed to inform the recipient (the researcher) who may not be aware of who the collective ‘we’ include (Pomerantz & Heritage, 2013). This strategy demonstrates Baxter’s social competence in relaying information about an event to a less knowledgeable audience, the researcher. His recall of events through reference to himself and friends who were involved in the incident revealed the referenced people as members of a group who have experienced the earthquake events (Bateman, Danby, & Howard, 2013). Through identifying himself as a member of a group affected by the earthquake, Baxter asserted himself as having reciprocal relationships with people who have experienced the same event (Ministry of Education, 1996); recognition of not being alone in experiencing this event, but one of a group, actively develops a sense of well-being, where recollections of the event are shared. His recall of events showed the common themes of things being broken from the earthquake, and the presence of family and friends during that time. These entwined themes were ones that Baxter returned to many times during the course of the week the researcher spent with the children. What Baxter chose to continue to talk about remained important at the time of this telling, which was nine months after the event; the tellings involved him in continuing to share his experiences with his peers, teachers and others who listened, such as the visiting researcher.

Pretend play about broken things and fixing things

In Extracts 1 and 2, we observed how Cayden and Baxter talked about their earthquake experiences when looking through their Learning Story books, making explicit reference to things being broken and needing fixing. In this section, we discuss three episodes of children’s play that show how the children made links to things being broken and needing fixing in their everyday pretend play. The children themselves oriented to the earthquake in their play, through the explicit reference to the words ‘broken’ and ‘fixing’, demonstrating that these were significant activities to them at this time, in this place, nine months after the earthquake. That such activities were continuing to take place so many months later shows the extent to which they were important for the children as a topic for building play activities.

Extract 3: Coz it’s broken

This episode involved Ben, a three-year-old white New Zealand child, and four-year-old Cayden, introduced in Extract 1. The outdoor area afforded the opportunity for children of different ages to play together, encouraging a wide diversity of play partners for the attending children. The play began with Ben who ascended the climbing wall to approach Cayden who was playing on the upper level of the climbing frame.

- 01 Ben: stop (pause) come on lets go and see Cayden
 02 (spoken in a robotic voice)
 03 ?:no
 04 Ben: you look after mine while I see (pause) seeCayden
 05 (approaches the climbing frame)
 06 (long pause)
 07 Cayden: hey why wouldsomebody knocked this building
 08 brick down
 09 Teacher:alright (pause) Kapai
 10 Ben: (approaches the climbing frame and starts
 11 climbing up the wall towards Cayden))
 12 Cayden: setting the building up now(pause)
 13 get down (uses arms and legs to block the
 14 entrance and then kicks his leg out towards Ben)
 15 Ben: (stays where he is)
 16 Cayden: ((moves away from the entrance and brings back
 17 traffic cones. Places one cone in front of Ben))
 18 Ben: ((moves up the climbing wall slightly))
 19 Cayden: urgh((pushes Ben's shoulder))
 20 Ben: (stays where he is)
 21 Cayden: what you doinup here
 22 Ben: (undetermined utterance)
 23 ((Ben remains on the climbing wall whilst Cayden
 24 fetches more cones and lines them up in front of
 25 him))
 26 Ben: why are you tryinto not let me in
 27 Cayden: um coz it's broken(leans towards Ben with his
 28 hands on is knees))
 29 (long pause)
 30 Ben: well I'm a worker
 31 (long pause)
 32 Cayden: alright(kicks the cones out of the entrance
 33 and laughs)
 34 Ben: (laughs and enters the top level of the
 35 climbing frame)

This episode started when Ben suggested that he and his friends see Cayden by using a collective word 'lets' (line 01) to establish a cohort (Butler, 2008). However, none of his friends wanted to join him so he went alone towards the climbing frame, where Cayden was standing at the top. Ben immediately began engaging in pretend play by referring to the climbing frame as a knocked down building (line 07). Here, Cayden's pretend play is done by reference to broken buildings, a common occurrence in his current post-earthquake environment, where there is much rebuilding and cordoning off of buildings with the use of traffic cones.

When Cayden saw Ben approaching, he indicated that he was not yet ready for Ben as he had not yet set up the building. Cayden explicitly told Ben to get down as he used his arms and legs to block the entry, maximizing a joint understanding (Bateman, 2012a). He then further blocked the entrance, this time by using traffic cones. However, as Ben continued to move forward slightly, Cayden pushed him and asked him what he was doing up there (lines 19–20). It is not possible to hear what Ben said next, but he remained on the climbing frame. The outcome was that Ben was excluded through the use of rules made up by Cayden (that the building is not ready for public access) and by the social rules evident in the children's everyday lives (Cromdal, 2001), and the use of traffic cones that blocked the disrupted and broken areas.

Cayden's use of the rules of his immediate cultural context worked to legitimately exclude Ben, which Ben recognized. When Ben asked Cayden why he was being excluded (line 26), Cayden reiterated his use of the cultural context to justify the exclusion by telling Ben that 'it's broken',

offering a legitimate excuse for the exclusion, as a person cannot access a broken building. Following a significant pause (line 29) Ben aligned with the rules of the game in a way that legitimately allowed him access; in pretend play mode he told Cayden that he was a worker (line 30). Cayden accepted this as a genuine reason to be allowed in, and allowed access to the ‘broken building’.

It is possible that this re-enactment of the event gave Cayden a sense of control over what was a chaotic experience (Petriwskyj 2013). Pretend play offers the opportunity for children to play out their traumatic experiences in a safe and consistent environment (Haight et al., 2006), where children have autonomy over their choice of play activity. This play enables Cayden and Ben to make sense of the events they have experienced, creating a narrative that enables understanding and acceptance (McMahon, 2009). References to broken buildings work to exclude children from activities and also as resources to gain play entry. Teachers’ provision of opportunities for children to engage in pretend play is one way to support their agency and decision-making through social interactions, necessary elements for supporting children’s well-being (Ministry of Education, 1996).

Extract 4: Look from the earthquake

This extract begins with a group of children, including Baxter and Cayden, who were sitting in the large sandpit area making volcanoes with the sand. A male teacher has approached Baxter to help him.

Extract 4

- 01 Teacher: ok hang on I’ve just gotta help Baxter(pause)
 02 phwor (pause) right you ready
 03 Baxter: Yep
 04 (long pause)
 05 Teacher: now it’s not gonna work properly so it’s gonna
 06 turn out like that again okay
 07 (long pause)
 08 Teacher: but if
 09 Baxter: how did you know
 10 (pause)
 11 Teacher: coz the sand’s too soft(*turns bucket upside*
 12 *down and then lifts it up, revealing the*
 13 *sandcastle*)ah no
 14 (pause)
 15 Baxter: there we are, my first volcano
 16 (*teacher stands and walks towards other children*)
 17 Cayden: but it’s not the same as mine eh
 18 (*Baxter fills his bucket with sand again*)
 19 Baxter: I’ll make you a decent one for you okay(*talks*
 20 *to Cayden*)
 21 Cayden: Polly was trying to smash it
 22 (pause)
 23 Baxter: look from the earthquake(*points to a*
 24 *crack in his sandcastle*) it’s got a crack in it
 25 (*knocks it down with his spade and laughs and then*
 26 *starts to walk away*)
 27 (long pause)
 28 Teacher: what happened to your volcano Baxter
 29 (*approaches Baxter*)
 30 Baxter: Broken
 31 Teacher: how did you break it
 32 Baxter: (*quickly walks away*)

The teacher's entry was marked by his warning to Baxter as he explained that the sandcastle may not turn out properly as the sand was too soft (lines 1–11). By preempting a possibly unsatisfactory situation, in which Baxter might be disappointed by the outcome (which happened previously as indicated by the teacher's talk in lines 5–6), the teacher treats the situation cautiously and as a matter of delicacy. This 'expressive caution' (Silverman, 1997, p. 66) was questioned by Baxter (line 9), suggesting opposition to the teacher's stance, and he is proved right as the sandcastle building does work (lines 11–15).

Baxter then initiated contact with his friend Cayden, saying that he was going to make a sandcastle for him (line 19). However, when making it, a crack appeared in his own sandcastle. Baxter initially drew his friend's attention to the event when he shouted 'look from the earthquake' (line 23) and pointed to the break whilst telling everyone that it had a crack (line 24). Baxter reacted to the situation physically by knocking the sandcastle down with his spade and he then walked away (line 25). The teacher asked Baxter 'what happened', a question found to be asked of children in order to draw attention to a problem and mobilize a discussion about that problem (Bateman, Danby, & Howard, 2013; Kidwell, 2011), and Baxter responded that the volcano was 'broken' (line 30). The teacher's next question suggested that Baxter had broken the sandcastle (line 31) and, rather than explain that he had not broken it, Baxter walked away, quickly disaffiliating himself from the interaction. Even without intent, Baxter's play naturally evolved to include elements of trauma-related material, demonstrating the potentially therapeutic value of spontaneous play as a form of communication and understanding (Webb, 2007). Cracks in a sandcastle spontaneously led to talk about the earthquake, also demonstrating that pretend play need not directly model the traumatic experience (Schaefer & Drewe, 2011).

In this episode, Baxter used his past experiences of the earthquake and related it to the everyday play activity of building a sandcastle. Although the teacher did treat the situation cautiously at the outset (Silverman, 1997), his use of the direct question about the immediate situation could have been interpreted as confrontational (Hutchby, 2007). The teacher's strategy of seeking an opportunity for further talk about breaking things, and initiating a possible 'active listening' sequence (Antaki, 2008; Hutchby, 2007), in this instance was not successful. Potentially, teachers can work to support emotional healing through play (McMahon, 2009), by taking a role of offering support for children 'in expressing, articulating, and resolving a range of emotions' (Ministry of Education, 1996, p. 49). However, in this episode, Baxter chose to disaffiliate himself from the interaction by walking away, indicating that he perhaps was not ready to discuss this further, an action accepted by the teacher.

Extract 5: The earthquake waked me up

Two three-year-old girls, Zoe and Narelle, were playing together with a group of four girls on large pieces of soft PVC covered foam in the preschool garden. Zoe and Narelle are both white New Zealand born girls who often played together, especially engaging in pretend play involving family members that included 'a baby' as Zoe has recently had a new baby sister. The episode began when Zoe laid down on a piece of foam and pretended to cry while Narelle talked to another girl on a mat nearby.

- 01 Zoe: *mummymummy help mummy(pause)*
 02 *mummy mummymummymummymummymummy*
 03 *mummy(looks around and then at Narelle)*
 04 Narelle: *cock-a-dock-a-doo* (approaches Zoe)
 05 Zoe: *mummymummymummy*
 06 Narelle: *what*
 07 *(long pause)*

- 08 Zoe: *um erthe earthquake waked me up*
 09 Narelle: *I will fix it*
 10 *(long pause)*
 11 Zoe: *will you fix da earthquake*
 12 *(long pause)*
 13 Narelle: *go to sleep baby*
 14 Zoe: *okay(lays back down)*

In a pretend play sequence that began by mapping the family role of mother (Butler & Weatherall, 2006), Zoe called out to her friend. She called for help (line 01), indicating that the game involved Zoe being rescued. Zoe mapped Narelle in the role of ‘Mummy’ through calling to her and making eye contact (line 03) to maximize the possibility of Narelle understanding that it is her being addressed (Filipi, 2009). Zoe’s initial repeat of calling for her ‘mother’ along with the word ‘help’ had a matter of urgency about it in that a number of the reference terms were spoken quickly and linked together (line 02).

Narelle responded to Zoe’s initiation of pretend play by approaching Zoe and making the sound of a cockerel (line 04), which indicated that she was orienting to Zoe lying down and possibly sleeping. Zoe called Narelle in her role of Mummy again, steering the play back to the roles of family members. Narelle’s reply was a question that gave Zoe the floor to speak and to reveal the reason for the call. After a brief pause Zoe responded with the conversation fillers ‘um’ and ‘er’, which worked to hold the floor for her (Schegloff, Jefferson, & Sacks, 1977) before answering with ‘the earthquake waked me up’ (line 08). Narelle promptly replied in her role as the Mummy by telling Zoe that she would fix the earthquake, which proffered an immediate solution to Zoe’s problem.

The girls’ talk demonstrates their fluidity and comfort with producing and enacting family roles, including a call for help from a ‘baby’ (Zoe) answered by the mother (Narelle). The next turns of conversation (lines 9-14), however, indicate possible interactional trouble (Schegloff, 1968). When Narelle suggested that she could fix the earthquake, there was initially a pause followed by Zoe explicitly questioning whether Mummy (Narelle) would fix the earthquake (line 11). Followed by another longer pause (line 12), marking that a possible difficult reply will follow, Narelle (Mummy) did not answer Zoe’s question but instead told Zoe (the baby) to go to sleep. This short sequence of pretend play conversation marks what the children faced in their real everyday lives, that is, it is not really possible to ‘fix da earthquake’. The difficulty for the players was the pretend-real nexus, as shown by the pauses (Sacks et al., 1974; Schegloff, 2007a) following the questioning of the mother’s ability to ‘fix’ the earthquake and her avoidance of an answer. This is an excellent example of children using their play as means of testing out ways that a problem might be resolved at their own pace and in their own way (Felix et al., 2006; Howard & McInnes, 2012).

Playing at family relationships is a common activity in young children’s play; acting out these roles can contribute to supporting children’s well-being as problems can be fixed in pretense that may not be fixable in real life. At the same time, this extract shows that pretend play is a means whereby difficult events can be raised and where socio-emotional issues can be explored in an affective sense. This play interaction afforded Zoe and Narelle the opportunity to play out the very real distress of the earthquake in a safe environment, whereby the earthquake in a pretend frame might be easily fixed by an attentive mother. It also demonstrated the children’s anxieties tied to her being unable to ‘fix’ a problem; the baby’s question of whether a parent can bring back an earlier order by fixing it closes down the play as the mother tells the questioning baby to go to sleep. Through engaging in pretend play, the children communicated their worries to each other (Haight et al., 2006). Pretend family play became a socio-emotional resource to ‘do’ supportive

relationships and care for each other in traumatic times. In this way, play is one way to promote a sense of well-being, where ‘children develop trust that their needs will be responded to’ (Ministry of Education, 1996, p. 46).

Discussion and conclusion

The children used a number of classroom experiences to prompt and explore personal reflections about the earthquake, by which they made reference to things being ‘broken’ and needing ‘fixing’. Analysis shows how the content of the pretend play experiences, and the content of discussions about the Learning Stories books, helped them come to terms with the meaning of their experiences. Analysis revealed how the children oriented to people, places, and things in relation to their earthquake experiences. Through direct references, the children made links between their earthquake experiences as they came to terms with the experience nine months after the disaster.

Sharing important experiences is encouraged in the early childhood curriculum *Te Whāriki* where it states that children should be given ‘the opportunity to share and discuss their experiences in a comfortable setting’ (Ministry of Education, 1996, p. 47). Pretend play offered opportunities to talk about the earthquakes, and children used their documented stories about the disaster as an interactional resource to discuss their accounts of events. For teachers, their role was to make relevant such links for the children, in line with the well-being strand of the New Zealand early childhood curriculum.

Pretend play was a means to relive and try to better understand traumatic events, in ways that were meaningful to children. Through discussing and acting out their experiences in these ways, the children communicated their interpretation and understanding of the earthquake, as well as the anxieties and worries surrounding these traumatic events (Haight et al., 2006). As shown in the examples, and most notably in the final episode (Extract 5), pretend play is a valuable resource for opening up possibilities to explore painful events, and to grapple emotionally with difficult issues.

Learning Story books, as a curricular feature, encompassed a wide variety of experiences in which each child had been involved over a course of time; the children’s selective use showed that they oriented to the earthquake events in the books. The approach of listening to children’s stories about traumatic events has been encouraged to promote recovery and support emotional well-being (Ertl et al., 2012; Stokoe & Edwards, 2006). Through documenting children’s experiences in such a way, the children were able to return to their stories when they wanted to, reaffirming their agency and supporting the iterative process of coming to terms with a traumatic event (McMahon, 2009).

While specific to the New Zealand early childhood context, the observations and findings of this paper are relevant for understanding how children use play and teacher assistance in the aftermath of disaster. In the study, the children were observed engaging in play that reflected their local situation, demonstrating the value and importance of time and space for the children to follow their own interests, so as to come to terms with their experiences of the natural disaster. Despite not having psychology or counseling qualifications, the teachers made themselves available to talk and support the children through their play experiences, and shared their experiences of the traumatic events of the earthquakes. In this natural setting the activities formed a relevant part of everyday activities, and were not made ‘remarkable’ as something to be talked about and distinct from preschool play and talk.

Notes on contributors

Dr Amanda Bateman is a lecturer in early childhood education and is a member of the Early Years Research Centre at the University of Waikato, New Zealand. She has published in the

area of early childhood peer interactions and teacher–child interactions using conversation analysis and membership categorization analysis. Amanda has led a Teaching and Learning Research Initiative (TLRI) funded project investigating pedagogical intersubjectivity in the early years in New Zealand, and an international collaborative project investigating the impact of the New Zealand Christchurch earthquakes on the children living there.

Susan Danby is a professor of Early Childhood at Queensland University of Technology, where she is also program leader of the Health, Wellbeing and Happiness strand within the QUT Children and Youth Research Centre. Her areas of expertise are in early-years language and social interaction in home and school settings, helpline talk, childhood studies, and qualitative methodologies, including ethnomethodology and conversation analysis. Professor Danby was recently awarded an Australian Research Council Futures Fellowship to investigate young children's use of digital technologies in home and school.

Dr Justine Howard is an associate professor and postgraduate programme manager in the Centre for Children and Young Peoples Health and Wellbeing at Swansea University. She is a chartered psychologist specializing in play and child development. She has published widely in the field of play and is regularly invited to speak on the topic both nationally and internationally.

References

- Antaki, C. (2008). Formulations in psychotherapy. In A. Peräkylä, C. Antaki, S. Vehviläinen & I. Leudar (Eds.), *Conversation analysis and psychotherapy* (pp. 26–42). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Baggerly, J., & Exum, H. (2008). Counseling children after natural disasters. Guidance for family therapists. *The American Journal of Family Therapy*, 36, 79–93.
- Bateman, A. (2012a). When verbal disputes get physical. In S. Danby & M. Theobald (Eds.), *Disputes in everyday life: Social and moral orders of children and young people* (pp. 267–296). Emerald.
- Bateman, A. (2012b). Forging friendships: The use of collective pro-terms by pre-school children. *Discourse Studies*, 14(1), 165–180.
- Bateman, A., Danby, S., & Howard, J. (2013). Everyday preschool talk about Christchurch earthquakes. *Australia Journal of Communication*, 40(1), 103–123.
- Berg, R. G., Parr, G., Bradley, L., & Berry, J. J. (2009). Humor: A therapeutic intervention for child-counseling. *Journal of Creativity in Mental Health*, 3(4), 225–236.
- Bratton, S., & Ray, D. (2000). What the research shows about play therapy. *International Journal of Play Therapy*, 9(1), 47–88.
- Bratton, S. Ray, D., Rhine, T., & Jones, L. (2005). The efficacy of play therapy with children: A meta-analytic review of treatment outcomes professional psychology. *Research and Practice*, 36(4), 376–390.
- Brown, R. (2012). Principles guiding practice and responses to recent community disasters in New Zealand. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 40(4), 86–89.
- Bruner, J. (1990). *Acts of meaning*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Butler, C. W. (2008). *Talk and social interaction in the playground*. Hampshire: Ashgate.
- Butler, C. W., & Weatherall, A. (2006). “No we’re not playing families”: Membership categorization in children’s play. *Research on Language and Social Interaction*, 39(4), 441–470.
- Carr, M., & Lee, M. (2012). *Learning stories: Constructing learner identities in early education*. London: Sage.
- Cirillo, L., & Cryder, C. (1995). Distinctive therapeutic uses of metaphor. *Psychotherapy*, 32(4), 511–519.
- Cromdal, J. (2001). Can I be with?: Negotiating play entry in a bilingual school. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 33, 515–543.
- Danby, S., & Baker, C. D. (1998). How to be masculine in the block area. *Childhood: A Global Journal of Child Research*, 5(2), 151–175.
- Danby, S., & Baker, C. (2000). Unravelling the fabric of social order in block area. In S. Hester & D. Francis (Eds.), *Local educational order: Ethnomethodological studies of knowledge in action* (pp. 91–140). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Danby, S., Baker, C., & Emmison, M. (2005). Four observations on opening calls to *Kids Help Line*. In C. D. Baker, M. Emmison & A. Firth (Eds.), *Calling for help: Language and social interaction in telephone helplines* (pp. 133–151). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Dean, S. (2012). Long term support in schools and early childhood services after February 2011. *New Zealand Journal of Psychology*, 40(4), 95–97.
- Enfield, N. J. (2013). Reference in conversation. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Ertl, V., Pfeiffer, A., Schauer, E., Elbert, T., & Neuner, F. (2012). Community-implemented trauma therapy for former child soldiers in Northern Uganda: A randomized controlled trial. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 306(5), 503–512.
- Fearn, M., & Howard, J. (2011). Play as a resource for children facing adversity. *Children and Society*. Online first. doi:10.1111/j.1099-0860.2011.00357.x
- Felix, E., Bond, D., & Shelby, J. (2006). Coping with disaster: Psychosocial interventions for children in international disaster relief. In C. Schaefer & H. Kaduson (Eds.), *Contemporary play therapy: Theory, research, and practice* (pp. 307–329). New York, NY: The Guilford Press.
- Filipi, A. (2009). *Toddler and parent interaction: The organisation of gaze*.
- Garfinkel, H. (1967). *Studies in ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.
- Haight, W., Black, J., Ostler, T., & Sheridan, K. (2006). Pretend play and emotional learning in traumatized mothers and children. In D. G. Singer, R. M. Golinkoff, & K. Hirsh-Pasek (Eds.), *Play = learning: How play motivates and enhances children's cognitive and social-emotional growth*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Heritage, J. (1984). *Garfinkel and ethnomethodology*. Oxford: Polity Press.
- Howard, J., & McInnes, K. (2012). *The essence of play: A practice companion for professionals working with children and young people*. London: Routledge.
- Hutchby, I. (2007). *The discourse of child counseling*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Kidwell, M. (2011). Epistemics and embodiment in the interactions of very young children. In T. Stivers, L. Mondada & J. Steensig (Eds.), *The morality of knowledge in conversation* (pp. 257–284). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Little, S., Little, A., & Gutierrez, G. (2009). Children and traumatic events: Therapeutic techniques for psychologists working in the schools. *Psychology in Schools*, 46(3), 199–205.
- Mashford-Scott, A., & Church, A. (2011). Promoting children's agency in early childhood education. *Research on Youth and Language*, 5(1), 15–38.
- McInnes, K., Howard, J., Miles, G. E., & Crowley, K. (2009). Behavioural differences exhibited by children when practising a task under formal and playful conditions. *Educational & Child Psychology*, 26(2), 31–39.
- McMahon, L. (2009). *The handbook of play therapy and therapeutic play*. London: Routledge.
- Ministry of Education. (1996). *Te Whāriki. He whāriki mātauranga mōngā mokopuna o Aotearoa: Early childhood curriculum*. Wellington: Learning Media.
- NZ Police. (2012). <http://www.police.govt.nz/list-deceased>
- Parkes, E. (2011). 'Wait! I'm Not a Journalist': Conducting qualitative field research in post-disaster situations. *Graduate Journal of Asia-Pacific Studies*, 7(2), 30–45.
- Petriwskyj, A. (2013). Reflections on talk about natural disasters by early childhood educators and directors. *Australian Journal of Communication*, 40(1), 87–102.
- Pomerantz, A., & Heritage, J. (2013). Preference. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Priestly, G., Roberts, S., & Pipe, M. (1999). Returning to the scene: Reminders and context reinstatement.
- Sacks, H. (1995). *Lectures on conversation* (Vols I & 11). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Sacks, H., Schegloff, E. A., & Jefferson, G. (1974). A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking for conversation. *Language*, 50, 696–735.
- Schaefer, C., & Drewe, A. (2011). The therapeutic powers of play and play therapy. In C. Schaefer (Ed.), *Foundations of play therapy*. John Wiley.
- Schegloff, E. A. (1968). Sequencing in conversational openings. *American Anthropologist* [oNew Series], 70(6), 1075–1095.
- Schegloff, E. A. (2007a). *Sequence organisation in interaction: A primer in conversational analysis* (Vol. 1). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Schegloff, E. A., Jefferson, G., & Sacks, H. (1977). The preference for self-correction in the organization of repair in conversation. *Language*, 53(2), 361–382.
- Silverman, D. (1997). *Discourses of counselling: HIV counselling as social interaction*. London: Sage.

- Silverman, D., & Peräkylä, A. (1990). AIDS counselling: The interactional organisation of talk about 'delicate' issues. *Sociology of Health and Illness*, 12(3), 293–318.
- Stokoe, E., & Edwards, D. (2006). Story formulations in talk-in-interaction. *Narrative Inquiry*, 16(1), 56–65.
- Sunderland, M. (2006). *Using storytelling as a therapeutic tool with children*. London: Speechmark Publishing.
- Walker, G. (2013). Phonetics and prosody in conversation. In J. Sidnell & T. Stivers (Eds.), *The handbook of conversation analysis*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Waller, T. (2005). International perspectives. In T. Waller (Ed.), *An introduction to early childhood: A multi-disciplinary approach*. London: Sage.
- Webb, N. B. (2007). *Play therapy with children in crisis: Individual, group, and family treatment* (3rd ed.). Guilford: The Guilford Press.
- Whitebread, D. (2010). Play, metacognition & self-regulation. In P. Broadhead, J. Howard & E. Wood (Eds.), *Play and learning in early years settings: From research to practice*. London: Sage.