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# **A cultural-historical study of institutional care: How collective play creates new conditions for orphaned children**

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## **Abstract**

Although abundant evidence demonstrates that play is the source of development for preschool-aged children in various cultures, few studies have investigated the role of adult-children collective play in supporting the development of orphanage children. This study examined whether and how a play-based programme created developmental conditions for children in an orphanage in China. The focus child, Shanshan, three years and seven months old, was observed in the natural setting of an orphanage. Digital video observations and fieldnotes were used for data collection. The cultural-historical concepts of play and the social situation of child development were used to analyse how Shanshan changed through a ten-week intervention. The findings suggest that even within a short period of time, collective play had considerable impact on the social and emotional development of Shanshan. This study contributes to understanding how collective play can act as an effective intervention strategy for children in institutional care.

**Keywords:** play, children's learning process, development, social situation, institutional care

## **Introduction**

For children in institutional care, the social environment within the institution has long been targeted as a key area for intervention. In the context of this paper, an institution and institutional care refer to collective residential care of children without parents, which is commonly known as an orphanage. Longstanding and contemporary research has shown how the social situations in orphanages are detrimental to the development and wellbeing of children (Bowlby 1951; Nelson et al. 2007; Rutter et

al. 2010; Tizard and Rees 1975). However, the reality is that in many societies, institutional care exists to meet a societal need where other alternatives are not available (Dozier et al. 2012).

Major studies on children and institutionalisation, though limited in number, strongly indicate that improving the children's everyday social experience within the institution is crucial for mitigating the adverse impact of institutionalisation (St. Petersburg-USA Orphanage Research Team 2008a; Zeanah et al. 2003). Most of the institution-based intervention strategies involve changes in the organisational structure (St. Petersburg-USA Orphanage Research Team 2008b; Wang 2010), relationship enhancement between caregivers and children (Bettmann et al. 2015; Muhamedrahimov et al. 2004; Taneja et al. 2002), education enrichment programmes for children (Azid and Yaacob 2016; Cook 2010; Sparling et al. 2005; Zhao 2017), and specialised psychotherapies (Darewych 2013; Henley 2005; Madihie and Noah 2013; Zoja 2011). But these studies do not give insights into how play as the leading activity of the preschool child creates developmental conditions for young children in orphanages.

What we do know about play and children reared in institutions is that reduced pretend play and role play are associated with early deprivation in the institutional care settings (Kreppner et al. 1999). However, this standardised study focused on the child's own free play patterns and therefore required the experimenters to adopt a passive attitude. The focus was not on how the child played within the natural social environment, nor how social interaction in play affects the child. In contrast, research where various forms of play were employed in the natural settings demonstrate that when children in institutional care are engaged in play activities with their caregivers, they display better play competence (Daunhauer et al. 2007), become more active and responsive (Taneja et al. 2002), and shows stronger mental and motor development (Taneja et al. 2005). Nevertheless, further discussions are missing about the central role of play to initiate change, for example, when play is viewed as a "technique" to provide stimulation, rather than being the very reason for a child's development. Furthermore, in most of the studies related to institutional care, play as an intervention is implemented either as individual free play, within a professional therapy setting, or only between the child-caregiver dyad. Consequently, little is known about what impact collective play, where adults and children play together within the natural

institutional setting, has on a child. Therefore, the central research question guiding our study was whether and how collective play creates developmental conditions for children in institutional care.

The research outcome reported in this paper is part of a larger research project on play intervention in an integrated group (multi-age and multi-abilities) within an orphanage in China. Specifically, this paper focuses on the process of one focus child's development during the implementation of a collective play programme over a period of ten weeks. We argue that collective play, when integrated as part of the institutional practice, can serve as the social situation of development and create developmental conditions for children living in institutional care.

### **Theoretical foundations**

This study is based on the cultural-historical conceptualisation of play and its central position in child development. The defining feature of the Vygotskian conception of play is the creation of an imaginary situation (Vygotsky 1966), the emergence of which is a significant turning point in a child's development. It enables the child to move into a greater world of meaning and adventure, of imagination, one that surpasses the constraint of reality. Play changes the child's relationship with the environment when an imaginary situation is created. Furthermore, in the imaginary situation, the child's relations with objects are also changed as the child gives new meanings and sense to objects or actions (Vygotsky 1966; Bodrova and Leong 1998), for instance, when a child uses a pencil in real life as a syringe when playing medical games, or stands still pretending to be a tree in play. To be able to understand and perform this means imagination emerges as the child is able to separate the optical field from the sense field, shifting the focus from the defining property of the object to the meaning endowed to it in play (Kravtsov and Kravtsova 2010; Vygotsky 1966). Thus, play reorganises the child's relationship with the everyday environment and is "the source of development in preschool years" (Vygotsky 1966, 1).

To recognise play as the source of development means to acknowledge the social nature of play rather than focusing only on the individual. An increasing number of contemporary research studies on children's play show how the child plays, how play develops, and how higher psychological functions develop through play depends on the social and cultural situations of the child. Examples include studies on cultural

variations of play in different communities (Gaskin et al. 2007; Göncü et al. 2007; Roopnarine 2015), the crucial role of the family (Chen and Flee 2016; Flee 2019; Gaskin et al. 2007; Lillard 2011) and teachers (Bodrova et al. 2018; Flee 2015; Hakkarainen and Bredikyte 2019). Unanimously, they demonstrate that a dynamic relationship with other partners in play shapes the child's cultural development. What remains unknown is whether this is the case for children and play in orphanages.

Importantly, cultural-historical theory explains why the child's dynamic relationship with the social situation has great impact on development, as exemplified in collective play. Vygotsky (1993, 1997) theorised the child's cultural development as a process that first emerges from the interpersonal relationship and collective actions, and then forms as intrapsychological, individual functioning. More specifically, there is a dynamic and periodic relationship between the child's internal developmental process and the external, social environment, termed by Vygotsky (1998, 198) as "the social situation of development". This social situation of development determines what and how the child develops within a given age period. Ideal forms of cultural development are present from the very beginning in the child's environment, and these influence and interact with the child's present form of development (Vygotsky 1994). Cultural forms of development exist first in the collective where the child belongs, and it is through interactions that the child gradually masters the mature forms as internal, intrapsychological functions (Vygotsky 1994). Thus child development represents dialectical relations between the ideal forms in the environment and the present form of the child, which is why Vygotsky (1998) states that the environment is the source of development. In other words, the child can only learn and develop according to what is available in the environment. However, not all interactions between the child and the environment contribute to the transformation of the child's higher psychological functions, but those that the child "becomes aware of, interprets, [and] emotionally relates to" (Vygotsky 1994, 341).

Thus, the importance of play and the social situation of child development inspires us to re-consider play interventions for children in institutional care. As children develops through social relations, it is important to explore how "the group create higher mental functions in one child or another" (Vygotsky 1997, 107). To create developmental conditions for orphanage children means that interventions need

to prioritise enriching their social environment with mature forms for them to consciously and emotionally relate. Additionally, research suggests that collective play offers a new direction for the development of play practice in China, which is consistent with the group-oriented culture and societal values (Fleer and Li 2020). Therefore, we wondered whether collective play activities could serve as the social situation of development for children in orphanages, which in turn support the play development for each child.

## **Research Methodology**

To answer the research question, we designed and implemented an educational experiment of collective play over a period of ten weeks. An educational experiment is a synthesis of pedagogical intervention and research method that exemplifies a close relationship between practice and concepts by combining a theoretical system with planned pedagogical outcomes (Hedegaard 2008b; Lindqvist 1995;). Consistent with the cultural-historical theorisation, child development in this approach is understood as dynamic relations between the child and institutional practices in the child's life environment (Hedegaard 2008b).

### **Research setting**

This study was conducted in a collective care programme located in the building of the Children's Department within a state-run social welfare institute (SWI) in China. The research was carried out in one of the units run by a local non-government organisation in collaboration with the SWI. Permit and consent were obtained from the participating adults and from the SWI, the legal guardian for the children, abiding by the rules of the researchers' university ethics committee.

### **Participants**

#### *Focus child*

The focus child, Shanshan (pseudonym), was estimated to be three years and seven months old and was transitioned to this multi-age unit six weeks before the start of the educational experiment. Shanshan was born with Down Syndrome and congenital heart defect, the latter of which had been treated. He was abandoned soon after birth and was placed in this SWI immediately afterwards. Shanshan was chosen to be the focus child because of his lack of play engagement and interactions and so we were curious to find out whether an adult-children collective play would support him.

### *The other children in this mixed-age unit*

In addition to Shanshan, 11 children between the ages of two and eleven lived in this unit. All of them were abandoned during the first years of life because of various medical issues.

### *Adults*

A total of six staff members worked in this unit, including one project manager, three caregivers, one physiotherapist, and one educator. Contrary to the common practice in an orphan-care institution where caregivers work in shifts and change constantly (van Ijzendoorn et al. 2011), the three caregivers in this experimental unit were consistently assigned to the same group of children for consistency and stability. The educator being responsible for the implementation of the intervention was also the researcher who collected data, which will be discussed further in Discussion.

### **Data collection**

Digital video observation and field notes were employed in order to capture and represent a variety of perspectives and the children's social situation in different settings. The whole data collection consisted of baseline data collection, ten weeks of educational experiment, and post-implementation data collection.

### *Digital video observation.*

Relevant to the findings reported in this paper, a total of 56 hours of digital video data were generated with a GoPro. Visual data pertaining to this paper was recorded with a GoPro for strategic reasons, as the researcher assumed the educator's role during the intervention and a camera on a tripod anywhere in the room was not safe enough for the children. Though it is typically used mobile, in this study, its compact design and wide-angle lens made it possible to be fixed high up on the wall and capture the dynamics of the whole group and the social situation at large, while freeing the researcher/educator to interact with the children in play.

Table 1

*Summary of the collected video data*

Research Periods	Total length of video data	Data generation
Baseline	06:54:22	- Everyday practice of the unit, with a special focus on the interactions between adults and

		children, and between peers during free play time and group time.
Implementation of educational experiment	39:55:49	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Adults-children collective play and free play times (further explanations below);</li> <li>- Dramatic moments, interactions between players, and changes overtime</li> </ul>
Post-implementation	09:15:53	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Same as baseline</li> </ul>
Total: 56:06:04		

### *Fieldnotes*

Fieldnotes provided very important supplement to video data. They were taken at the end of a data collection day, in the form of written notes, about information that could not be video-recorded, for example, the caregivers' casual discussion about children's play during lunchtime.

### **Research design: collective play as an educational experiment**

Based on the group's existing play practices, adult-children collective play was implemented over a period of ten weeks in the following two forms. First, depending on the children's current play patterns and competence, small portions of teacher-led imaginary play, including pretence and improvisation, were inserted in the 30-minute circle time every evening during workdays. It was designed for the educator to model and teach the children how to pretend, and for the children to experiment with their imagination within a structured group time. Second, every weekend, all of the children and caregivers were invited to participate in an extended period of joint play, where everyone willing to join took on a role and together they played in the shared imaginary space and developed plot in play. The educator instructed and supported the children through her play role.

### **Data Analysis**

Important for the focus of this paper was selecting data for analysis that showed interactions (and lack of interactions) and dramatic moments in play. They were imported into Adobe Premier Pro, clipped into individual video clips, and stored in a separate folder. Fieldnotes were digitalised and organised chronologically as



supplementary to the video data. These data were then analysed with the three levels of interpretation by Hedegaard (2008c).

First, the common sense interpretation involved understanding the interactions and emotionally-charged moments related to Shanshan in each collective play episode, specifically, the play patterns of the children, that of adult and children, interactions between Shanshan and the others (both adults and children), and his attention (where he looked and moved toward) during group time. These data clips were then labelled accordingly and gathered for the second situated practice analysis to establish connections and find patterns among the relevant video clips across activity settings. For example, we noticed that as the play patterns and interactions of the group were gradually developing, so was Shanshan's movement and engagement during collective playtime. This was made evident with contrasting mappings of his movement between pre-intervention and Week Ten as shown in Figure 1 and 2. Then in order to deepen the analysis, a third thematic level interpretation was undertaken in relation to the theoretical concepts of play, social situation, and social situation of development (see Figure 3). Thus the analysis process answers the research question and theorises how collective play and its development create developmental conditions for an individual child in institutional settings.

## **Findings**

Due to the complexity of the data, the findings are presented as two sets of data of the same child but at two different points in time. The significance of the findings is drawn out in the discussion section that follows this section. As will be shown, the data reveals a subtle yet substantial transformation in Shanshan's behaviour and engagement in play and interaction style between two periods--before the commencement of the educational experiment and in the last week (Week Ten) of the educational experiment. Data are presented according to the social situation, the focus child, and the relations between them.

## **Before the educational experiment**

### *The social situation.*

Before the implementation of the educational experiment, adults working in this unit treated the children with great love and kindness, but it was very rare for adults and children to play together. The evening circle time emphasised singing, reading to children, and enriching the children's sensory experience, but no effort was made to extend play and imagination based on the songs, books, and artefacts.

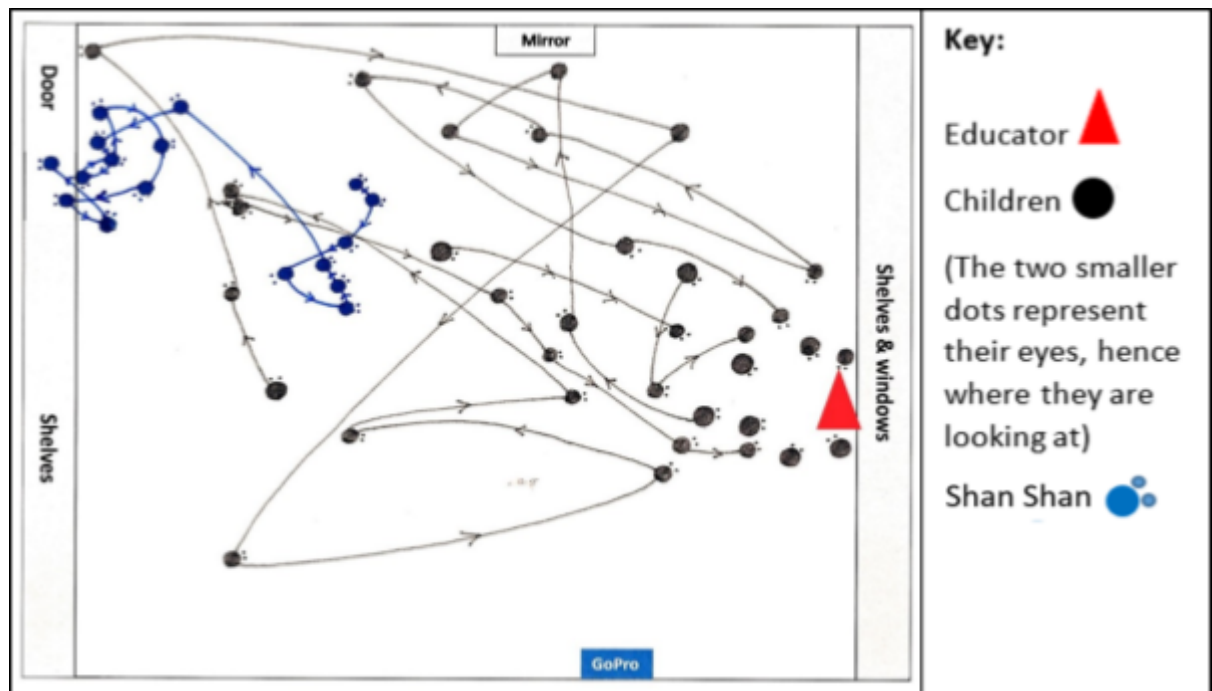
When playing, the children did not initiate nor engage in imaginative play. Instead, object manipulation, holding onto and throwing toys around, were very common. Often the children showed passive behaviours, for example, remaining lying or sitting on the padded floor for a long time, and even sucking their thumbs and/or looking at the ceiling. There was a lack of togetherness and cooperation between them, except for some brief and occasional interactions and shared interests that last for seconds only. Teasing and rough behaviours from older children towards the younger and the less competent were observed repeatedly.

### *The focus child.*

Shanshan was very detached from the rest of the world most of the time and showed more interest in objects than humans around him. Even though he would willingly pull himself up standing in order to get an object on the top shelf, he always ignored the singing and laughing beside him. He preferred lying on the floor mat and looking at the ceiling, or simply crawling away. Shanshan maintained a neutral facial expression almost all the time and never laughed. He did not display any preference, for example, how much or what kind of food he was given, who was feeding or changing him, and when his caregiver was leaving. He did not protest or show any discontent even when someone grabbed his toy from his hand or accidentally knocked him over. He had never made any sound or followed verbal instructions from anyone. Nor had he gestured or signalled, for example, pointing, nodding or shaking his head. Generally speaking, he was oblivious of his social surroundings except for the few occasions when he crawled towards his caregiver.

*Relations between Shanshan and his social situation in play.*

The relationship between Shanshan and his social environment before the educational experiment could be described as rudimentary, as very limited social interactions were observed. The following vignette and mapping (Figure 1) describe a typical circle time in the activity room that last 22.5 minutes.



*Figure 1. Mapping of Shanshan's engagement in play during baseline data collection*

Figure 1 shows Shanshan's movement (highlighted in dark blue) and attention (where he was looking) in relation to the others in the activity room during the time when the educator was presenting a doctor set. The circle time had started without Shanshan, who was having his diaper changed. The starting point of the blue dot was when Shanshan was carried in and placed close to the centre of the room, while most of the children were sitting in a circle with the educator. He lingered in this area for an instant, and looked briefly at the teacher before moving further away from the group and retreated into his own world. The educator just took a look and did not try to engage him, even when Shanshan showed some degree of interest by moving a bit closer to the group. He then picked up a toy on the floor, examined it for a second, and tossed it away as he usually did. Afterwards he stayed close to the door, crawled into a

floor chair, stayed there, and looked at the open door in front of him for the rest of the group time.

As was shown in the example, and was noted from the full data set, letting him be was the common attitude towards Shanshan from both the children and the adults. Adults did not appear to make an effort to play or engage him, despite the fact that they took excellent physical care of him. Similarly, the other children never interacted with him except when grabbing toys from him. In general, there was a lack of play both around Shanshan and with him.

### **Week Ten of the educational experiment**

#### *The social situation*

Over the course of the educational experiment, collective play became a regular and integral part of the everyday routine of this unit. The play activities among children and adults had become more complex and advanced. The adults gradually became better play partners with the children, and they modelled and encouraged pretence and role play in ways that tailored to the competence and interests of different children. The children were seen playing together a lot more regardless of their age and abilities. They were better able to create imaginary situations, change the meaning of different objects and actions with ease, and take on roles in play.

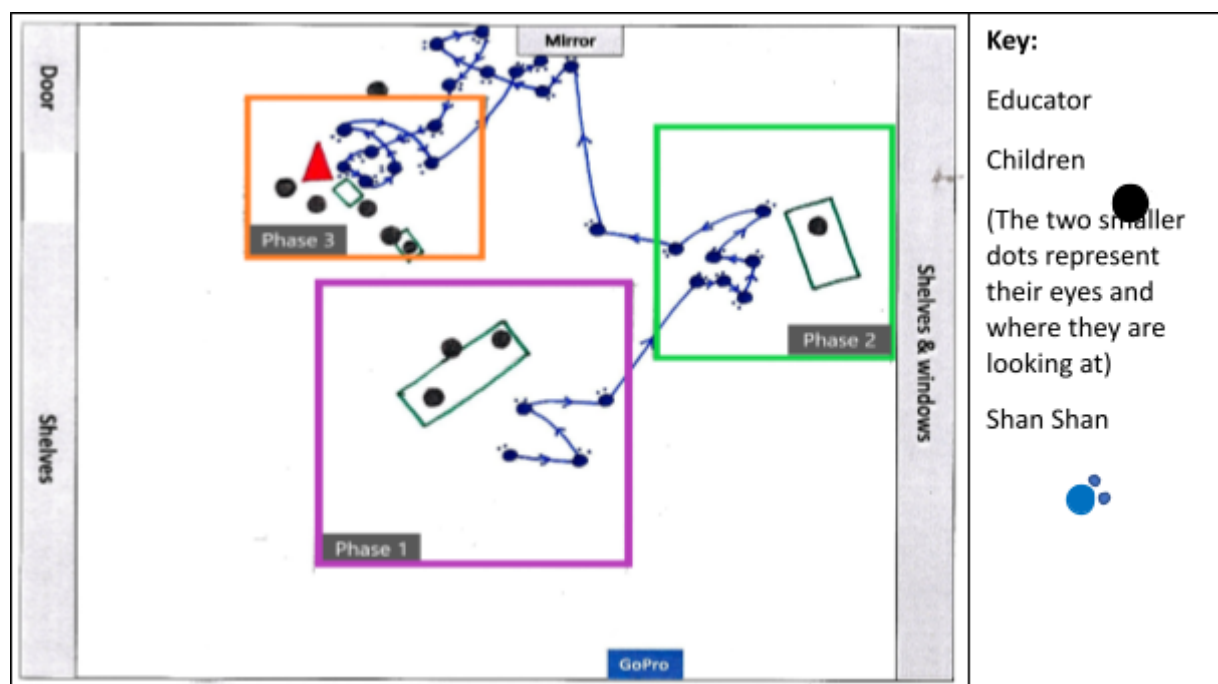
#### *The focus child.*

As will be shown in Figure 2, by the end of the data collection period, Shanshan had become more and more curious and visible. He actively participated in the evening circle time by staying focused in the group for the whole session. Now instead of keeping a neutral face, smiles and laughter had become visible on his face during group play time, and occasionally he made others laugh too.

#### *Relations between Shanshan and his social situation in play.*

Figure 2 below shows Shanshan's first active engagement and display of strong will to participate in play with the others in Week Ten. It was a weekend afternoon, and several older children had creatively turned Balance Bugs—equipment for sensory integration training—into imaginary bridges, onto which they sat and rocked along with the song in Chinese, “London Bridge Is Falling Down”, and then threw themselves onto the padded floor at the last word, to resemble how the bridge fell.

Throughout this 20-minute episode, Shanshan displayed a keen desire to be part of the play. His interactions with the group, his movements, and determination to be engaged in play could be divided into three phases, according to the time sequence (Figure 2).



**Figure 2. Mapping of Shanshan's engagement in play in Week Ten**

During Phase 1, Shanshan watched how the older children were bouncing on the “bridge” to the song and fell in the end laughing. He crawled close to two of the children sharing one bridge, tried to get on, then simply held on to it for a while when another child was rocking and singing. Unfortunately, however, the two children ignored him completely as they were all busy with their play. Shanshan then repeated and persisted on his attempt with someone else (Phase 2). When failed again and retreated to the mirror, he still turned to look at the others every now and then.

Phase 3 started as the educator started singing for a young child sitting on the pretend bridge. Upon hearing this, Shanshan looked up, smiled, threw away the toy in hand, and came leaning on the educator’s lap. He looked up at the children on the “bridge” and then at the educator with a big smile on his face. Realising that Shanshan would like a turn, the educator helped him sit on the “bridge” and supported him by placing her hands under his armpits while singing and rocking, and eventually helping him gently fall. Then when two other children were about to have a turn, Shanshan crawled to the end of the bridge, pressed down on it, and stood up holding a bigger child’s shoulders. The three children who had never played together now squeezed

into each other and gently rocked together while the educator sang. Shanshan remained standing behind the bridge, rocked along with the others until he fell.

Figure 3 below shows Shanshan's different levels of engagement during this play episode. Compared with the pre-implementation episode, where he mostly remained disengaged, here it is obvious that apart from a five-minute withdrawal, Shanshan was mostly active, swinging between watching attentively and voluntarily moving towards others. In addition, there was even an unprecedented, though brief, period (duration: 00:01:09) of active engagement in interactions with others.

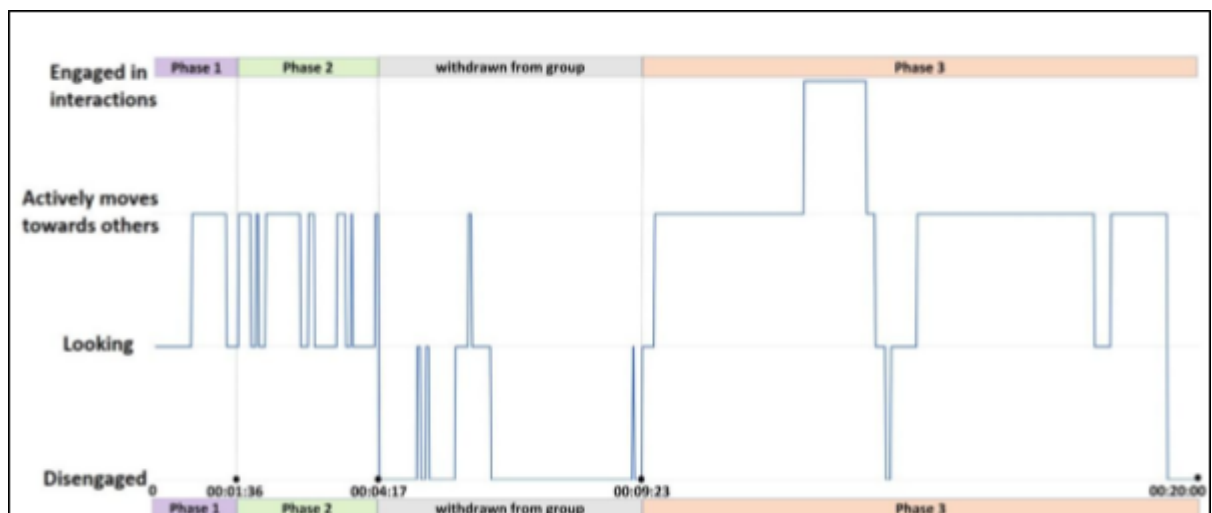


Figure 3. Shanshan's levels of engagement during Week Ten

## Discussion

The linear, age-dependent views of play claim that play emerges from within the individual child, when the child is biologically ready, and play develops according to a certain progression of stages (Smilansky 1968). Many of the stage theories of play postulate that at around two years, children would be able to engage in pretence or symbolic play (Bretherton 1984), but it did not happen with Shanshan even at the chronological age of three years and six months. One might argue that his diagnosis of Down Syndrome contributes to the lack of response and delay in play competence, but research shows that children with Down Syndrome actually tend to be charming and sociable, and enjoy pretend play (Libby et al. 1997; Macintyre 2010). The very limited literature on the play of children with Down Syndrome also suggests that a supportive social environment is essential in their play engagement (Cress 2019; de

Falco et al. 2008). Therefore, biological maturation alone was not the only prerequisite for the appearance and development of play in Shanshan's case. Rather, it is a complex and dynamic activity that emerges as a result of the interactions between the child's inner self and the social world. Specifically, the unity of the jointly created imaginary situation, the participating adults, and the children together changed the dynamics between Shanshan and his social environment, which lies at the heart of Shanshan's changes.

First, Shanshan's social situation was transformed by the jointly created imaginary space, from which the first sign of play and imagination arose through social relations and then as individual functions. The simple yet appealing imaginary situation during Week Ten served as Shanshan's source of development and facilitated him to enter into play and to imagine with the others before he was able to create an imaginary situation by himself. Although he was not the one who initiated the change of the meaning of the Balance Bugs, he was able to understand and eager to be a player. This separation of the meaning from the object and acting upon his desires is a key process in early development (Bodrova and Leong 1998). By following the other players' lead, he explored and gradually mastered a completely different way of interacting with objects around him. Human relations transform a child's interactions with the physical world (Smirnova 2017). As he sat on the bridge and rocked with the other children (Phase 3 in Figure 2), his entire relationship with the environment, both physical and social, have changed. The object has now become a pivot (Vygotsky 1966) to Shanshan between reality and imagination. Consequently, reality is no longer the concrete and limited space around him, but closely connected and full of possibilities for meaning making and adventures.

Second, this study also provides strong evidence that the active engagement of adults in play is a crucial factor for the child's social situation. Research on caregiver-child play in both orphanage settings (Kaler and Freeman 1994) and family settings for children with special needs (Bentenuto et al. 2016) indicate that without adults' play modelling, the child would not be able to develop what is not present in the environment. Conversely, when adults participate in play and demonstrate mature forms of play, children can observe and learn how to play with higher sophistication

(Hakkarainen and Bredikyte 2015; Pramling et al. 2019). In Shanshan's case, the adults interacted with him and his peers qualitatively differently from before by creating opportunities for imaginative play and displaying mature play forms on a daily basis, both of which contributed to the generation of the new ideal forms of play in Shanshan. Moreover, (as shown in Figure 3) when the educator was observant and responsive to his intention to participate, the shared moment of joy and togetherness with the educator propelled Shanshan to take the significant first step to join with two of his peers in play immediately afterwards (Phase 3 in Figure 2).

Additionally, play as a child's social situation of development can be viewed as the dynamic between the play development of the group and that of the individual child. As a collective imaginary situation incorporates different play complexities, different players can develop based on their individual competencies and orientations (Hakkarainen and Bredikyte 2015). As the group's play skills improved and play was happening naturally and abundantly, Shanshan was exposed to ample play examples from both adults and his peers, which had a great impact on Shanshan's engagement in play. In addition, when the group play was improved, the other children were observed to treat Shanshan very differently both inside and outside of play. They changed from as if he was invisible and handling him roughly to accepting him as a play partner as well as a member of the community. These positive interactions and higher forms of play in turn provided Shanshan with ideal forms to experience and interact. Through the common imaginary space, he was supported to take the first step out of isolation and emotionally relate to the others. Subsequently, even though it is still early to say he has achieved an ideal form of play for his age period, it was clear that he was able to consciously persist in the play pursuit and display his intentions explicitly. The action with purpose and intentions indicates that the young child is observant and moving towards consciousness (Sikder and Fleeer 2018), and so for Shanshan, this was a subtle yet significant movement.

Therefore, we can conclude that Shanshan's social situation was qualitatively different because of the regular collective play as part of the institutional practice, which led to his transformation from being passive and indifferent to actively engaged and persistent. This could be seen as the continuation of renovating the system of relations between Shanshan and his social environment, which leads him to further



development. Play facilitated Shanshan to imagine and construct meaning, to be aware of the world around him, and to persevere and communicate with others.

It is a limitation of this study that the time frame would not allow for further exploration about the potential tensions between Shanshan's new orientation to play and interact with others and his social situation. Moreover, it is also beyond the scope of this article to analyse in detail other aspects of Shanshan's social situation, for example, the development of the adults. Another limitation is that only one focus child could be presented in paper, and reliability would be further enhanced with multiple sources of evidence focusing on different children's process of development in collective play.

## Conclusion

A contribution of this study is that it enriches the scant literature on the education and development of children with Down Syndrome. Development is not an objective internalisation of the external factors, but a process where the social relations are experienced through the child's psychological organisation into their mental states (Bozhovich 2009; Vygotsky 1997). Play development can be theorised as the outcome of the dynamic between the individual child and the unity of the social situation. It requires that educators pay attention to the particular needs and social situation of development for the children in the institutional care. This way, it can become a new condition to the everyday practice in the institution and provide opportunities for children that is instrumental to their development.

In this paper, we found that adult-children collective play can serve as the social situation of development for children in institutional care. The shared play experience of a group of children with the adults created developmental conditions for one child which were originally unavailable in the orphanage setup. When collective play happens regularly as part of the everyday practice of an institutional care facility, the child's social situation is qualitatively different. Although it seems intuitive that play would be the dominant activity, this was not the practice tradition. It was found that the unity of different play partners, the objects, and the atmosphere in the environment acted as a motivating force to support the child's engagement in play. When adults participate in play and model mature forms of play, children's play transforms through experiencing and interacting with the ideal forms. Furthermore,

this changes of play interactions in the group can encourage engagement and development of imaginary play in the individual child, as shown in Shanshan's case. This is particularly important in institutional care settings where playing together is not the dominant practice.

To conclude, this study contributes to the orphanage-based intervention literature by highlighting the central role of collective play as “a dynamic source of development” (Vygotsky 1993, 191) and an effective new practice tradition to support the development of children in institutional care settings.

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