

KRYSTYNA ZABAWA ORCID: 0000-0003-4873-839X

Jesuit University Ignatianum in Kraków

What to Play and How to Play in the 21st Century? Diagnoses and Prescriptions in Contemporary Polish Children's Literature

Abstract: The paper presents the results of the analysis of about a hundred Polish books for younger children (3–10 year-olds) written in the 21st century. During the research special attention was paid to the depiction of children's play in the analysed literature. The author compared the character of play in Polish children's classics (M. Konopnicka, M. Kownacka, Cz. Janczarski) with recent stories and novels (written by G. Kasdepke, R. Jędrzejewska-Wróbel, R. Witek, A. Tyszką and others). Some sociological research is referenced in order to assess whether writers present actual situations of play (diagnostic) or try to influence play by giving advice on how to play and what to play (prescriptive). The main conclusions of the research are: in contemporary literature for young readers, children's play is not presented as often as it was in the previous century; children characters need adults' help, advice or company to play, they rarely play outside with their friends without adult supervision. Instead, children's play now often takes place in cyberspace and kids become addicted to their computers and other electronic devices; children are often bored and expect help in finding interesting and involving forms of play.

Keywords: children's play, Polish children's literature, contemporary culture and society, social changes, 21st century

... the changes in a children's book during the last 200 years and new phenomena from the past two decades connected with them, can say absolutely everything about our culture (...). Children's books are highly symptomatic and reveal our assumptions as well as delusions we have about ourselves and our surrounding, constantly changing world"

(Czabanowska-Wróbel 2016: 10).

The aim of this article is to show an important part of our culture, that is children's play, presented in Polish children's literature of the last 15 years. According to the opening quote, the article is about our adult beliefs, opinions, and perhaps delusions. While reading books for children and tracing play motives, I was try-

ing to identify the diagnoses and prescriptions included in them about children's way of play. What do writers actually know about today children's play, what do they believe they know? What do they wish children would play?

Jenny Holt, writing about play motives in literature, claims: "It is generally acknowledged that children are in need of play and that if they are deprived of play, disastrous consequences may ensue" (Holt 2010:34). Everyday observation confirms that children's play nowadays is endangered. Psychologists and pedagogues write about children being overwhelmed by after-school activities (or even "after-kindergarten" activities), thus having no time for actual, spontaneous play. What is the image of children playing in contemporary literature? Do the writers see the problem and try to propose solutions? – These are the main questions this research addresses.

It's good to start with a definition of play as there are so many of them in scientific literature. According to Danuta Waloszek's entry in *Encyklopedia pedagogiczna XXI wieku* (*Pedagogical Encyclopedia of the 21st Century*), in most cultures play in general is separated from children's play. In the author's opinion it shows underestimation of the latter (Waloszek 2008: 643). For sure, children's play definitely **is** different than play in general (e.g. defined by J. Huizinga). Its main features, I would say its *sine qua non* are: it has to be **voluntary** and **intrinsically motivated**, certainly not obligatory (although there are also definitions that treat required "play" as play, too). As the classic Johann Huizinga wrote: "Play to order is no longer play: it could at best be but a forcible imitation of it. (...) It is an activity connected with no material interest, and no profit can be gained by it" (Huizinga 1980: 7, 13). This is why the phrase "educational play" sounds to me like an oxymoron. It does not mean that one does not learn by playing but it cannot be its main purpose.

Waloszek's entry contains numerous terms ascribed to play by different scholars, among those: spontaneity, voluntarism, joy, laughter, imagination, fiction (Waloszek 2008: 643). I will draw on those in my analyses.

In Polish children's literature written in the 21st century I was looking for such play and children characters playing without any external motives, just for the love of it. I focused on fiction, i.e., short stories and mini novels for younger children (3–10 years old). I analyzed the texts as well as any illustrations according to the current vogue that investigates children's literature as "the body of written text **and** accompanying illustrations"¹ (as the *Encyclopedia Britannica* suggests).

The framework of the analyses is the corpus of classical children's literature full of play motives that has been already noticed and analyzed in research, e.g., by Jenny Holt. She analyzes "British children's literature from the late eighteenth to the early twentieth century, ranging from Thomas Day's Sandford and Mer-

¹ C. Fadiman, *Children's literature*, <https://www.britannica.com/art/childrens-literature> (20.09.2017).

ton (1783–9) to Frances Hodgson Burnett's *The Secret Garden* (1909)" (Holt 2010: 34). One of the first books about children's play in Polish literature is Maria Konopnicka's story *Jak się dzieci w Bronowie bawiły* (*How children played in Bronów*) from 1895. The eminent poet and writer (and mother of six) described children's daily activities, paying special attention to their play: "After breakfast children went to play various games: hide-and-seek, heaven and hell, little go-se" (Konopnicka 1911: 14). "After dinner one needed to run a little. So Tadzio bestrode a nice stick, which he had made out of a branch, Staś got on another stick, only a little shorter (...) and let's go – around the lawn in front of the house" (Konopnicka 1911: 27). In the illustrations (by Stanisław Dębicki) the children are running, dancing, playing on the grass. The pictures are very dynamic. The children have smiles on their faces, some of them look deeply engaged in play. They organize it themselves. It is emphasized that the basic toys, the stick that "pretends" to be a horse, are of their own making. They are together – girls and boys. There are no adults with them (in the first picture there is a person with her back turned, sitting with a baby; it is Rozalka, the children's nanny from a village who takes care of the youngest child, sometimes sings songs but doesn't interfere in the older children's play).

The history of children at play in Polish children's literature has not yet been written, and it is beyond the aim of this paper to do so. But I treat it as the broad context of my research. A few names should be mentioned from the classics of children's literature, important for the subject. Polish classical children's writers frequently included the motives of play in their stories. Among the most popular is Maria Kownacka (the author of the stories about *Plastuś* – a plasticine creature) and Czesław Janczarski ("father" of *Teddy Floppy Ear* – *Miś Uszatek*). Both characters are animated toys that Joanna Papuzińska described as "one of the basic storyline devices in children's literature (...)", so-called "sub-children's characters or narrators" because they seem to know less than their child addressees (Papuzińska 2002: 287). If we look at the pictures by Zbigniew Rychlicki² from a book *Nowi przyjaciele Misia Uszatka* (*Teddy Floppy Ear's New Friends*) we see that in the chapter *Zabawa karnawałowa* (*Carnival party*) the teddy bear is disguised as a snowman. All animated toys are disguised and sing their own songs about their new identities. The next chapter is entitled *Sklep* (*A Shop*) and starts with a puppet clown's proposal: "Let's play shop"³ (Janczarski 1971: 12) – a suggestion that the narrator comments on by saying "[a]nd a really merry play started" (Janczarski 1971: 13). The same scheme repeats itself in the chapter *Puff, puff, puff!* whose first sentence is, "Let's play train today," *Teddy Bear* proposed. I will be a train driver" (Janczarski 1971: 18). The animated toys play ball and ride a merry-go-round, too. Play is their natural

² Zbigniew Rychlicki (1922–1989) – an eminent Polish graphic artist and illustrator, awarded with the Hans Christian Andersen Award (1982).

³ This seem to be one of the oldest recorded plays. It is mentioned by Rabelais and painted by Bruegel the Elder in his picture *Children's Games* (1560).

and everyday activity. It is usually initiated by one of them. There is no adult interfering. Actually, in Janczarski's stories there are few adults at all, mostly in the background. The play here is fully "self-directed, enjoyable and instinctive". It corresponds to the contemporary British definition that is the closest to my understanding of children's play, formulated by Playwork Principles Scrutiny Group in 2005 it as follows: Play is a process that is freely chosen, personally directed and intrinsically motivated. That is, children and young people determine and control the content and intent of their play, by following their own instincts, ideas and interests, in their own way for their own reasons⁴.

A different situation can be noticed in children's books created in Poland in the 21st century. "Zabawa" ("Play"; can be translated also as "fun") is not a keyword for children's literature any more. If it appears in the titles at all, it is used with different meanings than defined above. It is apparently and most frequently used in an educational context. For example: in Roger Rougier's *Liczenie w pamięci to zabawa* [Doing arithmetics in your head is fun] (it seems to be a kind of a manual) or *W co się bawią dzieci na całym świecie?* [What do children all over the world play?] (by A. Massasso, L. Pollastri; one of dozens of guidebooks). The authors of such books (and adults who buy them) assume that children need their assistance, their help in finding proper games to play and – that one of the main goals of play is to teach.

Josie Gleave and Issy Cole-Hamilton in their report from 2012 wrote:

By understanding play only as a tool for achieving other outcomes, such as learning or fitness, we are in danger of losing sight of the essence of play itself, with the result that 'play' becomes transformed into structured activities with clear goals and aims rather than something that is self-directed, enjoyable and instinctive. It is only by following their own rules, in their own time, can children fully reap the benefits of playing⁵.

Such play was described in classical stories presented earlier. Nowadays the role of adults in play is almost always emphasized in books for children. Grzegorz Kasdepke's work is a good example here. One of the most popular contemporary children's writers in Poland, he wrote many educational, and at the same time humorous, involving stories with interesting plots. Play in them is usually seen simply as a means to an end. And, what is more, children have to learn some rules before they start to play, as the title of the book suggests: *Ostrożnie! Wszystko, co powinno wiedzieć dziecko, żeby mogło bezpiecznie bawić się w domu* [Be careful! Everything a child should know to be able to play safely at home]. This is a book of short stories, not a classical guidebook. It is a good piece of children's literature. But its didacticism, although skillfully

⁴ J. Gleave and I. Cole-Hamilton, 'A world without play' – a literature review; revised January 2012, <http://www.playengland.org.uk/media/371031/a-world-without-play-literature-review-2012.pdf> (5.05.2016).

⁵ Ibidem.

hidden in funny texts, is obvious. The idea expressed in the title is: you cannot play (safely) without learning rules. The adverb “safely” is interesting and meaningful here. Are/were spontaneous children’s games safe? There is a lot of evidence (also literary evidence) that favourite children’s activities often cannot be described as safe.

A key insight into the situation of children’s play in the 21st century is this: children need adults to play. Such a belief stands even behind the title of a poetry anthology for children: *Poeci bawią dzieci* (*Poets entertain kids*). Adults should entertain children, teach them the rules or simply accompany them, as happens in many of Kasdepke’s stories, where the protagonist Kacper’s father (who is often the narrator and can be identified with the writer Grzegorz Kasdepke himself) likes to play with his son. Maybe the increasingly frequent involvement of adults happens because nowadays there are more only children without siblings so that they have to play with adults. They also spend less time outside creating their own peer groups. Another insight: if not playing with adults, children spend their time on their own; there are no (or only few) communal games that are essential for a child’s development. This has to do with the problem of space: the characters of a series mini novels by Rafał Witek, Gabrysia and Nilson can’t play on a playground:

The worst thing is to be ten. No attractions for people at our age! Apparently, ten-year-olds are unpopular in the world, Nilson complained, when we were again chased away from a little playground in our estate (...).

Little children’s mums didn’t like that we use swings, take seats on a merry-go-round, run around and make noise. We suppose that they resented also our breathing the same air as their pampered babies.

We are too old for a playground, and too young for wandering in shopping galleries. Everywhere in the estate there are signs “Playing ball forbidden” and the schoolyard is closed during holiday, Nilson continued (Witek 2014 b: 16).

The same statements are repeated in other novels and stories by Małgorzata Strękowska-Zaremba and Agnieszka Tyszk. The only author I have found that writes optimistically about children’s play is Roksana Jędrzejewska-Wróbel (to some extent also Zofia Stanecka in one story from the series about Basia – *Basia i plac zabaw* [*Basia and the playground*]). However, the author of *Florka* also notices children’s loneliness in play, their difficulties in finding friends to play with, and describes adults playing with children and giving them advice. But at the same time she puts many images of children’s spontaneous plays into her stories, too. There is only a slight doubt if it is not so called “wishful thinking”. Maybe the writer describes the situation that is still true for little towns and villages rather than big cities? Anyway, Roksana Jędrzejewska-Wróbel is the 21st century Polish writer who certainly appreciates children’s plays. Her stories (especially her series about Florka, Halinka the piggy, and about Plaste-linek) deserve a separate article devoted to the role of play in them.

Coming back to broader literary assessment of children's play, there are at least two additional areas of concern: children's addiction to electronic devices and – being bored. Both things affect children's play. The first phenomenon shows that play changes places – from the real to the virtual. Gabrysia from R. Witek's mini novel comments on Nilson's behaviour: "Lately, he walks all the time with his nose in a tablet. He plays a game where he rears virtual cows on a virtual farm and then sells them to other players. Because of this farm our talks started to be much shorter" (Witek 2014 a: 16).

The most powerful image of children's computer addiction and its effects appears in the short story *Żarłoczna gra* [*Voracious game*] by Joanna Olech. It is included in a volume about new adventures of Bolek and Lolek – popular cartoon characters. This time Lolek finds himself in a computer game inside a computer and cannot get out. Acting together, the brothers manage to free the unfortunate player. In the end of the story they switch the computer off – jointly, with determination and relief. This is, of course, a fantastic situation – based on a play of words. "Wciągnąć" means "to drag or draw somebody into something" but also "to absorb or to involve".

A realistic situation of this kind is described in one of Tyszka's stories about Zosia from Kocia Street: Aruś knows only one kind of play – namely with different screens, such as in a mobile phone or a computer. His grandmother, wanting to make him play with other children, takes his electronic devices away and shuts them in a wardrobe. The result is the boy's escape. Asked about Aruś' friends, his grandma answers: "His only friends are a computer and a mobile phone" (Tyszka 2013: 110). A little girl comments: "So he must feel terribly lonely when you have taken his friends away." When children find Aruś, they try to engage him in a game. But he says he doesn't like to play! This is commented on by the children's aunt: "Probably he doesn't know what it means to play really well" (Tyszka 2013: 136). This illustrates again the problem stated above: some children cannot initiate play; they seem to have lost their instinct and inner need. In Tyszka's novel it is sometimes aunt Malina who proposes different games; and a guidebook, "333 creative plays", appears. The diagnosis is followed by a prescription. Stories about Zosia are full of didacticism disguised as autodidacticism: children themselves give wise advice to their peers. Especially the main character and simultaneously the narrator seems to be the voice of the adult writer, for example when she concludes that "...people care little for their imagination, and the older they are, the worse it is. Children are still OK – they play, invent whatever possible and run, racing with the wind. But it doesn't concern Aruś. I think he is at my age but playing and running are rather not his cup of tea." (Tyszka 2013: 66).

Aruś' natural state without computer games is a **boredom** that seems to be commonplace, a kind of children's disease of civilization. Surprisingly, sociological and pedagogical research show rather the "opposite" illness, one shared with adults: a severe lack of time because of too many after school ac-

tivities. In children's literature this problem is generally not represented. Instead, child characters are bored (such motives can be found in books by R. Witek, R. Jędrzejewska-Wróbel, A. Tyszką, R. Klimczak). The last author even created fantastic characters who are to help children fighting against boredom – "Nudzimisie". The word is extremely difficult, in fact nearly impossible to translate because of an internal play of words. The term consists actually of three words which together create a phrase: nudzi mi się (I am bored). The last two words are pronounced as [misie] which means "bears". Thus the name of the fantastic creatures means at the same time: "I am bored" and something like "bore bears". These characters – Nudzimisie – help children fight boredom. The author's books have garnered many reviews on the Internet and have been praised in several readers' blogs they continue to receive many comments, and they have their own website. The commercial success of this series seems to be symptomatic. At least in the opinion of adults children have problems with boredom, they can't play on their own. Piles of toys do not help.

Thus we can go from diagnosis to prescription: how to "save children's play"? (I am borrowing this slogan from the name of a campaign by the organization "Play England"). What to play and how to play? What are the answers in 21st-century Polish children's literature? The most common advice is: return to the past, to tradition, ask your parents and grandparents and use their ideas. There are more and more books that describe traditional Polish children's plays (e.g. *Zabawy. Czy prababka grała w ciuciubabkę?* 2009; [*Plays. Did our great grandmother play "blind man's bluff"?*]). Such advice is also hidden in autobiographical stories for children, written by authors of children's literature. They present their own plays and games. Sometimes even, like in J. Papuzińska's *Krasnale i olbrzymy* (*Dwarfs and giants*), the books contain detailed instructions on how to play: on the last page a child can find a description of a "chłopek" (yokel). This play, also called "klasy" (classrooms), is one of the most popular in children's books and probably in Polish people's collective memories⁶.

One thing is striking when comparing children's play described in short stories and novels for the 21st century with children's and autobiographical prose where the writers recall plays from their own childhood, i.e., from the time after the war until about the 1980's: the former category seems to be for children with no adults. Parents and teachers were not initiated in children's activities and their favourite plays. Probably they would also say (if they knew) that such play was not **safe**. Papuzińska writes: "Although parents did not allow us to play in the street, we always could stop for a while on our way to school and play classes or "chłopek" or "pustaklepka" or anything else that came into our minds." (Papuzińska 2015: 12).

⁶ [http://zabawy.zrodla.org/gra_chlopek/\(7.05.2016\)](http://zabawy.zrodla.org/gra_chlopek/(7.05.2016)).

Spontaneous play in the streets and in backyards is the sign of old times. According to British research, “90% of adults played out regularly in their street as children. 1 in 3 of today’s children say they don’t play out in their street at all.”⁷ (I haven’t found such research in Poland, but I think the situation is similar, at least in towns and cities.) Whereas scientists claim that: “In the street, particularly in the nooks and crannies of public space not under the watchful gaze of adults, children may thus begin forming a public identity and establish their own selfhood and independence” (Spilsbury 2005: 81). In Grzegorz Kasdepke’s memories in a book titled *Kiedy byłem mały* [*When I was little*] such “nooks and crannies” are described as garages, mysterious bunkers, bushes and trees in the yard of the already closed kindergarten... And the narrator’s children’s play definitely was not safe! Remember that today Kasdepke is the author of the book *Ostrożnie!* [*Be careful!*], mentioned above! There were two boys’ groups that were fighting, throwing stones at the members of the enemy group! The catalogue of other plays is also interesting: preparing bows for battles with boys from another backyard, classical hide-and-seek, telling jokes from the series “Once upon a time there were – a Pole, a Russian and a German”, catching spiders and torturing them, or teasing a caretaker from the nearest kindergarten. These were boys’ plays. I think in the 1960’-80’s gender roles were still well defined and practiced.

The book *When I was little* consists of two parts: one is written by a man and another by a woman writer. Girls’ plays were different, not as aggressive and cruel but also “without any sense” (according to adults’ point of view). For example, Anna Onichimowska recalls her favourite play with her friend: jumping on a big bed while shouting “We are carrying a cow on a stick!!!” (Onichimowska, Kasdepke 2009: 31). I couldn’t find in recent children’s literature examples of similarly aimless, I would say even carnivalesque, children’s games. Is it because most children as well as literary children’s characters play with adults or according to adults’ advice and rules?

Onichimowska also writes about her play with crayons, which involved more than just drawing. The girl made “faces” on every crayon and gave them names: “I especially liked Żółtko (Yellow; in Polish this means also egg yolk); together we played with yellow dogs in yellow forests, full of sun” (Onichimowska, Kasdepke 2009: 58). She also loved playing with dolls which were cut from paper (one could buy paper with dolls’ silhouettes and separate sheets with dolls’ clothing. After cutting them out, a child could dress a doll and changed her clothes). A few examples of such “creative plays,” as they are called in A. Tyszka’s *Zosia z ulicy Kociej na wakacjach* [*Zosia from Kocia street on vacation*], can be found in other stories for children. I suppose that the idea of the series *W lesie Marcina* [*In Marcin’s forest*] could be connected with the

⁷ Play England: ICM UK-wide poll for Playday 2010, <http://www.playday.org.uk/resources/research/> (7.05.2016).

memories described by Onichimowska. This series consists of six books, written by Onichimowska and illustrated by Joanna Sedlaczek, based on one idea: an older brother and his sister are playing together, drawing their imaginary worlds. Drawing, painting, and other artistic children's activities are presented in the series about Zosia from Kocia street, too. The title character's aunt is an artist and teaches children to use their imagination and artistic skills in play. This strategy started to produce results in the (almost hopeless) case of Aruś (described above). The boy, interested only in computer games and extremely bored without them, gets involved in playing with a comic-book!⁸

One of the most original "creative plays" is described in Rafał Witek's book *Julka Kulka, Fioletka i ja*. Olaf, the narrator, is a schoolboy who has two younger sisters and invents a special play for them. It's called "interviews". "It consists in pretending that you talk to interesting people, animals or things." (Witek 2009: 6) The play has its educational or even didactic aim but at the same time it is really spontaneous. Some questions are funny and the choice of subjects unexpected and surprising (e.g., a good princess, a black cat, a tv set, a moth or a man in pyjamas appear as topics). Asking questions is real fun for all children at the age of 3–5.

In drawing some conclusions, I want to look more closely at a special book I already mentioned: *Królewna [Princess]* by R. Jędrzejewska-Wróbel. One of the possible subjects of this illustrated story is the power of children's play. The list of outdoor plays turns out to be its most valuable treasure! The book was published in three different publishing houses: the first time in GWP in 2004, then in Literatura (2009), and with different illustrations in Bajka (2015). This strongly supports the argument that the book is important, at least for adults who buy books for children (although on the Internet one can also find records of positive responses by children⁹). The book provides a high praise and justification for community outdoor play – so important for a child's development and future life¹⁰. Unlike in most other children's literature, analyzed

⁸ In 2015 an impressive monograph (almost 500 pages) was edited about play with comic-books. Jaworski, M. 2015. *Zabawa, święto, profanacja: potencjał kulturotwórczy zabawy w kulturze współczesnej. Studium socjokulturowe zabawy komiksem. Play, feast, desecration: the culture-making potential of play in modern culture. A social and cultural study of playing with a comic book*. Toruń: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Mikołaja Kopernika.

⁹ <http://juliaorzech.blogspot.com/2015/11/krolewna-roksana-jedrzejczak-wrobel.html> (7.05.2016).

¹⁰ "Children who play outside more, learn to navigate their immediate environments and build their self- confidence (Open University 2011). Children who do not play outside can have fewer social networks, can be less confident and be less involved in their local community (Gleave 2010). When young children play freely in natural environments they are more likely to enjoy nature as they grow up (Pretty and others 2009; HC Netherlands 2004) – "http://www.playengland.org.uk/media/371031/a-world-without-play-literature-review-2012.pdf (7.05.2016).

formy research, kids are left alone in a backyard where they can set their own rules, try their power of persuasion, feel the glory of victory, but also the bitterness of loss. Princess Amelka, herself deprived of such experience, shows children their "treasure". She explains to them that winning all the time is boring, especially when you know that somebody else loses especially for you because you are a little princess. She is really happy when she loses! Asin autobiographical prose so here, too, is a catalogue of different plays: once again classes, hide-and-seek, "pomidor" (a tomato), colours, throwing little stones, berek kucany (tag or catch), guma (French skipping).

And the last personal remark connected with the book analyzed: a few pictures in *Królewna* contain one common element: a carpet beating rack (trzepak). If I wrote an essay or autobiographical story about the plays of my childhood, I would entitle it: "In Praise of the Carpet beating rack". It is a special thing, good for physical exercise and a special place where children gather to play and talk about the most important matters. Carpet beating racks in front of our block of flats guarded us against being couch potatoes (as 21st-century children are often called). In my yard, the racks had one more advantage: situated in front of a short wall of the building where there were no windows, gathering there protected us from adult eyes¹¹.

Do the children of the 21st century also have their carpet beating racks? I would love to think they have – like in a great Jędrzejewska-Wróbel's story!

REFERENCES

- Chudacoff, H. P. 2007. *Children at Play. An American History*. New York: New York University Press.
- Czabanowska-Wróbel, A. 2016. Dorośli, dzieci i książki. – *Nowa Dekada Krakowska*, 1/2, 8–13.
- Fadiman, C. Children's literature. – <https://www.britannica.com/art/childrens-literature> (20.9.2017).
- Gleave, J., Cole-Hamilton, I. 2012. 'A world without play' – a literature review. – <http://www.playengland.org.uk/media/371031/a-world-without-play-literature-review-2012.pdf>, (5.5.2016).
- Holt, J. 2010. "Normal" versus "Deviant" Play in Children's Literature: An Historical Overview. – *The Lion and the Unicorn*, 34(1), 34–56.
- Huizinga, J. 1980. *Homo ludens. A Study of the Play-element in Culture*. London–Boston–Henley: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Janczarski, Cz. 1971. *Nowi przyjaciele Misia Uszatka*. Warszawa: Nasza Księgarnia.
- Jędrzejewska-Wróbel, R. 2004. *Królewna*. Gdańsk: Gdańskie Wydawnictwo Psychologiczne.
- Konopnicka, M. 1911. *Jak się dzieci w Bronowie bawiły*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo J. Mortkowicza.
- Olech, J. 2011. *Żarłoczna gra – Nowe przygody Bolka i Lolka*. Kraków: Znak, 5–27.

¹¹ Halina Mielicka, who in her research asked adults about their plays in childhood, also noticed that it was „a significant spot” in many memories. Mielicka, H. 2010. *Wspomnienia z dzieciństwa: antropologiczny szkic o zabawach i zabawkach*. Kielce: Panzet.

- Onichimowska, A., Kasdepke, G. 2009. *Kiedy byłam małą/Kiedy byłem mały*. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Literatura.
- Papuzińska, J. 2002. Ożywione zabawki. – B. Tylicka, G. Leszczyński, eds., *Słownik literatury dziecięcej i młodzieżowej*. Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich – Wydawnictwo.
- Papuzińska, J. 2015. *Krasnale i olbrzymy*. Łódź: Wydawnictwo Literatura.
- Tyszką, A. 2012. *Zosia z ulicy Kociej*. Warszawa: Nasza Księgarnia.
- Tyszką, A. 2013. *Zosia z ulicy Kociej na wakacjach*. Warszawa: Nasza Księgarnia.
- Wąloszek, D. 2008. Zabawa w dzieciństwie. – T. Pilch, ed., *Encyklopedia pedagogiczna XXI wieku*. t. 7. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Akademickie „Żak”, 643–655.
- Witek, R. 2009. *Julka Kulka, Fioletka i ja*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Bajka.
- Witek, R. 2014 a. *Zgniłobrody i luneta przeznaczenia*. Warszawa: Nasza Księgarnia.
- Witek, R. 2014 b. *Ucieczka z tajemniczego ogrodu*. Warszawa: Nasza Księgarnia.