

CHAPTER 10

Understanding Symbolic Development

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He is a qualified teacher of visually impaired children, and pioneered the use of symbolic communication aids – so-called ‘objects of reference’ – with children with complex needs in the 1990s. His book, *Objects of Reference: Promoting Early Symbolic Communication* (3rd edn, 2002), has had a major impact on practice in the field.



Aims

To learn:

- ☐ how children develop an understanding of symbols used by other people, in the contexts of communication and imaginative play
- ☐ how children come to use symbols proactively to convey meaning and in shared imaginative play
- ☐ how adults can support children to use conventional symbols of their culture with confidence and competence.

What is symbolic development?

Without an understanding of symbols, we could never develop as human beings. Understanding that one thing can stand for another – is able to act as a symbol – is fundamental to our appreciation of the world around us, the other people with whom we interact, and, ultimately, ourselves. The developmental of symbolic understanding fascinated twentieth century psychologists who were interested in discovering how children's thinking evolved through the early years: particularly Jean Piaget in Switzerland, Lev Vygotsky in Russia and Heinz Werner in Austria. If you want to know more, the book Werner wrote with Bernard Kaplan back in the 1960s, *Symbol Formation*, is still available and is a very good read (see further reading at the end of this chapter). At a more basic level, this chapter introduces the notion of symbolic understanding in the early years, shows how central it is to learning, creativity and communication, and makes suggestions for practitioners to follow in promoting this crucial area of development.

Commonly, a symbol may be an object, a picture, a sign or a word. So, in our minds, a model car stands for the real thing. For Olivia, a photo of the seaside stands for 'playing on the beach'. Her drawing of the ice-cream seems almost good enough to eat. To Ben, the sign for 'finished' means just that, and the word 'drink' brings to mind the familiar orange squash in his beaker. People can stand for other people too. In his mind, the child rocking the doll *is* his father settling his baby sister to sleep. And actions in the playground can symbolise events in the world beyond. Play fights at break time may be children's interpretation of a less savoury external reality.

Symbols help us to operate in the future as well as the past. Symbolic behaviour allows human beings to venture mentally beyond the here and now in time and space in ways that other animals do not seem to be able to do.

Symbolic behaviour exists on many different levels, and starts to evolve very early in development. It becomes particularly noticeable when pretend play starts to emerge. As we have seen, it can take many forms.

Language/signing

Language, whether spoken or signed, is of especial importance in human development (Communicating Matters, 2005c; DCSF, 2008a). There has been robust debate among psychologists about whether or not language is a separate system from other kinds of representation. This is fascinating to study and tease out, rather like a detective story. However, for practitioners working with young children in everyday settings, the key message is that language or signing is very important in enabling youngsters to begin think in a more abstract way, that does not depend on their immediate situation.

In other chapters there has been discussion of the ability of the human brain to use several languages – to be multilingual. In many parts of the world *this is the norm*. If children are brought up to speak three different languages, each with a different root,

such as English, Spanish and Hindi, they are likely to be able to learn any language very quickly. It seems to bring a facility for languages. This is because the brain, instead of losing the ability to distinguish sounds and utter spoken sounds across a wide range, has kept using them. Babies who hear Chinese being spoken learn to recognise and speak its sounds. If that same baby hears English being spoken, then the 'r' sound is retained and not lost. Usually Chinese speakers shed the ability to differentiate between and pronounce 'r' through lack of use in their language. In the same way, English speakers usually lose the ability to recognise and say sounds with a rolling 'rrr' unless they grow up hearing people speaking French (Bruce, 2004a). See Chapter 13 by Marian Whitehead.

EXERCISE 10.1

Discuss the implications of being monolingual, bilingual or multilingual for children's symbolic behaviour. Consider how using different languages at home and in early years settings may pose particular challenges for children.

Representing in two and three dimensions

When children first start to make marks on paper, they are not just scribbling. John Matthews (2003) suggests that, from an early age, children are naturally very interested in the marks for their own sake – and the movements that made them – just as much as they are interested in their symbolic possibilities. Matthews' research suggests that children develop a visual language alongside gesture and oral language/signing. In this way they develop some powerful representative strategies as they draw and paint, which help them to co-ordinate what they know about shapes and colours.

Their early artistic explorations reveal a fascination for the objects and people young children encounter in everyday life. Children investigate objects by manipulating them, looking at them from different viewpoints and moving them about in different ways (Gura, 1992). Sometimes, when they are drawing or painting things, they do not use a fixed viewpoint, but present things from all sorts of angles and perspectives.

It can be problematic to think of children's drawings as progressing in fixed stages of development, particularly if one takes a cross-cultural perspective. Matthews suggests that it is more helpful to think of a dynamic weaving together of movement and configurative patterns and lines that are continually becoming more complex. These emerge from a small repertoire of marks and gestures that arise out of a baby's and toddler's movements, visual and talked/signed languages. That is to say, the development of symbolic behaviour in drawing and painting is fusion of biological and sociocultural strands.

EXERCISE 10.2

Observe a child playing with an object. Note how the object is rotated, moved up and down, on top of surfaces and in other ways. Link these movements to the list of topological space concepts below.

Topological space – how things relate to one another

In/out, on/off, under/over, near/far, going through, going round, next to, opposite, in front of, behind, parallel, at an angle.

EXERCISE 10.3

Observe, (as it unfolds) a spontaneous, child-initiated drawing or painting by the boy or girl you observed playing with an object. Has the child transferred any topological space concepts from 'real life' to his or her representation?

The same is true of the way that children become symbol-users three-dimensionally. When children make things out of clay or sand, or assume roles in small-world play scenarios by wearing dressing-up clothes, or dance like a bird, or move like a car, they bring to bear the powerful multisensory processes that combine visual, auditory, tactile and kinaesthetic input. Ideas, feelings and relationships, together with physical embodiment, are all combined to make a house out of blocks or bricks or an imaginary go-kart out of found materials.

At a more formal level, Nancy Smith (1979, cited in Matthews, 2003) suggests that although children increasingly become aware of the letters, numbers and pictures in their environment, they need to *incorporate them into their play* if they are to understand them fully. Then they will be able to use them confidently and in conventional writing and mathematical recording, assimilating conventions of their culture in the way the symbols are used.

EXERCISE 10.4

Do you pay more attention to children's early writing more than their drawings and paintings? Do you value the things they make? Do you distinguish between the child who is exploring a process and the child who is making a product? Think about the following scenario, and discuss your thoughts with colleagues, keeping in mind the importance of valuing all aspects of two- and three-dimensional symbol use.

Jody (3 years) is standing at the table (she chooses not to sit) drawing with a thin red felt pen. She makes marks on the large sheet of white paper that are circles, in a row across the middle. She says they are people in the bus queue. She puts a dab next to one of them. She points at the dab, and says, 'The little boy dropped his crisps.'

It is important that Jody can be comfortable while she is concentrating. It is also important that she can choose her materials and her medium. This is a meticulous drawing, and so paint would be difficult. She might have chosen clay, or another medium, but a pen is her preference on this occasion. Some children strongly prefer a particular medium. Others like to explore different media. Some of us are specialists and some of us are generalists! Young children need to be offered a wide range of creative opportunities, and be shown the possibilities. This is very different from defining what they must draw, paint or make. They need to be able to develop their own ideas, using their experiences, feelings, relationships and physical selves to do so.

Movement and dance

Babies suck, swallow, grasp, release, gaze, track, locate sound, gain postural control, sit, manipulate objects, balance, crawl and, typically, toddle in the first two years. Mollie Davies (2003: 43) says, they 'delight those around them by adding new actions which they constantly repeat, vary and combine in different ways'.

During the early years, children increase the range of actions they can manage and they begin to refine the way they carry them out. They practise and hone their skills over and over again. Have you ever been with a toddler who wanted to do nothing but climb the stairs all day? This is an important way of becoming confident and competent enough to climb in all sorts of different situations.

Of course, the development of physical movement is like any other aspect of child development: it is a case of 'use it or lose it'. This is why it is concerning that many children spend so much time in pushchairs or car seats. Davies says that movement is a 'must' in children's lives, and that they have a natural appetite for it.

In the same way that the visual arts emerge out of kinaesthetic feedback, so the development of dance arises out of the connections and co-ordination between movement and the senses (JABADAO, 2005). We can see that dance shares some resonances with what is involved in the visual arts and, as we shall see, drama, music and stories too.

Just as John Matthews stresses how children's feelings and ideas influence their painting, drawing and construction games, so Mollie Davies sees dance as supporting children in this way as well. Children can be creators, performers and appreciators of dance from an early age. There are powerful examples of this in Chapter 7 by Jenny Spratt, in which she describes how children aged 12–18 months, on the cusp of developing talking, walking and pretending (DfES, 2002b, DCSF, 2008c), create emergent dances with adults trained in the 'Oogly Boogly' techniques, who have learnt to follow their children's ideas and support their creative thinking. Penny Greenland, in Chapter 16, gives further important examples of developmental movement play.

As children develop a sense of embodiment, they often become involved in dance play. Three- and four-year-olds are especially likely to do so. They practise movements and routines

over and over again. These are early examples of choreography. Because they are here and gone, unlike paintings, drawings and models, they are often hardly noticed, let alone recorded.

Movement involves understanding:

- the body – and how its components relate to one another
- dynamics – how the body moves
- space – how the body uses and is in a space
- relationships – how the body moves in relation to other people and objects.

EXERCISE 10.5

Observe a child/children in the garden/playground or indoors. Using the framework above, identify how the child uses his/her body, the dynamics of the movement, and how it works in space and in relationship to others.

Children who move with a high level of co-ordination are likely to have a greater sense of well-being and are therefore more confident and autonomous learners. They are more likely to dare to try and make dances, perform them with their friends and appreciate the dances of others.

Children soon become appreciative of the way in which sensitive adults can help them to shape their dances. Children need to see that there are different parts of the dance that can be linked, such as the two opposites, fast and slow. This means that children are helped if they learn the language and vocabulary of dance. Nature (splashing in puddles), machinery (swings and see-saws), sounds (crashing and humming), percussion instruments, action words (creeping and stamping), poetry, recorded music, dressing-up clothes, all of these potentially provide the inspiration for children to become dance-makers (Davies, 2003: 167).

Performance for young children means sharing with others the dance that they have made, and knowing what they did to make the dance repeatable. This is different from improvising. A parallel would be the example of finger painting. This is often an improvisation, but sometimes the child makes something with the paint that is an identifiable product, and they decide to repeat this.

Performance in early childhood does not mean putting children on stage before they are able to share their dance and remain involved in it. Sharing with familiar adults and children who are important others comes before showing the dance to people they do not know well, and who are not as important to them. If children are to become symbol-makers in

ways that are not superficial, then they need to learn to share their dance-making with deep focus and involvement.

Of course, seeing dances performed by others helps children to become aware of and to appreciate what dance is. Dancing and becoming a dance-maker help children to link creating a dance with performing and appreciating it. Similarly, seeing theatre performances by groups such as Theatre Rites also helps children to appreciate what drama is.

Singing and making music

So far in this chapter, we have seen the importance of vision, movement, gesture and dance from babyhood onwards for children becoming symbol-users.

Music has a special place in children's development. It is important precisely because it functions *non*-symbolically most of the time. Music does not *mean* anything in the literal sense: it comprises abstract patterns of sound that the human mind universally seems to find attractive, and whose neural representations map directly onto the emotional centres in the brain. So music can *move* us, and, from the very beginning, young children find it irresistible (Ockelford, 2008).

At its simplest, in the form of children's songs and nursery rhymes, music is easy for the young mind to grasp, since it is *very* repetitive (around 80 per cent of pieces comprise nothing more than the same thing heard all over again!). And although music does not in itself usually symbolise anything, it can help the developing brain grasp the symbolism associated with language – through songs and chants, for example. A melody can provide the 'washing line' on which the word 'pegs' are clipped: making them more memorable, giving them a clear sequence and an overall regularity, consistency and an easily graspable shape in sound.

But music is much more than a powerful medium to facilitate learning: it aids socialisation and emotional regulation too. To this end, across the world, in every culture, mothers are 'hot-wired' to sing to their babies (and their babies are hot-wired to sing back!). Little wonder, then, that experienced early years practitioners use music a great deal in their work quite without thinking about it. In the early years setting, music is a powerful and inclusive 'glue', bringing coherence to the activities in which children and practitioners engage.

EXERCISE 10.6

Observe a child for a period of an hour or so. List all the forms of organised sounds and music with which they came into contact. Do they sing or hum to themselves, or with others? Do they play games with a regular chant or rhythm? Do the practitioners use music in their work and play with the children? Was there music in the environment? What effect do you think all this sound and music had? Did you notice music supporting symbolic learning?

EXERCISE 10.7

Find three examples or more of children's music from different cultures. (If necessary use the Internet to help you with this.) Can you identify the similarities and the differences? How important do you think it is to use music from a child's home culture in the early years setting?

Children progress, or are constrained, according to biological development. But biology is shaped by the relationships children have and the cultural contexts in which they grow up. Music, like the other arts, is sociocultural in nature. It is ubiquitous in every society, and fulfils many functions. Many of people's ways of engaging with music have their roots in the early years. Hence, early years environments should be crucibles of musical engagement.

Imagination and creativity and symbolic behaviour

Peter McKellar (1957) suggests that imagination is the rearrangement of past experience in new and fascinating ways. This is important, because it means that the experiences we offer children are central in developing their imaginative potential (Duffy, 2005). When we imagine, it is an internal and private process. We create images in our mind, we are rekindling the movements we have experienced, sounds we have heard or made, objects we have seen or been shown, and tastes and smells we have experienced. Putting these together in new juxtapositions, even blending them – this is what the imagination does.

Because images are internal, it is difficult to know if they are made in the minds of very young children and children who are challenged through disabilities or learning difficulties in using spoken/signed language, but we can assume that they must exist in some form. We know that, typically, babies have an image of their mother by the age of 5 months, because they are disturbed when shown multiple images of her. In order to do this, they have to be able to match the picture they have of her in their head with the many images they are shown of her.

Children with a rich store of images in their heads, arising from experiences through their senses and movement, can draw on these as a resource to use when they dance, draw, make things or compose music.

Creativity and being a symbol-maker

Creative development is a process that involves making use of experiences stored in the imagination, gathering them together and 'incubating' them. Incubation requires illumination and insight through a dawning on the part of the child that this is an *idea* (becoming aware of what you are thinking is usually referred to as 'metacognition'). This is sometimes known as the 'ah-ha' phenomenon. The next step is the hatching of the creative idea.

Of course not all creative ideas hatch successfully, and many just fade away before they become a creation. Creative ideas are about being original, and innovative, and rearranging things so that they are different from the way they were before and making new connections.

There is a myth that creativity is only something that occurs in the arts. Nothing could be further from the truth. Creativity is at the heart of science and the humanities (Bruce, 2004b).

Play and symbol-generating

Understanding how play develops is a complex matter – but it is important that early years practitioners have a good grasp of this very important subject. The EYFS (DCSF, 2008c) has embedded into its framework the 12 features of play (Bruce, 1991), as identified in traditional and recent research and theoretical literature.

The 12 features of play demonstrate the free-flowing nature of children's play from birth onwards, but can also be applied to adult play. The features are inclusive and embrace a diverse approach to play cross-culturally and in relation to children with disabilities and learning difficulties. In other words, this is a birth throughout life approach to play.

The 12 features (Bruce, 1991; updated 2005) are:

1. Children draw upon the first-hand experiences they have had in their play. The richer and deeper the experiences, in the way they bring into action all the senses as well as movement and the kinaesthetic feedback that accompanies it, the more the child's possibilities for rich play develops.
2. In play children make up their own rules. This is different from the rules they learn about in games such as hopscotch or ring dances like 'Here we go round the mulberry bush'.
3. Children make play props from found materials and sometimes from toys. However, it is interesting to note that home-made play props are often the most loved by children in their play, rather than expensive toys. This is because they are more open-ended and flexible to use and offer more opportunities. Toys which are designed to be used narrowly are rather closed in their possibilities, and quickly become boring. They also 'suggest' to children that they ought to use them in particular ways. Of course, children who are experienced and highly developed players ignore these messages, and might use a telephone with a bell as an ambulance in a play scenario. It does not need to cost money to play. Play props making dens under the table, with a drape for the walls, are far more deeply satisfying than expensive toys which are often just status symbols.
4. One of the more crucial features of play is that children must choose to play. They cannot be made to play. It is simply no good trying to timetable play. Children have to move into play in their own way, at their own pace. Play does not happen on demand. Given that it is taking children into one of the highest forms of learning, it is not surprising that play develops when the circumstances, conditions and atmosphere are right.
5. Children rehearse future possibilities when they play. We see this in their role play.

6. Play opens up opportunities to pretend. Pretend play involves the child in becoming an active symbol-user. Children pretend to eat, to sleep and, across the world, food preparation dominates the pretend play of 3-year-olds.
7. Sometimes children play alone. This is in no way inferior to playing alongside or with others. Often, it is a question of not having friends to play with, or not being in the mood to play with others, and instead choosing to play alone. Small-world play, sand play, play on the rocking horse and play with clay are often chosen by children for their solitary play. This kind of play brings opportunities to reflect without having to worry about anybody else's ideas or feelings, so that an idea can be pursued in great depth. Many creative adults spent a great deal of time alone during childhood playing. Beatrix Potter is an example.
8. When children are playing with others they might play in companionship, which means they play in parallel enjoying each other's company, but not wishing to interact directly. They often mirror and imitate each other though. They are very aware of what the others are doing. Alternatively, they might play with other adults/children co-operatively. Often this kind of play is deepest when two children play together co-operatively, but as children become experienced players, they manage to do this with larger groups.
9. It is easier to play in a larger group co-operatively if everyone is clear what the play theme is, for example shops. One child, who emerges as a leader in the play, usually makes an announcement to signal to the group the key messages of the play scenario. 'We're going to go shopping in the market. This is the market isn't it?' This enables each and every child participating in the play to develop their own personal play agenda. One child might want to wrap up pretend bread and put it in bags. Another child might want to cut the cheese with the wire-cutter. Children usually need more play props which look realistic in early group play. This gives them clarity about what is going on. If they play together often and they know each other well and are tuned into each other's thinking and feelings, they can be free to make their own play props, which might be using a shoe as a pretend iron or telephone.
10. Quality free-flowing play means that children become deeply involved in their play. They will not easily be distracted. They might be involved in pretend play or role play, or they might be playing with materials without imbuing them with symbolic life.
11. When children are involved in their play, they often demonstrate their recent learning. It is as if they are celebrating what they have been learning by applying it in their play. Play is hugely about the application of what has been learnt in a safe environment. You can escape into play in this way, but you can also escape out of it if it becomes too much.
12. Free-flow play helps children to co-ordinate and bring together their learning. It orchestrates their feelings, ideas and relationships with their family, friends and culture. It also develops their physical and embodied self.

Games and becoming a symbol-user

The Opies (1988) observed children as they played games in the street, or participated in ring games in the playground. They found that when the children first began to gather together, they used games that had rules set by people outside their context. These games might be hopscotch or ring games with set actions. As the children played together and became more relaxed and used to each other, they started to change the rules and make them their own, agreed between them only for the duration of their time together before being called in to their homes, or at the end of the school playtime. In other words, the children started with games with set rules, and ended with free-flow play in which their rules emerged from conventional ones. In order to do this, you have to understand quite a bit about rules in games.

More recently Marjatta Kalliala (2005) has observed that in Finland these street games are rare now, because children do not play outside as they used to do. This means that the older children no longer teach the younger children, and so these games are fading as an aspect of children's play culture. This is interesting in the light of recent debates in England about the teaching of reading. The main way in which, traditionally, children became phonologically aware and began to make the crucial relationships between letters, their look and sounds, was through rhymes, ring games and action songs. These traditions in games could be taught in the safe environment of early childhood settings. Many staff are now regularly playing these songs and rhyme games with children, and parents are enjoying taking part too.

In a reception class which was moving away from a curriculum which 'mainly consisted of unconnected adult-initiated activities provided ... to prepare children for key stage 1' (Marsden et al., 2005), staff turned their attention to the way they developed mathematics. Adults introduced board games. Observations revealed that the 5-year-olds knew a great deal about playing board games. It also became apparent that, when adults led the games, they were shorter, less complicated and were less fun. When the adults tuned into what the children did and said, the children were able to use what they knew about games to make up their own, which were very creative and of deep quality.

As their teacher, Lesley Hill, said, they had become 5-year-old gamers because she had involved them in 'shared sustained thinking' (Siraj-Blatchford et al., 2004). The children had resources available that were interesting to them. They felt secure, and they had time for their games.

Stories, poems and storytelling

So often it is easier to understand really difficult ideas if they are presented in a story form. In an earlier part of this chapter, we looked at the powerful learning mechanism that humans develop during very early childhood: symbolic behaviour. Stories are symbolic. They help to make the abstract and intangible, concrete and tangible (Woolf and Belloli, 2005).

The ancient forms of stories were told orally, long before people wrote them down. Children respond readily to being told stories, often because of the eye contact that is encouraged, and because it is easier to 'tune in' as part of an audience, where others are sharing the same experience, and engaging with the narrative as a group. It can be helpful

to use props. The words of stories can readily be adjusted for the particular audience, and the story can be paced so it is just at the right speed and level. Children often delight in having a go at telling stories too, free from the feeling that they cannot yet read fluently.

Picture books are also a traditional and time-honoured way of telling stories with great subtlety. Children learn to read the symbolic aspects of the pictures, and delight in talking with others about what they see. Picture books offer children beautiful visual experiences offered by the illustrators, and demonstrate that stories can be told without words, just as they can through dance, mime and music.

Poetry and rhyme books, or poetry cards, give children small and manageable chunks of text, simple to learn by heart, and which make it easy for the child to point at words as the rhyme is chanted. Children soon learn what they need to do to land up in the right place, and they begin to look closely at the words, and to remember them because they are in a meaningful context. Poetry and rhyme books are another traditional and highly effective way of offering children a canon of literature, which they often use as a resource for their own symbol-making. Children will use familiar texts as a structure for their own stories and rhymes.

Making books and writing

As children begin to develop their own stories, they delight in being able to make books in which to record them. In many early childhood settings there are tables set aside for writing, but it is less usual to see book-making as part of these areas. It is well worth the effort of maintaining the resources needed.

There are different ways to make simple books, but these are some of the easiest and so most suitable for children in their early childhood:

- zig zag books
- books which have holes punched on the spine, so that string can be threaded through and tied in a bow or knot – very popular, as children love to hang them on their pegs if they have them
- books that are stapled along the spine, and then covered in sticky tape so that they do not scratch the readers.

Children use their home-made books to experiment with writing, and sometimes spontaneously copy bits of writing in which they have taken an interest. Children need to find out what writing is, and so they need a print-rich environment. This means they need texts that they can engage with. This is why they respond to seeing their own name in print, which is often of great importance to the individual concerned. Their name is not just a piece of text on a name card, it is an aspect of self. Children often pick out their name and say, 'That's me'. They write their name, but not necessarily in a conventional way. Hannah made the H at the end of her name look like a bed, and drew herself sleeping on it.

As we can see in Chapter 13 by Marian Whitehead and Chapter 14 by Elizabeth Carruthers and Maulfry Worthington, if children are permitted to explore print fully, as personal symbols

and as conventions to be learnt, the two processes feed off and into each other, so that children come to understand print and numbers, and use these increasingly conventionally in their attempts to write. This in turn helps the process of learning to read. Having shared sustained conversations about these things deepens the learning (Siraj-Blatchford et al., 2002).

Parents

In this chapter we have looked at some of the important ways in which children develop symbolic behaviour. Sharing what we learn with parents is an important part of working with other people's children. Something as simple as explaining why you are excited about a child's symbolic play, music-making, telling stories, drawing, painting or constructing models shows that you value the journey children take in developing as symbol-users and symbol-makers.

This can be further developed by making profiles showing a child's learning journey, using the child's own symbolic behaviour and products.

Further reading

You may find it useful to read some practical projects about symbolic development undertaken by teachers and practitioners in their schools and settings in *Early Childhood Practice: The Journal for Multi-Professional Partnerships*, Ormond House Cottage, Ormond Road, Richmond, TW9 6TH. Some useful articles selected are:

- Asquith, T., 'The development of writing in the nursery'. Vol. 3. No. 1, 2001, pp. 55–6.
- Long, A., 'Forget about "music" – concentrate on the children'. Vol. 3, No. 1, 2001, pp. 71–6.
- Martin, P., 'Developing learning at Waverley School'. Vol. 6, No. 2, 2004, pp. 29–34.
- Windebank, R., 'How can I develop Dave's communication, language and literacy skills through a multi-sensory environment with reference to small world and wooden blockplay?' Vol. 7, No. 1, 2005, pp. 75–82.

The following books are useful in expanding the key messages in the chapter:

- Davies, M. (2003) *Movement and Dance in Early Childhood*. 2nd edn. London: Paul Chapman Publishing.
- Matthews, J. (2003) *Drawing and Painting: Children and Visual Representation*. 2nd edn. London: Paul Chapman Publishing.
- Ockelford, A. (2008) *Music for Children and Young People with Complex Needs*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

This book gives more detail than is possible in this chapter, and is a wealth of practical help.

Werner, H. and Kaplan, B. (1963/1984) *Symbol Formation*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. This book is a classic, and is fascinating.



Go to www. for the Case Study for this Chapter.