Mother-daughter storytelling: A hermeneutical study of gendered selves and identities

Gala Wilkie

A Thesis

In

The Department

Of

Education

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of Master of Arts (Child Studies) at

Concordia University

Montreal,Quebec

June 2017

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY

School of Graduate Studies

This is to certify that the thesis prepared

By: Gala Wilkie

Entitled: Mother-daughter storytelling: A hermeneutical study of gendered selves and identities

and submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts (Child Studies)

complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to originality and quality.

Signed by the final Examining Committee:

Dr. Nina Howe _____ Chair

Dr. Holly Recchia _____ Examiner

Dr. Harriet Petrakos _____ Examiner

Dr. Sandra Chang-Kredl _____ Supervisor

Approved by _____

Chair of Department or Graduate Program Director

_____ 2016 _____

Dean of Faculty

Abstract

In this thesis, I examine how self and identity are constructed through story. Personal, interpersonal, and cultural aspects of lived experience intertwine during naturally-occuring mother-daughter storytelling sessions, leaving traces of self in the stories told. From a hermeneutical philosophical stance, and framed by feminist and psychoanalytic theories, I explore the following questions: a) how does a preschool-aged child use shared storytelling to articulate and co-construct her identity? and b) how are themes of gender socialization represented in these narratives? Nicolopoulou and Richner's (2007) rubric of character development in children's narratives and McLean, Pasupathi, and Pals' (2007) process-model of narrative identity provide the methodological scaffolds through which themes of gender expression and self-development emerge. I discuss possible meanings of symbols pertaining to gender identity in light of the dynamic co-construction of self and identity between mother and daughter.

Dedication and Acknowledgements

This thesis is the result of the support, encouragement, and care of many people. I dedicate the thesis to my daughter, Eden, who I hope will one day read it and reminisce with me. Eden's presence will skip across these pages, and through your hearts, as her stories capture the concerns of childhood from her unique perspective. She inspired this study and provided me with much to reflect on and write about.

My research approach has been profoundly shaped by my teachers. I owe Dr. Sandra Chang-Kredl more than thanks, as her guidance and genuine encouragement have been crucial to my successes in my studies. I am so grateful for her confidence and her trust in my intuition, and for allowing me to follow my curiosity. This thesis is due to her caring that I write about something that truly matters to me.

Dr. Petrakos, Dr. Howe, Dr. Recchia, and Dr. Pesco, have each contributed to my development as a researcher. Through my coursework and personal communications, they have taught me to be thorough and systematic as well as inspired. From their teaching, I have learned to walk in the middle way, and I offer them my thanks.

I acknowledge the support I have received from my family. Our partnership has always been fairly equitable, but over the last years, Ann, my spouse, has provided the larger share of emotional labour. I am in the fortunate position to be able to develop my intellect because of our shared values and love for one another. Lastly, I want to acknowledge the influence of my mother, Martine, whose feminism was instilled in me so young. Our feminist expressions differ only on the surface, and I am grateful to her for my freedom to think.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Tables

Chapter 1: Introduction

When I first learned to write, at six years old, I had the idea one morning to write down my stories. All alone, in my bed, hunched over paper with a fairly blunt pencil, I composed my thoughts, and I then rushed down the hall to show my mother. I do not remember what I wanted from her, but I do remember that it was urgent that she see what I had written. This was my first story, written in anticipation of my mother's reading.

The lonely ~~olw~~(owl)

 There was ~~onecece~~(once)[1] a yonge ~~olw~~(owl), and she was ver~~r~~y lonely. She had no friends at all. Her mother and father died a long time ago. And she was the onely ~~olw~~(owl) in the forest. She had the prettyiest fe(a)thers in the world. But she was the lonelyist bird I have ever ~~sene~~(seen) at the same time. One day a mir~~e~~(a)cle happened all at ~~onecece~~(once) I saw another ~~olw~~(owl) ~~fling~~(flying) towards me. I could almost understand what he was saying. He said that he was very lonely and that he ~~herd~~(heard) that there was a ~~yong~~(young) ~~olw~~(owl) ~~how~~(who) ~~livde~~(lived) here and that he wanted to mate with her. He was ~~verry~~(very) ~~astonesht~~(astonished) by her ~~bieuti~~(beauty) and so ~~yeur~~(year) after ~~yier~~(year) they mated together. Suddenly a Hunter shot ~~pore~~(poor) Élise the ~~olw~~(owl). The hansome you~~j~~(ng) ~~olw~~(owl) was ~~onece~~(once) more in pain~~e~~ and lonlyn~~i~~(e)ss and he never lo(o) ke(d) for ano(ther)~~une~~ mate because his love for élise was too strong to ~~breck~~(break).

> The moral of the story is that hunters shodent shout olw(s) or any animal for fun land animals and sea animal or land and water animal. they shoudent even trap them because it is crole[2] How would they like it if they were the animal(s) they were ~~souting~~(shooting)

My mother's corrections are included as they appeared in the original text. My misspelled words were crossed out and correct spellings inserted above, or single letters were inserted, or added, to my words. My mother engaged with my stories as an English teacher, but at that time I do not think that I was seeking her engagement for that reason.

The story of The Lonely Owl astonishes me now for its clarity. As a child, I intuitively wrote in metaphor what I can now explain plainly. I was lonely, seduced by my animus (the handsome young owl) and happy as a bonded pair – a beautiful bisexual whole – and ultimately

---

[1] Mother's corrections are included as they appeared in the original text. Words were crossed out and correct spelling inserted above. Other time single letters were inserted or added to the child's word.

[2] Cruel.

violently deprived of my femininity. The eloquent description of the loneliness of pain and the cruelty of longing foreshadows my lifelong quest for a symbiotic union with another, a perfect understanding and attunement in relationship.

In adulthood, my bi-gendered or gender-fluid identity emerged a few years later than my already late realization of my lesbian sexual orientation. I had borne two boy children within a heterosexual marriage, divorced, entered therapy, and fallen in love again. Blended into my quest for a sexuality congruent with my inner experience of identity was a lingering dissatisfaction with categorically binaried gender constructions.

In my first motherhood, experienced from a cis-gendered perspective, I suffered from post-partum depression. The term cis-gendered refers to one's identification with one's biological sex (Brydum, 2015), and is the most common way people experience their gender (Marinucci, 2010). One cause of my depression was the traumatic ending of the symbiotic relationship between myself and my babies. I felt an overwhelming grief, keenly, each time I brought them to the breast. Tears and milk flowed together and I could neither explain nor understand it. Now I am experiencing motherhood from a bi-gendered perspective, caring for and nurturing children I did not bear or nurse. I cannot say I am their father, and I cannot identify myself as their mother without adding a qualifying phrase. I am the mother who did not carry or give birth, I am the other mother, or as I told my preschool class once, I am the mommy-daddy (which satisfied the children).

As I now engage with my own daughter's narratives, I struggle with understanding them from her perspective. Hermeneutic philosophy teaches me that I should look at the text as a whole (which includes the context) in order to understand its meaning. The cyclical process of interpretation, understanding and reinterpretation requires that I enter into a conversation with

my intuitive responses to a text, adopting the approach of a spiritual seeker (Thayer-Bacon, 2003). How can a search for knowledge of another's identity not implicate a search for one's own inner being? In this thesis, I detail my current iteration of this search for self through and within stories of the self. I am the mother storytelling with my daughter, seeking to know her inner self more intimately and maybe hoping to find myself reflected there.

It cannot be accidental that my current quest for meaning and understanding of my child's gendered identity coincides (if we are to collapse the passing of time) with my story offerings to my own mother. Perhaps my unconscious purpose in storytelling was always to connect and be understood, to undo or prevent the pain of loneliness or of not being fully seen. I gave my mother an initial draft of this thesis, unconscious in the moment of the circularity of that action. Her response must be included here, in these introductory passages, as her thoughts are a window into our relationship. The relationship I have with my mother is embedded in my being, just as is the relationship I have with my daughter.

Mom Said:

Identity/storytelling 'flow' from child/daughter (you) to mother (me) to child/daughter now in the role as mother (you again, adult) to child/daughter (Eden). All those 'selves' are like a continuous, changing 'flow' connected through storytelling!

When you were a little girl, I always spontaneously thought of you as a 'writer'/storyteller! I assumed you would be a writer (creator of narratives) when you grew up. I was very convinced about this. This was based on my admiration of you, the way you talked, expressed yourself, etc. which always astonished me. But also, the roots of that image of you I had was my own identification of myself (when I was a child) as a writer. So, I was

superimposing my own self-image onto my child, and not really being very aware of what I was doing.

That self-identity of mine as a 'writer' goes way back to at least the age of 10 years old. One day in class we had to write something (can't recall what). We had to do compositions on topics. So I wrote something and then I was told to read it to the class. So I did. There wasn't much response, though (no crowd reaction). I remember feeling intensely disappointed that no one seemed to have understood my story, and I felt anger at this and vowed to myself that I would 'never' write again, to teach them all a lesson! (how awful of me!) I was incensed with righteous indignation that those 'dummies' did not understand my story/composition (and I can't even remember it myself!) And, I also had a very clear thought that afternoon in class: I suddenly thought to myself 'I AM the writer!' And, I will keep that to myself and not tell them because they don't deserve to know this!

My adult self can see from this confessional piece that my mother also received an unsatisfactory response from her audience, and yet determined to BE the writer. My mother saw herself as a writer, and then she saw her daughter as a writer, and I tell stories with my own daughter now that I am the mother. This thesis is an inquiry into the role of storytelling in my and my daughter's identities, within a larger ongoing tradition of storytelling in my family and culture. Through storytelling, my daughter and I reveal ourselves to one another and negotiate aspects of our relationship and identities. My acceptance of my daughter's gendered way of expressing herself provided an access point to my own experience of gender in relationship to her.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

In my literature review I will present an overview of key ideas concerning the nature of the self. Drawing on western psychological approaches to self-concept and identity as well as Bhuddist philosophy regarding anatta (no-self), I aim to provide a sense of how I approach the self in this research. I describe, hermeneutically, my process of understanding and self-change partly though the use of a metaphor.

> "Sunflowers are usually tall annual or perennial plants that grow to a height of 300 centimeters (120 in) or more. They bear one or more wide, terminal capitula (flower heads), with bright yellow ray florets at the outside and yellow or maroon (also known as a brown/red) disc florets inside. During growth, sunflowers tilt during the day to face the sun, but stop once they begin blooming. This tracking of the sun in young sunflower heads is called heliotropism. By the time they are mature, sunflowers generally face east. The rough and hairy stem is branched in the upper part in wild plants." (wiki)

The above description of a sunflower allows the reader enough detail to envision a typical sunflower. I intend to expand on the metaphor of a sunflower as it is personally significant to me, and provides a flexible enough image to anchor my explorations of concepts of identity. A description of physical characteristics and an explanation of behavior serves to identify the sunflower, along with its name. When I think of the word "sunflower", I may bring to mind an image of a particular flower, but more usually I think of an idealized perfect version of all the sunflowers I have seen.

When I think of my daughter's name, Eden, I bring to mind a sense of her. A flash of her brown hair swinging into her eyes, the slightness of her frame, the birthmark on her jaw, and her ways of spinning and springing with all her jagged joints ready for bruisy landings. I feel the tensile strength of our connection, and the force of her will as she demands another story with no pages, no endings, and no limits. Marc Bracher (2006) speaks of identity as "a sense of oneself as a force that matters in the world" (p. 5). With this loose definition of identity, I turn towards philosophical questions concerning the nature of self and self-representation, and the role of

storytelling in relation to the self. I will address these points in order to lay bare my beliefs and philosophical orientations regarding this project and thesis. In effect, these thoughts are offered as an entry into the project that helped to produce them.

Self

Oyserman, Elmore, and Smith (2012) dedicate an entire chapter to clarifying the terms self, self-concept, and identity in the *Handbook of Self and Identity* (chapter 4). I offer below a brief synopsis of the meanings they provided for each term. Self refers to a subjective experience, the "feeling that one knows oneself" (p. 69), "a warm sense or a warm feeling that something is 'about me' or 'about us'", and a "visceral sense of the self" (p. 71). Oyserman et al. (2012) remark that "…this essential sense of self appears universal…" (p. 79). Together, these definitions tell of a unique constellation of characteristics related to the internal experience of being. The study of the self is challenging, in part because there are multiple definitions of what is meant by the term 'self'.

How does the self come to be, and how can we account for the stability we observe in others and ourselves, while also acknowledging the growth, change, and flexibility that are also present and observable within the self? While dictionaries often put forward a view of identity being essential, internal, and stable, the body of research synthesized by Oyserman et al. (2012) shows that "… the assumption of stability is belied by the malleability, context sensitivity, and dynamic construction of the self as a mental construct" (p. 70). They note that people do more than simply respond to environmental cues and assert that "…their [individual] responses are both moderated and mediated by the effect of these cues on who they are in the moment" (p. 70). This means that the self is proposed to serve as an important internal construct, shaping possible actions and responses.

What is known about the experience of self in children? The social constructionist view of symbolic thought and the role of language as a tool through which children learn to separate signs from the signified (Vygotsky, 1966/1977) underpin current theories of self and language. It seems that we cannot enter into a discussion of the development of self without also considering cognitive, language, and social development. It is these more complex skills that differentiate a "visceral sense of self" (p. 75) from a self-concept (Oyserman et al., 2012). With the consideration of language and cognition, the philosopher of experience encounters the problem of representing subjective experience. The direct experience of self is accessible to each of us, but we can never be sure of our understanding of another's self-experience (Di Caglio, 2017).

The self has been defined as a memory structure, a cognitive capacity, and a motivational tool (Oyserman, et al., 2012). The term 'self-concept' has emerged as a way of researching aspects of the self, while bracketing the tacit agreement among researchers that findings are not presumed to fully represent the *actual* self. The task of "[m]aking sense of oneself – who one is, was, and may become, and therefore the path one should take in the world…" (p.70) remains an individual endeavour.

Self-Concept. Indeed, the term 'self-concept' engenders another set of loose definitions. In summarizing current definitions of self-concept, Oyserman et al. (2012, p. 71) quote their contemporaries. One's self-concept is "what comes to mind when one thinks of oneself" (Neisser 1993, in Oyserman et al, 2012), "one's theory of one's personality" (Markus & Cross, 1990 in Oyserman et al, 2012), and "what one believes is true of oneself" (Baumeister, 1998 in Oyserman et al, 2012). There seems to be consensus that self-concepts (being concepts) are structures of the mind, and as such can take the form of beliefs, attitudes and judgements relating

to oneself, yet how self-concepts are organized or coordinated together is debated (Oyserman, et al., 2012).

Shavelson, Hubner, and Stanton (1976; in O'Mara, Marsh, Craven, & Debus, 2006) advocated for an integrated multi-dimensional view of self-concept, arguing that self-concept consists of individuals' self-perceptions formed through their interpretations of contextualized experiences. In this articulation of self-concept, the role of experience and the meaning individuals ascribe to those experiences are important. A positive self-concept has been linked to many desirable developmental and educational outcomes. Research has been done regarding both the descriptive and evaluative (self-esteem) components of the self-concept. O'Mara et al., (2006) wrote "…much of the literature now focuses on 'working', 'online' or 'active' self-concept, one's salient theory about oneself in the moment, or focuses on a particular self-concept content rather than attempting to study all self-concepts together " (p. 182). One can hold ideas about the self that are nuanced and malleable, allowing for a flexible self-concept capable of growth, change, and contextual influences.

Identities. The term self-concept focuses on the individual experience of one's self while the term *identity* emphasizes the social nature of self (Owens, Robinson, &Smith-Lovin, 2010). Identities are plural and socially constructed, in that they are "the traits and characteristics, social relations, roles, and social group memberships that define who one is" (Oyserman et al., 2012, p. 69). This social aspect of the self is experienced by the child, and is implicated in theories of development. For example, Erik Erikson (1975) described a series of psycho-social stages, theorized to begin at birth and proceed throughout the lifespan, relating specifically to identity. In Erikson's model, the individual self is assumed to be a stable entity, while the individual's identity evolves and develops over time and through experience.

Oyserman et al. (2012) explain that, though identities can and do change, the subjective experience of the relationship between the self and one's evolving identity feels the same, resulting in the illusion, or feeling, of a stable self. Owens, Robinson, and Smith-Lovin (2010) offer the pertinent comment that "…internalization theories [of self and identity] assume a socialization process through which repeated social interactions lead to the development of personalized identity meanings; these meanings then become incorporated into a stable, trans-situational self-concept." (p. 478). Later in this chapter I will be introducing the process model of narrative identity (Mclean, Pasupathi, & Pals, 2007), which seeks to offer a close accounting of how identity and self-concept work together within autobiographical narratives.

Oyserman et al. (2012) contend that, at present, self and identity theories have important work to do in order to offer convincing evidence for models that explain the purpose and functioning of self and identity. They conclude their summary of the theoretical foundations of self-concept and identity with what is generally agreed upon: the self, self-concept, and identity are real, connected to memory, and important.

It seems that Western theories of self and identity generally fall into two large categories: 1) theories dealing with *self-concept* as an internally experienced, generally organized set of mental constructs which shape our experiences of the self and the world, and 2) theories which view *identities* as socially constructed mental constructs. It seems then a key distinction between self-concept and identity is the starting point from which the self is studied (Owens, et al. 2010). DiCaglio (2017) offers a metaphor that refocuses the lens on the paradoxical situation of "self" study. He likens the process of knowing the self to traveling a Mobius strip where "any notion of looking inside has already been declared to be nothing more than an encounter with the outside – a looking to others to tell me what I am" (p. 97). The proposal that a stable self is illusory is

dramatic, yet it is possible that there are other explanations for the subjective sense of a stable (largely unchanging) self.

Anatta: "No-Self"

Immergut and Kaufman (2014) deconstruct Western sociological conceptions of self and identity in their essay regarding the Buddhist concept of anatta, which translates as "no-self". They argue that all Western theories of self stem from dualistic philosophical traditions. Immergut and Kaufman point out that social constructivist and symbolic interactionist schools of thought have as their foundational assumption that it is within the context of relationships that the self is constructed and known. This argument is critical of Western psychological theories of self that are dependent on the notion of a fixed being existing outside of context.

Buddhist philosophies view the self as an aggregate, formed by the interplay of the emergent qualities of the mind and the experiences of the mind, and as therefore lacking an *independent* realness. Logically, being an aggregate means that there is no actual *self* to be represented by our personal collections of self-concepts and identities. In everyday Buddhism, it is conceded that lay people feel like they are a person, separate from their social contexts, individual and enduring. Yet, in Mahayana Buddhism (a major philosophical tradition that includes Tibetan and Zen forms, and is known as "the greater vehicle"), the philosophical teachings are clear that there is no independent self, or being, analogous to a soul. The claim is that the experience of a stable self can be systematically deconstructed and revealed to be illusory through the rigorous self-analysis that is supposed to occur during meditation. I consider it a strong claim, as the direct experience of anatta is verified continuously and historically by monastic and lay practitioners of meditation (Yeshe, 2001).

I find it useful to consider the idea of no-self as an example of a cultural narrative (Hammack, 2008), which is compatible with a post-structuralist theoretical stance. No-self is not an essentialist view, because in having no self to cling to, one is free to act and be in the moment, as circumstances require. The realization of anatta is a fundamental part of 'enlightenment', which is the primary goal of Buddhist practices. As a Buddhist practitioner myself, understanding no-self is a layered process full of struggle and doubt, as I straddle the feeling of a permanent self with a belief in the impermanence of all things. To compare Buddhist philosophical and developmental psychological views of self and identity, there is agreement that individuals have a sense of themselves as stable or permanent, and that sense arises from a continuity of experience and memory. Both points of view acknowledge the paradox that a stable *sense* of self, sensitive to context, emerges in ever-changing circumstances.

The Sunflower Metaphor

It is from this particularly freeing perspective that I approached my daughter's stories as self-narratives, constructing an impermanent yet enduring sense of self for us both. The stories evoke a sense of Eden's past self, related to but not constrained by her present self. These self-narratives also serve as arenas in which we play out our identities, as parent and child, and our gendered relationship as mother and daughter. I found the image of the sunflower useful for envisioning how all these concepts and theories could fit together in one organic whole. I am like a sunflower. My name, Gala, was given to me, and it identifies me to others. But my name is an inadequate description. In order for the term "Gala" to have any meaning, I must imbue it with my personal characteristics. My observable habits and ways of being as well as physical attributes are external descriptors that serve to identify me in my social context, only hinting at my sense of myself as a unique individual. If I were a sunflower, my name "sunflower" would

only serve to identify my belonging to a certain type of plant family, but it would not tell of my personal history, for example, had I been chewed on by pests and responded by building up tannins in my leaves.

To continue with the image of the sunflower, my internal sense of self is made of parts. I see the physical parts of the sunflower (roots, stem, leaves, flower) as representing the body, and the plentiful seeds of the sunflower representing multiple self-related concepts. I am stable, in that I remember being myself through a continuity of time and can imagine being myself in the future, and yet I change just as the sunflower changes throughout its growth.

I see my daughter Eden as a sunflower too. She is akin to the young flower that still follows the sun, before her head is heavy with seeds. Bees communicate to one another about where the flower fields can be found in relation to their position to the sun. While bees visit sunflowers for their own purposes (gathering nectar), they happen to pollinate the flowers during their activities. By tracking the sun, young flowers facilitate the bees' visits, and consequently their own development. I find this a compelling metaphor for how concepts contained within my flower-head may travel on the wings of my words to fertilize (inspire?) the concepts contained within Eden's mind, and vice versa. Through our shared storytelling, steeped in culture, Eden and I also open our inner selves up to concepts, beliefs and ideas that shape the self.

Self Representation

Culture. Culture plays a direct role on identity formation, however it is necessary to clarify the term culture. Culture is social, and interacts with identities through shaping the meanings that are ascribed to individuals' identities (Owens et al., 2010). However, culture is often accorded a non-specific role in individuals' lives. Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems model of socio-cultural development (1994) provides a conceptual framework to break down the

broad concept of culture, and to account for and describe the various social influences, from macro to micro levels, on human development. The ecological systems model depicts the individual child at the center of nested circles of influence, the most proximal to the child being the microsystem, followed by the meso, macro and exosystems. The microsystem consists of the child's immediate environments, such as the family and school settings. The mesosystem theoretically encompasses interactions between microsystems that impact the child, such as the kind of relationship that exists between home and school settings. The macrosystem accounts for broader indirect influences on the child, such as school board policies whose effects are mediated through the schools, or government policies regarding parental leave that are often mediated through the parent's workplaces. The exosystem represents the greater cultural features that shape the macrosystem. Watling Neal and Neal (2013) observed that, in general, the less direct the connection between the child and the level of the system, the less empirical research is available addressing the nature of the influences of that system on development.

Watling Neal and Neal (2013) propose an alternative way of conceptualizing the connections between ecological systems. If we consider the micro, meso, macro and exosystems to be networked rather than nested, the important features of each system and how they relate one to the other become more clearly conceptualized, and closer to Bronfenbrenner's original ideas (Watling Neal & Neal, 2013). Redefining the systems model as a networked, rather than a nested model, allows for inquiry into how culture directly impacts development in two important ways: first, by focusing research questions on the social interactions rather than the physical settings of the system, and second, by allowing for the "consideration of the settings or systems from the perspective of multiple focal individuals" (p. 728).

The sociological construct of intersubjectivity fits nicely with a view of networked rather than nested social contexts. Intersubjectivity refers to the view that individuals belong to "thought communities" (Zerubavel, 1997) differing from each other in terms of their beliefs. For example, an individual can belong to various thought communities, such as a political group, a religious group, and a scientific field, and the social interactions experienced within these networked communities impact the development of their personal beliefs. The self-perceptions that form the self-concept are supported by implicit and explicit personal beliefs and how those ideas pertain to the self (O'Mara et al., 2006).

Taken to extremes, a social-constructionist approach can portray the child as inherently malleable, like clay (Durkheim, 1979), and without any structure or content other than what social interactions gradually bring. This view is cautioned against by Oyserman et al, who state "[i]n its strongest formulation, social identity theories predict that in each interaction, people take on a different identity" (2012, p. 74). Social interactions are considered a major driver of personal development. Mclean et al. (2007) point out that as one articulates and shares personal experiences with another, the experience is remembered, reconstructed, and contextualized in relation to the self, and it is in that space between self and other that experiences are enriched by multiple meanings (Mclean, et al., 2007).

While the social context constrains possible identities by calling on the one which is most salient for the particular context, that same context also provides the social support one needs to construct one's self-concept, through others' appraisals of the assumed identity reflected back to the individual (Mclean et al., 2007). Owens et al. (2010) state that "the concept of identity is nested in the broader concepts of self and self-concept…[a]lthough personal identity consists of unique identifiers and an individual narrative, it is social and institutional in origin" (p. 478).

Gender identity. Generally, we are not yet accustomed to recognizing the degree to which our gender identities are socially constructed. On the one hand, there is empirical research confirming that gender identity is known to children and babies as young as eighteen months of age, and forms a core self-concept by age three (Halim & Ruble, 2010), and on the other hand, there is considerable mistrust of children's ability to "choose" their gender in cases when the child feels their internal experience of gender does not match their biological sex (Halberstam, 2016). The conflation of biological sex and gender identity is a problem to which we generally react viscerally. The heartfelt anxiety surrounding the dialogue between transgender persons and activists and certain members of the public is itself indicative that gender and sex remain taboo subjects in our culture (Kearns, Mitton-Kukner, & Tompkins, 2017).

Even more difficult is the discussion of children's gender identities, as there is another set of cultural ideals surrounding the concept of child and childhood. Children are linked to innocence and purity, precisely because we imagine them as sexless, non-sexual beings (Degnan, 2014). Acknowledging the fact of biological sex juxtaposes uncomfortably with the idea that children have gender identities, perhaps because we are unclear on what purpose gender serves. It is common to think of gender in heteronormative and binaried ways, in which two opposing genders serve to identify for one another the possibility for a heterosexual relationship. The transgendered child is a symbolic provocateur, challenging assumptions of eventual heterosexuality, and exposing sexual taboos.

Gender identity must be more than a signal to potential partners, as gender identity emerges early in development, long before sexual maturity. Gender identity has been found to be remarkably stable, with most individuals never questioning their gender at any point across the lifespan. Feminist critical theory seeks to challenge how gender is socially constructed to carry

certain (patriarchal) meanings, but hesitates to fully repudiate the binary gender system embedded within our culture (Butler, 2015). The LGBTQ community has embraced transgendered people and the experience of gender-fluid identities. Gender is currently being reconceptualized within the LGBTQ community to be non-binary, flexible, and mutable across the lifespan and across situations (McKenzie, 2006). This reconceptualization has given rise to a more open expression of possible sexual orientations and gender identities (such as pan-sexual, i.e., a person who is attracted to persons of all genders and all sexes). In my opinion, however, the concept of gender in the LBGTQ community remains linked to sexuality, just as it is in the greater hegemonic culture.

There are few if any safe spaces to speak about children's gender non-conforming, or gender-fluid, expressions without immediately thinking about their eventual sexual orientation. How do children assume and express their gender and how does gender serve them in their development? What is the role of a gendered self and how might we discover this construct that is so deeply imbedded within the psyche? Traditionally in the North American LGBT community, our way of knowing ourselves and each other has been to "come out". Coming out is done for the purpose of becoming visible, and it is also an opportunity for us to tell our stories. These stories of the self reveal our lived experience and are a source of strength in our community.

Role of Story-telling in Relation to the Self

"The foot feels the foot when it touches the ground" – Buddha

Narrative. Our self-narratives reflect back to us our ideas about ourselves. Narratives are like the ground that pushes back against the pressure of our step, allowing us to feel the contours of our experience in terms of "me" or "not me". We tell our stories to a real or imagined

audience, and the reactions of the listener(s) scaffold the meanings that become infused in the events recounted in the narrative. When the narrative consists of autobiographical memories, the narrator and listener(s) together relate the self to the memories and co-construct the life-story (McLean et al., 2007). The autobiographical memories themselves serve as building blocks of this special kind of story, directly describing the self in terms of actions taken, intentions and motivations, and how the self is related to the context of one's life. Fivush and Nelson (2006) posit that "without the ability to discuss, compare, and negotiate one's own and others' perspectives on past events, the child would not be able to construct an understanding of self and other as psychological entities that exist through time" (p. 248).

Generally, research supports the idea that listeners act as co-narrators (Bavelas, Coates, & Johnson, 2000). Through their general and specific responses to the story being told, listeners encourage or discourage the telling of the story, and impact the quality of the story being told. For example, Bavelas et al. (2000) demonstrate experimentally that distracted listeners impact narrators such that stories are narrated with less coherence and detail. This idea is consistent with a body of work investigating maternal reminiscing style and children's development of narrative skills (Fivush, Haden, & Reese, 2006). In their review of the empirical work employing narrative as a methodology, Fivush et al. (2006) summarize that mothers scaffold their young children's narrative abilities through their use of elaborations during conversations about the personal past. Children's narrative abilities consist of their use of a coherent story-like narrative structure, as well as the degree of elaboration used in their recall of events. In general, children use an elaborative style that closely mimics their mothers' style. A highly elaborative style is achieved through reference to internal mental states and the use of emotional reasoning within their

narratives. The findings suggest that children learn how to articulate their internal experiences in connection to events they have experienced through the interactions they have with close adults.

Narrative and identity. McLean et al. propose a process model of narrative identity to explain "how situated stories help people to make connections between their experiences and their selves" (2007, p. 262). They define the term 'situated stories' as the meaningful context of personal memory narratives. According to the process model, people experience events through the lens of the self, suggesting aspects of the self are embedded in the experiences. Events that are considered important become the stories that are told to others. According to Mclean et al., one's self changes through the narratives told "to multiple audiences and in multiple contexts" (2007, p. 264). The listener receiving the story is considered a co-narrator by virtue of being part of the context that is eliciting the story. The process model itself is situated within a greater cultural context, which is acknowledged to influence which details are included in the story. Greater cultural norms regarding what constitutes a good story are found in the literary features of the narrative, such as high points, turning points, and 'types' of events worth telling about, and are integrated into the self (McLean et al., 2007). Thus, the situated story is simultaneously reflective of the narrator's self as well as re-incorporated into the self through the contextualized telling (Mclean et al., 2007).

This process model has limitations. First the theory does not address young children and the role of narrative in their self and identity development because children typically do not generate and use narratives in adult ways or for adult purposes (Nicolopoulou, Barbosa de Sa, Ilgaz, & Brockmeyer, 2010). Also, there is no explicit mention of how fictional narratives could play a role in the development of the life-story, or the role of imaginative thinking that is involved in creating any story, even one based on personal memories. The process model is

conceptualized in terms of the development of a life-story based on memories involving the self. Research of children's narratives has mainly concerned the development of language skills that would support the development of memory skills and the vocabulary necessary for early reading (Massey, 2004; Roth, Speece, Cooper, & De La Paz, 1996), but has not yet addressed how experience, memory, and imagination may work together when children tell stories of their own invention (Nicolopoulou et al., 2010).

Nicolopoulou's (2008) main critiques of the field researching preschoolers' narrative skills is that the methods used to assess their narrative skills are essentially negative, examining how young children's narratives are underdeveloped compared to older children's and adults' narratives. A related criticism is that experimental procedures that have been developed tend to promote the young children's narrative production in biased ways, such as providing children with wordless picture books from which to tell a story. Nicolopoulou recommends adopting a different approach to examining young children's narratives, beginning with cataloguing the actual ways children produce coherent and understandable narratives and "linking these to the range of *narrative purposes and intentions* that the children themselves are trying to achieve" (2008, p. 308).

Nicolopoulou and Richner (2007) examined six hundred stories that were dictated by thirty children to their preschool teachers. Teachers wrote the stories down when the children requested they do so, as part of a storytelling and story acting curriculum based upon Vivian Paley's story acting paradigm (1990). It was reported that "children's representation of characters shifted from almost exclusively physical and external portrayals of 'actors' at 3 to increasing inclusion of 'agents' with rudimentary mental states at 4 and of 'persons' with mental representational capacities by 5" (Nicolopoulou & Richner, 2007, p. 412). Drawing upon

research concerning theory of mind, narratology, and philosophy, they created a method of analysis to investigate how young children represented character in their narratives.

Nicoloupoulou and Richner (2007) published a table of their levels of character development, describing in detail the key characteristics of each level and providing examples from their own data. Below I provide a simplified table of Nicolopoulou and Richner's work (2007, p. 418, see table 1). Overall, the eight levels arise from an analysis of the characters in the stories told by preschoolers. The type of story was not disclosed, yet from the examples published it seemed the stories concerned typical themes found in preschoolers' pretend play.

Table 1
Levels of character development (adapted from Nicolopoulou & Richner 2007, p. 418)

4 Main Levels	**8 Subdivided Levels**	**Description of level**
ACTORS	Level 1. Action Only	Actors are represented purely by actions and are not further described.
	Level 2. Action/External Descriptions	Actors are fleshed out by externally identifiable characteristics such as physical traits, non-generic names, and possessions.
AGENTS	Level 3A. Implicit Intention	Characters' actions are marked as agentive.
	Level 3B. Simple Perceptual/Attentive Capacities	Agents see, hear, feel, and/or have simple expressive abilities.
	Level 4A. Action Response	Agents respond with actions to situations or events, often marked by ''because'' or ''so.''
	Level 4B. Emotional Response	Agents have emotional reactions to or make evaluations of situations or events.
	Level 5A. Explicit Intention-in-Action	Agents' actions are explicitly marked as intentional or goal directed.
	Level 5B. Explicit Emotion-in-Action	Agents actively produce emotional and/or evaluative reactions in themselves or other characters.
CHARACTERS	Level 6. Explicit Desire and/or Belief Representations	Characters have representational desires, beliefs, or intentions, implicitly but not explicitly coordinated with actions.
	Level 7. Explicit Coordination of Representational Mental States with Action	Characters' representational desires, beliefs, or intentions explicitly that motivate and/or direct their actions.

PERSONS	Level 8. Contrastive Representations	Persons' representational beliefs or desires are contrasted, equated, or coordinated either with reality, with those of other persons, or with their own previous or future representations.

Levels one and two pertain to characters that are described through actions and external descriptions. These characters are termed "actors" in Nicolopoulou and Richner's scheme as they are known mainly through their actions, what is shown, or visible to the audience rather than by reference to any internal states. We could imagine watching the story as a video without sound. Levels three through five pertain to characters termed "agents", because with implicit and explicit references to character's internal states of mind, we the audience can see their actions and reactions as agentive and situated within context. To extend the metaphor, now the sound and video work together, and we can imagine some efforts have been made to evoke the context of the story action. In levels six and seven characters have beliefs, desires and intentions that direct or motivate their actions, at first implicitly, and then explicitly. The child is able to tell about the character's internal states rather than assuming those states to be understood. In the final level, the character attains personhood. A story in this level will center around persons, and their internal states are represented and coordinated either with reality or with other persons.

In McAdams & Mclean's (2013) review of the research pertaining to narrative identity, the stage is set to view narratives of past events as organizing processes for a child's thoughts and experiences, forming a self-concept that feels coherent, much the same way the life-story is theorized to coordinate an adult's self-concept. I believe the inclusion of creative storytelling can expand the scope of the process model of narrative identity, as young children readily engage in imagination, fantasy, and narrative during pretend play. One could consider the content of children's pretense-narratives, as well as narratives about the past and the possible future, as important to the development of their self-concept, just as Mclean et al. (2007) argue the life-story is an important component of the adult self.

Although the stories children tell about themselves are not considered autobiography, often containing fantastical and exaggerated elements, they are in a sense, auto-biographi*cal*. When children take on pretense roles, they often state who they are in the play-enactment. Lillard, Lerner, Hopkins, Dore, Smith, & Palmquist (2013) consider role-playing a way for children to try on identities and test out adult roles. Extending this line of reasoning to children's stories of the self, a self-story may also be a way of expressing identity and testing out the reactions of those around them. This fits with Maclean et al's (2007) proposed process model of narrative identity, which emphasizes the social nature of the adult's self-story.

The Present Study

The focus of this inquiry is how a mother and child use narrative to co-construct and experience self and identity in their relational context. Because there is a difference between how we conceptualize ourselves and how we present ourselves in various social situations, and because only the self can articulate the self, a phenomenological approach to gaining knowledge about the self is particularly valid. But to examine a child's identity requires an intimate

informant, one who is sensitively engaged in the child's development and can help the child come to know and articulate their self. This is primarily the work of parents, who are like teachers, engaged in creating a curriculum of the self.

Pinar (1973) reminds us of a forgotten meaning of the word curriculum, explaining that the Latin root (*currere*) emphasizes the nature of individual's *experience* with education. When the adult and the child are co-creating a story, the adult becomes aware of the child's experience of self through the story being told, and then responds sensitively, elaborating and sometimes guiding the child to particular realizations. Parents often occupy this privileged vantage point where they both witness and collaborate in the child's self-construction. The purpose of the proposed study is to document the ways a young child uses self-narratives to construct and express her gender identity, taking into account the dominant cultural influences as they are mediated through her family context. In childhood, it should be possible to trace the broad outline of self-concept, and understand the socio-cultural influences that shape the details of the self. It may prove useful to think of narrative as spiraling through the spheres of Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems model, linking the personal, interpersonal, and cultural aspects of lived experience. Thus, the storied self (McAdams & Mclean, 2013) could be a playful way of constructing a self from the loose parts (Nicholson, 1971), the experiences and their associated meanings, that culture provides.

Research Questions

Co-construction of narrative identity. The primary question guiding this research seeks descriptive information. How does the child use shared storytelling to co-construct her identity, particularly her gendered identity? I argue that the analytical framework proposed by Nicolopoulou & Richner (2007) provides a lens applicable to the child's stories of herself,

through which to understand her gendered identity. Nicolopoulou (2008) suggests that the analysis of young children's stories consider the child's concepts of character and context, in addition to plot. Nicolopoulou and Richner's (2007) proposed analytic method includes the documentation of references to character(s)'s agency or purposeful actions. As such, their eight levels of character development were taken as a rubric to guide my analysis of character in my daughter's stories.

Gender identity in mother and daughter. The second question concerns cultural contributions to gender identity. What are the emergent themes related to the gendered self, observed in the child's stories of the self, and what can be inferred from those stories about how the child's and mother's gendered identities might be culturally constrained? This second research question concerns how cultural identity is transmitted through narrative and incorporated into the self. In order to observe the process, it is necessary to analyze the stories in terms of what themes are being expressed over time. Emergent themes can be considered as representative of a culture's "canonical forms" (Bruner, 2004), shaping the details of the storied self. I will describe the child's construction of her self through an examination of her use of character and plot elements, as well as her inclusion of specific cultural themes. Through this, I will consider how the themes contained in cultural narratives are transformed and incorporated into the child's narratives, which are reflective of her self-concept.

Chapter 3: Methodology

In this chapter, I explain my chosen research design and philosophical influences in approaching the research questions. The research design is a qualitative, auto-ethnographic case study. In order to expose the nature of my learning about self and identity through my daughter's stories, I discuss the hermeneutical approach that involved an open and transparent positioning of myself as researcher. Finally, I describe the procedures involved in interpreting the character (and self) in the stories.

Auto-Ethnographic Case Study

In her book, *The Cultural Nature of Human Development*, Rogoff (2003) synthesized findings across the field of developmental cultural psychology to support the thesis that cultural identity is transmitted through everyday parenting practices. With this in mind, it would seem important to examine parent-child interactions with an eye to understanding the parent's and child's cultural identities. The case study paradigm is an appropriate research design because it allows for an in-depth study of how cultural concepts can become incorporated into one's self-concept through storytelling. As well, the phenomenological nature of the case study allows for an open-ended examination of the role of narrative in the process of identity construction, at the macro level as well as the micro level of Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems (1994). In this case study, the child's identity is the first focus, but as cultural identities are by definition co-constructed (Kim, 2007), the parent is treated as another focal individual.

The case study situation of parent and child provides familiarity, allowing the child to freely engage in storytelling. Nicolopoulou's (2008) study of children's storytelling in preschool settings found that young children seldom produced narratives from an "I" perspective involving a single protagonist. However, the child in the present study spontaneously initiated storytelling

with her parent, in her home, for her own purposes. The case study takes into account Watling Neal and Neal's exhortation that, "… the specific nature and configuration of ecological systems influencing the development of an individual must be considered *from the perspective of that individual*" (2013, p. 732).

The case. The case consists of myself and my daughter, telling original stories over a period of two years, when she was between 40 months (3 years, 4 months) and 65 months (5 years, 5 months). Our family context requires some description. My daughter was conceived through artificial insemination with anonymous donor sperm, and carried by my spouse. She has only known her immediate family as two mothers, two adult brothers and one younger brother. Though she does not have a father, she does have grandfathers, an uncle, and the mentioned brothers, who are present and involved in her life, and all very much identified with their masculinity. Even so, my daughter has fantasized about having a father, often telling elaborate stories of him incarnated as Batman, or as Wolf (Big Bad Wolf in fact). When we began storytelling together, my daughter quickly turned the stories toward her own ends. She often cast me in the role of her fantasy father, and I (amused and a little bewildered) always complied. I secretly hoped to satisfy her apparent psychological need for a father, and to influence her ideas of what makes for acceptable masculine qualities.

Shared storytelling. Storytelling, often before sleep or first thing in the morning, was a physically close activity. My daughter would ask for a "story with no pages", and cuddle while we lay down. Other times she would fly into my lap at the end of the workday, as soon as I arrived home. She would often negotiate for an extended storytelling episode, resist the ending by physically positioning herself to dominate my line of sight, and protest when I would try to tend to her baby brother.

Although I initiated the first instances of storytelling, she responded with such fervor that it became impossible to discontinue them. We were clearly engaged in an activity that she needed. I felt the stories were important, and I began recording them. This was before the project was conceived. My daughter would often bring me my voice recorder when she wanted to tell stories, and she engaged in this activity with me and no one else. In truth, I enjoyed our stories very much, and maybe by recording them I signaled that I also thought storytelling was important.

Once I had the idea I might use the stories for research, I imposed one rule upon myself. For ethical reasons, I felt I should allow my daughter to continue to initiate the storytelling by asking for "a story with no pages", rather than try to coerce her into storytelling specifically for my research. Storytelling episodes lasted approximately fifteen to twenty-five minutes, however this time included interruptions by other family members, particularly my youngest child, the baby brother, who often appeared mid-story in seeming competition for my attention. I collected 72 stories for a total of 20 hours of audio-recordings.

Analytic Approach and Position of the Researcher

> "That one finds oneself, finds self-consciousness, already constituted, but existentially free to constitute the constituted, is to be able to remake what is already made."
>
> - Pinar, 1975, paraphrasing Sartre

Hermeneutic phenomenology. Transparency regarding the analytical approach, or positioning of the researcher, is crucial to establishing rigour in qualitative research. I use a hermeneutical-phenomenological approach because it fits the research topic and design. Although, historically, hermeneutics have dealt with religious texts, the approach has often been used with other kinds of texts, written and non-written. Hermeneutical understandings of forms

of expression include interpretations of art works, such as music and dance. The essential (to my understanding) hermeneutical stance is one where the researcher seeks to interpret the subject of study in such a way as to both gain insight and greater self-understanding. Thayer-Bacon (2003) writes, “In the hermeneutic understanding the author and the interpreter can both be transformed in this act of understanding and dialogue…” (p. 84).

Un-bracketing my presuppositions. In classic phenomenological research the researcher is tasked with bracketing their own pre-existing ideas, in order to see the data as they are. “Through bracketing and rebracketing one moves from the ‘natural attitude’ to the ‘transcendental attitude’ thereby reaching the experience of pure phenomena” (Valle, King & Halling, 1989, p.10–11). I found my preliminary exercises of bracketing to be clumsy, perhaps because my actual practice consisted of simply noting my assumptions as I became aware of them. Because I read and reread the stories many times, each reading tended to reveal other assumptions. I came to realize that my assumptions or pre-existing ideas regarding the stories, my daughter, and myself were layered and insightful. Through the analytic process I came to understand the contribution of hermeneutic philosophy to the phenomenological approach, where “the hermeneutic-phenomenologist does not set aside or bracket their presuppositions. These are taken, instead, as the starting point from which the inquiry begins” (Thayer-Bacon, 2003, p. 85). This is what I have tried to achieve here. Shifting from the perspective of mother-storyteller to one of researcher took place as I began to develop my research questions.

Developing research questions. Having research questions focused the research project by delineating the interpretative landscape, however I rebelled against the imposition of pre-determination by designing fairly open-ended questions. This provided for a field of possible directions to travel in. To elaborate on my sunflower metaphor, what if each storytelling episode

gave rise to a sunflower within a field of sunflowers, a field of possible selves? In order to know about what is essential in a sunflower, one would want to examine several of them, from several locations (or micro-climates). A good question will set the path towards its own answer, and because my research questions are general, they indicate that their answers lie in what can be generalized across stories about my daughter's and my identities.

A hermeneutical-phenomenological approach to research is not necessarily amenable to the usual way in which academic reports are presented. The cyclical nature of questioning, insights, and requestioning can be obscured if we write from a linear framework, where questions always come before answers. In the end, my research questions were revisited many times, as I struggled to allow for both a close analysis of parts, as well as a larger understanding of the phenomenon. I engaged in a spiraling process of data analysis and evolution of research questions, as I discovered and adjusted to my interpretations of the stories (Thayer-Bacon, 2003 p. 85). In my process, I often questioned the meaning of the research decisions I was engaged in making. Guiding each choice was an over-arching need to understand the stories and represent them in truth and beauty.

As noted, I collected many of the stories that I eventually used as data before starting this study, and with the development of the first incarnation of research questions, began to pursue my curiosity about what our storytelling activities could show about my daughter and my relationship with her. Then, as I reviewed the relevant literature, my questions became focused on identity, self-concept and narrative. In the final phase of analysis, I was drawn to the theme of gender identity that was ever-present in the stories, and this required that I review my research questions again. This final reinterpretation of my own research questions resulted in their formulation as presented in this thesis.

Selecting narratives. Although I had collected audio recordings of more than 70 stories, not all of them were of the same quality or length. The stories can be classified into many types, analogous to types of pretend play, such as fantastical adventures, domestic scenes, dream-like meanderings, and media-based retellings. It was necessary to employ a degree of selectivity, as I felt that an analysis of all of the narratives would be too large an endeavour. I tried to counter the consequences of selectivity with the openness of the research questions, because I wanted to stay true to the exploratory nature of this preliminary foray into the stories. I decided to use a small number of high quality narratives.

In order to refamiliarize myself with the narratives, I listened to each recording, noting the general plotline and major characters, the spontaneous titles that I had given the narratives at the time of the recordings, the number of interruptions by family members, and my first reactions. I compiled this preliminary information into a database. Given that high quality narratives were present at early, middle, and later time points, I decided to select a story from each time point. While the idea of linear development is not the focus of the present study, for the purposes of future research with the whole data set, and having collected stories over the preschool-aged time span with the same individual, I was interested in seeing if Eden's stories fit with Nicolopoulou and Richner's (2007) suggestion that older preschoolers use more complex and explicit portrayals of characters' internal states in their narratives, compared to younger preschoolers.

The present study called for a rich description and analysis of the content of the narratives. I chose the three narratives that were of the most common length (about 20 minutes), and contained few enough interruptions that at least one complete story had been told. I was also aware of the general plot of each story in the database, and purposefully chose narratives to

represent the variety of story types that were present in the full data-set. Each raw narrative in the larger data-set revolved around its own specific story. Many narratives contained stories that were interrupted multiple times, or, contained what I term "run-on" stories. A run-on story is like a run-on sentence, in that each time a possible conclusion or resolution is sensed, the narrator (Eden) avoids the ending by introducing repetition, additional characters, or new goals.

Transforming the audio-recordings. The audio recordings of the three chosen storytelling sessions were transcribed by an assistant, and reviewed by the researcher in order to ensure their accuracy. It was important to capture Eden's language and also ensure that the emotional inflections were adequately represented by the punctuation in the transcriptions.

I decided to focus mainly on the parts of the narratives that pertained to the story being told, and to give less attention to the parts of the transcriptions that pertained to the interruptions. For example, if the transcript contained instances of other family members asking questions regarding the functioning of the household rather than contributing to the storyline, those comments were not included in the analyses, but when the interruption contributed to a fuller understanding of the narrative, it was considered in the analyses.

An interesting feature of the narratives was that my daughter would often negotiate the story to be told in great detail, and then want to enact the story in a dramaturgical way, by taking on the voice of the character and speaking from a first-person perspective. The transition from the negotiation of the story details to the narration of scenes and character motivations, and again to the first-person perspective of pretense enactment, was often seamless, and only could be discerned after the fact. I was unsure at first how to treat stories which began as narrations, and then would become enactment, until I made the decision to focus on the story being told. I considered the stories themselves representative of my daughter's self-concept and identity

development because she took the lead role in each story as herself. Her character bore her name, and she always switched to a first-person perspective within the story, lending the stories an autobiographical quality.

The transcriptions were then rewritten using screenplay formatting in order to reflect the dramatic nature of the original narratives while preserving my daughter's choice of voice. The screenplay formatting also served to clarify "who" was speaking: the child as narrator, herself, or her character, and the adult as narrator, myself, or as a character. Table 2 provides a sample of the screenplay formatting (see Appendix A for the complete story *Baby Zebra Maze*).

Table 2
Sample of screenplay formatting

Story Title	**Screenplay format sample**
Baby Zebra Maze	INT. EDEN'S ROOM. SAME Eden begins to enact the story. EDEN K, here, here how it goes, Maze. Just put your teeth on the bell… Eden holds the bell in her mouth. The bell rings twice EDEN CONT'D like this… GALA (chuckles) EDEN CONT'D And then you shake around! Bell rings

Coding. The stories were co-constructed through conversational turns, and this turn-taking was preserved and emphasized in the screen-play formatting, thus the unit of analysis was

determined to be the content of a conversational turn. Coding occurred in phases as I explored approaches and developed the research questions. Because I was interested in the process model of narrative identity (Mclean et al., 2007), I used a method of coding that would allow for a detailed reading of the stories. A unit of analysis was entered into the first column of a table and then, in the second column, coded for the *process* that I interpreted as representing that passage of narrative (Saldana, 2009). In a third column, I documented my interpretations of the process. For example, in the first row in Table 3, I had noted in column two, that Eden was a) using male pronouns, and b) encouraging the hatchlings. In column three, I interpreted Eden's encouragement to mean that she believes encouragement is a form of helping. The fourth column was reserved for my general impressions and thoughts regarding the coding. To continue with the same example, I noted in column four that Eden "assumes the vulnerable are also capable" because she "provides encouragement first (before 'rescue')". And I make note of the emerging theme of gender identity. Please see Table 3 for a sample of the coding. The complete coding is available in Appendix B.

Table 3
Excerpt of Coding

Story Title	**1-Unit of analysis**	**2-Process**	**3-Interpretation**	**4-Impressions**
Mermaids Save Sea Turtles	And he was helping all of the sea turtles! He's like "Go! Go! Go!"	Male pronoun Encouragement	Encouragement is a form of helping	Assumes the vulnerable are also capable, provides encouragement first (before "rescue"). **Gender**
	And then there was one – One little sea turtle was starting to come out of her nest, but he was being so slow, so Eden's helping her lots!	Repetition & Elaboration Turtle pronoun mixed male & female Eden-protagonist is helping.	**Gender** is flexible?	Piaget – assimilation accommodation, **repetition** serves a **cognitive function** What about an identity function? **Narrative identity**

				– iterations of the story strengthens the identity

Once this first round of coding was completed, I began formally interpreting the data by categorizing the themes I saw emerging across passages of the data. I guided my interpretation using the inductive question "what is this phrase/unit or passage about?" These themes were then sorted and grouped together into larger categories, or second order themes (Saldana, 2009).

Interpreting Character (Self) in Stories of the Self

Actors, agents, and persons. Nicolopoulou and Richner (2007) introduced an analytical framework in which they described the development of character within preschool children's narratives. Four broad categories of character development were identified, namely those of Actor, Agent, Character, and Person. The category Actor referred to story characters defined only by visible characteristics and actions. The category Agent represented more sophisticated representational thinking, with characters showing basic psychological features (they can think, feel, sense), and intentions that can be read from their actions or reactions. For the purposes of this study, the categories of Character (who have more sophisticated representational capacities) and Persons (characters that may be linked with action, reality, or with other characters) were combined as Persons because coding showed little distinction between the two. These general levels were further subdivided, yielding a total of eight levels of character representation (Nicolopoulou & Richner, 2007). Although the larger four categories (three, in this study) seemed to progress linearly from less complex to more developed representations, the sub-levels denoted more parallel possibilities.

For the final phase of coding I used the rubric for character development found in Nicolopoulou and Richner's (2007) cross-sectional study. In terms of my primary research

question, this rubric provided another way to access meaning in Eden's narratives. The stories were re-read and examples of each level of the rubric were drawn from each story and recorded into a table (see Table 4 for an illustration of this coding; see Appendix C for coding examples of each level of character representation).

Table 4
Example of First Level of Character Representation (derived from Nicolopoulou and Richner, 2007)

Nicolopoulou & Richner (2007)	**Baby Zebra**	**Mermaids**	**Wolf and Fox**
I. ACTORS are defined simply by actions; they act or are acted upon	So then- so then Eden- so- so the zebra- the baby zebra, first the baby zebra was lying beside me in the room	Once upon a time, Eden was on the beach, and there was baby sea turtles starting to get out of their nest from a sand nest And then they went on the sand seaweed and then the crab was there	Actually, for real, they were in the forest on their way to the co- the- Tortuga!

Although Nicolopoulou and Richner's analytical framework was developed by examining a cross section of 30 preschoolers' narratives, I applied the framework to one child's three narratives, pulled from a larger collection produced longitudinally over the course of the preschool years. My purpose was twofold, first to determine the level of character development present in the narratives, and second to discern the child's possible purposes in employing each level. Nicolopoulou and Richner (2007) used their rubric to score the highest level of character development reached in each preschooler's narrative. Generally, younger children produced less developed characters than those of the oldest children, who produced narratives with well-developed characters. In contrast, I found examples of each level of character development within each narrative I examined.

Chapter 4. Findings and Analyses

In this chapter, I present a description of the three stories, the analysis of character representations in each story, and a reading of gender identity themes that emerged across the co-co-constructed narratives.

Description of the Stories

In order to effectively support my analyses, this section provides synopses and excerpts of each of the three stories. A complete transcription of the story *Baby Zebra Maze* is available in Appendix A in screenplay format. The coding for *Mermaids Save Sea Turtles* and *Wolf and Fox Tricks* is available in Appendix B. Appendix C contains a sample of the coding for levels of character development, using Nicolopoulou and Richner's (2007) rubric, throughout the three stories.

Baby Zebra Maze. The first story is titled "Baby Zebra Maze", told when Eden was 3 years, 4 months old. Eden takes the role of herself as a teacher, and I am assigned the role of the baby zebra. The story is simple, the action is direct and realistic, and the general theme is domestic. In the story, Eden teaches her baby zebra to ring a bell, to shake and nod its head, and to climb and jump. Eden-as-teacher models the lessons, and instructs Maze to copy what is modeled. Here we see how Eden narrates her actions:

EDEN
And then he- and then he teach them how to climb!

GALA
Oh!

EDEN
See here- here's how you climb, Maze! You just put one hand up and then put your feet up then another hand up and your feet up and they're on the bed! Wanna try it out?

Demonstrates as she instructs how to climb up on the bed

GALA
"Yes!" So Maze, put…

EDEN
(interrupts)
Maze! Zebras still talk. They nod their heads like this

Demonstrates a nod

And a second example:

EDEN
And then he'll show him how to get down!

GALA
Oh, how do you get down?

EDEN
With a little help

GALA
(chuckles) that's a good idea

EDEN
Maze, you can jump and I'll catch you!

GALA
Maze was a little bit afraid to jump.

EDEN
It's okay! You're not gonna land on- on the hard ground. I'll catch you and you won't be hurt.

The story showcases themes of 'ordinary' life and relationships that were perhaps salient to the child. Eden draws on her actual experiences to tell the story. For example, when Maze gets hurt while playing with toy cars, Eden 'puts' cream and a bandage on the 'bo-bo': "And then Eden

put cream under him- under his chin on Maze and then he put a Band Aid on him." Eden shows that she relates to Maze and his bo-bo stating that "and I'm gonna need cream and a Band Aid on my toe, right here".

This story also features an appearance by Eden's baby brother, who interrupts the story in order to appropriate one of the toys that had become a story prop. Eden handles both the conflict and the interruption in a mature way. She states her point of view and calmly returns to the story sequence when the interruption is over.

BABY BROTHER
(interrupts)
Woah (yell)

GALA CONT'D
…he fell down and got- and got a little bump

EDEN
Well that's my McQueen.

GALA
He was driving the McQueen

BABY BROTHER
I driving McQueen, that's mine!

GALA (TO BB)
Yes, that's yours.

EDEN
No! He wasn't driving McQueen, he was driving Mater because I give Mater…

GALA
(interrupts)
Okay.

EDEN CONT'D
…to him.

BABY BROTHER
Oh!

GALA
There you go.

BABY BROTHER
(inaudible)

GALA
But he got a bo-bo. What are we gonna do?

BABY BROTHER
(inaudible)

EDEN
So, so he put cream

GALA
He put cream

EDEN
And a Band Aid

GALA
And a Band Aid

EDEN
And then he feel much better.

Mermaids save sea turtles. The next story is titled Mermaids Save Sea Turtles, told when Eden was 3 years, 10 months old. It is longer and more complex than Baby Zebra Maze, and Eden uses a repetitive narrative structure, reminiscent of a song. The story action is punctuated with a recurring refrain. In this story, Eden takes the role of herself as hero, and I take on the roles of successive supporting characters. Together we save hatchling sea turtles from hungry crabs by carrying them to the water. This story is an example of the revisioning and

retelling of a story from a media source (a nature documentary) and incorporates characters from various media, such as Disney princesses.

This story emerged within a week after Eden had viewed a documentary about sea turtles. In the opening scenes of the documentary, hatchling sea turtles were making their way to the ocean from the sandy beach. The camera focused upon one straggler in particular, following its harrowing journey through obstacles (seaweed) and dangers (sea-birds and yellow crabs). Eden had been frightened by the documentary and insisted it be turned off after one of the sea turtles succumbed to a crab.

Eden's story mirrors the documentary. In the following coding excerpt, she introduces the baby sea turtles, hatching out of their nests, and positions herself as the hero. In the coding, my speaking turns are italicized to distinguish them from Eden's speaking turns.

Table 5
Excerpt of coding – Mermaids Save Sea Turtles

Story: unit of analysis	Process Coding	Interpretation	Finding/Theory/Evidence
Once upon a time…	Mother starts with familiar beginning	Scaffolding	
"k, I go on" Once upon a time, Eden was on the beach…	Child chooses to narrate. Setting Uses own name	Eden is telling a story about herself.	**Narrative identity**; we tell stories about the self to show and become who we are.
Ooo, she was on a beach…	Mother uses female pronoun Echoes child	Motivating - Encouragement	Supportive relationship
…and there was baby sea turtles starting to get out of their nest from a sand nest	Character Action	Small, yet actively getting out of their nest	baby as active, agentic being
That's right, they were starting to hatch out of their eggs and they were climbing up through the sand to get up, up, up to the beach.	Elaborating	Mother scaffolding (recasts) language and cognition.	**Vygotsky**, the way language itself pries apart the word and referent and allows for increasingly complex or abstract thinking.

And then they went on the sand seaweed	Child narrates.	Building the story	Storytelling
Yeah	Back-channel talk.	Encouraging	support
and then the crab was there	Villain appears		Baby(turtle) invokes need to nurture through their vulnerability

Note: Italicized passages indicate Gala's speaking turns.

The story continues with Eden seeing the hatchlings who need help. She saves them by picking them up and putting them in the sea. Eden notices that there are too many turtles hatching to be able to save on her own, and calls to friends for help. As each friend arrives, she explains the goal and the method (save turtles by picking them up and carrying them to the sea).

> "We – we can't get all the baby sea turtles in the water. We only got a little bit and a few and we still can't do it! I asked for Sarah to help with me too but we couldn't. Can you please help us?"

Eden retells this action, varying some of the context and using more and more complex ideas and sophisticated language as she develops the story. The first time, she says:

> "And he was helping all of the sea turtles? He's like 'Go! Go! Go!' And then there was one- one little sea turtle was starting to come out of her nest, but he was being so slow, so Eden's helping her lots!"

And next:

> "Sarah, you have to help me with the baby sea turtle, I'm gonna go in the seaweed and the crab could get away two of them and I cannot get all of them. Can you please help me Sarah?...We have to pick up them and run fast as we can and put them in the water before the crab eat them. If we don't, the crab will eat all of them!"

Followed by:

> "We- we can't get all the baby sea turtles in the water. We only got a little bit and a few and we still can't do it! I asked for Sarah to help with me too but we couldn't. Can you please help us?… First we have to pick them up and run to the water and- and put them in before the crab eats all of them. If we don't- if we don't put all of them in and-and don't help him, the crabs will just eat them all and they'll catch them!"

In the fourth repetition Eden says:

> "Ana and Sarah and me cannot put all the baby sea turtles in the water! Only a little bit! And also some because if we- if we have to pick them up and run to the water- if we don't, the crab will eat them all up!"… You have to pick them up and then run to the water- wa- water… And then you have to run fast, fast like a cheetah and fast like a flash so the crab doesn't get you… Because the crab can go fast if you go slow. If you go slow, the crab will get there and he'll get closer and closer and closer and he'll climb up and eat the baby sea turtles. That's why we have to go fast".

And in the final refrain:

> "I need your help because me and Sarah and- and Ana and Elsa cannot, cannot pick up all the baby sea turtles and run to, to the- to the beach. We already tried, and then we got tired! And if we don't run faster to pick up the baby sea turtles and put them in the water, the crab will eat them all!"

The first friend is a character modeled upon her real close friend. The next two are inspired by Disney movie characters (Elsa and Anna, from *Frozen*). And the final one is Princess Ariel from Disney's *Little Mermaid*. The story action changes with the introduction of this last character. Princess Ariel suggests turning the girls into mermaids, so they can better help the sea turtles by protecting them from sharks. Eden's character resists the transformation, first arguing they do not have the right technology, "Well there's one problem, the only way you can get us to mermaids, we're gonna need creature power discs but we don't have that!", and then exclaiming the water is too deep: "They said to Ariel 'Ariel, we can't run to the water because it's too deep for us".

Finally, after Ariel (played by myself, Eden's mother) transforms all the others, and praises the beauty of their new fishy tails, Eden allows herself to be transformed as well. The mermaids then save the sea turtles together. Eden takes up the lead again announcing to the sea turtles:"It's okay. Follow us and we will bring you to your family again, right?". In an aside Eden confirms her understanding of family "because they do have a mama or a papa or there's two mamas or there's two daddies!....Ask if they have both!"

Eden uses her mermaid tail to swim "as fast as a flash", and she protects the turtles from circling sharks. She calls the whales to come and help "[b]ecause he made a whistle and he made a whistle like a song for a whale to come like this… And then the whales heard that and then the whales camed!" When the whales come, they fight and defeat the sharks. "The whale- the whale was fun with the sharks, fighting with them…. First- first they- first the whale made a summersault and they- and they put the- and they put their tail- the whale's tail inside the shark's face…. And then the shark swim away!"

Wolf and fox tricks. This third story is embedded within an oppositional interaction between mother and daughter. Eden is 5 years, 1 month old. The storytelling session opens with my efforts to take control of the direction of the story, attempting to use it as an opportunity to frame it as a story about "a little girl named Eden who was a good listener". Eden refuses and interrupts the story introduction with many exclamations of "no"! I allow Eden to take control and tell the story she wants to tell, yet remain an active storytelling participant throughout. Eden ultimately rejects most of my ideas for the story, and when I inform her that the storytelling session is finished, Eden bops me on the nose. She immediately regrets her action and apologizes for having hurt me, and I accept the apology, affirming that I love her.

Table 6
Excerpt of coding – Wolf and fox tricks

Story: unit of analysis	**Process Coding**	**Interpretation**	**Finding/Theory/Evidence**
(chuckles) Eden was a very good listener but sometimes-	Gentle teasing	Tension between mother and child	**Relationship**: Mother and child are at cross-purposes here, tension because of different goals. **Culture**: Mother values 'good listener'
No, Gala-	Child protests	Child rejects the potential storyline	**Storytelling**: Eden has her own reasons to tell a story about herself.
Because she was five	Continued teasing	Mother attempts to take control of story	**Relationship**: Mother wanted to tell a morality tale…
G-Gala! Gala! No!	Emphatic protest	Child is angry	
She…	Mother continues…	Mother tests child's anger.	**Relationship**
Gala!	Sharp demand	Child is incensed!	

You don't wanna hear a story like that?	Mother questions child's protest	Mother's question helps clarify what the child is protesting	
No!	Child refuses 'nice' story	Child cannot be fooled into a morality tale dressed up as 'nice'	Child has an astute sense of mother's intention.

Wolf and Fox Tricks is the most complex of the three stories analyzed for this thesis, resembling a folk-tale, complete with talking animals, adventures, and phantasmagorical details. In this tale, Eden takes the role of herself as an innocent girl in the forest, and I take on the role of a trickster Fox. Eden forms an alliance with the fox against a common foe: the wolf. Together, they trick Wolf by making a wooden doll in Eden's image.

The story begins with Eden and her friend Sarah in the woods, on their way to the "Tortuga", when they are approached by a tricky fox. The Tortuga is a mobile home and laboratory shaped more or less like a turtle that Eden has seen before in an animated wild-life and nature-themed television program. Fox has been sent by Wolf to trick the girls and ultimately bring them to him to be eaten. After I (as co-narrator) question Eden closely, it is revealed that if Fox does not comply with Wolf, Wolf has threatened to eat him too. Fox explains his dilemma to the girls, and together they plan to double-cross Wolf, as can be seen in the following excerpt.

GALA
Why does he always listen to that wolf?

EDEN
Uh huh!

GALA
Why?

EDEN
It just does! Cause he doesn't wanna have a fight with wolf.

GALA
That's a good reason.

EDEN
So he asks him to trick Eden and Sarah.

Eden's idea is to make wooden figures, exactly like real Eden and real Sarah. She details each body part needed to make the figures "exactly like a real girl". Her intention seems to be to trick Wolf, without hurting him too much, as she balks at the idea of giving him a tummy ache, and later, does not want to make all his teeth fall out when he bites into the wood.

Table 7
Excerpt of coding – Wolf and fox tricks 2

Story: unit of analysis	Process Coding	Interpretation	Finding/Theory/Evidence
And you have to say: "hello, Sarah and Eden, I'm here to trick you but I'm actually not gonna trick you, I'm going to trick wolf because I'm just going to pretend to trick you, so don't be mad". That's what you have to say.	Child reiterates to mother the way Fox should explain his situation to the girls	Child is maintaining some tight control of what mother is going to say, perhaps because mom was breaking the rules previously	Child as director
"Maybe you can trick him if you say you tricked him and how something to pretend like a girl to make him like a shape like a little girl when he's dead, and you give it to wolf and make sure it's already dead and give it to wolf and wolf will eat it up. Make sure you make one just like Sarah! Make the same match as Sarah, alright?	Child plans how to actually trick Wolf, replacing Sarah with a copy	Child has thought up an effigy of Sarah	Symbolism: an effigy is a powerful thing. A totem, offered for sacrifice, to save the hero. Does this make the Wolf some kind of frightful God needing appeasement?
You mean we need like a sack of potatoes from the farmer's yard and then we've got to paint a face on the sack of potatoes to look like Sarah and then wolf will think that he's eating up Sarah but really he's eating a sack of potatoes then he'll get a belly ache.	Mother asks for clarification	Mother, thinking literally, can't imagine how the wolf will eat a piece of wood without noticing it isn't the real girl.	

Well no-n-not… let's not give him tummy ache- the-the-the-	Child doesn't want wolf to have a belly ache		

Fox places the figures into a sack and brings them to Wolf. The deception is discovered, and Fox and the girls run away to the Tortuga. The other friends, who are already there, question Fox's loyalty, but he promises to not make any trouble and he and the girls find shelter inside. Big Bad Wolf tries to get inside by blowing down the door, but finds the door is too strong for his breath. Wolf then starts to scratch the door. One of the characters suggests moving the Tortuga somewhere else, but Eden doesn't see the need, as the Tortuga is impenetrable and she is completely safe inside.

Character Analyses

In this section, I focus on the levels of character development found across the three stories. In describing how I applied Nicolopoulou and Richner's (2007) system as a heuristic to evaluate how Eden uses characters in her self-development, I remind the reader of my assumption, based on Nicolopoulou and Richner's work, that character development can be an indicator of cognitive growth. My reasoning is that if one can represent a character in a complex way, then one may also have the capacity to develop a complex self-concept and identity.

Eden narrated, discussed and negotiated meanings, chose and developed her characters and stories, enacted the stories through pretense, and made many references to similarities between pretense and reality. In a previous pilot study (unpublished, submitted as course-work) of three other stories from the same data-set, I focused on understanding how the story was co-constructed between mother and daughter. In that analysis, I was intrigued that the story plot and other details evolved through both of our contributions. It seems to hold in the present study that conversational turns set up the pattern of interaction. Eden used her turns to add original ideas,

clarify misunderstandings, and maintain control over the story, while I used my turns largely to support and clarify story details, and sometimes to seize control of the interaction (for example, in *Mermaids Save Sea Turtles* and in *Wolf and Fox Tricks*).

The storytelling episodes usually began with a negotiation phase, where the story to be told was discussed and mapped out together, and then at some point shifted into an enactment phase, where we assumed the characters' perspectives and told the story from first person voices. Eden's use of character met the criteria set out by Nicolopoulou and Richner (2007) in the following ways. Levels one and two (Actors) pertain to characters that are described only through their actions and external qualities. None of the characters in Eden's stories remained at this initial level of development. Each narrative began with the introduction of the central character, who was always Eden herself. The use of her personal name implied this central character was intentionally imbued with the characteristics of the child-narrator. Eden chose to represent herself *in* the stories, making them stories of the self and strengthening the sense that they served an autobiographical purpose.

Other characters in the stories were initially introduced as generic, but named or given specific features within the first few phrases of their introduction. For example, the sea turtles were specified as "babies", a friend-character was named for Eden's real friend Sarah, and princess-characters were named for familiar media princesses Anna and Elsa (from Disney's *Frozen*), and Ariel the mermaid (from Disney's *Little Mermaid*). The wolf character from the Wolf and Fox Tricks story seemed at first to represent an action-only character, but became more developed as we learned of his intent to have another character (fox) procure his meal for him.

Each story analysis that follows focuses on different aspects of character analysis: with *Baby Zebra Maze,* I describe how Nicolopoulou and Richner's (2007) character representation

rubric was applied; with *Mermaids Save Sea Turtles,* I address how Eden uses the story characters for her own purposes; and with *Wolf and Fox Tricks***,** I examine issues of intersubjectivity within the story-telling.

Baby Zebra Maze. The focus of analysis for this story is to detail how the character rubric was used. Though the story is simple, it shows how Eden is capable of complex character representation. Because her language was less developed than in the subsequent narratives (when she was older), it is possible that this narrative may provide information contrasting the other two narratives examined. When compared to the examples provided by Nicolopoulou and Richner (2007), the baby zebra narrative seemed more characteristic of the kind of story collected from the age group (three to five year olds) that composed their sample.

Eden begins this narrative introducing herself and her baby zebra "So then- so then Eden- so- so the zebra- the baby zebra, first the baby zebra was lying beside me in the room". The adult co-narrator asks Eden what the baby zebra's name is, and she replies "Uhh- Maze!... I know Maze loves it cause it's really a cute name." Thus, in the first two phrases she utters, the two characters are established: Eden-as-character and the Maze the zebra, a character with a personal name and physical characteristics of "baby". They are lying next to each other in Eden's room, and baby zebra Maze *loves* her cute name. This indicates that the Zebra has internal reactions, such as emotion. Therefore, the characters start at Nicolopoulou and Richner's (2007) level of Actors, and progress from there.

An example of the coding for *Baby Zebra* is provided in Table 8, using Nicolopoulou and Richner's three broader categories of character representation: Actors, Agents, and Persons. At the level of Actors, the story excerpt reveals characters defined by their actions: the baby zebra is lying besides Eden. At the level of Agents characters actions are paired with their intentions,

both explicit and implied. Finally, at the level of Persons, the characters interact with other characters or with reality, making their desires, beliefs, and intentions known. For example, the baby zebra character coordinates with reality in that he cannot talk (of course, zebras do not talk).

Table 8
Example of Levels of Character Representation (derived from Nicolopoulou and Richner, 2007)

4 Main Levels		**Subdivided Levels**	**Example from Baby Zebra Maze**
ACTORS		Level 1. Action Only	
		Level 2. Action/External Descriptions	So then- so then Eden- so- so the zebra- the baby zebra, first the baby zebra was lying beside me in the room
AGENTS		Level 3A. Implicit Intention	
		Level 3B. Simple Perceptual/Attentive Capacities	But he definite- but he doesn't understand "nay"
		Level 4A. Action Response	
		Level 4B. Emotional Response	
		Level 5A. Explicit Intention-in-Action	so, so, so he teach him how to do yes or no.
		Level 5B. Explicit Emotion-in-Action	
CHARACTERS	combined	Level 6. Explicit Desire and/or Belief Representations	
		Level 7. Explicit Coordination of Representational Mental States with Action	He can't- he'll needs to be teached to be talking. But he can nod his head like this or nod his head like this or say: "nay"!
PERSONS		Level 8. Contrastive Representations	

In the next phrases of the narrative, Eden establishes herself as the character that initiates all the action and takes the role of a teacher, while Maze is a responsive character in the role of learner. Eden's character remarks, "well, we can teach him something …Eden was gonna show him!" and

proceeds to teach Maze, through modeling and explanation of behavior, how to ring a bell with her teeth, climb up onto the bed with her hoofs, and jump down again. The co-narrator states that, "Maze was a little bit afraid to jump". Eden responds intuitively with "It's okay! You're not gonna land on- on the hard ground. I'll catch you and you won't be hurt," and then adds, "He jumped and Eden caught him! And then he put him really, really gently on the ground."

Because the baby doesn't understand or know how, *so* the teacher teaches. In this early story the cause (state of not-knowing) and response (teaching) reveals Eden's understanding of attuned relationships between adults and children. In this sequence of events, Eden-as-character meets the criteria for levels six and seven (Persons), when her character has an explicit desire (to teach) and believes teaching is done through modeling actions. Then through showing empathy for the other character, by reassuring and encouraging Maze, she "levels up" to the eighth level of character development (Persons), because she is coordinating her actions and mental state with the other character who also has representational capabilities. In the next story, I will further describe how the levels of character development seen in Eden's stories seem to co-occur with her own self-concept development.

Mermaids Save Sea Turtles. The focus for this analysis is on how Eden uses the story for her own self-identity purposes. There was a high level of character development seen in this second story, which was expected since Eden's capacity to understand and express the thoughts, feelings and intentions of others was already developing in the previous story. However, it is worthwhile to examine the details of how her characters develop through the rubric, not only to lend strength of consistency to the finding but also to explore whether her stories can add to a more refined understanding of how story characters may reveal certain aspects of one's self-concept.

Eden's stories typically began by establishing characters and setting. This story was

particularly interesting because it was an early instance of Eden inserting herself as a character into a retelling of what she had seen in a media text, in this case, a documentary. While the previous story more closely matched real-life events, and could plausibly draw on the direct experience of concrete memories, this story draws on the more abstract experience of viewing the documentary. Eden's cognitive task in telling this tale is one in which she must imagine herself while recreating a memory of an indirect experience.

The characters were introduced within the same breath as they began to act. In this way, Eden skipped over the most rudimentary levels and started her characters (herself, the sea turtle hatchlings and the crabs) at the level of Agents. For example, Eden noticed a slow sea turtle and "picked her up and put her in the deep sea before the crab almost ate her". Her action had the purpose of helping the turtle avoid danger, while the sea turtle's purpose was to find the water, and the crab's purpose was to eat the sea turtles. Eden's character explains, "But one was going slowly so Eden really run to help her." The idea that the plight of the baby sea turtles required her personal action was already implicit in the first refrain of the story, becoming explicit with this statement. She responds to each wave of slow endangered turtles with a ritual-like calling for help.

Most of Eden's characters had expressive abilities. When working alone to save the baby sea turtles, she encouraged them to go towards the water, "And he was helping all of the sea turtles! He's like "Go! Go! Go!". The wave-like rhythm of this narrative was established through the repetitive action and characters' vocal expressions. Each new character was called in chorus to join in helping, only to find the task too large. "So he- so Anna and Sarah and Eden called for Elsa like this: 'Elsa Elsa'". In this story, compared to the previous one, Eden manages a large cast of characters. It seems her solution to the cognitive demand of the large cast is to create characters that are similar enough in voice and function as to be nearly interchangeable. The beach scene repeats

four times, with the successive arrivals of "Sarah", "Anna", "Elsa", and "Ariel", until the final verse when the narrative is pulled in a new direction by the co-narrator (myself).

As I try to convince Eden's character to transform into a mermaid, I move the story action toward the water's edge. Eden responds, "But Eden- but Eden and Sarah and Anna and Elsa did not run to the water." When my character (Ariel) questions Eden, she responds as a collective character "They said to Ariel: 'Ariel, we can't run to the water because it's too deep for us'".

Evaluations appear in both Eden's character's reactions and within her role as a narrator. As a narrator, she remarks in an aside, leaning in to the co-narrator, hushed and serious, "But there was only one problem… Three more who were going so slow on the seaweed… They really need helping. They really need helped." Eden rightly evaluated the turtle's slowness as a problem, and the emotional undertones of her whisper communicated the seriousness of the situation.

When Eden is resisting the mermaid transformation, she relies on arguments based in practical problems: "We need to be a mermaid but we don't have creature power discs for this because we don't have any. My Mom don't know how to make any and my even not my Mama Ann". The connection between her character-self and her actual self-concept is particularly clear when she speaks of her two actual mothers (and even they do not have the knowledge needed to make her a mermaid). Her strong resistance is a reaction that is not overtly emotional, but seems deeply rooted in aspects of her self-concept, as expressed through her physical self-concept. Eden seems attached to her actual physical form, and seems unsure of how to imagine herself as a mermaid. Then, when 'Ariel' suggests turning into mermaids, Eden quickly reacts with another assessment: the lack of creature power discs. It appears that Eden's character relies on actual Eden's knowledge of reality, and of other realities seen in the media. The creature power discs are imaginary objects from the television show *Kratts' Wild Adventures*, capable of transforming animated characters into animals. Eden's evaluation of difficulties carries an excited emotional tone.

The narratives provided opportunities for characters to manifest their intentions and their goals. The first most obvious goal of Eden's character was to save the baby sea turtles from the yellow crabs. She wasn't satisfied with saving just one, but was intent upon saving them all, "So Eden helped all of them. He carried one in the boat and he carried two in the boat and three in the boat and then they put them in the water and put another in the water and put the last one in the water." Eden's character explains to her helpers the need for speed, "Because the crab can go fast if you go slow. If you go slow, the crab will get there and he'll get closer and closer and closer and he'll climb up and eat the baby sea turtles. That's why we have to go fast". She correctly evaluates the seriousness of the situation (for the turtles) and her emotions ride the rollercoaster of the axis of speed vs. danger.

A second goal can be attributed to the actual child Eden, who seems to use the story narrative to confirm or contrast the way her own family is constructed with the way turtles "do" family. Her character Eden tells the baby sea turtles, "It's okay. Follow us and we will bring you to your family again, right?" Here she implies reunion with family in the water is the greater goal (not simply rescuing them from crabs). She seems then to speak as herself in another aside, "Because they do have a mama or a papa or there's two mamas or there's two daddies! Ask if they have both!" Here she makes explicit her belief that the turtles must have parents somewhere out there in the ocean, and they might have families that look like her own. Eden the child and the character Eden seem to have the same set of beliefs and act with identical intentions. Eden does not seem to separate herself from her role. It would make sense then that she is able to represent her own feelings and intentions within her character, if she is in fact telling the story from the perspective her actual self. To Eden, it does not seem odd that she is taking a first-person perspective from within a story. Her ability to mentally place herself within a fantasy seems to be connected to her ability to engage in pretense.

While in the Mermaids story Eden seemed to resist a transformation of her character from girl to mermaid, in this next final story we will see how Eden plays with the idea of her form, and uses a representation of herself in order to keep her character safe.

Wolf and Fox Tricks. For this next narrative analysis, I will focus upon intersubjectivity, emphasizing how character is used within the story. Because Wolf and Fox Tricks is a narrative about tricks and double crosses, it is interesting to use to examine the child's understanding of mind and embodiment of gender.

The narrative begins with the characters Eden and her friend Sarah in the forest, picking flowers. They are given personal names, and they are agentive in that they are occupied in an activity of their choosing. Soon it is made clear that they have a bigger goal in mind, "actually, for real, they were in the forest on their way to the co-the Tortuga!" The girls have expressive capabilities, announcing in unison "And Sarah and Eden said: "we're on our way to the Tortuga! Yeah! Let's go to the Cartuda!" They also have preferences: "They were at the Tortuga and were picking white flowers and pink flowers and yellow flowers and purple flowers and (inaudible) flowers. Those are Sarah's favourite colours and also- and also Eden's favourite colours!"

Then the villains of the story are introduced, Fox and Wolf. Although they are not given personal names, it quickly seems as though their appellations ought to be capitalized. Fox is given individual characteristics, in that he is tricky yet "he doesn't wanna have a fight with Wolf…because he knows he's the strongest." In the initial moments of the narrative some characters are more developed than others. It appears that the more the character is involved in the action and the plot of the story, the more words are spoken about the character, and the details of personhood are uncovered gradually through more talk.

The evolution of Wolf's character is linked to the amount of time that he is active in the narrative. For example, when Wolf is introduced, his defining features are that he is big and bad,

and bigger than Fox. These are all external features, and his expressive capabilities are limited to ordering Fox to trick Eden and Sarah: "Fox, you go trick Eden and Sarah". When I question Eden further about Wolf's intentions, Eden reveals that "he wants to eat them". Wolf's expressive capacities are limited throughout the narrative, and towards the end he is voiced by the adult co-narrator, however Eden-as-narrator devotes a large proportion of her thinking aloud to Wolf and the consequences of his potential actions, demonstrated in the following example:

> "You don't have to do that, Aviva! The wolve can't blow our Tortuga down. The Cartuga's strong! The wolf can't blow down! The Cartuga- the Tortuga is too strong for the wolf! Well, even if they scratch up, at least it will not break because last time it broke was because there was a big monster scratched it, but now, I put tape on so if there's any monster, we have to fly away. It's so high that we'll have to go- we'll have to fly off (inaudible) find a place where the monster will never find us if we see one, but with a wolf you don't have to do that because the wolf can't lift on the- the Tortuga- but it can still scratch the Tortuga door… but if it scratches, we don't have to worry scratches. If it, like, scratches, then we definitely have to go away. If it like, scratch everywhere, the Tortuga will definitely have to go somewhere place else and fix it up, somewhere where they'll never see us."

Wolf's personhood is revealed not by his own voice, but through the child's imagining him at the level of Person, Nicolopoulou and Richner's (2007) highest character level. Wolf's desire to eat her (them) leads him to act, by scratching and possibly opening the door, which will in turn cause other persons (Eden's characters) to take actions in the narrative. Wolf-as-Person is perhaps too powerful or frightening to manifest directly, even as a far-off character. He is removed in space, and then almost by degrees as we would think of cousins. Voiced by the adult, he does not take agentive space within the child's own mind; instead, he occupies the imaginal field where the details of the story are shadowy possibilities. Although the field of possibilities is intimate by virtue of being within the mind of the thinker, the manifestation (or enactment?) of the character, through voice and shared understanding, is perhaps more vivid to the child than if Mom takes on the role.

As the narrative continues to develop through the plot line, the character's desires, beliefs, and intentions are coordinated with their actions. The highest level of character development, Persons, is achieved as this narrative's plot centers upon trickery and a double-cross. Nicolopoulou and Richner (2007) define this level as "…representational beliefs or desires [that] are contrasted, equated, or coordinated either with reality, with those of other persons, or with their own previous or future representations" (p. 418).

Eden-as-narrator explains the double-cross to the co-narrator (in preparation to play the role of Fox), "And you have to say: 'hello, Sarah and Eden, I'm here to trick you but I'm actually not gonna trick you, I'm going to trick wolf because I'm just going to pretend to trick you, so don't be mad'. That's what you have to say." Next Eden's character thinks of the trick "Maybe you can trick him if you say you tricked him and how something to pretend like a girl to make him like a shape like a little girl when he's dead, and you give it to wolf and make sure it's already dead and give it to wolf and wolf will eat it up. Make sure you make one just like Sarah! Make the same match as Sarah, alright?... Because that is when he's going to think it's really Sarah when it's actually a piece of wood. What looks like a real Sarah who's dead."

Eden's character then asks another character to bring paint, brushes and wood, and she busies herself 'making' painted wood likenesses of herself and Sarah. Again, when the character bringing the supplies questions her activities, she replies:

"We're making a piece of wood out and we're going to paint it to shape like me and we're going to give it to wolf, pretend it's real because he wants to fight with Fox and I don't want that to happen to Fox because I wanna do it- I want Wolf to know this is really actually a real girl, what he thinks like, but it's actually a piece of wood of Sarah, but I really want to trick wolf like- because Fox wants me to help me have an idea to not make Fox have a fight with Wolf."

In these extracts of her narrative we are witness to the Eden's capacity to represent her imaginal world in the narrative, keeping in mind her own desires, manifested through her character, as well as representing the desires of Persons she has created (Wolf), whom she keeps at a certain

mental distance from her core self-concept. This tension between the fully represented character Eden, and her imagined antihero Wolf who is less material, yet still active and important, is interesting as it is two different ways of representing persons within the same narrative.

In sum, across the stories analyzed for this thesis, Eden consistently used a high level of character development (Persons). Most of the characters she used in her stories were developed enough to have internal states of their own, and to coordinate their actions with their intentions and with reality. When looking strictly at the level of character development achieved for any character in the narrative, there seemed to be a ceiling effect, such that even in the *Baby Zebra Maze* story, the earliest one produced, Eden portrays a character at the highest level of development-Persons. Therefore, a more accurate picture of the character development in these stories should take into account other contextual features. Adult scaffolding, storytelling practice, maturation of language and cognition, length of narrative and number of characters all seem to contribute to the complexity and development of the narrative as a whole, as well as the characters.

Although the rubric I used implied a more linear developmental trajectory than what I was able to identify in Eden's stories, the examination of character development provided valuable insights into how her mental constructs (such as self-concepts) and her implicit theories of mind were developing. That the stories become more detailed and structurally complex over time, also, of course, emerges with the development of being. It may not be so much that Eden acquires theory of mind – understanding of internal states in herself and others –, more that she acquires the language skills to express more and more details of how she experiences herself and the world.

Gender Identity

Having discussed above the ways in which Eden's stories reflect her identity and self-concepts, and having discussed how I see co-construction of self and identity occurring through my scaffolding of the stories, I will turn now to an analysis of how my daughter and I both express fluid gender identities in a metaphorical pas-de-deux with one another.

The use of personal pronouns. As partners in parenting and members of the LGBTQ community, my spouse and I are careful with how we use pronouns, adopting the inclusive "they" when gender is either unknown, unclear, or unimportant. We both present as female, and yet we share gender roles in our family. This means that we are both equally involved in childcare and in paid work over the long run, though for smaller intervals our gendered roles in the family may mimic traditional cis-gendered heteronormative gender roles. Eden's early years were a time when gendered roles were more defined along heteronormative lines. My spouse, being the mother who physically gave birth and life to our younger children, identifies as their mother, and I, being the spouse who sustained the family with paid work, identified in part with the traditional father gender role.

I return to this sense of fluid gender role here because as Eden grew through her early years, no one ever questioned her mother's position in relation to her, whereas mine was occasionally unclear. Eden's examples of what it means to have a female body includes a "trans-binary" gender role system. I embody for my daughter what second wave feminism imparted to me when I was a girl: girls can be and do anything boys can do and be. I saw no need to "correct" her when she used male pronouns in relation to me or to herself, although I did not use them myself.

In her stories, when I noticed Eden's male pronouns, I interpreted it as her exercising her will, and the power of words. I was also aware that many children's media feature male main

characters. Perhaps she was using the male pronoun because she was asserting that she was in charge? However, she also referred to herself in the third person as “them” or “they”, a solution that the current trans-gender community have largely adopted for dealing with unnecessarily gendered language. Of course, pronoun use is a normal part of languages learning, and I was also aware that Eden’s use of the male pronoun in reference to herself may have been part of her generalizing a language schema (Fivush, Habermas, Waters, & Zaman, 2011). However, I never considered her use of male pronouns as indicating a psychological problem or disorder. Eden accepts her physical form and details it in her description of the doll she makes for Wolf. She refers to herself as a girl, but her assumptions of what it means to be a girl are what I find revolutionary. She seemed to be assuming that her self, embodied as a girl, could have the power and position of a man. The pronouns she claims may give her psychic room to work out the facts and fantasies of being a girl-as-Person who will become a powerful woman.

Gender themes. Entangled with gender identities are notions of the composition of families. The family is a unit of analysis throughout developmental psychology and other disciplines (such as sociology, etc…). While it is generally acknowledged that families come in myriad forms, in practice, and for study, families tend to be thought of in heteronormative terms (Kearns, Mitton-Kükner,Tompkins, 2017). The basic biology of human reproduction instills in most cultures the notion that a family starts with a heterosexual couple, and grows with successive generations of couples and their children. However, in Eden’s family, there are representations of the heteronormative nuclear family, the newer “blended family” and the emerging phenomenon of lesbian and reproductive technology assisted families. Eden is not yet aware of these terms, but she readily engages with her concept of family in her stories. Gender roles within the nuclear family still exist within lesbian headed families, although studies do

support the notion that lesbian couples share gender roles (and duties) more equally than heterosexual couples generally do (Shechory, & Ziv, 2007).

Before there is gender, there is being a baby. No one questions the fact of chromosomes, and few question anatomy, but gender is a construction of our culture(s) and therefore more malleable than has been historically thought (Butler, 2015). In the *Baby Zebra Maze* story, I begin to intuit Eden's beliefs about a feminine gender. She portrays the teacher (herself) as knowledgeable, helpful, and nurturing, and myself ("baby zebra") as the recipient of knowledge, needing help and care. Eden refers to her character and the baby as both "she" and "he". Her pronouns seem confused and her concept of gender also seems indistinct. More important than the gender of the characters was the domesticity of the story. It seems as though *Baby Zebra Maze* is grounded in Eden's real family life, in that Eden expresses her role in relation to Maze as I express my role in relation to her in actual life. The storytelling process is uncomplicated and the action in the story unfolds harmoniously.

In the *Mermaids Save Sea Turtles* story, Eden exclaims that she is leading the turtles back to their families. She provides possibilities for their families: a mother and a father, two mothers, or two fathers. I was surprised to hear her contemplate that the turtles might have two fathers, because she has no direct experience of that possibility. It seems her schema of what a family is means there are two parents, and gender is not a determinant of an ability to parent. While she often would fantasize about having a father of her own, it seems she did not at that time make a connection between gender, sex and reproduction.

What emerges strongly from this story is a sense of Eden's agency. She believed the plight of the baby sea turtles required her personal response. She could not stand to watch the documentary, and then she created an alternative reality in her story, symbolically undoing the

harm she had seen done. While she clearly preferred the male pronoun in this story, does that mean she associates agency with masculinity? Or is it possible that she can acknowledge a more fluid sense of gender within herself, masculine and feminine simultaneously?

The gender theme continued into the *Wolf and Fox Tricks* story. In this story, I read how Eden experienced identity and self-concept coming together as gender in the body. Eden's female body defines her sex, but her gender is expressed in looser terms. Parallel to my experience of motherhood/fatherhood, my mother identity is certain only when there is no greater embodied claim to motherhood (Mama Ann). The presence of a "real" mother casts my identity into question. Eden's acceptance of the reality of my motherhood is necessary to my own feeling of motherhood. The social recognition of identity is important to the self-concept.

Chapter 5. Discussion

I turn now to the first research question, namely how Eden uses our shared storytelling to co-construct her identity, particularly her gendered identity. I discuss the findings in terms of McLean et al's (2007) process model of narrative identity. This leads to my own self-analysis, revealing a source of my own resonance with themes of gender identity. The second research question concerns the possible cultural meanings of gendered identities for both Eden and I. For Eden, the wish for a father, and for myself my father's wish for a son have impacted greatly on our experience of gender within family contexts. I close this chapter with an exploration of the possible symbols of gender identity embedded within the *Mermaids Save Sea Turtles* and *Wolf and Fox Tricks* stories.

Narrative Identity

The process model of narrative identity (Mclean, et al, 2007) provides a way to understand the negotiated elements of the interactions between parent and child during their

storytelling. The model considers the listener's reactions and feedback as crucial components of the identity-construction process. In their theorizing, Mclean et al. (2007) suggest that when one tells their life-story, the details that are included depend upon how the listener reacts (or their imagined reaction), and the successive retellings of one's story strengthens those aspects of identity that are repeatedly told.

These ideas are compatible with Piagetian ideas of how concepts (schema) are formed and how learning occurs through the assimilation and accommodation of information into those mental concepts (Piaget, 1955). I was particularly struck by how Eden coped with a heavy cognitive load in the *Mermaids Save Sea Turtles* story. As she retold the story of what was happening and what needed doing to each new character-helper, she was better able to explain in clear and sophisticated language. The repetition seemed to give her time and opportunities to work out which details which were important to include, and how she was going to convey them.

Though the stories often contained many characters, Eden was central as both the narrator and a character. As noted, all of our stories were stories of Eden's self, as they were initiated by her, originated in her experiences and ideas about the world, told from her perspective, and starred her as main character. While she was the main protagonist, I played all the supporting characters (friends, companions, advisors) as well as all the villains (mostly wolves and foxes, whose villainies took the forms of deceptions and predations). In supporting her as a listener and co-narrator, I functioned as a cultural conduit. Through praise and interest, I revealed what I valued, and through silent acceptance, I held open possibilities for self-expression.

While I was aware to some extent of the sociological function of the parent-child relationship, embracing theories such as Bronfenbrenner's socio-cultural model (1994) and Rogoff's (2003) thesis that culture is embedded within everyday parenting practices, I was still

surprised to see the extent that our storytelling episodes resembled a sort of crucible of culture. Ideas whose origins are traceable to media, older stories, fairy and folktales of my own childhood, and Eden's actual experiences, were ground up and transformed into a shared understanding of how things are in this place and time.

What intrigues me most about Mclean et al's (2012) process model of narrative identity lies in the potential it has for developing an integrated line of thinking between identity and self-concept. As the storyteller adjusts their self-story to the context, do they become themselves? This is exactly what is suggested when the authors titled their paper "Selves creating stories creating selves" (Mclean et al., 2007). It is not difficult to extend the logic that a self who creates a story of the self is indeed creating themselves to the idea that the listener is responding to the *identity* the author-self is presenting. By reacting to my daughter's identity presentation embedded within her self-stories, I am, through this logic, giving her feedback that she then uses to modify or adjust her self-concept.

Co-construction of identity. Because of the social nature of identity, it is interesting to return to Erikson's psycho-social stages (1975). Despite confusion over the terms 'identity' and 'self-concept', and that some researchers consider Erikson's use of the term 'identity' to be closer in meaning to the term 'self-concept' (Oyserman, et al., 2012), the psycho-social stage he observed for preschoolers seems to hold true in Eden's stories. According to Erikson, the preschool child is involved in the psycho-social crisis of initiative versus guilt. The successful navigation of this crisis leads the child to develop a sense of purpose. In Eden's stories, I observed how her character took the lead, initiating the actions that drove the story forward. My supportive role was only accepted when I complied with Eden's vision, and I was emphatically denied power to directly lead the story. It appears that initiative and purpose are closely related

in Eden's stories. This may also be an example of the relationship between a socially-driven behavior (taking initiative) and an internal characteristic (having a sense of purpose). The stories seem to provide an interface between the internal world of the self and the external social world we have in common.

Identity is a social construct, and so is language. We are able to learn language through a juxtaposition of reality and words, which gradually take on personal meanings. Vygotsky's (1966/1977) lectures about how language itself works to loosen up reality and allow for symbolic thinking, creation and imagination point to the possibly crucial role imagination plays in the construction of identity through story. Eden makes several references to the similarities between a) her stories and pretense, and b) reality. Reality is never far. For example, when Eden resists the mermaid transformation, she relies on arguments based in practical problems. Stories are a complex form of language. Where single words stand in for objects in Vygotsky's theory, by extension a story can be a metaphor for something real, though abstract, like one's self-concept or identity. By contributing my ideas to Eden's stories, and reflecting back to her my understandings of her characters, I am participating in her construction of self as well as her (and possibly my) identity.

Identity scaffolds identity. A persistent concern I have has been one of maintaining the authenticity of Eden's stories, that is, how our storytelling represents her actual self to me, as a parent, and as a researcher. To view my child in a certain way means that I will reflect that vision back to her, impacting upon her development. My own beliefs lead me to desire freedom for myself, and to extend this freedom to Eden, that is, to allow her to unfold herself in an idyllic romantic field, protected, and fulfilled. This basic drive to nurture (unto perfection) is both my

motivation and my Achilles heel, as I find it difficult to accept, yet unavoidable, that I impose myself upon her (Jipson, 1995).

However, because I had decided to allow Eden to lead the activity, by waiting for her to initiate the storytelling, it seems I had inadvertently handed her enormous power. If I had fantasized about transmitting my cultural heritage (like a lump of static information) to my daughter, I was disabused of that notion immediately. Eden took hold of the story content that mattered to her, and transformed the ideas she was immersed in by her own experiential lens. However, I also challenged Eden's lead quite often. I noticed I have a habit of asking questions, of rephrasing and extending her ideas, and of providing focused attention (active listening). As an example, in the *Baby Zebra Maze* story, my assigned role was as a support character. I was the baby who needed teaching, and Eden was the necessary teacher. As I tried to give my character a voice, Eden quickly reminded me that zebras don't talk, and better yet, Maze was a baby zebra and couldn't even neigh yet. Eden was the one who taught Maze to shake or nod her head for "yes" and "no". My most common form of scaffolding took the form of allowing Eden to lead.

In *Mermaids Save Sea Turtles*, I am all of her friends, and Princess Mermaid Ariel. I make a pretty compliant friend but I am less malleable with mermaid powers. As Ariel, I pushed Eden's transformation from girl to mermaid, which she was afraid of. At the time of telling, I remember feeling excited about the plot twist offered by the arrival of Ariel. In the transcript, it is clear I felt some connection with the character, as I took more vocal space. In order to encourage Eden into the role I wanted her to have, and into new plot territory, I bent the unspoken rules of our conversational turn taking. By filling my turns with multiple parts to the story, I was able to advance the plot beyond Eden's points of resistance. She accepted the

mermaid form in the end because I made it happen, and I appealed to her vanity in order to soften the forcefulness of taking more than my usual share of space in the story.

Why was it so important for me to force the story in a particular direction? Why did I want for her to imagine herself as a mermaid? What does the mermaid symbolize for me? As a girl, I played the Little Mermaid fervently. I was enchanted and fey and not of this world, unrelated to the mundane. I would dream I could breathe the water and feel and see through the murk of the lake. In *my* story, I never made a bargain with a witch, never lost my voice for useless legs, and never turned to sea foam for the sake of unrequited love.

In *Wolf and Fox Tricks*, I am her mother and co-narrator, and I am the Fox and the Wolf. I like foxes, and wolves, and tried to make them seem less bad in our stories together. I regretted the characterization of wolves as villains, rampant in children's books, and I was also concerned that Eden should fear canines. Growing up, I would read Thornton Burgess' folktales about Reddy Fox on my way to nature-filled summers in the woods, and I wanted Eden to love those tales too when the time came. So, I played the fox to be less bad than the wolf. But, I discovered Eden is not afraid of bad guys (though I am). She wants bad guys to be bad (but I don't)!

Self-Analysis

Eden situated herself as the hero of her stories, and by default I played the other characters. If the way she played the hero tells us something about her self-concept, then the way I played her support cast must also tell about my own. During the storytelling, my salient identity was the one of mother, and to a lesser extent I was researcher. My research identity became dominant upon analyzing the stories and writing this thesis. My self-concept as 'mother' includes characteristics such as patience, other-directedness, and nurturance. Staying true to these characteristics is the motivation at work in my approach to supporting Eden's development.

I am the baby zebra. “How boring”. That was my main thought during the storytelling, the transcription, and the first few interpretation attempts. Even now I am not in love with this story and I keep trying to make sense of it, as it is so unlike all the other stories Eden likes to tell. I tell myself the story is important as an example of the early stories. It serves as a baseline of some sort. Yet I am not interested in making comparisons or measuring development, and no baseline is needed. Why is it such a bore to me to play a baby? As a baby zebra, I have no say. During the storytelling I try to speak, then neigh, and I am firmly told “no”. I am frustrated when I cannot engage in talk. I can only embody the character, and cannot contribute to the direction of the plotline. I am a powerless actor, and I am not happy about it. I wonder if Eden could feel my reluctance? Did she begin to favour more action-packed themes because I was not so enchanted with the scenes of ordinary life? Now I wonder if these nuances of emotion could be part of my cultural influence upon her.

I must pause to explain here that I experienced trauma in childhood that is not part of my daughter’s experiences. I had long separations from each parent in early childhood, the pain of which reunion only patched. Never erased or forgotten was the transformation I felt in myself as I measured time in befores and afters. As I learned to read, I was able to remake my emotional life with a measure of control. As the Little Mermaid, I could stop time, and refuse to change. In my pretense, I stole moments outside of time, when there was no before and after. I may have responded to the mermaid image with an intensity Eden wasn’t expecting. For a moment she became my audience, and was swept up in my story. Maybe her resistance to transformation was her way of expressing a fear of being overcome by someone else’s story? It seems natural to want to protect the self-concept from too much change, as a stable sense of self is important to wellbeing (Oyserman, et al., 2007)

Gender

In this next section, I discuss how Eden and I construct gender identities through story characters' roles, language, and a mutual manipulation of symbols. As Eden is engaged in the task of individuating from her mother, she is also like her mother. Childhood sexuality has been most directly theorized by psychoanalytic approaches, though the effects of historical cultural norms on these theories are profound. Judeo-Christian, Euro-centric, heteronormative culture continues to permeate both developmental and analytic psychological theories. Because the Oedipal story does not seem to fit, I will risk an interpretation of Eden's gender arising from what she shows it to be in her stories. I will focus on Eden's gender identity expression because she seemed to approach gender concepts in several ways, repeatedly, throughout the stories. The juxtaposition of Eden's gender fluid identity against my own colors both in the light of co-construction. Our gendered experiences, revealed in these stories, can serve as an example of how a cultural construction such as gender takes the form of an identity from one's immersion in particular constellations of experiences and ideas. Eden, while developing an understanding of family composition and the differences between her own and others' families, is also internalizing the gender roles expressed by her parents. One of those gender roles, mine, has become more flexible as a direct result of being the 'mommy-daddy'.

Children are reported to have sorted out their genders at a very young age (Kalbfleisch & Cody, 1995). While my mother raised me to firmly believe in the equality of women and men, my gendered identity in relation to my mother and father was still quite traditional. I was aware that my father would have preferred a son, and that he chose to share his love and knowledge of music and art rather than sport with me because I was a girl rather than a boy. It bothered him that I would learn to put worms on a hook and catch fish with his angler friends. He refused to

allow me to play the saxophone (his instrument) because he believed it too sexual an instrument and thus inappropriate for a girl. Between both my parents' conceptions of gender, I found a middle ground. I was proud of my girlness, held all boys in contempt, and misunderstood sexuality to be inappropriate for girls. However, I found in my father a mind like my own, in that he was an artist, musician and poet, though he could only see me through the veil of my sex. I yearned for a deeper connection with him, just as Eden yearns for a father of her own.

Possible Symbols of Gender Identity

In the next section I turn to a description of Eden's use of symbols. The hermeneutical tradition of interpreting symbolism is recursive: Initial interpretations serve to illuminate an understanding of the text, which in turn serves to reflect the light of new understanding onto the self in relation to the text. In this way, both the self, as well as the understanding of the text, are transformed through the act of interpretation (Thayer-Bacon, 2003).

The mermaid transformation. The mermaid's transformation is a rich example of the closeness of the embodied identity and self-concept. In this passage of the mermaid story, my interpretation of several symbols and how they relate together leads me to a more nuanced understanding of Eden's resistance to the transformation. At first her resistance baffled me, as from my own perspective what could be better than being a mermaid? What I did not realize at the time of telling was that, in my childhood, I used the mermaid symbol as a way to avoid transformation – which I found frightening. However, Eden's avoidance of the transformation is perhaps motivated by her valuing her embodied identity as girl.

In our culture, the ocean is a symbol. Currently, climate change dominates the collective consciousness, and the ocean is a source of hurricanes and tidal waves. The wild ocean, the polluted ocean, the endangered ocean, and the rising ocean all engender an unease, apprehension,

and unpredictable sense of danger. In Western mythology, the ocean is a woman. Tides ruled by the moon are likened to menstruation, the water itself with emotions and the womb, and I wonder how connected these images are to Eden's understanding of what it is to be a 'girl'. In the Mermaid story, Eden said that she and her friends did not run to the water because they were afraid of the deep water. Deep water has characteristics that can lead us to imbue it with a sense of emotion. In the deep, feet no longer touch the ground; floating in deep water you lose the ability to breathe through nose and lungs, becoming infused with liquid like a feotus. Could it be a symbolic reversion to an earlier state that Eden finds frightening? My first interpretation of the mermaid story was that Eden may reject the mermaid form because she does not want to belong in the ocean, in the gender category of women and girls. I thought she might be afraid of drowning in the larger more adult gender, that to be a woman or girl was dangerous. Upon further reflection, I realize that is related to my own childhood fears.

An alternative explanation for Eden's reluctance to be transformed into a mermaid is that she may view the mermaid as vulnerable, like the baby sea turtles are vulnerable, as they all belong to the sea, their mother. From her preschooler's point of view, she has just become something more than a baby, so why would she give that up? Being a girl is perhaps exciting and powerful enough for her. Eden seemed attached to her actual physical form, and seemed unsure of how to imagine herself as a mermaid. Earlier in the story Eden had established that she was a girl (though she used male pronouns), and that all her friends were girls and princesses. Even though her motivation to save the baby sea turtles was urgent, when the princess Ariel arrived on the scene, Eden sought reassurance that Ariel was in her girl form, not mermaid. It is possible that Eden's self-concept as an older, competent child is inseparable from the reality that she has the body of a girl.

I am used to interpreting the symbols in my own fantasies and dreams. Symbols arise from the pre-conscious mind and are interpreted by the conscious mind (Hopwood, 2017). They are personal. In Jung's formulation of the collective unconscious, archetypes are symbols accessible to all members of a culture; yet, when analyzing a dream, all symbols signify some aspect of the self (West, 2017). Knowing this, it is likely that my interpretations illuminate details of my own gender identity. However, because we constructed the stories together it seems reasonable that Eden would have left some trace of herself in them.

The doll and the wolf. The passages concerning the doll and the wolf, found in *Wolf and Fox Tricks*, provide a second rich example of the emotional language of symbols. The details of the body found in Eden's *Wolf and Fox Tricks* story affirms that her embodied experience is one of being a girl. She makes the wooden dolls to stand in for her need to be foolproof ("I want Wolf to know this is really actually a real girl") and she lists all the body parts she can think of:

> "Yeah, because I'm gonna just show him like a- you know- piece of wood and make it shaped and then we, uh, paint it with a blue skirt with Elsa on it and Ana on it like, like my nightgown and Sarah has one too. He has a [inaudible] on him on his belly now and we're going to make brown hair like dark brown- like, like light brown, like, like I have light brown and we're also going to paint his hands and fingers and also his feet. Yeah, and his toes, 'cause they have toes. And we're also going to paint his arms and legs and knees and also we're going to paint his belly! And his belly button… And we're also we're going to paint his back here, and also, we're going to paint his vagina, yeah' it's pretty funny… Also, we're going to paint his bum too"

The doll is so real that Eden seems to take up its point of view. She never lists the eyes, as though she were looking through them and unable to see them from her inside perspective. Her identification with the doll is supported by the fact that she offers her friend's doll for sacrifice before she offers her own.

"he's going to think it's really Sarah when's it's actually a piece of wood. What-what looks like a real Sarah who's dead… we're going to paint it to shape like me and we're going to give it to wolf, pretend it's real… I want Wolf to know this is really actually a real girl, what he thinks like, but it's actually a piece of wood of Sarah."

Though Eden refers to herself throughout her stories with male pronouns, and seems to have a traditionally masculine agency as the driver of the plot in her stories, she describes her body as female. She directs the making of a doll to represent her as much as possible, so much like her that even she takes on the doll's point of view. I am comfortable with interpreting these symbols as signifying Eden's acceptance of the physical reality of having a girl's body. But what could it mean that she is prepared to sacrifice this symbolic self, the wooden doll, to Wolf?

Don't break off all his teeth. Eden may also identify with wolfish qualities. Anger and frustration, the need to devour, all are potentially aspects of the shadow-self of Jungian theory (Perry, 2017). What does the sacrifice of this doll symbolize, and who or what does Wolf represent? Eden is gentle in her trick, insisting that biting into the doll doesn't harm Wolf too much: "No, he didn't rip off all his teeth!... Because it always broke one of his tooth he's… He only has one teeth what is missing down here." More interesting is that, at the time this story was told, Eden had lost one of her baby teeth, and this empty spot in her mouth was where she was pointing to in order to describe Wolf's tooth loss. This lends a certain power to the idea that Wolf may represent an aspect of herself, perhaps her badness, or her wildness, or "shadow" (Perry, 2017).

It is possible that while the doll represents 'a real girl' (Eden when she is good), the Wolf could represent her anger or Eden when she is 'bad'. Wolf is most threatening and active as a character when angry. Once Eden's character has tricked him, he pursues her into her fortress and scratches and howls at the door. In Eden's experience, her anger often overwhelms her. She is prone to shouting and glaring, and at the time of the storytelling, she ended the tale with a hit

to my nose. Eden's real actions are synchronous with Wolf's actions in the story, supporting the idea that Wolf represents an aspect of her self-concept.

Fox is another important character in the story, and yet it is difficult for me to see Fox as a part of Eden's symbolic world, as Fox is my character. Though Eden assigns me Fox, I bring him to life. Fox has an agency separate from the other characters, negotiating and questioning the plot, the tactics used, and voicing his own desires and fears. Just like the mermaid Ariel, when presented with a fox character, I could not help but take the role with a fervor and authenticity of real pretense. I played a trickster fox, just like the Reddy Fox character of my childhood (found in *Old Mother West Wind* stories by Thornton Burgess). A fox is not always good and has a little wolfish power, but is not nearly as frightening as Wolf.

Eden's storytelling reveals a freedom to explore her feelings and impulses in relation to my responses. Her caring for baby sea turtles is celebrated, her claim on a female body is accepted without shame, and her initiative in teaching Maze the baby zebra is natural and spontaneous. Simultaneously, she is apprehensive of being overwhelmed and she is sometimes very angry. Her gender expression of being a girl seems to encompass a full range of emotion, and an assumption that she is in control of her own story.

Limitations

In research reporting, the usual fashion is to present an argument or rationale, followed by a review of the literature and then a description of the research methods and findings. The impression given is that research is an activity driven by problems and problem solving. While I believe this is true, I also believe there is a place for intuition in research. I intuited that our storytelling would be valuable, beyond the value of the present moment. I was motivated to collect and record our stories before I ever had a thought of how I could use them. In a sense, the inspiration for the research came before I found a problem to solve. Working from the inside of the project (with data first) outwards towards research questions and a rationale justifying the research, however, has resulted in some limitations and creates a requirement for (even more) transparency. To further contextualize the research, I explore some assumptions that I have been engaged with throughout the process.

Is character representation really analogous to self-representation? I had originally thought it was, as the juxtaposition in time of the character and the person playing the character meant that the person was experiencing the character internally in their mind and thinking as their character would think. I have questions about that assumption now. Do we really lose ourselves in pretense and fantasy? Do we become the characters we play and tell about? It seems there is a kind of circularity in the argument, and there is no certain answer to this question. If I liken the mind to an ocean (a metaphor used often in Buddhist teachings regarding the nature of the mind), it would be ridiculous to ask which drop of water represents the whole ocean. Each drop contributes to the whole and is basically constituted of the same stuff. Can the metaphor extend to illuminate how the mind is the self and each self-representation, each identity, is essentially made of the same stuff? This line of reasoning would fit well with theories

emphasizing stability of the self. How could it also account for change? For now, I think that stories of the self, because they are meant to represent the self, do so. Yet I acknowledge the self may not be fully represented in any particular self-story.

The child's own interpretations of her stories are unavailable. Created at a time in her development when self-reflection is difficult to access, it is not possible to really know her own purposes in storytelling. What she wanted for me to know about her is a mystery. My adult interpretations are inter-subjective, and what I actually analyzed was my interpretation of her gender identity revealed through, for example, her pronoun choices and her understanding of her body. The concept of gender identity is a dominant lens through which I experience the world. However, identities are perhaps more visible than self-concept, being widely acknowledged to be social constructs. I presented Eden's gender identity as it was interpreted, and how it provoked my own. As well, having analyzed only three stories for this thesis might limit the definitiveness of the findings. It is possible analyzing all of the stories I have collected would result in a different picture.

Finally, the findings apply to the case described, a particular context at a particular period of time. Like the contents of a time capsule, Eden's stories belong to the past. Now, Eden is seven years old. She has been to primary school for two years and experienced a world of gender. She no longer uses male pronouns to refer to herself, and it seems the social norms regarding gender have had their influence on her outward gender expression. She is full of questions about her body and how babies are born, and has decided (for now) to adopt "from the baby store" rather than grow a baby herself. She has experienced questions from her peers, who at first were not sure who her 'real' mother is, but who have gradually accepted that Eden has two mothers.

Conclusion

In April we cannot see sunflowers in France,
so we say the sunflowers do not exist.

But the local farmers have already planted
thousands of seeds and when they look
at the bare hills they may be able to see the sunflowers already.

The sunflowers are there.

They lack only the conditions of sun, heat, rain, and July.

Just because we cannot see them
does not mean they do not exist.

by Thich Nhat Hanh

I still struggle at times with the idea of anatta or no-self. At times, I wish for an everlasting consciousness that will remain somehow me. At other times, I understand anatta to mean that when the aggregates that cause this consciousness to dissipate, my me-ness will also disipate. What will remain of my self are the memories I leave behind within others' minds, and my ways of being that my children have taken into themselves. My way of identifying as a gender fluid or bi-gendered mother, in particular, is more likely to continue, though modified through the lens of her experiences, through my daughter's particular ways of expressing her girl-ness and eventual woman-ness.

I wonder how my own mother's feminine identity lives in me. I can recognize her strength and fierce feminism that has shaped her life course, also shaping mine. I also recognize my mother's independent spirit as the source of my need to connect with others. Like a hungry infant, I cannot stand the thought of separation from my source of love. Perhaps this infantile yet real need to merge seamlessly with another is a drive that determines my lesbian sexual orientation, while my gender fluid identity may be sourced in my own mother's independent and

feminist identity. As a child, I remember my mother insisting that there was no difference between men and women that culture didn't put there. Physical differences did not matter, and mental differences were simply social constructions of patriarchy, and wrong.

As a mother of a daughter, I found myself often confronted with my feminist convictions, in conflict with my drive for harmonious personal connections. When Eden began using male pronouns, my partner and I made the conscious choice together not to correct her, and to see where her pronouns would lead her. It was a leap of faith, that whatever gender expression she chose would be right for her, even if she potentially would have settled on a boy's identity. Upon reflection, I now question whether Eden's gender expression can ever be fully separate from my own, given the close nature of our relationship and given my own gender fluidity.

Eden is witness to my more freely un-feminine gender presentation in the home setting, as she is also witness to the work I put into my feminine presentation before leaving home. Simply accepting her use of male pronouns, especially in the context of her stories of herself, imparts to her the right to express gender however she is moved to do so. Her stories show me that she is not confused about her sex, rather, that her gender expression and her body are concepts not coupled as tightly together as is usual in our culture.

The implications of my analysis of our co-constructed stories of the self are that storytelling does function as a way to bring together mental phenomena. One's identity is activated and presented to others, meant as an opening to greater understanding of one's self. The imaginative element in our stories did not obscure the processes of character development, and the examination of character development was useful for understanding Eden's possible self-concepts. Children's narratives can provide a rich description of their lives and concerns. A second implication concerns the notion of gender identity. There is some research on lesbian

headed households, and how their children develop into adulthood. Studies have found that these children are more likely (when adolescents) than those raised in heterosexual-parent households to experiment with a full range of sexual orientations and behaviours. Perhaps this study points to the possibility that children with gender-fluid parents may take longer to sort out their own gender-identity, as they may, like Eden, have more possibilities to internalize. When my spouse and I undertook to conceive Eden, I had not anticipated what it would mean to me to be the mommy-daddy.

References

Bavelas, J. B., Coates, L., & Johnson, T. (2000). Listeners as co-narrators. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 79*(6), 941-952. doi:10.1037//0022-3514.79.6.941

Bracher, M. (2006). Identity, motivation, and recognition. In *Radical Pedagogy: Identity, Generativity, and Social Transformation.* Palgrave Macmillan, New York.

Bronfenbrenner, U. (1994). Ecological models of human development. In *International Encyclopedia of Education, 3 2nd. Ed.* Oxford: Elsevier.

Bruner, J. (2004). Life as narrative. *Social Research, 71*(3).

Brydum, S. (2015). The True Meaning of the Word 'Cisgender'. Retrieved from *The Advocate* website: https://www.advocate.com/transgender/2015/07/31/true-meaning-word-cisgender

Degnan, C. C. (2014). The Queer and the Innocent: Rethinking Queer Theory's Child through the JT LeRoy Literary Hoax. *The Journal of Popular Culture, 47*(4).

DiCaglio, J. (2017). Language and the Logic of Subjectivity: Whitehead and Burke in Crisis. *Philosophy and Rhetoric*, *50*(1), pp. 96-118.

Durkheim, E. (1979). Childhood. In W.F.F. Pickering (Ed.), *Essays on Morals and Education.* Routledge.

Erikson, E. (1975). Configurations in play- clinical notes. In *Studies In Play*.

Fivush, R., Habermas, T., Waters, T. E. A., & Zaman, W. (2011). The making of autobiographical memory: Intersections of culture, narratives and identity. *International Journal of Psychology, 46*(5), pp. 321-345

Fivush, R., Haden, C. A., & Reese, E. R. (2006). Elaborating on elaborations: Role of maternal reminiscing style in cognitive and socioemotional development. *Child Development, 77*(6), 1568-1588. doi: 10.1348/026151005x57747

Fivush, R., & Nelson, K. (2006). Parent-child reminiscing locates the self in the past. *British Journal of Developmental Psychology, 24,* 235-251.Hammack, P. L. (2008). Narrative and the cultural Psychology of identity. *PSPR, 12*(3). doi:10.1177/1088868308316892

Halberstam, J. (2016). Trans* - Gender Transitivity and New Configurations of Body, History, Memory and Kinship. *Parallax*, *22*(3), 366-375, doi: 10.1080/13534645.2016.1201925

Halim, M. L., & Ruble, D. N. (2010). Gender identity and stereotyping in early and middle childhood. In J. Chrisler & D. McCreary (Eds.). Handbook of gender research in psychology (pp. 495–525). New York: Springer.

Hammack, P. L. (2008). Narrative and the cultural Psychology of identity. *PSPR, 12*(3). doi:10.1177/1088868308316892

Hopwood, A. (2017). Jung's model of the psyche. http://www.thesap.org.uk/wordpress/wpcontent/uploads/2015/08/ModelofPsyche.pdf

Immergut, M., & Kaufman, P. (2014). A sociology of no-self: Applying Buddhist social theory to symbolic interaction. *Symbolic interaction, 37*(2), 264-282. doi: 10.1002/SYMB.90

Jipson, J. (1995). Teacher-mother: an imposition of identity. In J. Jipson; P. Munro, S. Victor, K. F. Jones, & G. Freed-Rowland (Eds.) *Repositioning feminism and education: perspectives on educating for social change* (pp. 21-35). Westport, CT: Greenwood Publishing.

Kearns, L., Mitton-Kükner, J., & Tompkins, J. (2017). Transphobia and Cisgender Privilege: Pre-ServiceTeachers Recognizing and Challenging Gender Rigidity in Schools. *Canadian Journal of Education / Revue canadienne de l'éducation 40*(1).

Lillard, A. S., Lerner, M. D., Hopkins, E. J., Dore, R. A., Smith, E.D., & Palmquist, C. M. (2013). The impact of pretend play on children's development: A review of the evidence. *Psychological Bulletin, 13*(1). doi:10.1037/a0029321

Marinucci, M. (2010). *Feminism is Queer: The Intimate Connection between Queer and Feminist Theory*. pp. 125–126. Zed Books, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, IL

Massey, S. L. (2004). Teacher-child conversation in the preschool classroom. *Early Childhood Education Journal, 31*(4).

McAdams, D. P., & Mclean, K. C. (2013). Narrative Identity. *Current Directions in Psychological Science, 22*(3), 233-238. doi: 10.1177/0963721413475622

McKenzie, S. (2006). Queering gender: anima/animus and the paradigm of emergence. Journal of Analytical Psychology, *51*, pp. 401 –421.

McLean, K. C., Pasupathi, & M., Pals, J. L. (2007). Selves creating stories creating selves: A process model of self-development. *PSPR, 11*(3), 262-278. doi:10.1177/1088868307301034

Nicholson, S. (1971). The theory of loose parts: An important principle for design methodology. *Landscape, Architecture Quarterly, October.*

Nicolopoulou A. (2008). The elementary forms of narrative coherence in young children's storytelling. *Narrative Inquiry, 18*:2, 299–325. doi 10.1075/ni.18.1.07

Nicolopoulou, A., Barbosa de Sa, A., Ilgaz, H., & Brockmeyer, C. (2010). Using the transformative power of play to educate hearts and minds: From Vygotsky to Vivian Paley and beyond. *Mind, Culture, and Activity, 17.*

Nicolopoulou, A., & Richner, E. (2007). From actors to agent to persons: The development of character representation in young children's narratives. *Child Development, 78*(2), 412-429.O'Mara, A. J. Marsh, H. W., Craven, R. G., Debus, R. L. (2006). Do Self-Concept Interventions Make a Difference? A Synergistic Blend of Construct Validation and Meta-Analysis. *Educational Psychologist*, *41*(3), 181–206.

O'Mara, A. J. Marsh, H. W., Craven, R. G., Debus, R. L. (2006). Do Self-Concept Interventions Make a Difference? A Synergistic Blend of Construct Validation and Meta-Analysis. *Educational Psychologist*, *41*(3), 181–206.

Owens, T. J., Robinson, D. T., & Smith-Lovin, L. (2010). Three Faces of Identity. *Annu. Rev. Sociol*. *36*:477–99

Oyserman, Elmore, and Smith (2012). Self, Self-Concept, and Identity, in M.R. Leary & J.P. Tangney (Eds.) *Handbook of Self and Identity*. The Guilford Press. New York.

Paley, V. (1990). *The Boy Who Would Be A Helicopter: The Uses of Storytelling in the Classroom.* First Harvard University Press.

Perry, C. (2015). The shadow. Retrieved from http://www.thesap.org.uk/resources/articles-on-jungian-psychology-2/about-analysis-and-therapy/the-shadow/

Piaget, J. (1955). *The Language and Thought of the Child.* The World Publishing Company, Cleveland and New York.

Pinar, W. (1975). Currere: Toward reconceptualization. In W. Pinar (Ed.), *Curriculum Theorizing: The Reconceptualists.* Berkeley, CA: McCutcheon.

Rogoff, B. (2003). *The Cultural Nature of Human Development.* Oxford University Press, Oxford, New York.

Roth, F. P., Speece, D. L., Cooper, D. H., & De La Paz, S. (1996). Unresolved mysteries: How do metalinguistic and narrative skills connect with early reading? *The Journal of Special Education, 30*(3).

Saldaña, J. (2009). *The coding manual for qualitative researchers*. London: Sage.

Schmidt, M. (2015). Individuation and the self. Retrieved from *The society for Analytical Psychology* website: http://www.thesap.org.uk/resources/articles-on-jungian-psychology-2/about-analysis-and-therapy/individuation/

Shechory, M., & Ziv, R. (2007). Relationships between gender role attitudes, role division, and perception of equity among heterosexual, gay and lesbian couples. *Sex Roles, 56: 629-638.* doi: 10.1007/s11199-007-9207-3

Thayer-Bacon, B. J. (2003). The Historical Context. *Relational '(e)pistemologies'*. p.83-87, Education Source.

Hopwood, A. (2017). *Jung's Model of the Psyche*. Retrieved from The Society of Analytical Psychology website: http://www.thesap.org.uk/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/ModelofPsyche.pdf

Valle, R., King, M., & Halling, S. (1989). An introduction to existential-phenomenological thought in psychology. In R. Valle & S. Halling (Eds.), Existential-phenomenoligical perspective in psychology (pp. 3-16). New York: Plenum Press.

Vygotsky, L. (1966/1977). Play and its role in the mental development of the child. In M. Cole (Ed.) (1977). *Soviet Developmental Psychology: An Anthology.* White Plains, NY: M.E. Sharpe Inc.

Watling Neal, J., & Neal, Z. P. (2013). Nested or networked? Future directions for ecological systems theory. *Social Development, 4,* pp. 722-737.

West, M. (2017). Complexes and archetypes. Retrieved from *The Society for Analytical Psychology* website: http://www.thesap.org.uk/resources/articles-on-jungian-psychology-2/about-analysis-and-therapy/complexes-and-archetypes/

Williams, C. (Interviewer) & Butler, J. (Interviewee). (2014). *Gender Performance: The TransAdvocate Interviews Judith Butler* [Interview transcript]. Retrieved from The TransAdvocate website: http://transadvocate.com/gender-performance-the-transadvocate-interviews-judith-butler_n_13652.htm

Yeshe, T. (2001). *The Essence of Tibetan Buddhism.* Lama Yeshe Wisdom Archive. Boston.

Young Yun Kim (2007) Ideology, Identity, and Intercultural Communication: An Analysis of Differing Academic Conceptions of Cultural Identity, *Journal of Intercultural Communication Research*, 36:3, 237-253, DOI: 10.1080/17475750701737181

Zerubavel, E. (1997). *Social Mindscapes: An Invitation to Cognitive Sociology*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

Appendix A

Baby Zebra Maze (Screenplay)

By

Eden, as told to Gala

1. INT. EDEN'S ROOM. BEDTIME.

Eden has asked for a story with no pages. We are both sitting on the floor at the foot of her bed.

GALA
K, tell me your story, sweetie.

EDEN
And me too, we're gonna talk too.

GALA
Yeah, we're gonna talk together.

EDEN
So then- so then Eden- so- so the zebra- the baby zebra, first the baby zebra was lying beside me in the room.

GALA
(Chuckles)
Baby zebra wanted to know all about Eden's room. Okay, what's baby zebra name again?

EDEN
Uhh- Maze!

GALA
Maze the zebra. Oh, we love you, oh.

EDEN
I know Maze loves it cause it's really a cute name.

GALA
(chuckles)
It's a very cute…

EDEN
(interrupts)
That is what- meant a lot more to give the baby zebra the name. (Inaudible at 0:25), he called him Maze!

GALA
(chuckles)
I love that name for a zebra. And Maze was inside Eden's room and wanted to know about it. What did he do?

EDEN
Eden was coming in her room too! Well we can teach him something.

GALA
Okay.

EDEN
He teach him how to put teeth on a bell!

GALA
Dings on a bell?

EDEN
No, put *teeth* on the bell.

GALA
Okay.

EDEN
Eden was gonna show him!

GALA
Okay.

2. INT. EDEN'S ROOM. SAME

Eden begins to enact the story.

EDEN
K, here, here how it goes, Maze. Just put your teeth on the bell…

Eden holds the bell in her mouth. The bell rings twice

EDEN (CONT'D)
like this…

GALA
(chuckles)

EDEN CONT'D
And then you shake around!

Bell rings

GALA
(gasps)
and the bell started to ring

EDEN
Ring! Did it like this

Makes bell sounds

GALA
(chuckles)
Maze…

Makes bell sounds

EDEN
(interrupts)
You can try Maze now!

GALA (CONT'D)
…Maze wanted to try so Maze picked up the bell with his teeth…

Gala holds bell in teeth. Bell rings.

GALA (CONT'D)
…and he shook it and shook it and shook it and he make beautiful music

Makes bell sounds

EDEN
And then he- and then he teach them how to climb!

GALA
Oh!

EDEN
See here- here's how you climb, Maze! You just put one hand up and then put your feet up then another hand up and your feet up and they're on the bed! Wanna try it out?

Demonstrates as she instructs how to climb up on the bed

GALA
"Yes!" So Maze, put…

EDEN
(interrupts)
Maze! Zebras still talk. They nod their heads like this

Demonstrates a nod

GALA
Okay so Maze nodded his head and gave it a try. Puts um- one- the paw up? Hoof, right?

EDEN
The hoof.

GALA
One hoof up and then the other hoof up and then the back hoof and then the other back hoof and then "da, da, da, da!". Maze was a baby zebra in Eden's bed.

EDEN
Mm hmm

GALA
(chuckles)

EDEN
And then he'll show him how to get down!

GALA
Oh, how do you get down?

EDEN
With a little help

GALA
(chuckles) that's a good idea

EDEN
Maze, you can jump and I'll catch you!

GALA
Maze was a little bit afraid to jump.

EDEN
It's okay! You're not gonna land on- on the hard ground. I'll catch you and you won't be hurt.

GALA
Okay

EDEN
Don't worry, Maze. So he tried

GALA
And?

EDEN
He jumped and Eden caught him!

GALA
Oh! Lucky, lucky Maze! Have such a nice Eden to take care of him.

EDEN
And then he put him really, really gently on the ground.

GALA
Maze was very happy and wanted to have a cuddle.

EDEN
So, so, he put his hand, like this, on Eden and- and he- and he put his arms around his neck and he hugged him too.

GALA
Yeah. Cozy, cozy.

EDEN
And then- and then… and then Maze wanted to try one- play with Eden cars!

GALA
Yeah?

EDEN
Eden showed him how to do it.

GALA
K.

EDEN
Here it goes Maze. You just put one hoof on the car and then you roll it like this and then it rolls!

GALA
Oh!

EDEN
So she tried it out!

GALA
Perfect. Oh, so I'm just stretching a little bit. Maze put his hoof on the car and it rolled but then it rolled a little bit too fast and Maze fell down, "bonk".

EDEN
And, and he- and Eden said: “Maze! Are you okay?”

GALA
And Maze said “neigh, neigh”

Makes horse sounds

3. INT. EDEN’S ROOM. SAME

Eden explains, Gala gets confused.

EDEN
No he didn’t, he nods his head like this

GALA
Why can’t he make a horsey sound?

EDEN
He’ll see. He can’t- he’ll needs to be teached to be talking.

GALA
Oh.

EDEN
But he can nod his head like this or nod his head like this or say: “nay”!

GALA
K

EDEN
But he definite- but he doesn’t understand “nay” so, so, so he teach him how to do yes or no.

GALA
Okay. Maze needed a Band Aid on his chin

EDEN
Yeah.

GALA
Yeah.

EDEN
And I'm gonna need cream and a Band Aid on my toe, right here.

GALA
Okay, so tell me. What does Maze do after he jumps into Eden's arms?

EDEN
Uhh we already said that.

GALA
And then he gets a bo-bo.

EDEN
No, no, not that. Then- then he got a bo-bo when he was driving the car too fast, remember?

GALA
He was doing what too fast?

EDEN
Driving the car too fast.

GALA
Oh, that was so scary. Driving the car too fast. Going around a turn, up over the overpass, oh! Scary, scary.

EDEN
And then Eden put cream under him- under his chin on Maze and then he put a Band Aid on him

GALA
Right- 'cause he was driving the car with his hooves? And then it zoomed fast and fell down.

4. INT. EDEN'S ROOM. SAME

Eden's baby brother comes into the room.

BABY BROTHER
(squealing)

GALA
Come here! Come here, little one. Don't be mad at Eden. Just say "excuse me!"

BABY BROTHER
Excuse me, Eden, excuse me!

GALA
Eden's telling about the little zebra named Maze

BABY BROTHER
Gala?

GALA
Yes?

BABY BROTHER
I 'gon say goodnight!

GALA
Oh, but I'm gonna talk about zebra named Maze who was driving his toy car and he zoomed his toy car so fast that…

BABY BROTHER
(interrupts)
Woah (yell)

GALA CONT'D
…he fell down and got- and got a little bump

EDEN
Well that's my McQueen.

GALA
He was driving the McQueen

BABY BROTHER
I driving McQueen, that's mine!

GALA
Yes, that's yours.

EDEN
No! He wasn't driving McQueen, he was driving Mater because I give Mater…

GALA
(interrupts)
Okay.

EDEN CONT'D
…to him.

BABY BROTHER
Oh!

GALA
There you go.

BABY BROTHER
(inaudible)

GALA
But he got a bo-bo. What are we gonna do?

BABY BROTHER
(inaudible)

EDEN
So, so he put cream

GALA
He put cream

EDEN
And a Band Aid

GALA
And a Band Aid

EDEN
And then he feel much better.

GALA
Yeah. And he needs a kiss.

APPENDIX B

Process Coding: *Mermaids Save Sea Turtles*

Mermaids Save Sea Turtles

Data handling:

- Recorded spontaneous storytelling (03/31/15)
- Transcribed by research assistant
- Naïve reading July 11 & 12 2016
    - Transcription of comments and emergent themes/codes October 10, 2016.
- Creation of table October 16, 2016.

Legend: A = Adult, C = Child, B = Baby brother Adult speaking is italicized

Context notes: *Prior to this storytelling, Eden and I had watched a nature documentary on t.v. about sea turtles. I was motivated to show her the documentary, because she had watched an animated movie with a sea turtle protagonist, and often wanted to play "sea turtle". In the opening scenes of the documentary, hatchlings were digging their way out of the sand and traveling towards the sea. They crossed the tideline marked by seaweed, one of the turtles flipped onto its back, and a yellow crab grabbed it and carried it off. Eden was horrified. She shouted "did he eat him?" and we stopped watching the documentary. The story is co-created by mother and child as the mother prompts her child to elaborate her ideas and also contributes to plot development. Eden is narrating her characters' actions and speaks of her role in the third person. True to her habit at that time, Eden chooses to use male pronouns when referring to herself, while being clear that she is a girl.*

Story: unit of analysis	**Process Coding**	**Interpretation**	**Finding/Theory/Evidence**
Once upon a time…	Mother starts with familiar beginning	Scaffolding	
"k, I go on" Once upon a time, Eden was on the beach…	Child chooses to narrate. Setting Uses own name	Eden is telling a story about herself.	**Narrative identity**; we tell stories about the self to show and become who we are.
Ooo, she was on a beach…	Mother uses female pronoun Echoes child	 Motivating - Encouragement	Supportive relationship
…and there was baby sea turtles starting to get out of their nest from a sand nest	Character Action	Small, yet actively getting out of their nest	baby as active, agentic being
That's right, they were starting to hatch out of their eggs and they were climbing up through the sand to get up, up, up to the beach.	Elaborating	Mother scaffolding (recasts) language and cognition.	**Vygotsky**, the way language itself pries apart the word and referent and allows for increasingly complex or abstract thinking.
And then they went on the sand seaweed	Child narrates.	Building the story	Storytelling

Yeah	Back-channel talk.	Encouraging	support
and then the crab was there	Villain appears		Baby invokes need to nurture through their vulnerability
gasps.	Vocalizes suspense.	Encouraging, being audience	**Narrative identity** – social, needs audience/listener.
Then it flipped back on the sand and Eden helped her,	Protagonist. Action. Turtle female pronoun.	Eden does good deed (helps)	Like in dreams, all characters are facets of the self. **(Jung?), psychoanalytic.**
he	Eden uses the male pronoun …	…to refer to herself (when she is the protagonist).	**Narrative identity –** narrative process allows child to become, and experience from a male **gendered perspective**.
picked her up and put her in the deep sea…	Help/rescue. Risk taking.	Heroic Action.	Finding 2: Heroic action. We find out later that Eden is afraid of the deep. **symbol**
good	Backchannel talk	Agreement	support
…before the crab almost ate	Avoids predation.	Successful rescue.	Finding 2: theme of predation
her.	Sea turtle is girl.	perhaps Eden identifies with the girl-victim and also with the boy-protagonist.	**Gender identity** –vulnerability is female, heroic overcoming of fear in order to rescue is male
That's wonderful. Eden was doing all that good helping, making sure that -	Praise.	Mother values helping behavior.	**Cultural values** – Buddhist 8-fold path – Ahimsa (do not harm), and Right action **Relationship -** supportive
And he was helping all of the sea turtles! He's like "Go! Go! Go!"	Male pronoun Encouragement	Encouragement is a form of helping	Assumes the vulnerable are also capable, provides support first (before "rescue"). **Gender**
chuckles – good for you	Praises child <u>as protagonist</u>	mother values helping	**Narrative identity** – listener reflects back (agreement co-creates the identity) **Gender identity** – praising child for protagonist action, implies acceptance of gender flexibility.
And then there was one – One little sea turtle was starting to come out of her nest, but he was being so slow, so Eden's helping her lots!	Repetition & Elaboration Turtle pronoun mixed male & female Eden-protagonist is helping.	**Gender** is flexible?	Piaget – assimilation accommodation, **repetition** serves a **cognitive function** What about an identity function? **Narrative identity** – iterations of the story strengthens the identity
Yeah! And he put her in the sea. *Chuckles*. all of the sea turtles were in the sea!			
But one was going slowly so Eden really run to help her.			

Did Eden have a boat?	Extending idea Uses name, not pronoun.	Mother extending child's ideas by adding details and prompting child to think about "how"	
He didn't, he did not.	Male pronoun Child Protests	Child rejects mother's contribution	
He just put all the baby sea turtles in the water before the crab ate them.	Male pronoun Eden accomplishes rescue	Child is successful, this is "good enough".	
Good	praise	Mother values help, prevention of harm	
But there was only one problem…	Strategic narration	Child	
Three more who were going so slow on the seaweed.	Set up for repetition	Child wants to replay, re-experience, the act of saving/being saved	
Mm hm. They really need helping. They really need helped. *Sorry.* So Eden helped all of them. He carried one in the boat and he carried two in the boat and three in the boat and then they put them in the water and put another in the water and put the last one in the water.	Repetition of action	Child integrates mother's earlier contribution as her own.	Assimilation/accommodation (**Piaget and cognitive** aspects of the play)
But that was only one of the sea turtle nests and there were so many! And they looked down the beach – there was more and more and more sea turtles starting to dig their way out of their little nests.	Provides way to repeat the act of saving/helping, and provides a way to continue the story.	Mother's attunement to the child's desire for repetition	Scaffolding – Vygotsky. Mother provides just enough new to keep the play going, and to extend the task in the story just enough to provoke the child's thinking. **Cognition Vygotsky.**
So how's he gonna do all that?	Male pronoun	Child is thinking about the magnitude of the task	Child's thinking about the task is expanded, she realizes that the one-by-one rescue method so far will not work for multitudes. **Cognition - Vygotsky**
Eden needed help. She needed to call all of her friends to help.	a-Mother introduces the idea of asking friends to help. b-Mother uses female pronoun	a-Mother values cooperation, friendship b-Mother is referring the Eden the child, not just Eden the character.	Using character in story as proxy for actual child (**narrative identity**). So interesting that these purposes can be seen after the fact, but are barely conscious (pre-conscious)

			motivations when they are occurring
So there's also Sarah in the story too – Sarah on the story too. *Yeah.* So he's, so, so, so, he, he, yells saying: "Sarah!". Like this: "SARAH!"	Child inserts friend from real life into the story.	Reality and pretend have loose distinctions, blurry boundaries	Child is reaching into her real experiences to populate her narrative**. Narrative identity**.
Finding 1: The child's gender identity is flexible in storytelling.			
Finding 2: The child explores themes of danger (fear of predation), salvation (wish for rescue), and effective/Heroic action (agency). There is a gendered aspect to these actions & roles.			
Finding 3: The mother is attuned to the child, listening to the child's themes and building upon them. Scaffolding the child's psycho-social, emotional, and cognitive development.			
Finding 4: Media (culture) excited ideas within the child, that she revisited in story.			
Finding 5: There is a qualitative difference between storytelling and pretend play			
Legend: A = Adult, C = Child, B = Baby brother Adult speaking is italicized			
C: "Sarah, you have to help me with the baby sea turtle, I'm gonna go in the seaweed and the crab could get away two of them and I cannot get all of them. Can you please help me Sarah?" *A: "Yes, I will help the baby sea turtles. So what do we have to do?"*	Child tells friend to help, explains what she is going to do, asks for help to accomplish rescue of all the turtles. Adult voices friend character – agrees to help, asks for instructions (what to do).	Child makes an impassioned appeal for help emphasizing the task is too much for one person. Adult provides a clear summation of the request and asks for instructions – keeping the conversation going.	
C: "We have to pick up them and run fast as we can and put them in the water before the crab eat them. If we don't, the crab will eat all of them!" *A: "Okay, I will help them"*	Child provides clear verbal instructions, Adult and child are both in **pretense**	Both adult and child have entered pretense, each has a character to voice, and is speaking in character to advance the plot/action	
C: "I only got a few in the water" *A: "Well" (yawns) Two of us-*	child verbalizes the action, provides opportunity for suspense –	Form of narration	Adult is less interested in the heightened emotional experience of the pretense

	heightened emotion adult begins to respond reassuringly	Adult is tired and tries to reassure (bring down the level of emotion)	
C: "Sarah!" *A: Yeah, Sarah, gonna help!* C: Sa- *Baby brother is present and interrupts the play. He is listening and engaged and wants to understand the play.*	Child is yelling her character's friend's name! Adult responds, reassuringly,	Child is in pretense, adult is not. The dyad is becoming out of sync, as the adult begins to divide attention between child and baby.	**Family (sibling) dynamics** - some of Eden's subsequent behavior is in response to the adult's divided attention.
(B cries in background) *A: (Chuckles)* *B: "Sarah?"* *A: "Yes?"* *B: "We need to help the, the, the, the the sea turtles"* *A: "That's right"* *B: "Yeah!"* *A: "Yeah"* *Eden finds a pause and jumps back into the play-enactment and planning.*	Baby cries a bit for adult attention, then he repeats his understanding of the story so far, showing he has been listening to all of it.	Adult is attuned to baby, notices and understands that he is listening, and wants to understand too.	Eden is intent on getting her needs met, and waits and watches for any opening back into the loveliness of the adult's undivided focus.
C: And- and Sarah and Eden only could not do it o- not on their own. They only got a little bit more! *A: So they needed to call for another friend to come.*	Child narrates the action, and sets up the narrative to include more repetition.	Child is **extending** the pretense, experiencing the moment of rescue as much as possible	Rather than adding details to enrich the emotional experience of the moment, Eden seeks to sustain the experience through **repetition**. (This seems to be the limit of her **cognitive capacity** atm)
C: Yes- oh, and also there is- also there is, ahh- a person, what I don't know. *A: Oh, okay.*	Child introduces another character, but can't recall name	Child steps out of pretense to think	
C: Uh, Kai, you say, okay? *A: Oh, okay*	child offers to baby brother to say the name of the new character	Child seems to think baby brother will know the character she is thinking of.	For a moment here, Eden seems to show the egocentric view-point of the baby/toddler, forgetting her theory of mind knowledge. **Cognition** This could be evidence of the high cognitive demands the narrative identity process places on her.
C: "Oh Ana!" *A: Ah! Ana was there*	Child names the new character	Without pausing a heartbeat – she never meant to really include baby brother	

C: In the story too *A: Oh, okay.*	Child specifies the character is in the story as well as "here"	Confusing the line between real and pretense	**Invocation** of character by calling her by name, made her **present and real**! **Vygotsky** and language – symbolic thought. **Winnicott – playing and reality**
C: So Sarah and Eden say: "ANA! ANA!"; *A: And then Ana came fast as a flash and she said: "I heard you calling. What's going on?*	Child voices her fused character (Eden/Sarah)		The Eden/Sarah fusion occurs in story 2 as well The mother voices each new character as they are added to the story. The previous companion character joins the posse Eden-protagonist is collecting, and the protagonist has voice.
Finding 6: The child uses the repetitive structure/style of storytelling in her pretense play			
C: "We- we can't get all the baby sea turtles in the water. We only got a little bit and a few and we still can't do it! I asked for Sarah to help with me too but we couldn't. Can you please help us?" *A: "I would be very happy to help."*	Within pretense, child recounts task, and the efforts already made, requests help. Adult responds in character	Each time Eden retells the story up to now. Mother modeling a response she wishes the child would express more readily	The retelling/repetition gains clarity compared to #'s 33, 35, 50.
C: "First we have to pick them up and run to the water and- and put them in before the crab eats all of them. If we don't- if we don't put all of them in and-and don't help him, the crabs will just eat them all and they'll catch them!" A: "Okay, I will help. I will pick up baby sea turtles and put them in the water."	Child explains how to help.	Risk of predation clearly explained	
C: So Eden and Sarah and Ana picked up all of the baby sea turtles but there was even more nests! *A: What are they going to do now?*	Child narrates the action Adult asks open-ended question	Enactment Supporting the story and play	**Narrative Identity** – the narration is the enactment is the action that makes the identity "real" **scaffolding**
C: Oh and there even another person- Elsa! *A: Oh! What a good idea!*	Child adds character Encouragement and	Child wants repetition	

	praise.	Mother values good ideas.	
C: So he- so Ana and Sarah and Eden called for Elsa like this: "Elsa! Elsa!" *A: And Elsa heard them and she came running over right away and she said: "I heard you calling! What's going on?"*	Male pronoun Composite voice of three characters Calling to another character – in pretense Adult in pretense answers as new character	Reenactment	
C: "Ana and Sarah and me cannot put all the baby sea turtles in the water! Only a little bit! And also some because if we- if we have to pick them up and run to the water- if we don't, the crab will eat them all up!" *A: (gasps) "That won't do! I want to help. What should I do?"*	Statement of the problem – pretense, intense suspense emotions Adult responds to child's character within the pretense	The child feels responsible for the crab's predatory act. The adult is falling into the rhythm of the pretense (attuned)	Repetition helps the adult also anticipate what the child wants to experience, and the adult responses are becoming increasingly attuned to the child. **Scaffolding & attunement**
C: "You have to pick them up and then run to the water- wa- water" *A: "I can do that"*			
C: "And then you have to run fast, fast like a cheetah and fast like a flash	Child instructs within pretense Child add details within pretense	Eden prides herself on her ability to run very fast. "fast like a flash" is a phrase we have said before. And She has likened herself to a cheetah before (in real life)	Mixing pretense, and facts from reality. **Narrative Identity process.**
so the crab doesn't get you" *A: "Okay"*	Child adds thrilling detail Adult supports	Danger –predation can extend to the hero	The boundary between savior and saved is not clear.
C: "Because the crab can go fast if you go slow. If you go slow, the crab will get there and he'll get closer and closer and closer and he'll climb up and eat the baby sea turtles. That's why we have to go fast" *A: "Okay, let's do it"*	Child in pretense explains the need for speed	Child expresses the interrelatedness of protagonist's and villain's actions.	**Cognition** – understanding a reciprocal relationship based upon a quantity.

C: "And then they did it faster and Sarah and Ana and Elsa and me went so fast and pick up all the- all the baby sea turtles- but they're even more!" *A: (chuckles) more!*	Composite character narrated by child	Mother is beginning to tire of the repetition.	
C: One more nest *A: So what do they do next?*	Child limits number of nests Adult asks open ended question	Child senses mother's waning attention, and promises one more repetition	Attunement of child to mother – Eden negotiates for one more repetition when she senses the mother's attention is waning.
C: There is another person *A: Who?*	Responds to question about doing by adding another character	Child is using the same strategy that has worked so far	**Cognition** – schema theory
C: I don't know so I have to think! *A: Okay. How 'bout Kai?*	Child steps out of pretense – and sates the need for thought. Adult suggests including baby brother as a character	Child differentiates pretense from thought. Adult has not understood the child's meaning/need	Child herself notices a qualitative difference between playing-pretending and thinking in order to recall information. The adult has motivations as a parents that do not fit into the child's purposes at this moment.
C: What? Kai? *A: Yeah.*	Child is surprised by adult's suggestion	Interaction is between mother and child, not within the pretense.	It seems that the storytelling is not really and activity to be shared with a baby brother, but an **intimate activity** between the Child and her Mother – almost **private**.
C: No. *A: Please? It would be very nice.*	Child refuses to include baby brother, Adult pleads with child.	Mother values **inclusion,** Eden should include her brother because he is family, and is closer than friends and Disney princesses.	The storytelling is about **Eden's identity**, which includes her friend Sarah (who looks like her) and various Disney princesses.
C: No. So I'm going to think about a different person. It's not about Kai. It's a princess. *A: Oh.*	and declares the new character is a princess. The story is "not about Kai."		"It's not about Kai."
C: (pause) Arena! Who's Arena? *A: I don't know.*	Child recalls princess name incorrectly, Adult can't visualize who is in child's mind.	Eden assumes I can see in my mind, what she can see in her mind.	**Theory of mind** – ongoing development
C: Oh and Ariel! *A: Ariel! That a good- that's such a good idea cause she could go in the water and be a mermaid again and really help*	Child recalls princess name correctly. Adult elaborates on child's idea	Praise – mother values good ideas.	-Mother elaborates on the idea, sensing something novel enter the pretense. Novelty seems to bring renewed commitment to the activity of storytelling. -Mother likes the mermaid as a

them	Adult recognizes princess, praises idea.		symbol -Pop -media cultural influences – Ariel
C: But then she turned into a girl! *A: Yeah (yawns)*	Child plans: Mermaid princess character has fixed gender and form	Eden doesn't want her new character to be a mermaid. She is in girl form (like her)	**Gender identity –** Eden's characters that she speaks for are all girls, except for her namesake who is still "he". One can **"turn into"** a girl
C: Instead of a mermaid *A: Oh*	Child Clarifies /emphasizes Adult accepts	Eden wants to be sure – it matters to her	
C: So they all called Ariel like this- Ana and Eden and Elsa aaaand? A: Sarah	Child narrates, lists the composite character's names and elongates last syllable. Adult supplies forgotten name	Child is asking mother to remember the character's names. Adult supports child.	**Trust & Cognitive support**
C: Sarah called for… Ariel! Like, like this: "Ariel! Ariel!" *A: (chuckles) and Ariel came swimming out of the water and then changed from a mermaid to a girl and she had her legs and she said: "Yes everybody! I heard you calling! How can I help?"*	Child steps back into the pretense enactment. Adult narrates and steps into Ariel character	Adult and child have entered the pretense together and are responding to each other in character.	
C: "I need your help because me and Sarah and- and Ana and Elsa cannot, cannot pick up all the baby sea turtles and run to, to the- to the beach. We already tried, and then we got tired! And if we don't run faster to pick up the baby sea turtles and put them in the water, the crab will eat them all!"	Childs retells the plot to the Ariel character	With each iteration Eden has expressed the plot with increasing verbal skill	
A: "Crabs are so crabby! I don't like them at all. I'm going to help you."	Adult in pretense	Mother identifies with the mermaid character, and starts to play with language sounds.	
C: "I don't like them at all too" *A:"They have pinchy claws. Ooh! Ouch!"*	Child and adult have an exchange about their mutual dislike of crabs, in character	Shared values – dislike of villain.	Culture – shared values
C: "Yeah. I don't like			

them either."			
A: "Let's go and pick up those sea turtles together. Everybody! One last time! We'll pick them all up and we'll bring them to the water!		Mother is feeling pressed for time and wants the story to come to a close.	
And then I will turn back into a mermaid and I will- I will swim with them and bring them to safety"	Mother introduces a potential ending.	Mother wants to finish the play/story.	A potential resolution *should* result in safety (culture of happy endings).
C: "Yeah because the water is their home. If you any see any jellyfish, bring them and they'll follow me, and they'll eat the jellyfish, if you ever find them." *A: "Okay"*	Child displays knowledge of sea turtles	Turtles live in the sea and eat jellyfish.	Eden associates safety with *home*. Home is also where we find food (sustenance). Winnicott – the house symbolizes the body…can this idea be extended to "the home symbolizes the identity?" – thinking about her largeness and fluidity. Even her characters – she contains multitudes.
C: "Oh and watch out for sharks! Sharks really like to eat baby sea turtles, dislike, dislike crabs!" *A: "Aw sharks won't come anywhere near me because I am a princess mermaid"*	Child introduces new danger Adult reassures child	Eden is fighting back against the impending ending.	
C: "And so we gotta be fast" *A: "we gotta be fast. I can turn you all into mermaid and we can swim together and all together keep the baby sea turtles fast"*	Adult echoes child	Emphasis on togetherness	Support (emotional scaffolding)
C: "Well there's one problem: the only way you can get us to mermaids, we're gonna need creature power discs but we don't have that!" A: *"I have King Triton's- uh- trident and I can do it and then when we're all done helping the turtles, I can turn you back into girls and bring you back to the land"*	Child refers to creature power discs Adult refers to King Triton's trident Adult reassures child (back into girls).	Still resisting the looming ending. Child and adult are using cultural references to communicate ideas Mother assumes the transformation is the scary part, tries to reassure Eden it is not	**media references** **Transformation** by trident – maybe frightening

		permanent.	
C: "You're right" *A: "Alright, let's go!" And so they all picked up as many sea turtles as their pockets could hold and their hands could hold and their hats could hold and their skirts could hold and then they ran to the water so fast"*	Child affirms consent to transformation Adult uses repetitive cadence	Feels ritualistic with the consent and cadence	Transformation **ritual** Narrative **identity**
C: But Eden- but Eden and Sarah and Ana and Elsa did not run to the water. A: What did they do?	Composite character balks Adult asks open-ended question	Eden invokes the power of the group and refuses to get into the water.	
C: They said to Ariel: "Ariel, we can't run to the water because it's too deep for us. We need to be a mermaid but we don't have creature power discs for this because we don't have any. My mom don't know how to make any and my even not my Mama Ann-	Composite character speaks within pretense – explaining the **dilemma.**	Eden suddenly balks at the thought of transformation into a mermaid. She returns to her idea of creature power discs, and that we don't have them.	Fear is Eden's impossible obstacle. (**Moral** identity). Mama Ann is powerful (more than both of us). Eden is in fact afraid of deep water at the time of this telling. And she is afraid in the play – **it feels very real** to her.
B: Eden- (inaudible) C: Hm? What? A: What's that, sweetie? B: (inaudible) C: What Kai? A: Tell us again B: (inaudible) C: No this is my spot. A: Oh you don't- you wanted to switch places. Come snuggle me over this way B: No. A: But we're going to finish our story first, okay? B: But I just want to sleep there A: But you can sleep here, on me B: No, not you, that's Eden C: No. A: But Eden is comfortable B: No! A: No, no, don't push C: (yells) ow! D: Kai! A: Don't do that, Kai. Sweetie. Don't do that. This is Eden's little place and this is your little place. Everybody is happy. Happy, happy, happy, happy. B: No, no, no, no, no, no A: Did you have dreams in the nighttime? Did you have bad dreams that woke you up? B: No! A: Or were you okay? B: (inaudible) don't happy- don't- is you happy?			

A: I'm happy I love you (chuckles)			
C: Okay, now can we tell the story? *A: Why yes. So Ariel said: "it's okay not to have your creature powers because I have my trident" and she pointed her trident at Sarah's legs and they- zoom- became a mermaid's tail and Sarah splashed into the water like a fish and then she pointed her trident at Ana's feet and she z-zoom! And Ana grew a beautiful, beautiful fishy tail and she splashed into the water.*	Child asks to continue. Adult explains and enacts a solution to the dilemma, and elaborates on the beauty of the mermaid tail. Sarah and Ana both get mermaid tails.	After the baby's interruption, Mother is acutely aware the storytelling must end soon. Mother takes control of the storytelling, uses her turn to quickly bypass Eden's fear.	Mother **values harmonious** relationships particularly within the family. Mother **values beauty** and uses it to make the **inevitable** transformation more attractive.
C: And then- and then she- and then she did Elsa then. *A: That's right. And she pointed her trident at Elsa and said: "zoom!" and Elsa grew a beautiful, beautiful, sparkly, shiny fishy tail and she splashed away, swimming in the water. And then it was Eden's turn. She pointed her trident at Eden's feet and she said: "zoom!" and Eden grew a long and beautiful, super shiny, sparkle tail.*	Child takes control of the narration, and Elsa is transformed. Adult narrates the transformation and focuses on the "sparkly shiny fishy tail" Adult announces it is Eden's turn (uses female pronouns) Eden has the best tail "a long and beautiful, super shiny, sparkle tail"	Eden is hoping to delay or avoid transformation, Mother is making it happen, no negotiation. But she ensures Eden gets the most beautiful tail.	I forced the movement through the story, rushing through the transformation and limiting Eden's choices, when I needed to attend to the baby.
C: They had purple and green and- orange! A: (gasps)	Child names her colours.	Eden is enchanted and envisions her tail.	
C: Sparkly and thin! *A: Oh, it was so pretty.*	Child describes tail. Adult affirms her tail is pretty.	These are colours and qualities of the long finned fish in our fish tank	
C: And yellow. Sparkly, sparkly, sparkly! B: Mom- *A: And sparkled like a rainbow fish and she splashed into the water and swam off to help the baby sea turtles and Ariel also turned her feet into a*		Mother is emphasizing safety, misunderstanding the child's fear of water. Previously thinking it must be because of the shark.	Home is safe

fishy tail again and she zooped into the water as fast as she could and then Ariel, Eden, Elsa, Ana and Sarah, the five mermaids, swam in a big circle around the baby sea turtles and said: "follow us, little babies! We're going to bring you to the safe Sargasso Sea!"			
C: And Eden said- B: (screams and fake snores) C: "It's okay. Follow us and we will bring you to your family again, right?" *A: "Oh, what a good idea, yes!"*		Eden values family	
C: Because they do have a mama or a papa or there's two mamas or there's two daddies! B: (screams in background) *A: That's right.*		Eden is working out how families are composed, she has makes room for her own family in the play-world.	She views the world around her through the lens of her experience.
C: "Ask if they have both!" *A: "I think so too". And so all the baby sea turtles came and followed the girls- the girl mermaids*			
C: But one did not know this and did not hear! *A: And then a shark came.*		Mother is being playful (or feels guilty), continuing the game although she also wanted to bring it to a close.	
C: Yes. And then Eden saw that and they said: "stop! There's a baby sea turtle there who h-heard us and now he doesn't know us and now- and now the sharks's coming here! We have to go fast like a flash and catch it before that shark gets him!" *A: So Eden shook her tail so fast, she zoomed through the water-*			
C: Like a flash in the		Baby brother is	

water B: Yeah! Wake up! Wake up! Wake up! *A: And she got to the baby sea turtle before the shark did*		initiating his own game with me – it is called “sleep”.	
C: But the shark started to get even closer! *A: Then she needed to call for help so she called for the whales. The w-whales are much bigger than sharks*		Here we are almost finishing each other’s thoughts, it is a great example of the creative flow (fast like a flash) and the attunement to each other that characterizes the storytelling and pretense.	
C: Because he made a whistle and he made a whistle like a song for a whale to come like this: *A: That’s it.*		Eden has been trying to learn how to whistle in real life. This is a chance for her to practice and to imagine she is more able than she really is.	
C: (soft whistling) *A: (chuckles)* C: (soft whistling) B: Eden- C: And then the whales heard that and then the whales camed! *A: And then the whales came and the shark saw them coming and the shark did not want to get troubled with whales.*			
B: (high pitched squealing) A: Hi cutie. Hi, are you a little birdie?” B: No, sleep. A: Oh I have to sleep, okay (snores) B: Wake up! Wake up! A: Ah! (laughs) B: (making happy noises)			

A: Ah! What's going on? What's going on? Don't be grumpy. Okay, Eden, don't pat my face. I'm playing sleep game with Kai a little bit and then we'll keep telling the story in a moment (snores) B: Wake up! A: Ah! B: Wake up A: (laughs) B: I go sleep again A: Okay, let's have a good sleep (yawns) B: Wake up! A: Ah! B: (screams) A: (chuckles)			
C: K, can we tell a story, please A: *Tell me what happens with the shark and the whale and Eden*.		I have lost track of the story because of the baby play. I need Eden to continue it.	
Finding 6: The pretense is a safe place for the child to violate taboos		Eden expresses the thrill of a contest of strength	
C: The whale- the whale was fun with the sharks, fighting with them. *A: (gasps) so the whale took one big swish of his whale tail and he whacked the shark and the shark went spinning away and away and away*		Mother expresses shock – fighting/harm is taboo I am trying to bring the story to a quick close, and rush the action along. I am torn between the story and the baby and needing to get to work. I also am softening the action – glossing over the violence. .	
C: No they didn't, no they didn't		Eden doesn't want the story/play to finish like that. She has already	

A: No?		imagined it and wants to tell it like she has envisioned it.	
C: First- first they- first the whale made a summersault and they- and they put the- and they put their tail- the whale's tail inside the shark's face. *A: Oh my goodness. That must've really hurt the shark.*		Mother is commenting on the hurt. It is taboo to wish to do harm in our family. This is Eden's way of describing a giant whalish slap in the face. It is taboo to do harm, and she is exploring how far she can go.	
B: Goodnight C: And then the shark swim away!			

Process Coding: *Wolf and Fox Tricks*

Story: unit of analysis	**Process Coding**	**Interpretation**	**Finding/Theory/Evidence**
A: *Once upon a time*	Mother begins the story in a familiar way	Mother prompting child	
B: There was	Child participates	Child prompting adult	
A: *There was*	Mother echoes child	Mother encouraging child to narrate	
B: A little girl	Child responds	Child supplies main character	
A: *A little girl named*	Mother elaborates	wanting child to take a more active voice	Language (elaborative device)
B: Eden	Child answers	Child puts herself in the story	**Narrative identity**
A: *Eden, it was you?*	Mother asks question	Mother making sure the child and character are the same.	Language (questioning)
B: Mm hm	Child confirms she will be the main character.		
it seems as though nothing more complex than a conversation is happening. The adult and child establish together that the child will be themselves as the main character of the story, and that the mother is prepared to take a supportive role in the storytelling.			
A: *(chuckles) Eden was a very good listener but sometimes-*	Gentle teasing	Tension between mother and child	**Relationship**: Mother and child are at cross-purposes here, tension because of different goals. **Culture**: Mother values 'good listener'
B: No, Gala-	Child protests	Child rejects the potential storyline	**Storytelling**: Eden has her own reasons to tell a story about herself.
A: *Because she was five*	Continued teasing	Mother attempts to take control of story	**Relationship**: Mother wanted to tell a morality tale…
B: G-Gala! Gala! No!	Emphatic protest	Child is angry	
A: *She…*	Mother continues…	Mother tests child's anger.	**Relationship**
B: Gala!	Sharp demand	Child is incensed!	
A: *You don't wanna hear a story like that?*	Mother questions	Mother's question helps	

	child's protest	clarify what the child is protesting	
B: No!	Child refuses 'nice' story	Child cannot be fooled into a morality tale dressed up as 'nice'	Child has an astute sense of mother's intention.
A: *Why not? Can I tell you a nice story about Eden, who was five?*	Mother suggests a nice story…	Mother is trying to cajole child into giving control of the story.	
B: No.	refusal	Defiant refusal	
A: *Please?*	pleading	Mother appeals to child's sense of pity	
B: No.	refusal	It doesn't work	
A: *No?*	Mother asks for confirmation	Mother is hoping child will change her mind.	
B: Mmm.	Confirmation of refusal	Child is firm.	
mother tries to take control of the direction of the story – to use it to teach the child a lesson about being a 'good' listener. It is a half-serious attempt, ending quickly when mother decides to let the child direct the story because she refuses to participate unless she is in control. The irony is that Eden's non-compliance is rewarded, though the mother recognizes that non-compliance is an issue.			
B: And then he was in the Tortuga with Sarah!	Male pronoun	Eden refers to herself with a male pronoun	**Gender identity**
A: *Oh wow! How did Sarah get there?*	Mother asks practical question	Mother has not entered play-space within the story yet, the transition too abrupt.	The transition to pretense/symbolic thinking is abrupt for the adult, but not so for the child.
B: Actually, for real, they were in the forest on their way to the co- the- Tortuga!	Child narrates, introduces setting and goal.	Child emphasizes the reality of their symbolic journey through the 'forest'	**Symbols**; setting = forest, quest = journey 'home' Home base (Tortuga) = fortress
A: *M'kay*	Mother agrees	Mother is willing to hear child's story	**Relationship**
B: And Sarah and Eden said: "we're on our way to the Tortuga! Yeah! Let's go to the Cartuda!"	Child voices (voicing is like enactment) characters	Child is pretending and playing the characters	**Enactment** is done through speaking in character – it is the actual as-if pretense
B: "It's not Cartuda- 'tu-tu-tu…' say that, Sarah. 'Tu-tu-tu-tu'.	Child assigns 'Sarah' character to	Child takes on a teaching role within the	

	Mother.	pretense	
B: No, like this: 'tu-tor'	'Eden' teaches 'Sarah'	Child seems confused	
B: - you say 'tor'"	Child instructs Mother to voice the character of Sarah		
A: *"Tor-"*	Mother voices 'Sarah'		
B: "Cor-"	Child voices 'Eden'. Eden is teaching by breaking the word into syllables.	Child has an idea of how to break down words into syllables	
A: *"Tor-tu"*	Mother models correct pronunciation	Mother models what child is trying to do – supporting child's efforts to learn by teaching	Mother **values** learning and teaching and takes time from the pleasure of storytelling in order to support child in her efforts.
B: I'm gonna say "tu"… "'tu"- that's what you have to say!"	Child instructs mother how to play her character.	Child is trying to take the adult's role	Child wants to grow up – be big and strong and in charge, (like the Wolf.)
A: *"Tu-"*			
B: "'Car'- oh wait it's like this: 'tu-to'… uh wait… 'Tortuga'. So say 'Tor'"	Child confuses how to say the word when she attempts to teach the word. Then she corrects herself.	Child is unable to manage doing "adult" just yet.	
A: *"Tor-"*			
B "Gu-"	Child makes another error		
A: *"Gu"? or "Tu"?*	Mother points out the error	Mother is actively guiding the child through questions	Mother values thinking and learning, but also values "correct" or "accurate" learning
B: It's "gu" and then it's "tu" then it's "tor", then it's "tor" and then it's… "gor". "Cor"… it's like "Tuscaro", okay?	Child gets more mixed up		
A: *(chuckles) You're making it very complicated. Listen. Listen and look at my lip at the same time, so you see where the sound comes from. "Tor"*	Mother interrupts child's effort and begins to break down the word into syllables.	Mother steps out of story to teach child the word. Mother decided too much confusion is too frustrating for the child and takes the	Mother is **teaching**

		teaching role	
B: “Tor”	Child repeats the syllable	Child accepts the instruction	
A: *Good. And then look again- “tu”*	Mother teaches		
B: “Tu”			
A: *“Ga”*			
B: “Ga”			
A: *You got it! “tor-tu-ga”*	Mother praises enthusiatically		
B: So if I have to say “tor”-	Child now initiates pretense teaching in story		
(C screeching in background)	Baby brother interupting		
A: *“Tor”*	Mother plays along		
B: “Tu”			
A: *“Tu”*			
B: “Ga”			
A: *“Ga”!*			
B: Tortuga!			
A: *You got it! We got it together! So Sarah and Eden both were able to say the name, “Tor-tu-ga”*	Mother praises again, celebrating joint success		
B: Mm hmm. And then, they were at- they were on their way to the Tortuga!	Child continues the story narration		
A: *And what were they going to do there?*	Mother asks open-ended question		
B: Along came a big bad wolf, “Mr Fox”	Child narrates; introduces the villain		
A: *(gasps)*	Feigned shock- Mother is playing		
B: That- that big bad wolf said: “Fox, you go trick- you go trick Eden and Sarah”. That’s what you have to say.	Child instructs Mother on her part to say, assigning wolf role in the process		
A: *Fox said to Wolf: “No I won’t trick Eden and Sarah. It never ends well. I always end up in a cage or tricked somehow“*	Mother misunderstands and takes fox’s role, tries to direct the plot		
B: Gala! Gala! Gala! You have to say “yes”! So you- I’ll say “Wolf! You go trick”- I mean, “Fox, you go trick Eden and Sarah” And that’s what you have to say.	Child protests and insists mother has to play the wolf and the story		

	must play out the way the child wants.		
A: *But what if Fox doesn't want to do it?*	Mother pushes back with a question about her character's internal state – adding complexity.		
B: Gala! You have to say "yes" and do the parts what I this said.	Child clearly asserts her position of power	This is her story	
B: And then, the fox had to find a way to trick Eden and Sarah, right?	Child reiterates fox's role		
A: *Just because the wolf told him to?*	Mother questions		
B: Mm hm			
A: *And even if the fox didn't want to trick her?*	Mother questions again		
B: No, if the wolf tells him to trick, he does it.	Child clearly asserts the power dynamic between wolf and fox		
A: *Why does he always listen to that wolf?*	Mother questions fox's motivation	Mother is concerned that child may not think for herself in real life situations, mother wants Eden to think about what it means to be a follower	
B: Uh huh!	Child misunderstands the question	Child hears what she expects to hear	
A: *Why?*	Mother asks again	Mother want child to think deeper	
B: It just does! Cause he doesn't wanna have a fight with wolf.	Child answers angrily, but then gives a deeper answer	Child finally reflects a little bit about the fox's position	
A: *That's a good reason.*	Mother is satisfied	She provokes the child to think about fox's motivation – parental success on moral	

		development front.	
B: So he asks him to trick Eden and Sarah	Child brings the storytelling back to the original plot line		
A*: So fox tried to think of a good trick. He didn't really want to trick Eden and Sarah but he always listened to wolf because he didn't wanna have a fight with wolf.*	Mother rephrases the negotiated plot, and expands on the original idea		
B: Yeah, because he knows he's the strongest.	Child inserts important detail – the wolf is strongest	Child thinks might makes right –	
A: *Wolf is stronger than fox.*	Mother echoes child in agreement		
B: Uh huh.	Child agrees		
A: *So fox had to think of a good trick. What is he trying to trick them for?*	Mother asks another question about fox motivation	mother is thinking of ways to challenge her belief.	
B: Do you have to think about it? Can you just have to do stuff?	Child questions mother's thinking process	Child doesn't quite understand that the story is not already extant in mother's mind, but that there is a thinking process	
A: *What does he want? What does wolf want from these girls*	Mother asks about wolf's motivation		
B: Hang on, I have to uh, do something	Child states her need for time	Child buys time to think (thinking is doing, active process)	
A: *Oh yeah?*			
B: Wants Eden- he wants to eat them	Child states the wolf's motivation is to eat her.		
A: *He wants to eat them? He wants to eat the girls?*			
B: Yeah, the wolf does.	Child confirms what is wolf's motivation		
A: *Oh.*			
A: *Fox knew that wolf really wanted to eat*	Mother	This is a way	Co-constructing the story –

the girls, that's why he didn't wanna trick them for real. He had to think of a way to pretend to trick the girls but really trick the wolf. Fox went right up close to where Eden and Sarah were. They were sitting right outside the Tortuga, picking flowers and blueberries and enjoying themselves	summarizes the story so far.	to achieve agreement	although the child is the leader, she expects input, and mother expects to influence.
B: Oh wai-wai-wai-wai-wait! They were at the Tortuga and were picking white flowers and pink flowers and yellow flowers and purple flowers and (inaudible) flowers. Those are Sarah's favourite colours and also- and also Eden's favourite colours!	Child adds details about what her characters were doing	She brings the scene to life by providing details that mean something to her.	**Symbolism** : Picking the flowers is a theme coming from a Disney short about Mephistopheles and Persephone – she loves Persephone's "spring powers"
A: *Eden's favorites too! And while they were picking flowers, the fox sneaked up, as close as he could get cause he didn't want them to run away when they saw him.*	Mother narrates the action and the characters' thinking	Mother is invested in exposing the thinking behind the upcoming "double-cross" – she wants to complicate the child's thinking – push her to question black and white moral reasoning.	
B: And you have to say: "hello, Sarah and Eden, I'm here to trick you but I'm actually not gonna trick you, I'm going to trick wolf because I'm just going to pretend to trick you, so don't be mad". That's what you have to say.	Child reiterates to mother the way Fox should explain his situation to the girls	Child is maintaining some tight control of what mother is going to say, perhaps because mom was breaking the rules previously	Child as director
A: *Okay. "Hello Eden and Sarah! Don't run away! I'm here to trick you but I'm not really gonna trick you because I want to trick wolf instead but it has to look like I'm tricking you so that I don't get in a fight with that big, bad wolf cause he's stronger than me. Do you have any good ideas of how we can trick wolf together?"*	Mother complies, rephrasing and expanding upon Child's ideas, but not changing the meaning or direction of the story.		
B: "Maybe you can trick him if you say you tricked him and how something to pretend like a girl to make him like a shape like a little girl when he's dead, and you give it to wolf and make sure it's already	Child plans how to actually trick Wolf, replacing Sarah with a copy	Child has thought up an effigy of Sarah	Symbolism: an effigy is a powerful thing. A totem, offered for sacrifice, to save the hero. Does this make the Wolf some kind of frightful

dead and give it to wolf and wolf will eat it up. Make sure you make one just like Sarah! Make the same match as Sarah, alright?			God needing appeasement?
A: *You mean we need like a sack of potatoes from the farmer's yard and then we've got to paint a face on the sack of potatoes to look like Sarah and then wolf will think that he's eating up Sarah but really he's eating a sack of potatoes then he'll get a belly ache.*	Mother asks for clarification	Mother, thinking literally, can't imagine how the wolf will eat a piece of wood without noticing it isn't the real girl.	
B: Well no-n-not… let's not give him tummy ache- the-the-the-	Child doesn't want wolf to have a belly ache		
A: *Sack of potatoes?*			
B: Yeah, because I'm gonna just show him like a- you know- piece of wood and make it shaped and then we, uh, paint it with a blue skirt with Elsa on it and Ana on it like, like my nightgown and Sarah has one too. He has a (inaudible) on him on his belly now and we're going to make brown hair like dark brown- like, like light brown, like, like I have light brown and we're also going to paint his hands and fingers and also his feet. Yeah, and his toes, 'cause they have toes. And we're also going to paint his arms and legs and knees and also we're going to paint his belly! And his belly button.	Child narrates details of how to prepare the wooden figure. It is to look exactly like Sarah (who looks like her too)	The wooden figure is of Sarah, who looks like Eden. Eden is referring to her with male pronouns, just like she refers to herself with male pronouns.	Media culture: Disney's Ana and Elsa Male pronouns Narrative Identity: child describes self – physical features
A: *(chuckles)*			
B: And we're also we're going to paint his back here, and also, we're going to paint his vagina, yeah' it's pretty funny	Child lists all the physical details needed to make a realistic copy.	Child includes private body parts to indicate realness	**Gender & Taboo**: "and also, we're going to paint his vagina, yeah' it's pretty funny" *vaginas are funny
A: *(chuckles) Every single part-*	Adult expresses amusement		
B: Also, we're going to paint his bum too	Child names another body part		Taboo
A: (*laughs*)	Adult laughs		
B: Yeah, it's pretty funny.	Child shares mirth		
A: *And so it will be a perfect Elsa, painted from head to toe*.	Adult summarizes that the Elsa will be a perfect likeness		
B: Mm hm	Child assents		
A: *Okay, and then what are we going to do?*	Mother asks question to		

	move the story forward		
B: And then we're going to bring it to wolf	Child describes the character's actions	"we're" she identifies us as the characters.	
A: *Why?*	Mother questions character's motivation		
B: Because that is when he's going to think it's really Sarah when's it's actually a piece of wood. What-what looks like a real Sarah who's dead.	Child replies – confirming the plans		Not sure she understands what "dead" means; seems to use it to mean non-living
A: *Now I understand, okay! So first let's find a nice piece of wood and then we can carve it and paint*	Mother exclaims she now understands the child's plan. Mother voices her character (fox).		Play-acting, pretense, adult is playing
B: And Eden found a piece of wood!	Child (in character) finds the wood		
A: *And it was perfect!*	Supportive statement in character		
B: And also Sarah said: "Martin! Martin! Could you get some paint and some paintbrushes with some water please?"	Child introduces another character, via the Sarah character		
A*: "Sure I can!" said Martin.*	Mother takes on extra role		
B: "Thank you!"			
A: *"What are you making?"*			
B: "We're making a piece of wood out and we're going to paint it to shape like me and we're going to give it to wolf, pretend it's real because he wants to fight with Fox and I don't want that to happen to Fox because I wanna do it- I want Wolf to know this is really actually a real girl, what he thinks like, but it's actually a piece of wood of Sarah, but I really want to trick wolf like- because Fox wants me to help me have an idea to not make Fox have a fight with Wolf. Please, Martin."	Child reiterates the plotline and story so far to new character. Child articulates her knowledge of Wolf's mind and her own motivation.	The child seems to need to introduce more characters in order to justify her repetition of the plot.	Distinguishing pretend from real, real from figure, within the pretense. (layers of reality)
A: *"Okay!" So Martin went and got all the best paints so that they could paint a beautiful Elsa doll out of wood that looked just like Sarah and when they were finished, it looked exactly like a real girl.*	Mother voices Martin character, narrates the action.	Martin character (adult) is like an alchemist now, who can make the idea	

		real.	
B: Uh huh!	Child agrees enthusiastically		
A: *"This is gonna trick wolf completely*"	Martin affirms the realistic appearance of the fake Sarah, and the probable success of their plan.		
B: Mm hmm!	Child agrees		
A: *"haha!"*	Martin laughs triumphantly		
B: Gala! We forgot to make-	Child speaks to Mother	Child shifts out of play into realist layer	
A: *What?*			
B: We forgot to make his dog!	Child adds another detail to the story	Male pronoun, Child and Adult as co-creators	
A: *His what?*	Mother expresses surprise		
B: His dog	Child confirms detail		
A: *Really? She has a dog?*	Mother is surprised about the dog		
B: Actually, we have to him have a pet. We have to make a bird there too, a piece of little wood and paint it and that's what Eden did for Sarah and Fox!	Child insists a realistic Sarah has to have a pet.	Child creates the condition necessary to repeat the symbolic creation act within the story.	Symbolic: creation/making/manifesting one's ideas
A: *Ah, what kind of bird?*	Adult asks for more information		
B: A blue bird	Child replies		
A: *Ah*	Adult makes an encouraging sound		
B: Like Sophia's bird	Child provides another detail		
A*: Okay*	Adult understands		
B: Like the blue one	Child adds a third detail		
A: *Oh, that's good, that's nice*	Adult approves		
B: Yeah, and we're all that last give to wolf!	Child returns to main goal of		

	the plot.		
A: *Alright! So then they got ready*	Adult attempts to move the plot forward		
B: And Eden and Sarah were keep picking flowers and blueberries in the garden.	Child reconfirms the girls are continuing their peaceful flower picking – out of danger.		
A: *Fox brought the wooden doll to wolf and laid it down in the clearing and said: "here is your dead girl for you to eat up" and wolf said: "ha, ha, ha, ha! Go away now, Fox. I'm not sharing*	Adult narrates the next action (fox bring the wolf the false girl, and wolf is tricked). Wolf reveals himself as selfish.		**Symbolism** here is powerful – feed the wolf a false self, what is the wolf representing?
B: So Fox went away and went to his- and said: "Eden, Eden, I think it's working". That's what you have to say.	Child interjects what words fox should say next.		She directs the story, but wants to hear it told back to her **co-constructing Heterospection?**
A: *And meanwhile he said: "Eden, Eden, I think it's working, let's listen carefully"*	Adult plays fox role – adds to the story		
B: Okay	Child is listening intently (as though it is real – role playing herself)		
A: *And then meanwhile, the wolf chomped down very hard on that piece of wood and broke off all his teeth! "Ouch! Ouch! Ouch! Ouch! Ouch!"*	Adult narrates what happens to the wolf		
B: No, he didn't rip off all his teeth!	Child protests		
A: *He broke his teeth*	Adult begins to explains		
B: No, he-	Child doesn't want to hear the explanation		
A: *So he had to eat soup*	Adult finishes explanation in a funny way		
B: No! Because it always broke one of his tooth he's	Child interjects her understanding		
A: *(laughs) Why didn't that break all his teeth. Then he's not going to be a problem anymore because he will have no teeth… then Eden and Sarah will be safe… And even Fox- because of Wolf has no teeth cannot bite him.*	Adult asks why the child is rejecting what seems to her to be a perfect resolution to the		

	story.		
B: No! He only has one teeth what is missing down here	Child clarifies that wolf only broke one tooth (her actual self has one missing tooth), and indidcates it is like her own missing tooth.		
A: *Ah, okay, well then Wolf was very mad because he understood that Fox had tricked* him and he got ready to go find Fox and bite him in a fight.	Adult accepts child's reasoning, and continues to narrate the consequences of the trick for Fox.		
B: And Eden said: "Quick! Quick! Back to the Tortuga!" and Eden said: "Aviva! Jimmy! Martin and Chris! Koki! You have to close the whole part of- of the Tortuga because a wolf is just about to trick the fox! Can we let the fox come in, please?"	Child narrates the action; fleeing o the safety of the home base (Tortuga), and asking her companions of Fox can take shelter with them too.		
A: *"Okay, let's let the fox come in- As long as he promises no to trick us!"*	Adult plays other roles, demands a promise of non-tricking from Fox		
B: "He said he'll never trick us because he knows that we are going to trick him! So he's not going to trick him. We're not going to trick him if he doesn't trick us, right, Fox?"	Child speaks for Fox – as her character, asks for Fox's agreement.		
A: *"Right! I will trust you not to trick me and if you don't trick me, I won't trick you " So they let Fox in just in the nick of time and as soon as the door closed behind him, out of the forest came wolf.*	Through the Fox's character the adult clarifies the issue is about trust between the heroes and the trickster.		
B: "Quick! Quick! Cookie! Jimmy! Aviva! Martin and Chris! Close the ho- the Tortuga right now!	Child's character enacts the action, calling for the other characters to close the doors just in		

	time.		
A: *And they closed up the Tortuga doors as fast as they could.*	Adult narrates the action – closing the doors just in time.		
A: *So they all got inside the Tortuga and they shut the door fast.*	Adult summarizes the action		
B: You said: "Katuda"!	Child accuses adult of mispronouncing the name of the home base.		
A: *I did not! I said: "Tortuga"*	Adult protests		
B: Fine!	Child drops the subject		
A: *(chuckles) And then the wolf got right up to the door and he started pounding on the door!*	Adult continues to narrate the action, Wolf pounding on the door.		
B: Scratching	Child changes pounding to scratching (much scarier)		
A: -*scratching at the door. "Let me in! Let me in! Or I'll huff and I'll puff and I'll blow your Tortuga in!"*	Adult accepts change and enacts the Wolf		Culture - Three little pigs' Wolf
B: "You can't blow your Cartuda! We're at the very top. It's more bigger than you. You can blow our Catuda till you grow as big and only can stand on two feet then you can push up that but you can't do it cause you're so, so little! Ahaha!	Child enacts her character		Moral development – bigger and taller and higher makes stronger.
A: (*giggles) And Wolf knew that they were right and he was so mad. He started to howl and call his friends, the other wolves to come and help him.*	Adult narrates, revealing Wolf's internal state. The complicates the denouement		
B: The other wolves can't even blow down the Cartuda- ahaha!	Child's character taunts the Wolf		
A: *(chuckles) Just to be on the safe side, Aviva decided to move the Tortuga to the seashore, far away from the forest.*	Adult narrates – introduces a possible conclusion.	(in other stories, the wolf is thrown across the forest and into the ocean – adult is trying to bring the story to a logical conclusion)	

B: "You don't have to do that, Aviva! The wolve can't blow our Tortuga down. The Cartuga's strong! The wolf can't blow down! The Cartuga- the Tortuga is too strong for the wolf!"	Child protests the move (and conclusion)	She wants to prove that the Tortuga is strong enough	Symbol – fortress (home as unassailable)
A: *"Well, it may be too strong for the wolves, but I still don't want wolves scratching up all the doors!"*	Adult explains a different reason to move the Tortuga		
B: "Well, even if they scratch up, at least it will not break because last time it broke was because there was a big monster scratched it,	Child uses logic to minimize the importance of the wolf scratching the door.		
but now, I put tape on so if there's any monster, we have to fly away. It's so high that we'll have to go- we'll have to fly off (inaudible) find a place where the monster will never find us if we see one,	Child introduces the idea of escape by flight if a monster comes, and reinforcement by tape	Child is persuading mother	
but with a wolf you don't have to do that because the wolf can't lift on the- the Tortuga- but it can still scratch the Tortuga door… but if it scratches, we don't have to worry scratches.	Child dismisses the wolf scratching the door as warranting action	Child is using a range of rationalizations to persuade Mother (here – "don't have to worry scratches")	
If it, like, scratches, then we definitely have to go away. If it like, scratch everywhere, the Tortuga will definitely have to go somewhere place else and fix it up, somewhere where they'll never see us.	Child changes her mind and suggests another direction for the story	She sees the possibility of a continuing plot line, fixing the Tortuga while in hiding.	
A: *K. (chuckles) We have to pause the story, my sweetie, because I am very, very tired*	Adult is tired and want to stop the story		
B: Gala, we're not pausing the story	Eden refuses to "pause"	not wanting the storytelling to end.	
A: *Ow, you hurt my nose!*	Eden punched me in the nose – a direct bop.	This was the first and only time she ever made a little fist and bopped me on the nose. I was very surprised!	
B: Sorry, Gala!	Eden is remorseful		
A: *Love you.*	Gala accepts the apology		

APPENDIX C

Table 8. Eight Levels of Character Coding Rubric

	examples from Nicolopoulou	**Mermaids**	**Wolf and Fox**	**Baby Zebra**
I. ACTORS are defined simply by actions; they act or are acted upon				
Level 1. Action Only: Actors are represented purely by actions and are not further described	Once there was Peter Pan and then a knight came, and Captain Hook. He fighted, and the knight and Peter Pan fighted. Cat Woman and Joker fighted too. (Paul, 3– 10)			
Level 2. Action/External Descriptions: Actors are fleshed out by externally identifiable characteristics such as physical traits, non-generic names, and possessions.	Once upon a time there was a beautiful little princess. Then a prince came. The princess grew up and they married and they had two babies, a boy and a girl. Another prince came and married the other girl. They had a puppy and a little cat. (Lena, 4 – 1)	Once upon a time, Eden was on the beach, and there was baby sea turtles starting to get out of their nest from a sand nest And then they went on the sand seaweed and then the crab was there	And then he was in the Tortuga with Sarah!	So then- so then Eden- so- so the zebra- the baby zebra, first the baby zebra was lying beside me in the room **A: (Chuckles) baby zebra wanted to know all about Eden's room. Okay, what's baby zebra name again?** Uhh- Maze!
II. AGENTS manifest basic psychological capacities that can take two different forms, either as landscape of action (intention-in-action) or as landscape of consciousness A. Intention-in-Action, B. Simple Consciousness				
Level 3A. Implicit Intention: Characters' actions are marked as agentive.	Once there was a foxy and then came a wolf. And then Evan came, then Mason came. And then Evan punched the fox in the face. And the fox fell down and got a bruise and died. And then Mason punched the wolf and he fell down and got a bump on his head and died. (Martin, 3 – 9)	Then it flipped back on the sand and Eden helped her he picked her up and put her in the deep sea before the crab almost ate her.	Actually, for real, they were in the forest on their way to the co- the- Tortuga!	Eden was coming in her room too! Well we can teach him something. He teach him how to put teeth on a bell! Eden was gonna show him!
Level 3B. Simple Perceptual/Attentive Capacities: Agents	Once upon a time there was a little girl. Her name was Rose	And he was helping all of the sea turtles! He's like "Go! Go!	And Sarah and Eden said: "we're on our way to the Tortuga!	K, here, here how it goes, Maze. Just put your teeth on the

see, hear, feel, and/or have simple expressive abilities.	and she put a nice dress on and her little kitty played with her. And then they walked in the woods and they found a big wolf. And the wolf saw a little girl. [. . .] (Daphne, 3 – 5)	Go!" And then there was one – One little sea turtle was starting to come out of her nest, but he was being so slow, so Eden's helping her lots! And he put her in the sea all of the sea turtles were in the sea!	Yeah! Let's go to the Cartuda!" Along came a big bad wolf, "Mr Fox"	bell (bell rings twice) like this And then you shake around! (Bell rings) Maze! Zebras still talk. They nod their heads like this
Level 4A. Action Response: Agents respond with actions to situations or events, often marked by ''because'' or ''so.''	Once there was Superman. Then Spiderman came. Then Batman and Robin came. They fighted three ghosts.The ghosts were still alive, so they just left the ghosts alone. (Edgar, 4 – 11)	But one was going slowly so Eden really run to help her. ***Did Eden have a boat?*** He didn't, he did not. He just put all the baby sea turtles in the water before the crab ate them.		B: But he definite- but he doesn't understand "nay" so, so, so he teach him how to do yes or no.
Level 4B. Emotional Response: Agents have emotional reactions to or make evaluations of situations or events.	Once upon a time there was a little girl. There was a kingdom. It had a princess, a queen, a king. They had one baby. And then the wolf came and ate the baby. And the queen was very sad. The end. (Sarah, 4 – 6)	But there was only one problem… Three more who were going so slow on the seaweed. They really need helping. They really need helped.		I know Maze loves it cause it's really a cute name.
Level 5A. Explicit Intention-in-Action: Agents' actions are explicitly marked as intentional or goal directed.	First there was Leonardo and then Donatello came to help Leonardo fight. And then Raphael came and Michelangelo came to help Donatello fight. And then Shredder came. And then Captain American fighted and then Super Wren came. And then Super Wren helped Donatello to fight using his powers. And then they rest. And then Shredder and Super Wren are	So Eden helped all of them. He carried one in the boat and he carried two in the boat and three in the boat and then they put them in the water and put another in the water and put the last one in the water.		**A: Maze was a little bit afraid to jump.** B: It's okay! You're not gonna land on- on the hard ground. I'll catch you and you won't be hurt. B: Don't worry, Maze. So he tried B: He jumped and Eden caught him! B: And then he put him really, really gently on the ground.

	the only ones there and they fight. And then that's the end. (Edgar, 4 – 4			
Level 5B. Explicit Emotion-in-Action: Agents actively produce emotional and/or evaluative reactions in themselves or other characters.	The ghost scared the alligator. And the alligator scared the ghost. And they had a fight. The alligator fighted and he won. The alligator chopped him up and he was still alive. They were just friends again. The End. (Martin, 3 – 5)			
III. PERSONS have higher psychological capacities that include representational desires, intentions, or beliefs that become coordinated implicitly or explicitly with action, with reality, and/or with other characters that have representational capacities.				
Level 6. Explicit Desire and/or Belief Representations: Characters have representational desires, beliefs, or intentions, implicitly but not explicitly coordinated with actions.	Once puffin paddled along the pond. The raccoon walked along. The puffin started flying when he saw raccoon. And then he came to the pond, and puffin was swimming in there. And then puffin knew it wasn't afraid. And then raccoon just standed there. And then puffin waddled off. [. . .] (Leila, 4 – 9)	line 63 - 65: "We- we can't get all the baby sea turtles in the water. We only got a little bit and a few and we still can't do it! I asked for Sarah to help with me too but we couldn't. Can you please help us?"	That- that big bad wolf said: "Fox, you go trick- you go trick Eden and Sarah". That's what you have to say.	
Level 7. Explicit Coordination of Representational Mental States with Action: Characters' representational desires, beliefs, or intentions explicitly that motivate and/or direct their actions.	Once upon a time a prince lived in a castle. And one night a woman came and offered him a rose. But the prince didn't want the rose. And she turned him into a beast and she put a spell on the castle and all who lived there. And in a town near nearby, there lives a man named Gaston and a beautiful girl named Belle. Gaston wanted to kill the beast. And they went to the castle and killed the beast.	"First we have to pick them up and run to the water and- and put them in before the crab eats all of them. If we don't- if we don't put all of them in and-and don't help him, the crabs will just eat them all and they'll catch them!"	**A: Fox said to Wolf: "No I won't trick Eden and Sarah. It never ends well. I always end up in a cage or tricked somehow"** B: Gala! Gala! Gala! You have to say "yes"! So you- I'll say "Wolf! You go trick"- I mean, "Fox, you go trick Eden and Sarah" And that's what you have to say. **A: But what if Fox doesn't want to do it?** B: Gala! You have to say "yes" and do	B: And then- and then… and then Maze wanted to try one- play with Eden cars! B: Here it goes Maze. You just put one hoof on the car and then you roll it like this and then it rolls! B: So she tried it out!

	(Ethan, 5 – 1)		the parts what I this said. B: And then, the fox had to find a way to trick Eden and Sarah, right? **A: And even if the fox didn't want to trick her?** B: No, if the wolf tells him to trick, he does it. **A: Why does he always listen to that wolf?** B: It just does! Cause he doesn't wanna have a fight with wolf.	
Level 8. <u>Contrastive Representations.</u> Persons' representational beliefs or desires are contrasted, equated, or coordinated either with reality, with those of other persons, or with their own previous or future representations.	Once upon a time there was a kingdom. There was a king and a queen and a princess. One time they all went walking in the woods and they got lost. There was a witch in their house. When they came home they said, ''My, everything looks different.'' And the witch jumped out and said, ''Surprise!'' One time when the little girl (princess), was sleeping, the witch comed into her room and scared her. And she waked up and the witch ran away and the girl said, ''Oh, there's nothing here''. And the witch came back and knocked on her door and there was no one there and she said, ''Oh, there's no one knocking on my door either.'' Later when she woke up,	"Ana and Sarah and me cannot put all the baby sea turtles in the water! Only a little bit! And also some because if we- if we have to pick them up and run to the water- if we don't, the crab will eat them all up!" ***A: (gasps) "That won't do! I want to help. What should I do?"*** "You have to pick them up and then run to the water- wa-water" "And then you have to run fast, fast like a cheetah and fast like a flash so the crab doesn't get you" "Because the crab can go fast if you go slow. If you go slow, the crab will get there and he'll get closer and closer and closer and he'll climb up and eat the baby sea turtles.	*line 94* B: And you have to say: "hello, Sarah and Eden, I'm here to trick you but I'm actually not gonna trick you, I'm going to trick wolf because I'm just going to pretend to trick you, so don't be mad". That's what you have to say. *line 96* B: "Maybe you can trick him if you say you tricked him and how something to pretend like a girl to make him like a shape like a little girl when he's dead, and you give it to wolf and make sure it's already dead and give it to wolf and wolf will eat it up. Make sure you make one just like Sarah! Make the same match as Sarah, alright? *line 100* B: Yeah, because I'm gonna just show him like a- you	**A: Maze put his hoof on the car and it rolled but then it rolled a little bit too fast and Maze fell down, "bonk".'** B: And, and he- and Eden said: "Maze! Are you okay?" **A: And Maze said: (makes horse sounds)** B: No he didn't, he nods his head like this **A: Why can't he make a horsey sound?** B: He'll see. He can't- he'll needs to be teached to be talking. B: But he can nod his head like this or nod his head like this or say: "nay"!

	she was terribly cranky because she didn't have enough sleep. When her parents saw her being so cranky in her room, she couldn't go to school and this was her favorite day. She said, ''Mom it's not really my fault. A witch comed in my room.'' But her Mom didn't believe in witches. The End. (Sarah, 4 – 8) Once upon a time an alien was trying to sneak a little piece of treasure from a bad guy named Penguin. Penguin was watching his alien robot and Batman and Robin the Boy Wonder said, ''What could that be?'' And Batman said, ''Hmm, I don't think it's a robot.'' And then the alien pushed out his arms and shot bullets out of his fingers and Batman said ''Oh, I was wrong. It was a robot.'' And then Batman had a plan. He said, ''Let's go back to the bat cave and next time we'll bring our big hammer and smash the robot to pieces. And then Penguin will be screaming when we broke his robot.'' And then they went back to the robot and went boom, boom, boom, boom, boom, with the	That's why we have to go fast" "Yeah because the water is their home. If you any see any jellyfish, bring them and they'll follow me, and they'll eat the jellyfish, if you ever find them." "Oh and watch out for sharks! Sharks really like to eat baby sea turtles, dislike, dislike crabs!"	know- piece of wood and make it shaped and then we, uh, paint it with a blue skirt with Elsa on it and Ana on it like, like my nightgown and Sarah has one too. He has a (inaudible) on him on his belly now and we're going to make brown hair like dark brown- like, like light brown, like, like I have light brown and we're also going to paint his hands and fingers and also his feet. Yeah, and his toes, 'cause they have toes. And we're also going to paint his arms and legs and knees and also we're going to paint his belly! And his belly button. *line 102* B: And we're also we're going to paint his back here, and also, we're going to paint his vagina, yeah' it's pretty funny *Line 104* B: Also, we're going to paint his bum too *line 110* B: And then we're going to bring it to wolf *line 112* B: Because that is when he's going to think it's really Sarah when's it's actually a piece of wood. What-what looks like a real Sarah who's dead.	

	hammer, and smashed it to pieces. [. . .] (Jacob, 5 – 2)			