

Chapter 2

Play, *Lege* and *Asobu*: How the Concept of Play Is Defined in Danish and Japanese Contexts

In this chapter, I explain the reason for carrying out the observations in two countries, Denmark and Japan. I then contextualise the terms used to describe play in the Danish and Japanese languages and offer a brief context of childcare institutions in both countries. After these cultural perspectives, I propose a short glossary that aids the reader's progress through the chapters that follow.

2.1. Denmark and Japan

If you are studying the generality of a finding across nations (the country as the context of the study), selecting countries so as to maximise diversity along the dimension in question should allow you to explore the scope or universality of a phenomenon. (Ólafsson et al., 2013, p. 22)

[...] There is an urgent need to map children's engagement with cultural texts, such as media texts, in a global context. (Marsh, 2010, p. 12)

These two quotes introduce valuable grounds for including two countries as the sources of data for my research: observing the generality of young children's play practices with current technologies, such as tablets, in distinct contexts. Mobile technologies, such as tablets and smartphones from brands such as Samsung and Apple, have become ubiquitous in several countries. However, are current play practices with digital devices defining similar norms despite diverse cultural contexts? Technologies such as tablets are 'always flavoured by the local as instantiated in routines, relationships and day-to-day operations, as well as by the beliefs, understandings and experiences of participants' (Merchant, 2015, p. 6). Although I agree with this perception by Merchant (2015) in this research, I am not seeking to map the differences between Danish and Japanese children; instead, I set out to determine what types of play practices become universalised through tablet media. Play is a mediator of the interaction between child and device. Moreover, mapping digital play in transnational contexts facilitates

thinking about future developments in both design and educational fields. I also wished to investigate whether there was a universal 'play vocabulary' when dealing with touch-sensitive devices, as they carry the same interfaces across cultures.

The first country was the base country of the research, Denmark. The second country had to be selected on the basis of several initial considerations. First, it should not be a country where the similarities between cultures were too obvious (with this criterion, several northern European countries were excluded). Second, the educational systems, mainly related to young childcare, should be equivalent to those encountered in Denmark (children do not learn to read or write until six or seven years of age), and this aspect helped me eliminate another set of countries, such as England and Spain. A third point concerned language access. It should be a country where I could interact with the children in their language. Both Japan and Brazil fulfilled these conditions; however, Brazil presented another variable, which is the wide social-economical differences between classes.

Although recent research regarding how Japanese and Danish students perceive and describe their expectations and relationship to school have emerged (Umino & Dammeyer, 2018), there is a gap in the literature regarding aspects of Danish and Japanese culture of playing. Japan, like Denmark, has a more stable and unified social-economic system, and, in that sense, is closer to Denmark though with a clear cultural distinction regarding language and play. In addition, Japanese culture is described as a technology-oriented culture (McGray, 2002, cited in Ito, Matsuda, & Okabe, 2006); therefore, it is valuable to assess how this orientation is lived and apprehended in this culture considering the pervasiveness of Western-designed gadgets, such as the iPad. Considering the early adoption of mobile phones (Ketai) and the I-mode in Japan, which is a system that in 1999 already offered many of the services attributed to current smartphones (Ito et al., 2006), Japanese culture has also embraced various forms of entertainment, including games, as a regular part of their culture (Kusahara, 2003). Playing or having fun is witnessed in Japanese daily life through a wide range of visible accounts and performances, from dress codes, icons and characters displayed on signs, traffic information and packaging, to a variety of toys carried on bags, and commuters playing on their phones (Ito, Okabe, & Tsuji, 2012). These *performances* compose some of the multimodal aspects of current communication practices pervasive in Japan and inform the cultural urban context of Japanese children (Yamada-Rice, 2013). Similarly, digital tablets offer multimodal ways of communicating and rich iconography.

In Denmark, as a Western country, various forms of play have been mostly linked to pastimes and children's activities for many years. In more recent years, play perception has shifted with both the videogame market, catering for late teenagers and young adults, and smartphones, with which a range of users of all ages can engage while on the go; furthermore, play and games have entered the educational system as a way to engage students and promote learning (Ejsing-Duun & Skovbjerg, 2015). Besides this, computers and related technologies have entered the Danish school system both towards information and

communications technology (ICT) literacy and as tools aiding baseline subjects such as Danish and Mathematics (Fróes & Tosca, 2018; Karin Levinsen, Ejsing-Duun, & Sørensen, 2013; Levinsen & Sørensen, 2008; Levinsen, Sørensen, Tosca, Ejsing-Duun, & Karoff, 2014; Sørensen, Audon, & Levinsen, 2010).

Although Danish and Japanese societies can differ in a number of aspects, there are aspects of play and games that have exceeded borders and become universal, such as chess and rock, paper, scissors. As people cross borders for work and life, pieces of their culture are carried with them, and several games and traditions have become adopted and incorporated in diverse ways. However, it is also true that some of these adaptations are adjusted to their new culture and change in the way they are interpreted, with small local adaptations tending to appear (Merchant, 2015). From songs and cards, to role-playing games, several commonalities and differences are encountered in various countries including the ones from this research.

What about tablet play? Based on my observations, there are several digital games and icons that are popular in both Denmark and Japan, such as characters and brands like Pokémon, LEGO, etc. These games and icons, together with several other media, are equivalent in both countries, in the form of TV shows, toys, characters, etc. These media are context dependent, and as such are absorbed and appropriated in these societies. In the case of tablet play, the digital interface of the device, combined with the apps and the ways of playing, is the same, with almost no local cultural adaptation. The tablet interfaces in Japan are the same as those in Denmark and follow a Western layout structure, with a left to right orientation, and while the apps can speak different languages, the digital scenarios and activities offered on the devices' digital stores are almost identical. Children from both countries knew many of the same characters and applications installed on the devices used in the research. Consequently, the styles of play are expected to be of a similar character, with the types of interactions being dictated by the device and app designs. In order to better ground as well as challenge current and future perspectives of children's digital play practices, it is valuable to consider how technology-related skills are developed and incorporated into these countries and their cultural contexts.

2.2. *Lege and Asobu*

In different languages and cultures, the term for play is defined and described in modes and forms, offering many subtleties in its meanings and uses (Huizinga, 1949; Karoff, 2013; Pesce, 2000; Sicart, 2014; Sutton-Smith, 2001; Weisberg, Zosh, Hirsh-Pasek, & Golinkoff, 2013).

In Danish, there are two main words used to define play: *lege* and *spil* (Lieberoth, n.d.). *Lege* refers to something that small children do, for example, they play house, play with dolls, play with dogs, etc. *Lege* is also used to describe a form of make-believe: she is playing as if pretending she is the queen; he is playing as if pretending he is a plane. This type of play should be differentiated from the act of playing a part in a play for the theatre, as actors *spiller*

rather than *leger* (otherwise it would not be actual acting or *spille*, but pretending to try to act). So most activities by children are defined as *lege*, meaning nothing truly serious, but something fun, open and casual. When the verb is used for adults, it means an innocent attempt at an action, something of a light character or sometimes if something is done with extreme easiness and ability, e.g., *Hun bager en kage som en leg*; Baking a cake is child's play for her. Such nuances of a term create a unique perception of the action of *lege*, giving it an array of scenarios and expectations. The verb *at lege* does not need to be complemented by a substantive, the action can be a complete action in itself, so one can say *han/hun leger* (he/she plays).

The term *spille*, which also translates into English as play, already indicates another very distinct meaning. The term originates from the German *spil*, meaning game (in Proto-Germanic it also meant *dance* and *exercise*). The Latin equivalent, *jocor*, was to make a joke, to think of something as fun, which resembles more the *lege* definition than that of *spille*. While *lege* has no set of rules bound to the perception of the word, the word *spil* already brings on its core meaning, a frame or structure. So in Danish one does not say *spille med dukker* (play with dolls) as playing with a doll has no set of recognised rules, instead the ways individual children play with their dolls might differ, so *leger med dukker* is the expression used. *Spille* needs a complement for its full meaning, one always says *spille something or with something* (plays something), such as (play) chess, as this is an identified game with a known set of rules. The term is also applied to games of chance and sports, such as *spille Lotto* (play the lottery) and *spille fodbold* (play football).

So from these terms, one can easily define the type of action pursued with various objects, including digital devices (Karoff & Johansen, 2014). Therefore, if the sentence *lege (med) iPad* is used, the purpose or the type of interaction being performed is not defined, i.e., it is not a 'serious' activity, meaning the child may be watching videos, playing on various apps, taking pictures, etc. All of these would fall into the *lege* category. However, when using the term *spille*, the sentence would be: *spiller Angry Birds*, meaning playing *Angry Birds*, a specific game with a specific set of rules. *Spille* can also be used for instruments, such as *hun spiller klaver* (she plays the piano) and acting *hun spiller Juliet* (she plays Juliet). In sum, *spille* indicates play bound by a set of rules. In my observations, Danish children used the term *spille* when referring to tablet play¹.

In the Japanese language, there are specific verbs for specific activities and this also applies to play. Instead of two words, the range of words for distinct play activities is much larger. For the sake of the focus of this study, I limit the definitions to better relate to my current discussion; the three words selected are *asobu* (遊ぶ), *suru* (する) and *yaru* (やる).

¹Nowadays, it is also common to hear *han ser iPad*, meaning *he is watching iPad* when referring to a child watching cartoons, films or YouTube on a device.

The first word, *asobu*, is a general word connoting play not limited to games or rules, i.e., *asobu* is used for any form of free play,² entertainment or amusement. *Asobu* carries the sense of a non-intentional and an enjoyed activity and can be translated as the Danish definition of *lege*.

The remaining two words, *suru* (する) and *yaru* (やる), are very broad and related as verbs. Both share the meaning of ‘to do’, so it implicitly indicates an action depending on the word/substantive that precedes it – the antecedent word will define what the action is. In the case of videogames, the Japanese terms *suru* or *yaru* are primarily used. Comparatively, the terms *suru* and *yaru* are even broader than *spille*. However, like both the Danish and Japanese terms, they are tied to a structured action, thus *suru* and *yaru* can translate as *spille* when related to play-like activities, such as games. In the Japanese observations, all three words were used when talking about play and tablets, although *asobu* and *suru* prevailed.

Together with a wider range of actions and actors (Latour, 2005), oral language composes the sociocultural contexts of tablet use. Children participate in these contexts and flows between practices and artefacts while building their play (Medina & Wohlwen, 2014). Defining an activity is a way of framing the interaction. A brief analysis of the play terms of choice based on the observations indicates that whereas in Denmark playing with tablets is more commonly described as structured play (*spille*), in Japan the description appears to be looser, with *asobu* or free play being used to referring to the iPad in general when used by children, while *suru* and *yaru* were used more when describing playing with specific applications and games.³

Another actor helping to build the larger context of young children’s lives and play practices are the day care institutions. Children spend long hours in these places, where they engage with people who do not belong to the child’s direct circles of family or relatives. Instead, children gain a rich social environment with other children of similar age and professionals who engage in helping the child to develop and grow. The descriptions of the Danish and Japanese care institutions that follow further depict my subjects’ social educational context.

2.3. *Børnehavn* and *Hoikuen*

It is important to clarify the profiles of the institutions that collaborated in my study. Although both use the term kindergarten when speaking English, their structure and goals fit more closely with those of a preschool in the English definition, where pedagogues focus on motor skills and social abilities, with a lot of play and loose structures instead of primarily focusing on preparing children for

²*Asobu* can be used in all these sentences ‘the children are playing’ or ‘they are hanging out’ (where ‘they’ can mean anyone of any age) or ‘Noa and Charlie are fooling around’ (in a sexual connotation).

³This was not my direct focus, and further research is required to gain deeper knowledge regarding the vocabulary.

school through teaching them the alphabet. In Denmark, it is not uncommon that children only learn the alphabet and learn to write at the age of six or seven when they formally enter the school system in grade zero, which corresponds with the English kindergarten. In both the Danish and Japanese institutions, children learn colours, shapes, numbers and sometimes, when interested, they also learn to write their own names, though this is not necessarily a requirement.

2.3.1. *Denmark*

Børnehavn, which translates in syntax to Kindergarten (*born* = *kinder* = children, *havn* = *garten* = garden) is a day care service offered to children from age three until the child starts attending school, which, in Denmark, can vary between five or seven years of age. The reason for the age difference is determined not only by the child's birth date, e.g., children who turn six early in the year enter school at six years, and others who have birthdays in the second semester enter school at five. Moreover, in the case of the ages between six and seven years of age, the variation is sometimes due to some kind of pedagogical assessment conducted by the *børnehavn* pedagogues. Some children are encouraged to delay their school entry by a year if they turn six after late November or if they are deemed not ready for school. This school readiness consideration is the main reason that the age range in my study varies from four to seven and not four to six, as there was one child who participated in the pilot study who had just turned seven and was going to attend school that year (2014). When children enter school, they can attend grade zero, which would correspond to a kindergarten class in English terms. Danish *børnehavn* focuses primarily on helping young children to develop their language, social and motor skills, offer contact with nature and play, with every institution having an outside area with a small type of playground (the sizes differ depending on the location). Some *børnehaver* are even 'forest *børnehaver*' or others which are 'mixed', which means that they offer trips to the forest for some groups during certain weeks of the year. In these cases, children have to meet at a local place in the city and a *børnehavn* bus drives them to a location out of the city, which normally offers large green areas and plenty of outside activities in all types of weather conditions. In Danish pre-schools (as well as schools), children wear their own clothes and there are no uniforms. Every child has a personal mini-closet containing an extra change of clothing in case of mishaps.

2.3.2. *Japan*

In Japan, there are two types of day care institutions for young children, *yochien* and *hoikuen*.⁴

Yochien (幼稚す *yóchien*) predominantly follows educational aims and houses children aged three and up. *Hoikuen* institutions are predominantly

⁴Parents decide which institutions their children attend.

concerned with providing care for young children in general, and can take children from as young as a few months old until six years of age. Both types can be found as private or public institutions. In both kinds of institutions, social, motor and development skills are in focus, with *yochien* also devoting attention to preparing children for schools, with a stronger emphasis on learning the alphabet. The institutions have an outside space where children can play, and it is not uncommon for the children to have uniforms. This space differs from institution to institution, with some offering a larger outside space than others. Despite this difference, it is not uncommon, as in the Danish institutions, for *hoikuen* to call themselves kindergartens (and not preschools) although they potentially function just as the *bornehaver* in Denmark. Both the Japanese institutions that collaborated with the research were *hoikuen* in order to match the structure of the Danish institution.

Generally speaking, the two institutions visited expressed concern regarding the physical and mental development of the children, with a focus on both physical activities as well as scope for exercising motor skills via drawing, painting and collages, and social skills through shared group activities. Music and outside activities were also part of their weekly schedules.

Considering these were only two institutions, it is not possible to generalise regarding institutions in Japan. However, both of them also prioritised not only communication skills but also international knowledge with opportunities for children to learn or at least be exposed to a foreign language from very early on, with a more bilingual upbringing encouraged through teaching songs, colours and shapes in English.⁵

2.3.3. Denmark and Japan

Despite the geographical distances between Japan and Denmark, everyday life in the preschools seemed similar, with children being offered a range of activities in which to engage. Some included the whole group, while others were divided into smaller groups. All institutions are open long hours, from 7 a.m. until 5 p.m. in Denmark, and until 7 or 8 p.m. in Japan. In both countries, the core of the activities ends at around 2 p.m., with the rest of the day being filled by playing outside in the playground or indoors. In both Denmark and Japan, parents have to pay for their children to attend these institutions. In both countries, the number of adults per child was similar, and the groups were also divided into around 22–24 children based on age. In the case of the Danish institution, children were aged from three to seven years, though there were groups of younger children aged mainly three to four years and fewer older children. The group that I joined included mainly older children, i.e., children aged four to six, though one child was seven. This way of organising children according to age was also witnessed in both Japanese institutions, where children were divided into groups,

⁵This bilingual aspect is further explained in later paragraphs.

some with children aged two to three and others with children aged four to six years.

For the sake of consistency, and to avoid any confusion, throughout this book I use the term preschool to refer to the *bornehave* and the two *hoikuen* where I carried out my observations.

2.3.4. Description of Preschools

2.3.4.1. Preschool A

Copenhagen capital area. Preschool A is a combined institution that receives children between eight months and six years of age. Toddlers from zero to two years of age stay in one building, which is separate from the building that houses children aged three to six years. The building housing older children has four groups, each with 20–22 pupils. Children arrive between 7 and 9 a.m. and are picked up between 4 and 5 p.m. Each group has two to three teachers, and children bring their own food from home, so there is no kitchen staff. They also have external staff who teach children special activities such as rhythmic and painting. The day starts with all the children together singing, followed by organised activities such as drawing, going on an outing to a park or garden, or free play, where children either play with a range of toys and games in their designated group room or play in the playground area outside of the building. All the children were Danish.

2.3.4.2. Preschool B

Tokyo area. This private institution receives children who are between one and five years old in two groups – a young group of children aged one to three years and an older group with children aged four to five years. For reasons of consistency in the research, I observed young children who were in the older group. The institution is open from 7 a.m. until 8 p.m. However, most children arrived between 8 and 9 a.m. and were picked up between 5 and 6 p.m.

The class had two main *sensei* (teacher), who were there permanently, two people who were responsible for the food (each class of children had its own kitchen and kitchen staff) and a couple of other employees who were responsible for teaching English and rhythmic activities through different activities. On the observation days I saw only the English activities, which were held in the morning for one hour, during which time children sang and played while learning basic communication in English (no reading or writing, only oral skills). The staff were all of Japanese descent and, apart from the English terms, everything else was in Japanese.

All the children observed were Japanese and only one child had a foreign mother.

2.3.4.3. Preschool C

Fukuoka area. This was a large institution with children aged from two to five years of age. The groups of children also had two *sensei* per group, and children who were four and five years old were also in the same group. This preschool

also offers English classes as well as a variety of other activities, such as rhythmic and sports. In this institution, they have had videoconferencing events with other preschools around the world aimed at promoting international consciousness among young children. As in the other institution, the children are also divided into groups according to their age and they also learn basic English words for these events. All the children were Japanese.

2.3.4.4. The Set-up

For the pilot and individual observations, a room containing a table and chairs was set up with a camera facing down focused on the children's hands.

In the individual sessions, children were free to use the devices as they wanted. They searched and chose among the apps available and played for a maximum of 20 minutes. For the group observations (second phase), the children were divided into groups of five to six at a time, and were shown how to use a specific app, Book Creator. They were subsequently asked to engage with it as they wished (drawing, taking pictures, recording, etc.). After using the devices, the same children were asked to draw 'playing on tablets'.

2.3.4.5. Preschools and Technology

In the institution in Denmark, tablet was one of the play options, just like puzzles, games and many other play activities. During all the days I was present, I saw the children select the tablet just a couple of times, and in all cases, they played together with others.

In the Japanese institutions, I never saw the children playing with tablets outside my research time. However, this might have been because in one institution I was there during the morning hours, when the children had specific activities, such as music and rhythmic, while in the other institution I was there only in the afternoon, where children had other type of activities, such as drawing and playground time.

In both Japan and Denmark, smartphones are ubiquitous. They are part of people's everyday lives and seen everywhere. In Japan, advanced payment systems make it also possible for the phone to function as everyday wallet, making it even more indispensable in the daily routine. Although Denmark is also developing in this area, it is still not as widespread as in Japan. However, in both countries, people tend to their phones constantly for a range of activities, communication and information access.

Novel technologies are always a contended topic. When combined with children, this becomes even more visible and a sensitive issue. Consequently, a question I was asked very often during my research related to 'quality'. People insisted in dichotomising the use the technology in good or bad. So when I first approach the institutions, they wanted to know if I was going to evaluate if playing with digital tools was positive or negative. I always replied saying that was not my focus, I never hypothesised or set out to investigate if using tablets was a positive or negative activity. My approach was exactly the opposite. I wanted to see what was happening while children used these devices. I was not there to

judge or evaluate according to some scale defining the activity as one thing or another, instead I wanted to be able to describe and define which types of play and digital literacies were present during tablet play.

Personally, I feel that the current discussions about the use of technology among children tend to use scales based on specific temporal-related contexts, which might not reflect current and upcoming social, cultural and technological realities. As an interaction and service designer and as a researcher, I can say that my current title or professional skills were not even known or had been defined when I went to school. This reflects the pace with which society and cultures have transformed and I believe this will continue to be so in the coming years. We tend to forget that the now so popular smartphone was launched and became mainstream only after 2007. In little over 10 years we have seen a boom of services and businesses, plus a wide range of cultural changes related to this technological tool (de Souza e Silva & Frith, 2010; Ito et al., 2006; Sutko & de Souza e Silva, 2011). Therefore, I took the tablet with the same type of mindset, looking at an emerging tool that has been adopted and adapted to children's playground activities and by families in the four corners of the world. Another aspect deals with the fact that many of these debates on children and technology leave out the child's home context. A number of Danish newspaper articles ("Guide: Sådan vænner du dit barn af med at spille iPad," Thomsen, 2015a; "Spil på iPad kan bremse børns udvikling," Thomsen, 2015b)⁶ has focused on children's negative aspects when playing with digital technologies; however they also leave out details about the families and other social circles that might be affecting the child's behaviour. Children, as social beings, belong to smaller and larger social circles, starting with the nuclear family and expanding to other relatives and the institutions they might attend. Therefore, their actions do not emerge in a vacuum, and in order to assess them, one needs access to a bigger picture than those painted in newspapers' headlines. I chose not to engage in this discussion due to a couple of aspects. First, its complexity, as I would have to have gained unlimited access to families' routines and dynamics, directly affecting these same routines; second, because in order to assess these dynamics, I would distance myself from what really drove me here: my curiosity on uncovering how children engage in play with digital tools on their own.

Throughout my research, I also heard many times questions referring to the differences between Japanese and Danish children. However, what I kept seeing it was how they were similar. All giggly, playful, full of interest and curiosity. If I had recorded playground sounds in both countries, I would not be able to distinguish one from the other. As children laugh, run, call each other and emit sounds we can so easily recognise it as 'children playing'. They were all full of life, talking to each other and exploring their young and curious personalities. If my focus had been another, such as parenthood or the role of institutions in

⁶"Guide: How to get your child to stop playing on the iPad', 'Playing on iPads can affect children's development' (own translation of the article titles).

society, I am almost certain I could have found clear divergent aspects, but as I focused more on the digital play activities, I saw mostly converging aspects between the groups.

I feel that the reason for such similarities was exactly due to my play focus. Play, despite culture-specific games, unites more than distinguishes. This commonality defies cultural expectations, and even though I have engaged with extensive play literature throughout my research, I still feel I have questions that will remain unanswered for now. Seeing children from such distinct contexts share so many similarities instead of differences brought to light the simple thought that in play, we all are one of the same. Play as a social manifestation might be seen as beyond culture. Or, as Huizinga's suggests, is responsible for creating culture. But if that is the case, what exactly promotes the manifestation of play? What makes a baby be playful and giggle as a response to sound or face?

2.4. What Do I Mean When I Write...

With the purpose of facilitating the reading of this book, I have defined and incorporated this short glossary in this chapter. The concise glossary below specifies the meanings of the terms I use most frequently in the specific context of this book.

- **Activities:** The actual tasks that are offered from within an app. For example, the LEGO Duplo Food app includes different activities as part of a narrative. As the player selects the play button, he/she can choose what food to sell before setting up the sales outlet ready to receive customers by 'opening' doors, windows. The third activity involves receiving and putting the food away. The fourth activity is to prepare the customers' orders. Many apps also offer different scenarios and other types of activities, such as puzzles, putting objects in specific places and matching colours. Other apps offer a number of games to be played, and by playing those games, the players earn points that allow them to buy different items in the main activity, as in Talking Tom.
- **Apps:** Digital applications common to mobile technologies, such as phones and tablets. I also use the term to refer to the applications that were installed in the devices.
- **Book Creator:** An application (app) whereby users can draw, take pictures, record sounds, etc. to create a multimodal digital book. The app also allows for importing pictures and videos from the camera roll. The app was developed by Red Jumper Limited, <http://bookcreator.com/>.
- **Competence:** The ability to do something (well).
- **Children, young children or preschoolers:** The children who participated in my observations, my research subjects.
- **Games:** Structured play. An activity where there is a somewhat defined path with a specific goal.

- Narrative: A story, description or account of events, experiences; a way of explaining, understanding events or representing a specific occasion or process reflecting or agreeing to a pre-established set of goals or values. In other words, the term goes beyond the literary definition, where a narrative is identified as a story or the style of how a story is told.
- Penmanship: The activity to learn to write clearly and beautifully. Also, means the skill to do so.
- Preschool(s): The institutions where I carried out my observations.
- Skill: Having the ability to execute well an activity or a task due to previously having done or practiced it.
- Tablets/digital devices/digital tablets: A device that can be personalised by users through the purchase and download of applications online. The device can be used both online and offline. Popular brands are Apple iPads and Samsung Tablet Notes.

2.5. Chapter Overview

The knowledge about play and play terms in Denmark and Japan, aligned with the glossary, set the stage for the next chapters. This short overview aims to inform and contextualise the spaces where I carried out my observations. In addition, some of the aspects I have described in this chapter return later when I further discuss my suggested typology and taxonomy. The following chapter further contextualises my field of research through the work of related researchers, which informs and culminates in my theoretical contribution later presented.