Policy and Pedagogy with Under-three Year Olds: Cross-disciplinary Insights and Innovations

E. Jayne White
Carmen Dalli *Editors*

Under-three Year Olds in Policy and Practice

Springer

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Prologue

New Science and Old Wisdom: Reforming, Again, the Education and Care of Early Years

In the Online Etymology Dictionary, it is recorded that "pedagogue," from Greek *paidagogos*, means "slave who escorts boys to school and generally supervises them." That is not the sense of a pedagogy that accepts the Māori wisdom that treasures and maintains *kohanga reo*, or that of Montessori and Malaguzzi who say "let the child lead the way."

Anthropologists know that as long as human families have lived and thrived, from thousands of years before the cultural habits of literacy and industrial mastery of the environment, the playful, inventive, musical, and "duncical" imagination of infants and toddlers has been loved, admired, and learned from. As the revolutionary pediatrician T. Berry Brazelton says, we have "to listen to a child." That is how to discover and support the developing human spirit, both toward enjoyment of discoveries to be shared with pride and to help recover confidence in periods of confusion, sadness, and shame. Clever artists, like the musicologist Jon-Roar Bjørkvold and the poet Korney Chukovsky, have cherished childish ingenuity. The mathematician Jacques Hadamard recorded that Einstein's mathematical invention and Mozart's composition of great pieces of music were inspired by their experience of being alive in the time of movement, not from symbolic representation of rules of static form.

Luckily, advanced technology – meaning film, television, and electronic wizardry for visualizing and measuring the parameters of human vitality in movement – has led to a new and richer science of intelligence. This new science is more appropriate than cognitive learning theory for guiding communication of purposes and feelings with the natural story-making impulses that are alive before we learn words to talk about them and that are celebrated secretly in the intimate life of happy families, whatever the current trends in education policies. As the English educationalist Robert Herbert Quick (1831–1891) found when he reviewed 500 years of the work of "educational reformers" in Western Europe, wise teachers who admire youthful ingenuity have repeatedly opposed imposition of formal instruction in abstract knowledge and skills before their sense and usefulness can be appreciated by the child.

In this book, experienced practitioners in education and care of young children with their families, from many countries with varied cultural histories, give attention to the lively and social imagination of whom I like to think as "un-school" children. Their titles support the idea of the spirit of the child as a natural guide. I am very happy that I can say that the best of science in fields of anthropology, psychology, sociology, and medicine is coming to agree with them.

Edinburgh, Scotland Colwyn Trevarthen

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Chapter 1
Policy and Pedagogy for Birth-to-Three Year Olds

Carmen Dalli and E. Jayne White

> *Infant-toddler research is sharpening our senses to the lived experiences of the very young in the space of early childhood education in ways that alert us to its many dimensions. As such, policy also needs to recognise the complexity and sophistication of infant-toddler pedagogy by providing support for informed professional engagement and reflection that recognises its emotional dimension, and challenges limiting views of infant-toddler capacities and dispositions.*
>
> (Press and Mitchell 2014, pp. 237–238)

Abstract The authors explain the role of this series in establishing a path for the much-needed examination of the experiences of infants and toddlers in contemporary educational settings across the globe. The emphasis of the first book on pedagogy and policy is then explained, introducing each chapter and its contribution that that agenda. Featuring some of the most important contemporary topics in the field of early childhood provisions for children aged up to 3 years, such as—care; well-being and belonging in curriculum and pedagogy; professionalism; and associated policy issues concerning quality and the status of infants in education—the authors summarise the themes of the book. They suggest that the book heralds a new era in educational scholarship—one that gives priority to the unique experiences of infants and toddlers, and recognises that their lives are increasingly lived beyond the exclusive domain of the home.

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Introduction

This book is the first in a new series dedicated to children aged under 3 years in early childhood care and education (ECEC) settings. We start it with a quotation from a recent Springer publication that captures much of the argument that led us to initiate this series, and to inaugurate it with a volume focused specifically on policy and pedagogy.

We have planned this series with a global audience in mind since, as we will argue, the phenomenon of very young children in out-of-home settings is shared across the world. We anticipate a wide readership that includes university students at all levels and across disciplines, early childhood practitioners and other professionals who work with this age group, academics and policy makers. It is also likely to be of interest to people in the related fields of psychology, neurology, nursing and social work. This volume includes contributions that foreshadow the range of disciplinary, methodological and critical approaches to studying children aged from birth to 3 years in ECEC settings that we hope will be more fully expounded in subsequent volumes within the series.

Why Children Up to Three Years and Why Now?

The starting point for our series was the realisation that now, as never before, children are experiencing their childhood in conditions that are markedly different to those of previous generations. Social, economic and labour market dynamics have made shared care between home and out-of-home settings increasingly the norm (Brembeck et al. 2004; Dencik 1989; Singer 1993), and ECEC services an important aspect of life for the majority of families in industrialised societies. As pressures on families to contribute to the economy lead them to make life-style changes, they seek out-of-home settings for their young children that enable them to synchronise care for their children with support for their family. In this context, early childhood services are increasingly the metaphorical "third leg of the stool", the term ecological systems theorist Urie Bronfenbrenner (1979, p. 5) used almost 40 years ago for "third parties" who support the basic unit of development—the dyad of the child and an adult.

The children most strikingly impacted by the way contemporary families structure their lives are those aged under 3 years. OECD (2015) figures show that across its member states an average of 33 % of children aged under three were enrolled in childcare facilities during 2013, representing an average growth rate of around 5 % over 2006 figures, and approximately 10 % growth rate over 2003 figures (OECD 2014a). For many countries, there have also been sharp increases in the numbers of children under 1 year of age being cared for outside the home, and for children aged 0–2 years in formal childcare the OECD average for number of hours attended is

30 h per week. Clearly, the presence of under 3 year-olds in formal ECEC settings is rapidly becoming a global phenomenon.

This picture provides a key impetus for this book series. The contemporary reality of very young children's lives, and the corresponding increase in demand for ECEC services, present new challenges to societies and governments worldwide to create policies and infrastructural arrangements that ensure quality experiences for this growing constituency of very young children in EC settings. Across local authorities and country jurisdictions policies differ by the level of public funding made available for services for under-threes, with some offering free or highly subsidised provisions, and others funding only targeted services; the length of parental leave also varies hugely across countries. Another difference is the location of policy responsibility for under-3 year olds with some countries having integrated policy systems for both under-threes and older children, and others maintaining separate policy portfolios (see OECD 2014b), thus reflecting historical perceptions that "pre-school" learning only starts at 3 years.

A number of governments have recently commissioned reports aimed at identifying policy recommendations to improve existing provisions (e.g., Dalli et al. 2011; Mathers et al. 2014; Stephen et al. 2003). Recent policy shifts reveal various responses to the common recommendation in these reports that governments recognise their obligations to respond responsibly to this growth—in many cases precariously balancing economic constraints against the social need to expand provision and access to high quality EC services. Scotland, for example, now offers free, flexible provision to 'eligible[1] 2-year olds' alongside their older peers (Scottish Government Discussion Paper 2016) while England's goal has been to fund free ECE for at least 40 % of all 2-year-olds by the end of 2014 (Lloyd 2015; see also DfE and HM Treasury 2015). There is evidence that several Nordic countries which already offer generous parental leave for parents of under-2 year olds, are also calling for specialised attention to this age group in ECEC settings. This emphasis calls for revised approaches to practice, and additional consideration to both structural and dynamic features of quality when infants and toddlers attend ECE settings, often alongside their older peers (Dalli and White 2016).

The expansion of EC services for birth-to-3 year olds also presents a challenge for the early childhood workforce which finds itself increasingly engaged in debates about appropriate pedagogy within a sector long dominated by stereotypic images of care work by "nice ladies who love children" (Stonehouse 1989, p. 61). Inextricably linked to issues of workforce development and professionalism, articulating the nature of pedagogy with under-3 year olds has become a consuming passion for practitioners and researchers alike—some of which is evident in the pages of this first volume of the series. An emphasis on intersubjective dialogues as central to learning has gained prominence, foregrounding relationships with adults and peers as central to the educational experience of infants and toddlers. Yet as García-Carrión and Villardón-Gallego (2016) explain in their systematic review of the

[1] Eligibility considers two-year-olds in families where there are guardianship or kinship agreements, unemployment, or low incomes.

literature on dialogic learning and teaching experienced by infants in high-quality educational settings, the benefits are not well documented. They suggest that "further research in this field could explore how successful dialogic learning environments contribute to create rich and stimulating spaces where children grow and develop cognitively, socially and emotionally" (p. 71). We share this view wholeheartedly.

A further catalyst for our series is the recent explosion of research that is beginning to link traditional child development knowledge on the optimal development of very young children to insights from a range of other disciplines, including neurobiological science, early childhood pedagogy, health studies and critical psychology. As a result, new ways of understanding the young child are being opened up and illuminating a much broader range of infant competences than has been credited before. The infant, for the first time ever, is now considered a subject in his or her own right, a member of a peer group and a social participant in concert with others. With this revised positioning it becomes possible to interpret the infant as a learner who is part of a pedagogical experience characterised by care and education.

Our intention is that the series will provide a platform for bringing together the broad range of contemporary theoretical, methodological and cross-disciplinary approaches to understanding under-3 year olds in ECEC settings, their experiences and their potentials, and how both can be enhanced through policy and pedagogy. By showcasing these new approaches, we wish to assert the importance of multiple and dynamic perspectives in opening up the growing phenomenon of under-3 year olds in group ECEC settings to systematic and rigorous study in a way that is simultaneously nuanced and sensitive to different ways of understanding reality. This agenda was signalled as essential elsewhere by one of the present writers (White) who, writing with Eva Johansson, lamented the limited research in existence at that time, and argued:

> We support the proposition by Meltzoff, Kuhl, Movellan and Sejnowski (2009) that cross-disciplinary, translational research has much potential, and watch keenly for these important dialogues to emerge as research. We recognise that there is little to be gained by staying within our methodological "silos" in moving forward—indeed there are compelling reasons to do otherwise in conversations with diverse methodological and philosophical fields. We know that there will be significant adjustments to be made, but look forward to further discoveries in this regard (White 2011, p.199).

It is to these adjustments and discoveries that this series is oriented. We look forward to publishing volumes that report and translate empirical research as well as comprehensive state of the art reviews of research and philosophical inquiries that can both inform policy and pedagogy as well as provoke innovative directions across disciplines—with infants and toddlers in ECEC at the heart of it all.

Why Policy?

An emphasis on policy invites us to contemplate what is happening for birth-to-3 year olds in ECEC, why it is happening, whom ECEC serves (and indeed privileges) and what this means in practice and pedagogy. Policy is never far from practice: it is part of the broader ecology of children's experiences and through its effect on the working conditions in which adults engage with children in ECEC setting, policy can enable or constrain the possibilities of children's lives (Press and Mitchell 2014; Urban and Dalli 2012). Our interest in research that informs policy recognises that as provisions for infants and toddlers ride high on the policy agenda of a number of jurisdictions, the need for research to communicate its findings in ways that can improve policy decision-making has become more urgent. In working to deliver the objectives of government programmes shaped by ideological, institutional and environmental factors, policy makers often seek to solve problems under the constraining effects of social and economic conditions and within the bureaucratic processes of policy design, implementation, management and evaluation (Wolf 2000). This series cannot engage in formulating quick answers to policy questions, but it has an important role in building a scholarly base that not only enhances existing knowledge but can also modify policy and inform better decisions. Our aim, therefore, is to publish research that unpacks the political aspects of policy decision-making, investigates new policy alternatives, and through futuristic thinking which crosses disciplinary boundaries helps shift the policy gaze to look in different ways at the nature of problems in the field of ECEC provisions for under-threes. We see this as an important space for blue skies thinking and the creation of collaborative spaces that can envision what might be possible whilst celebrating high quality practices that already exist.

Why Pedagogy?

Research on infant and toddler pedagogy is a relatively new but rapidly growing field and is of interest not only to practitioners but also to policy audiences. While the nature of pedagogy with birth-to-3 year olds is increasingly being investigated in cross-disciplinary ways, specific cross-disciplinary texts beyond academic journals are hard to find. We see this series as a vehicle through which scholars from different disciplines can bring their work into dialogue with educationalists, generating new ways of conceptualising pedagogy with under-3 year olds and its implications for learning and overall well-being. In this way, the series can be a source of inspiration for teachers and practitioners whose work influences the way pedagogy is conceptualised in the first place, and ultimately enacted. Each book in the series will offer research perspectives on key aspects of pedagogy for infants and toddlers as a means of illuminating the specialised nature of teaching this age group, while also posing important challenges for policy.

Pedagogy and Policy—A Relational Encounter

It should by now be apparent that the relationship between pedagogy and policy is central to our agenda. Neither pedagogy nor policy alone can begin to address the complex issues and associated practices as well as ideologies that permeate the field of infant and toddler provisions which in many jurisdictions are increasingly integrated within Education policy portfolios. Taken from any standpoint, the presence of young infants in out-of-home settings oriented towards education—besides custodial and physical care—calls for new understandings of what this means across time, space and culture. In the global context, this phenomenon invites a complex response which takes into account societal expectations that orient the way infants are seen and heard, as well as how their experiences are mapped out in different local contexts. Understanding this phenomenon also calls for translational approaches that draw from domains beyond the exclusive field of education or, for that matter, health, psychology or development.

Each chapter in this volume, in one way or another, takes a certain stance on the issue of infants in education and care settings by foregrounding pedagogies or policies that establish a foundation for this new series. Contributions traverse the globe—ranging from Australia and New Zealand in the Southern hemisphere, to mainland Europe in the North (including Finland, Flanders, France, Germany and Italy), countries from the former Soviet Block (Bulgaria, Lithuania and Slovenia), England and Scotland, and the United States of America. Taken together, the chapters lay out a path that can help untangle some of the complexities of infant experience in the new normality of their lives in out-of-home settings. This is an important emphasis. While we do not dismiss the social policy agendas that have brought about this phenomenon (not least New Right ideologies that drive an economic agenda of supporting women in the workforce), this series seeks to go beyond nostalgic views of yesteryear and "home-as-haven" ideologies (see Vandenbroeck & Bauters, this volume) to embrace the realities for infants today. In our view, residual, somewhat tedious, negative commentaries concerning the universal harm for infants in out-of-home care[2] need to be interrogated through scholarly research that seeks to understand the local and global realities concerning 'what is' and 'why' in contemporary contexts. In so doing we hope to re-orient the research agenda towards a less dichotomised and richer understanding of infants in ECEC, and to explore the potentialities that might exist in future conceptualisations of education and care when knowledge is shared across pedagogical and policy contexts. Our vision for each chapter of this volume, therefore, is that it will form the basis for future books in the series. As such, they should each be read as catalysts or provocations for future scholarship—in particular with regard to the series that is heralded within these pages.

[2] The most recent report that springs to mind arrived in social media on the cusp of submitting this book to the publishers:

Brainwave Trust. (2016). *Our literature search into childcare: How are the children doing?* http://www.brainwave.org.nz/wp-content/uploads/Childcare-How-are-the-Children-Doing.pdf

Perhaps unsurprisingly, we have organised this book around two parts, although they are interrelated. Woven through the fabric of every page is the background theme of care in contemplation of infants' location in education settings. The first section foregrounds pedagogy in relation to policy and, in doing so, underscores an important agenda for understanding infant learning and teaching: the crucial role of caring reciprocal relationships in the everyday events taking place in ECEC contexts. A series of chapters unpacks the possibilities and potentialities of ECEC settings as spaces for promoting intersubjective learning experiences with peers as well as adults. The second part of the book pays special attention to bigger-picture aspects of early childhood education and care provision, emphasising issues of professionalism in practice, workforce professionalisation, and the ideological and political nature of policy and the way it works to construct under-threes, including through the lens of critical philosophy. A consistent emphasis is offered across chapters concerning the tensions that exist when infant care is viewed as separate to education, with associated low status. The two sections speak to one another in forging new understandings concerning the unique field of policy and pedagogy for under-threes across different country contexts, the ongoing historical and ideological tensions faced by the field and the opportunities that arise. Together they illuminate the centrality of infants as agents in pedagogical partnerships whilst highlighting the imperative for effective relationships, advocacy and advanced understanding on the part of the adults who work with, and for, them in policy and pedagogical domains.

Part One: Foregrounding Pedagogy

We begin the focus on pedagogy in Part One of this book with a chapter by Colwyn Trevarthen and Jonathan Delafield-Butt that takes a journey through some of the most influential protagonists in the field of developmental psychobiology and the phenomenological study of infancy to outline a chronology of scientific discoveries that sequentially builds the case for thinking differently about infants. The chapter presents creative intersubjective relationships between infants and adults as central to the learning experience and provides a backdrop to current understandings of infants as social partners who are able to anticipate, imitate, participate, intuit, orient and even compose meaning in rhythmic communication with others. Emphasising the social brain, the authors establish a framework for understanding infant pedagogy as a series of affective, embodied social experiences that play a central role in the developing and communicating consciousness. As a consequence, they set the scene for an appreciation of the complex role teachers play in striving for balance between companionship and guidance in order to recognise the natural abilities of infants themselves in relationship with others.

Picking up on the notion of balance and what constitutes the 'good life' for infants, Andrew Gibbons, Robert Stratford and Jayne White explore the place of well-being in early childhood education *and* care. Bringing into alliance notions of

hedonia (maximising comfort) and *eudaimonia* (taking into account the wider ecology), they argue for a more complex view of well-being than is currently prevalent in ECEC policy. They suggest that a more sophisticated understanding of well-being, in consideration of these philosophical approaches, is already present in several ECEC curriculum frameworks. That it is not fully realised in contemporary pedagogy (or policy) for infants forms the nub of their argument. To this end they question contemporary approaches that privilege universal psychological measures of well-being and, in so doing, ignore much wider interpretations and experiences. These, they argue, form the basis of a 'good life' that is characterised by an emphasis on infants who wholeheartedly flourish in holistic and agentic relationships with culture, relationships and contexts. It is in this holistic space that infant learning is best understood.

Well-being is further illuminated in the chapter by Niina Rutanen and Maritta Hännikäinen who, in a study of 1-to-3 year olds in Finnish day-care groups, analysed how 'horizontal transitions'—those everyday movements made from one place to another in ECEC settings—can be times when care, "upbringing" and teaching can be seen to intersect. Rutannen and Hännikäinen demonstrate the fleeting and unplanned nature of these events and their pedagogical significance for children. They develop the argument that horizontal transitions are significant to illustrate both the development of values and an opportunity to learn about oneself in communication with the world—two concepts that echo well-being principles discussed by Gibbons, Stratford, and White in the previous chapter. Providing rich examples of horizontal transitions, Rutanen and Hannikainen identify explicit toddler initiatives, motivations, teacher interventions, agendas, routines and spontaneous events as key features of transitions. Together they highlight the importance of upbringing and care as central to a kind of integrated pedagogy that is founded on social learning, development and well-being in ECEC.

In the following chapter Tullia Musatti, Susanna Mayer, Paola Pettenati, and Mariacristina Picchio take us into the world of toddlers and their social experiences within a municipal *nido* in Italy. Drawing on ethnographic video data and written notes the authors emphasise the unique social learning opportunities that are available to these children through joint activity with peers. Their findings reinforce the claims of the previous chapter by highlighting the rich social experiences that are available for children in group settings. Musatti and colleagues suggest that such experiences offer stimuli that invite and promote children's participation in both cognitive and social processes, and advance sociality in multiple ways. Their chapter continues an optimistic view of infants and toddlers in ECEC settings highlighting the centrality of social experience to learning.

From an Australian perspective a similar story is told by Suallyn Mitchelmore, Sheila Degotardi and Alma Fleet—this time using the concept of 'le quotidien' to focus on everyday moments in infants' lived experiences in EC settings, showing them as moments that are rich with opportunities for learning about how care is both an intersubjective and intellectual activity. Illustrating their argument with examples from among the (70) experiences they documented, Mitchelmore and colleagues propose that the pedagogical presence of an adult who engages with infants greatly

enhances children's experiences; it begins to tell a 'narrative of care' where transformative possibilities are explored. A pedagogical imperative emerges from their argument suggesting that the teacher has a role in discovering the potential of everyday moments. The authors advocate for active engagement with seemingly small 'moments of choice' in order to bring individual ways of interacting to the foreground in a collaborative, intentional and thus also intellectual construction of care.

Completing this pedagogical emphasis on social experience, Helen Marwick aligns the notion of 'concordant intersubjectivity' with a sense of 'belonging' in ECEC by emphasising emotionality and intentionality in infant-teacher relationships. She argues convincingly for such alignment as the basis of pedagogy since mutual awareness and anticipation set the scene for jointly experienced and shared feelings and intentions over time. As a central feature of well-being, Marwick's chapter brings together key curriculum priorities for relational, intersubjective experiences at the heart of learning, since, she argues, infants entering ECEC services can be potentially vulnerable when their intentions and priorities are misunderstood, or 'discordant'. Orienting her argument towards intersubjective conversations, Helen Marwick posits shared intersubjective experiences in one-to-one interaction as key indicators of 'interpersonal positioning' where the relationship is sustained through positive, cooperative encounters. To this end, conversational strategies are presented as central to pedagogy.

Part Two: Foregrounding Policy

The chapters in the second part of the book bring into focus the influential role of policy in enabling or constraining professional practice. Starting with a New Zealand case study, Carmen Dalli reviews changing conceptualisations of professionalism in the early years as an entry point for reflecting on the tensions and challenges experienced by teachers of under-3 year olds seeking to enact the kind of relational pedagogy expounded in the earlier chapters of this book. Drawing on findings from two projects in EC settings with children less than 3 years, Dalli's central argument is that teachers' pedagogical efforts at the local level of their ECEC centre environments cannot effect optimal outcomes without the support of a sound policy infrastructure. Dalli argues that in this sense professionalism is not simply about the actions of a teacher or a group of teachers in a specific context. Rather, professionalism is an ecology that requires different elements to work together at multiple levels.

In her chapter, Jools Page takes a slightly different turn in her promotion of the notion of 'professional love' for teachers in England who are grappling with ways of understanding and enacting education and care as integrated concepts. She outlines the various ways a discourse of love can illuminate the importance of intimate interactions and adult attachments as necessary for infant learning in ECEC. Page explores some of the problems in such a construction in its contemporary location—both in terms of practice and policy. Drawing on her own studies, she highlights

overlapping concepts such as love, intimacy and care, and claims that these are central to teachers' pedagogy. The fact that such terms are seen as problematic by so many constitutes, in Page's view, a dilemma for professional teachers and those they work with. To this end, she promotes what she describes as an 'attachment toolkit' in order to assist professional teachers in the United Kingdom to embrace notions of love within policy constraints and, in doing so, to explore the significance of love for their practice.

Kathy Goouch and Sacha Powell provide an important background to Page's emphasis on love through their exploration of professional practice in nurseries or 'baby rooms' in England. They paint a sobering picture, outlining professional constraints such as limited training, low status, poor pay and conditions combined with high levels of responsibility. Taking an exploratory approach based on a series of research projects carried out over a 6 year period, the authors re-visit the issues teachers face in providing care which is undervalued in the national policy context. They report on the issues associated with this low status, describing the professional practices of teachers as functional performance rather than education and care. Goouch and Powell conclude their chapter by advocating for professionalism that is underpinned by responsivity and respect, calling for 'political will' that would extend the same standards to infant education and care that are afforded their older peers. To do so would, they suggest, require care-full support systems for teachers since their work is emotionally challenging, pedagogically confronting, and deeply accountable to infants and their families. Once again, a professional agenda is established as deeply associated with emotional well-being and with the broader policy context in which practitioners work.

Systemic aspects of professionalism are discussed also by Rachel Chazan-Cohen, Claire Vallotton, Tamesha Harewood, and Martha Buell who report on the findings of their project 'Collaborative for Understanding the Pedagogy of Infant/Toddler Development'—the CUPID project—set up to investigate ways to support the pre-service preparation of the infant/toddler workforce in the USA. The project brings together more than 50 scholars from 28 colleges and universities across the USA and this chapter outlines their combined efforts to identify the issues that challenge the professionalisation of the infant and toddler workforce in those contexts. Despite some encouraging developments, such as the introduction of specific learning guidelines in the majority of States, and specialised certifications for work with under-3 year olds in some of them, Chazan-Cohen and colleagues explain that quality practices are, yet again, compromised as a result of low funding and inadequate regulation. In the context of a very diverse higher education system and an overwhelmingly privatised ECEC provision, Chazan-Cohen et al. establish a complex policy picture for infant ECEC in the United States and argue convincingly that specialised advocacy and flexible delivery of infant/toddler pedagogy is needed with a qualified, well-trained workforce for this age group at its centre.

The professionalisation of family day care in Flanders, France and Germany—a service widely used by infants in other parts of the world too—is taken up by Michel Vandenbroeck and Valerie Bauters as one part of a 'trilemma' when contemplated alongside notions of workforce sustainability and fairness. Taking a historical and

contemporary view of home-based care, the authors present the tensions that exist between professionalisation, unfair working conditions and sustainability that are especially evident in a sector that is oriented towards accessibility, affordability, and availability. Vandenbroeck and Bauters explain the associated issues that create barriers to professionalisation when infant education and care is contemplated as extended mothering or a 'stop-gap job' leading to low status of the profession, with associated poor pay and conditions. Yet again, issues of qualifications are raised as problematic, with inadequate policies about training requirements revealing the same ideological divides between care and education that are woven through each chapter of the book. This bleak landscape notwithstanding, the authors see hope in new 'hybrid forms of childcare' such as satellite nurseries (les crèche satellite) in France, and emerging pluriprofessional teams in Germany which are attempting to bring childminders and centre-based childcare workers together in shared spaces. These hold great potential to address the tensions of professionalisation, sustainability and fairness by supporting cooperative reflective practice at the same time as taking into consideration issues such as accessibility and affordability. We look forward to learning more about these!

From a different part of the world again Dawn Tankersley and Mihaela Ionescu introduce the complex processes that underpinned the recent development of a *Quality Framework for Early Childhood Practices in Services for Children Under Three Years of Age* for Bulgaria, Lithuania, and Slovenia. Their depictions of the consultation processes and piloting that took place keenly highlight important tensions that exist between local and global notions of quality and cross-sectorial notions of how these should be communicated and enacted. The impact of adopting terminology from other parts of the world, such as 'pedagogy of care', in the conceptual evolution of the document, makes the important point that language is a powerful agent of change. In the case of the ISSA Quality Framework, the usage of this term produced tensions between developmental approaches to learning and holistic views of learning, illuminating significant contested features of provision both between sectors and between countries. Tankersley and Ionescu bring to the fore important contemporary issues concerning the use of frameworks to guide policy and practice in articulating quality ECEC and bringing about desired improvements.

Our final chapter concludes this first book in the series by offering a theoretical and methodological provocation for possible future analysis of policy for under-3 year olds in ECEC settings. Using a poststructuralist approach derived from Deleuze and Guattari's critical philosophical perspective, Jennifer Sumsion takes to task the recent Australian policy scene and its construction of infants and toddlers in two key policy documents: the Early Years Learning Framework (2009) and the Productivity Commission's (2013) report. Analysing these documents as (policy) 'events', and 'under-threes' as 'order-words', Sumsion argues that policy for infants and toddlers in ECEC sits within significant tensions, both as a specialist domain in its own right as well as a part of a broader ECEC sector. Sumsion thus likens policy provisions for infants and toddlers in the Australian context to the proverbial "canary in the coal mine" whose health was watched for advance warning of the presence of

substances that are hazardous to humans. She proposes that infant and toddler policy appears to be treated as equally expendable as the canary. Her analysis reveals what has been alluded to in many of the preceding chapters: that the place of infants and toddlers within ECEC policy remains fraught with challenges. Her concluding provocation is that using a richer repertoire of theoretical resources to engage with these longstanding challenges might yield more nuanced ECEC policy studies.

Towards a New Kind of Scholarship?

From our perspective as editors, we welcome Sumsion's provocation and the others embedded within the chapters in this volume. Individually and as a collection, the chapters illustrate that to bring policy and pedagogy together requires a new awareness of infants and toddlers and new approaches to generate understanding. In this volume, under-3 year olds have been conceptualised in ways that exceed traditional parameters—infants have been described as: intersubjective participants; flourishing participants; members of a peer culture; citizens with rights; and even as "order-words". Each perception is accompanied by serious provocations for research and practice. Central to this new field of research is the status of infants and toddlers as recipients of quality provision, and a recognition that ECEC provision provides a unique social, ideological and sociological context that is yet to be more fully known and appreciated in its own right.

The series will significantly add to the small corpus of research now positioning infants as agents of their own learning in partnership with adults and peers in out-of-home contexts. While we endorse the view that infancy is a unique period in the lifespan, the series in no way sets out to promote some kind of 'universal' infant who can be fully known. It is the mystery of the infant that makes the topic so remarkably tantalising. Yet at the same time the presence of under-threes in ECEC settings provides a new platform for contemplating lived experience across different contexts, across the world. As this volume portrays, there are many things that might be held in common in this regard—such as universal dimensions of quality concerning qualifications, adult: child ratios and group size (Dalli and Pairman 2013) as well as relational aspects of engagement (Dalli and White 2016)—but there are also numerous differences that are particular to diverse local contexts. In this regard we exercise real caution lest we end up with a kind of 'global ECEC' that doesn't take into account the tremendous diversities that exist for each policy and practice context, as for the treatment of 'infants' in each country.

We look forward to ongoing explorations, debates and provocations in future volumes in this series and invite you to delve into these pages as a beginning!

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Part I
Foregrounding Pedagogy

Chapter 2
Intersubjectivity in the Imagination and Feelings of the Infant: Implications for Education in the Early Years

Colwyn Trevarthen and Jonathan Delafield-Butt

Abstract This chapter presents the child as a creature born with the spirit of an inquisitive and creative human being, seeking understanding of what to do with body and mind in a world of invented possibilities. He or she is intuitively sociable, seeking affectionate relations with companions who are willing to share the pleasure and adventure of doing and knowing with 'human sense'. Recent research traces signs of the child's impulses and feelings from before birth, and follows their efforts to master experience through stages of self-creating in enjoyable and hopeful companionship. Sensitive timing of rhythms in action and playful invention show age-related advances of creative vitality as the body and brain grow. Much of shared meaning is understood and played with before a child can benefit from school instruction in a prescribed curriculum of the proper ways to use elaborate symbolic conventions. We begin with the theory of James Mark Baldwin, who observed that infants and young children are instinctive experimenters, repeating experience by imitating their own as well as other's actions, accommodating to the resources of the shared world and assimilating new experiences as learned ideas for action. We argue that the child's contribution to cultural learning is a good guide for practice in early education and care of children in their families and communities and in artificially planned and technically structured modern worlds of bewildering diversity.

> In the last 50 years, theory about how the mind of the child grows with the body and develops intelligence has changed. Psychobiological research has revealed that infants move with rhythms of prospective awareness from birth, show insight for learning what the world affords, and share their feelings of imaginative vitality in affectionate adventures with other persons. (Trevarthen and Bjørkvold 2016)

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In this chapter, with different experiences in the exploration of the movements of infants (Trevarthen 1979, 1984, 1992, 2001; Delafield-Butt and Gangopadhyay 2013), we use detailed evidence from recordings of how happy infants communicate to develop the idea that a child learns by being full of hopeful emotion and the will to live with loved parents and lively brothers and sisters (Delafield-Butt and Trevarthen 2013; Trevarthen and Delafield-Butt 2013). The behaviour of a young human being is not just for attracting protection and care, and not only cognitive or rational for learning about objective facts. It is adapted to come to life in, intimate and playful companionship, or 'intersubjective awareness'. Experienced teachers know, as loving parents do, that human life begins with an eagerness to share meaning in the pleasure of activity with friends.

Leaders of modern child psychology have seen that young children learn, not passively, but by active, intentional engagement of their bodies to see hear and touch objects that catch their interest. With James Mark Baldwin (1895), Jean Piaget (1953) and Lev Vygotsky (1978), we accept that knowledge is gained by moving with curiosity. New evidence shows that even newborn infants move to share their interest in objects and events with persons they know well in an intimate sympathy of actions. Their innocent bodies and minds require both self-sustaining, regulation of inner vitality for well-being, and imaginative control of movement by perception of the outside world for the successful completion of tasks, and they enjoy showing and sharing of intentions with other persons. From the beginning, conscious interaction with the world is a living process, not only a collection and retention of facts to be learned, but a story of experience to be created, and it seeks companionship in the pleasure of discovery. Knowledge is gained through 'participatory sense-making', with social others (De Jaegher and Di Paolo 2007; Trevarthen and Delafield-Butt 2013; Reddy 2008, 2015). A search for understanding of this vital inter-mental learning is leading infant pedagogy today to a re-appreciation of the child's contribution to transmission of knowledge and skills (Trevarthen et al. 2014; Trevarthen and Delafield-Butt 2015).

Of course, a newborn infant has limited powers of action and mobility. A 1-year-old cannot walk or talk, and they know little about the outside world. But this physical weakness and inexperience, which needs for a long period of parental care, does not prevent the baby from attending intelligently to people and what they are doing. The baby moves to join in actions of a helper who is picking up and carrying them (Fantasia et al. 2016), or one who is offering objects with admiration for the baby's actions, and for the mind that guides them. In a few weeks the baby is starting to use vocal sounds as signs for marking special experiences in a 'line mode' of consciousness that can be about non-present things or happenings 'someplace, sometime' (Donaldson 1992, p. 50). A lively mind is eager to share remembered meanings with others in imagination for moving. Narratives or stories are being created to represent projects of 'serially ordered actions' that become a 'common sense' world (Bruner 1990, 2003; Donaldson 1992; Trevarthen and Delafield-Butt 2013; Delafield-Butt and Trevarthen 2015).

Thinking about actions through time is what Karl Lashley (1951) identified as the foundation for the grammar of language before Chomsky (1965) presented his cognitive theory of a separate instinct for grammar. Lashley added the remarkable

suggestion that, "analysis of the nervous mechanisms underlying order in the more primitive acts may contribute ultimately to the solution even of the physiology of logic" (p. 121). Our special human abilities for accumulating complex skills for inventing institutions, making buildings and machines, celebrating the arts and recording and thinking about our culture in language, have their origins in what a young baby can do in the rhythm of playful movements with someone they love (Delafield-Butt and Trevarthen 2015).

A 9-month old is combining gestures and vocalizations in non-verbal messages of a 'protolanguage', which parents easily understand to mean ideas like "Isn't that interesting", "I want that one", "What a terrible noise", "Go away from me". (Halliday 1975). Acts of 'languaging' are made well before the child can 'talk properly' (Bruner 1977; Donaldson 1978; Trevarthen 1986; Maturana et al. 1995). We explore these 'acts of meaning', presenting our research and that of others to illustrate the richness of play of infants with their mothers, fathers or other intimate companions. And we consider their significance for the development of self-confident knowledge and skills of both children and teachers in Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC) settings today.

Story-Telling from Birth: Making Sense of Experience in Non-verbal Narrative

As we have been taught by the founder of a rich educational psychology, Jerome Bruner, who died in June 2016 at the age of 100, we are born 'story-telling creatures' (Bruner 2003). All our narratives, whatever they are 'about', are motor performances with serial organization through episodes of vitality (Stern 2010). We explore space and time in active experience, and build social understanding by sharing feelings and intentions in movement (Delafield-Butt and Trevarthen 2015). Narrative behaviour, "inherent in the praxis of social interaction [even] before it achieves linguistic expression" (Bruner 1990, p. 77) is a foundation of conversational meaning-making and culture (Read and Miller 1995; Cobley 2014). In our stories we make sense of our experiences, evaluate our actions and understand our intentions with aesthetic and moral feelings about how they are performed (Kearney 2002; Cunliffe and Coupland 2012).

The creation of sequences of expressive behaviour – with the phases of 'introduction', 'development', 'climax' and 'resolution' enjoyed in the proto-conversations, action games and baby songs with infants – represent the 'communicative musicality' of relationships (Gratier and Trevarthen 2008; Gratier and Apter-Danon 2009; Malloch and Trevarthen 2009). As psychiatrist Daniel Stern taught us, ideas are expressed as 'proto-narrative envelopes' and 'schemas of being-with' in communication between a mother and infant (Stern 1995), and with universal human 'vitality dynamics' (Stern 2010). The emotions of these simple human stories inspire reflections with an artful sense of beauty (Delafield-Butt and Trevarthen 2013; Trevarthen and Malloch 2016).

Study of the initiatives of infants for learning in playful ways has important implications for a responsive pedagogy that aims to guide a child to a productive and self-confident adult life in family and community. New evidence from research on animal emotions for social cooperation confirms that a human life follows a creative imaginative path based on feelings shared as emotional intelligence or 'affective consciousness'. which directs collaborative action to make a new and valued reality for the 'cognitive consciousness' of a community (Panksepp and Biven 2012). In concert with sociocultural theories (Vygotsky 1978; Rogoff 2003) we consider that such advances cannot be comprehended without consideration of their location within particular cultural practices and values (Negayama et al. 2015). The foundation for our knowledge is in our innate feelings for collaborative awareness in the experience of action (Delafield-Butt and Trevarthen 2015).

Philosophy of Meaning: A Phenomenological Approach to a Brain Science of Infant Intersubjectivity and Its Motor Intelligence

The power of the brain to integrate its activities prospectively in coherent rhythmic patterns of moving is recognised in the philosophy of phenomenology, which admits that it is movements of the body that create and respond to consciousness by acting with the brain-generated 'subjective' time of intentional doing and thinking (Merleau-Ponty 1962; Goodrich 2010).

The pioneer of modern self-sensing neuroscience and discoverer of the *Integrative Action of the Nervous System*, Charles Sherrington, said, when summarizing his scientific philosophy at the age of 80, that the development of any individual person cannot be an act of 'memory', since each life is a new phenomenon – it must be considered an act of 'imagination' (Sherrington 1955, Chapter 4, "The Wisdom of the Body", pp. 103–104). Indeed, all animal movement must anticipate consequences that affect continuation of life, which requires an imagined awareness of the environment to be encountered, including other intentional beings.

This awareness of life in action becomes appraised and evaluated from the beginning of life, giving rise to Jaak Panksepp's 'affective intelligence' generated by core brainstem systems (Panksepp 2005; Porges and Furman 2011). We now recognize that basic perceptual and affective experience is generated, not by habits learned in the cerebral cortices, but by the impulses of the brainstem, forming a primary conscious intelligence from which abstract and reflective intelligence in later childhood and adulthood develops (Northoff and Panksepp 2008; Panksepp and Northoff 2009). Feelings in communities of animal beings shape the evolution and development of acquired knowledge and skills (Packard and Delafield-Butt 2014).

The core, primary Self of a human infant moves to explore the world and learns the contingencies of action, but it is limited in scope and power (Delafield-Butt and

Gangopadhyay 2013). Human consciousness of shared meaning develops in sophistication and power as the cortex matures, in a childhood of affective, embodied experiences in sympathetic company (Vandekerckhove and Panksepp 2011). Simple actions performed *in utero* and the first gestures in early life, tested in communication with a caring and sensitive caregiver, are brought together, or 'chained', to compose habits or projects of action that may reach far into the future (Pezzulo and Castelfranchi 2009).

We have to grasp the idea of a fundamental 'motor intelligence' for acting with awareness if we are to understand how consciousness develops with increasing efficiency. In the 1920s a young Russian neurophysiologist, Nikolai Bernstein (1967), used frame-by-frame examination of film taken at 40 frames per second to trace the regulation of forces in the moving body of a tool-user, a runner, or a child learning to walk. He proved that the vast array of motor components involved in any body action are assembled in advance by a *motor image* formed in the brain. The intended movement so conceived is highly efficient, wasting almost no energy. Furthermore, well-done movements are always rhythmic, smoothing out the irregular inertial forces they master through planned steps of time. David Lee (2005) has employed accurate mathematical analysis of how movements of an animal are guided precisely to reach a goal, and shown that there has evolved a special formulation for this control, which he calls a 'tau' function. It is common to a wide range of animal brains, and appears to be a biological universal (Delafield-Butt and Schögler 2007; Delafield-Butt et al. 2012). Even the sucking movements of a newborn baby obey this basic principle of prospective control (Craig and Lee 1999). Moving rhythmically in time also enables synchronization between individual actors in a dance of life that composes meaningful projects of cooperation.

There have been advances in applying such thinking about the time of movements in the mind to explain the inter-subjectivity of communication (Thelin 2014). In *The Laws of Emotion*, Frijda (2007) reviews what is known about the importance of the timing of emotional expressions, and of regulating their intensity and duration in immediate intimate encounters between persons. The topic of *Vitality Dynamics,* richly explored by psychiatrist Daniel Stern (2010), explains how a life time of 'affective' states of the self is made apparent in 'affecting' signals to others, with subtle regulations of 'arousal' in the vigor of actions. This is how affective signals communicate experience in 'the present moment' of life together (Stern 2004).

Like Goodrich, Stern (2010) perceives the advantages of a phenomenology which, he says:

> provides an account of the subjective world experienced *as it is lived*, pre-theoretically, pre-reflectively. The subjective, phenomenal world is as whatever is passing across the "mental stage", right now. It does not concern itself with how the scene got on the mental stage, nor why it got there, nor when, nor whether it is "real" in any objective sense. This current of philosophy … provides a starting place to look for vitality dynamics or the feel of being alive. William James (1890), Edmond Husserl (1964), and Merleau-Ponty (1962) are the most influential thinkers for this present work. (p. 34)

Sharing the same inborn sense of time, we develop conventional doing and thinking, or meaning-making (Trevarthen 2015).

Genesis of Conventional Meaning Learned in Shared Experience with Infant

Communication of Interests and Feelings in Proto-Conversational Narratives at Two Months: Educating Motherese

Early in the 1970s researchers working independently in Boston and New York to trace the development of motor activities aimed at objects and people reported evidence that the infants had elaborate motives for sharing interests, purposes and feelings.

An anthropologist and linguist Mary Catherine Bateson, who had studied universal gestural principles of human communication described by Ray Birdwhistell (1970), worked with Margaret Bullowa to understand the early acquisition of speech production and perception in the Speech and Communication Group at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (Bullowa 1979). Bateson, while expecting the birth of her daughter, made a detailed description of films of an infant 7–14 weeks of age in spontaneous interactions with the mother, as follows:

> … the mother and infant were collaborating in a pattern of more or less alternating, non-overlapping vocalization, the mother speaking brief sentences and the infant responding with coos and murmurs, together producing a brief joint performance similar to conversation, which I called 'proto conversation'. … These interactions were characterized by a sort of *delighted, ritualized courtesy and more or less sustained attention and mutual gaze*. Many of the vocalizations were of types not described in the acoustic literature on infancy, since they were very brief and faint, and yet were crucial parts of the jointly sustained performances. (Bateson 1979, p. 65, emphasis added).

Bateson was convinced that the infant was participating in mutual consciousness with a subtle grammar of movements to communicate, neither of which requires the symbolic conventions of language.

In New York, Daniel Stern, also inspired by Birdwhistell's 'kinesics', found that three-and-a- half-month-old twins were actively guiding their mother in playful exchanges by precise engagement of expressive movements (Stern 1971). This work led Stern away from conventional ideas of child psychiatry and psychoanalysis to path-finding studies of *The Interpersonal World of the Infant* (Stern 2000), and to elucidation of the dynamic principles of *Forms of Vitality* in body movement (Stern 2010).

In 1968 Jerome Bruner, who had introduced in preceding decades a philosophy of education that recognized the initiative of the child for learning, and the importance of 'value and need' for perceiving meaning, reported on a transformation of the work of the Center for Cognitive Studies at Harvard to focus on infant

intelligence and learning, with inspiration from ethological work on non-human primates. He set up, with the support of the pediatrician T. Berry Brazelton, a richly equipped research facility for use of a variety of recording devices and high-speed film to observe motor patterns and selective attention in young infants. Discoveries were made by visiting researchers and doctoral students, including Hanuš Papoušek and Tom Bower, that brought to light very early awareness of objects in body-related space and well-timed and directed actions to make sensory contact with them (Bruner 1968).

With Brazelton's advice and Martin Richards, a zoologist interested in maternal behaviour of mammals, a private film studio was set up to record natural spontaneous communication between infant 2- to 3-months-olds and their mothers, and to observe actions that the infants directed to objects (Bruner 1968). Using a single camera, the behaviours of the infant were observed from directly in front, and the mother's behaviours were recorded from a large front-surface mirror placed beside the infant (Trevarthen 1974, 1975, 1977, 1979). Two important findings were clearly established.

First, the behaviours that infants addressed to objects and those they aimed at their mother's attention were different. We called them 'doing' with things, and 'communicating' with a person. Secondly, in the communications that were supported by the mother's affectionate interest the babies took the initiative. For most of their 'conversations' the mothers were imitating the infant's expressions of vitality and their emotions of pleasure, displeasure, interest or disinterest. Rarely did the infant imitate the mother (Fig. 2.1).

None of the three above studies used psychological testing according to an experimental protocol. All relied on detailed recordings that were studied later to measure their rhythms and intentional or affective forms.

In his summary of the work at Harvard, Bruner emphasized that,

> As the joint efforts within the Center have turned more toward infancy, there has occurred a gradual change toward the viewpoint of a naturalist exploring a new species, and away from an exclusive emphasis on the testing of specific hypotheses derived from a general theory of infant development. The objective of the research is much as it has been in the past: to elucidate the processes by which human beings achieve, retain, transform and communicate information.(Bruner 1968, p. ii).

In that study and in further work with infants of the same age in Edinburgh, both the subjective self-regulations of the infant, and the inter-subjective patterns that sustained the 'dialogues of movement' were recorded in photographs and drawings traced from films. They supported the theory that the young infant has strong abilities for sharing a primary intersubjective awareness with an attentive adult, and special actions of hand gesture, facial expression and 'prespeech' movements of tongue and lips were demonstrated (Trevarthen 1974, 1977, 1979). In her work Bateson (1971) used refined acoustic analysis of illustrative examples of vocal engagement to represent this dialogic motivation.

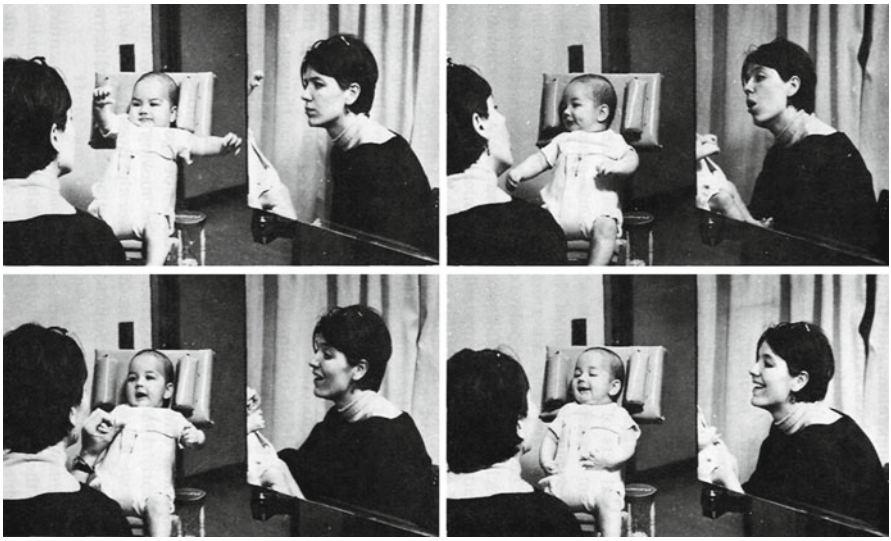

Fig. 2.1 Photographic samples show how a mother may adopt postures and expressions to closely mirror what her baby does. The intense mutuality or harmony of the behaviour comes initially from the infant responding to the mother's friendly behaviour in kind. Then the development is principally due to the mother accepting the expressions of the infant as models for her expression, or, rather, as indicative of an emotion which she may both share with her infant and express in like manner. (Trevarthen 1977, p. 241)
From a film made at the Center for Cognitive Studies, Harvard, in 1968. The infant is 3 months old. These pictures were first published in Trevarthen 1974

Exchanges in Dialogues of Imitation with Newborns

After the revelations from film studies of communication with infants after the second month, proving their conversational abilities, detailed analysis of voluntary engagements of babies from the first hours after birth confirmed the innate foundations of the mutual awareness. Until then, the firmly held belief of doctors, psychologists and educators was that a newborn cannot imitate expressive movements. This was the view of Sigmund Freud and Jean Piaget. Disproof of this theory was anticipated by Henri Wallon in the 1940s, then clearly demonstrated by Olga Maratos in 1973 when she reported the findings of her PhD research to Piaget at the University of Geneva. Piaget conceded "indeed they imitate", but kept reservations about what it signified for their state of awareness. Despite intense controversy, with ardent defense of the learning theory, clear evidence accumulated that alert infants were ready immediately after birth to imitate a wide range of movements of another person's head, eyes, mouth, vocal sounds and hand gestures (Nagy 2011; Kugiumutzakis and Trevarthen 2015).

An important additional discovery was that the imitating infants wanted to participate in a reciprocal exchange, in a confirmation of mutual awareness. Emese Nagy changed the interpretation that the imitations were an automatic 'mirroring'

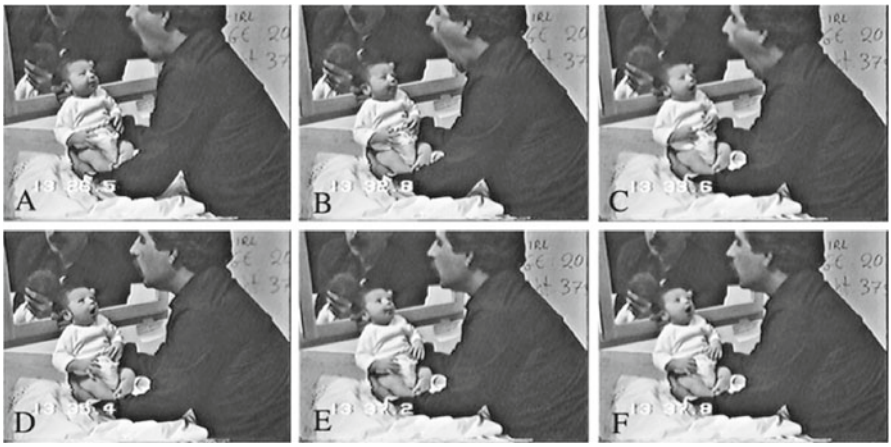

Fig. 2.2 A cycle of imitations of Mouth Opening with a female infant 20 min after birth. Recorded a maternity hospital in Herakleion, Crete in 1983 by Giannis Kugiumutzakis for his PhD research at the University of Uppsala.
(**a**) 0 s GK presents a wide open mouth for the first time to the attentive infant, I, who is focusing on his mouth, and with slightly closed eyes and pursed mouth.
(**b**) 6.3 s. GK opens his mouth for the fourth time. I continues to observe his mouth with evident interest. The right hand moves up.
(**c**) 7.1 s GK opens his mouth for the fifth time. I imitates him once, synchronously while watching his mouth. The right hand closes.
(**d**) 8.9 s I imitates a second time, looking up at the researcher's eyes as he waits.
(**e**) 10.7 s Both pause, waiting. The infant is still looking at his eyes.
(**f**) 11.3 s I makes a third large imitation while looking at the researcher's mouth, looking for a response.
GK Giannis Kugiumutzakis, *I* infant

by showing that a newborn could repeat an imitated act as a 'provocation' to invite a reciprocal imitation by the adult. The baby was accepting the expressive movement as an invitation to a creative dialogue of signs, or the affirmation of a convention of communication as an 'act of meaning' (Nagy and Molnár 2004; Nagy 2008).

Kugiumutzakis, in 1983, had recorded how an infant girl, filmed with him at 20 min after her birth, participated in a cooperative exchange of mouth opening movements, shifting attention from his mouth when attending to his gesture, to his eyes when watching for his response (Fig. 2.2).

Nagy (2011) recorded a more rapid exchange of finger movements with a newborn infant which similarly demonstrates the two phases of the infant's interest, observing the proffered expressive movement, an index finger extension and imitating, then watching for and accepting a return imitation (Fig. 2.3).

Fig. 2.3 A short exchange of intentions with interest recorded by Emese Nagy, of a sign she offered to the infant by extending the index finger of one hand, which the infant first imitates, then seeks an imitative response from the adult elicited by what Nagy described as an act of 'provocation'
(**a**) 0 s The infant is watching her own hand move
(**b**) 2 s Emese Nagy holds up her left hand with index finger extended. The infant looks at the hand
(**c**) 4 s Emese's hand is lowered, and the infant waits, looking at it
(**d**) 10 s After a long pause the infant suddenly raises her right hand and watches as she makes an extension of the index finger
(**e**) 12 s The infant looks back to Emese with her hand up and the finger extended, mouth open, as if questioning
(**f**) 15 s Emese responds with an index finger extension, and the infant watches intently with an 'attentive' mouth

Development of Narrative Rituals in Play, and Playful Sharing of Objects in Unexpected Ways

After the discovery of proto-conversational exchanges of the early months, in which the infant took a leading role, study of how individual baby-mother pairs changed their behaviour through the first year brought to light 'age-related changes' in the infants' interests and actions, which led the mother to adopt different strategies to share interests, feelings and actions (Trevarthen 1988, 1992, 2001). Infants develop their abilities through measures of time with new powers of movement with awareness.

A rich record of these motivated changes, which are found to be similar in babies who are growing up in all kinds of family and culture, is presented with hundreds of beautifully presented photographs in Lynne Murray's book *The Psychology of Babies* (Murray 2014). We have related the key changes to developments in the human brain that regulate both movements and perception, (Trevarthen 1984;

von Hofsten 1989) and changes in feelings and their emotional expression (Trevarthen and Aitken 2003). In the second edition of *The Interpersonal World of the Infant* (Stern 2000) Daniel Stern presents a lucid overview of how innate motivations of infants are retained as a foundation for the later stages.

With advances in their visual awareness after 3 months, and as support of the head, tracking movements of the eyes and control of arm and hand extensions develop, babies become more curious about their surroundings. They make efforts to examine nearby objects and look out to more distant places. In response, their mothers become more playfully seductive, to draw their attention. This generates what we called the Period of Games, first by exchanging expressions of curiosity and joy with teasing, or Person-Person games, then after 6 months Person-Person-Object games with 'toys' as the infants become more determined to explore anything they might get their hands on, enjoying the sights and sounds of actions with attractive things (Trevarthen 1977; Trevarthen and Hubley 1978).

Vasudevi Reddy has given attention to the use of 'joking, teasing and mucking about' to bring joy to these engagements of play, and she has charted the parallel development of self-consciousness or awareness of the Self in the appreciation of an Other (Reddy 2003, 2005, 2008; Reddy and Trevarthen 2004). This may be described as a maturation of two kinds of feeling for experiences, an 'aesthetic' appreciation of what may be done by engagement with 'things', and a 'moral' engagement with the feelings of a 'person' as partner in communication (Trevarthen and Reddy 2016).

The changes in the infants' motives and their communication with affectionate company reflect transformations of the 'vitality dynamics' elucidated by Daniel Stern (Stern 2010), who demonstrates that each phase in the development of increasingly elaborate expressions of 'how to move' acts as a foundation that persists through the later attainments.

These transformations of the young human being, affecting their exploration of the material world and their relationships with companions and hence their learning of meaning for life in a particular family and community are an essential part of human nature, adapted, from infancy, for education in the ways of a community with its culture (Trevarthen and Delafield-Butt 2013, 2015).

Sympathetic Rhythms of Communicative Musicality in Proto-Conversations, Action Games and Nursery Songs

From the beginning, the new descriptive research of the natural spontaneous actions of infants has drawn researchers' attention to the timing, especially the infant's creation and coordination of rhythms in all kinds of movement – looking with head and eyes, reaching out to point to or grasp objects, making vocalisations and gestures that express feelings, and their sensitivity for the rhythms of other persons' actions and especially the vocal sounds they make in speech or song. This discovery has been supported by research on the prospective control of all animal movements,

including the unique human powers of bipedal locomotion, the manipulation of objects as tools or toys, and the elaboration of narratives by creative patterns of voice and gesture (Bernstein 1967; Lee 2005).

Scientific research on the rhythms of life and their sharing in early childhood has benefitted greatly from the use of musical acoustics (Malloch 1999) to reveal fine details of motor expression and their regulation by an Intrinsic Motive Pulse (IMP). "Musicality in human motives, the psycho-biological source of music, is described as a talent inherent in the unique way human beings move, and hence experience their world, their bodies and one another." (Trevarthen 1999, p. 155).

With Stephen Malloch, we have studied the rhythms of action games with infants and baby songs in many different cultures and found universal principles of timing, expression and narrative form (Malloch 1999; Malloch and Trevarthen 2009). The infants are not compliant imitators in these celebrations of joy in relationships with familiar people, they are active and stimulating performers. One amazing film shows how a 5-month-old baby born totally blind conducts with her left hand her Swedish mother's singing of a baby song that is known all over Scandanivia. The baby moves with the delicate gestures of a professional conductor, and anticipates important moments in the drama by a fraction of a second, moving just before her mother's note changes. She describes the melody with the feelings of her body (Trevarthen 1999, p. 185).

Dancing celebrations and songs are attractive to infants as their bodies gain strength in the middle of the first year and key components like the pulse and rhyming vowels are learned and repeated. They are becoming ways of sharing rituals of unspoken common sense, leading to the special traditional ways of a particular culture (Bråten and Trevarthen 2007). The baby is beginning to make sounds that have the recognisable 'accent' of speech in their family. This is the time when they show they have a disposition to master a language.

Secondary Intersubjectivity Leading to Speech

Language is 'about' actions, events, and desirable or interesting objects in a shared world, which by use of symbolic representation, does not have to be present. Speech is the key that opens the door to a great expansion of the world which becomes known with good companions, first in remembered times and places, then in an ideal world of meanings anywhere or anytime (Donaldson 1992, on 'modes of mind'). Studies of communication before proto-language have discovered an important step in the infant's awareness of other person's purposes and interests at 9 months, a transformation in the initiative of the child for learning, one which changes the way adults behave as teacher-companions.

Penelope Hubley documented development of one infant girl through her first year by comparing film showing how she shared the fun of games with her mother's expressions of intentions and feelings, for example in the sharing of rhythms and melodies in action games and baby songs like "Rock-a-bye baby", "Round and

round the garden" and "Clappa-clappa-handies". Hubley found that the infant's interest in sharing of objects as toys in play also changed, and that this affected the way the mother communicated with her:

> In the development of fundamental human skills, a regulated pattern of change is clear in the first year of life. A large step towards confidence in "self" and confiding in others is expressed at about 9 months. It is significant that the word *confidence* means both skill in making acts as an independent self, and a sense of being in a trusting relationship to another self (Trevarthen and Hubley 1978, p. 226).

Within a couple of weeks, an infant gained a more serious interest in doing things together with her mother, taking particular interest in a companion's ideas about what to do with a selected object or to combine objects in a particular way, and to communicate 'about' them. We called the new kind of sociability 'secondary intersubjectivity' or 'cooperative awareness' (Trevarthen and Hubley 1978; Hubley and Trevarthen 1979), wishing to relate it to – but also differentiate it from – the primary direct person-to-person engagement that motivates the 'primary intersubjectivity' of proto-conversation with a 2-month-old (Bateson 1979; Trevarthen 1979). Piaget, in his study of the development of an individual's 'thinking' (Piaget 1962) identified this change at 9 months as the beginning of the infant's 'concept of the object'. He allows the infant no special awareness of persons who share intentions and feelings and may cooperate in the generation of meaning, which has been given special importance by researchers attentive to the development of language.

Elizabeth Bates (1979) found 9 months to be the age when a child brings awareness of a person nearby into the consciousness of what the immediate world affords. Both the object of interest and the person who is present are alive in the imagination, and intentional communication about it begins, for example turning to ask for help to reach a wanted object, or looking back to the other to see if they are following an arm that is pointing to an attractive object or event. Scaife and Bruner (1975) had observed a change in readiness to follow another's direction of regard around 9 months. Tomasello (2008) identifies seeking for 'joint attention' as *The Origin of Human Communication*. Again, it needs to be recognized that this change is not just a cognitive or practical appreciation of a context for action. The key change is a combining of attentions to objects with sympathy for the vocal and gestural expressions of companions (Reddy et al. 1997). The invitation to join comes from a new kind of social curiosity in the child (Esteve-Gilbert et al. 2016).

A very important indication of the child's investment of purpose in a shared task, like the special form of delight shown in participation of a 6-month-old in a favourite game, is the expression of shared satisfaction or 'pride' that is addressed to others for their admiration. This leads us to recognize that for a young child it is especially important and rewarding to share knowledge and skills with moral feelings of personal joy or distress (Trevarthen 2005).

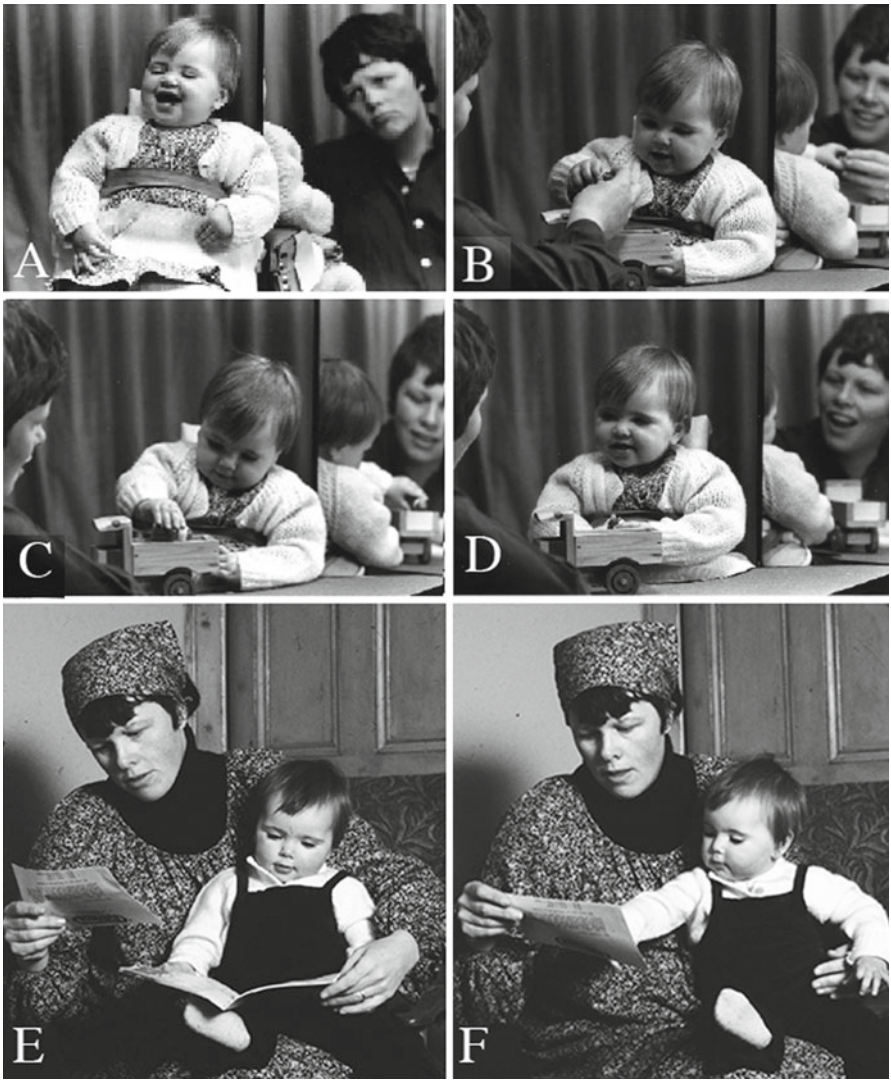

Fig. 2.4 A one-year-old shows her talents
(**a**) In the recording room, Basilie enjoys the comedy when her mother pretends to be sad
(**b**), (**c**) and (**d**) Mastering a task. She takes the wooden figure offered by her mother, with a request "Put the doll in the truck". Basilie carefully puts it in the truck (**c**): then (**d**) looks with a self-satisfied expression at her mother who says, "What a clever girl!"
(**e**) At home Basilie and her mother read. Basilie is studying her book, the mother is intently occupied with a document, perhaps a telephone bill
(**f**) Basilie drops her book and points to the mother's paper, with a critical vocal comment, 'jargon' without words, but with intense prosody communicating criticism. This appears to be a response to the concerned expression of her mother

Infants and Toddlers as Personalities: Pride and Shame in Presentation of an Imaginative Self to Others

Draghi-Lorenz et al. (2001) insist on 're-thinking the development of 'non-basic' emotions', rejecting the theory that infants come with only a set of mindless reflex emotional responses to stimuli that cause bodily pleasure and pain, with social signaling of automatic reactions of distress or anger. Reddy (2008) has elaborated the richer approach demonstrating the developmental importance of complex 'moral' feelings of self-conscious shyness, pride and shame, which are sensitive to appreciation of the attentions and feelings of others (Fig. 2.4d). These are the 'relational affects' identified by Stern (2000), regulating emotions of spiritual awareness that communicate the values of relationships (Hay 2006). Emotions of the spirit are powerful in early childhood (Hay and Nye 2006), and they are critically involved in the process of engagement in education from infancy (Trevarthen 2005). Children learn with pride, and shame restricts understanding and learning.

Our personality and our personal history depend on the recognition by others, including our parents and our teachers. Their attitude towards us is something we depend on as a source of affection and self-confidence. As Bruner says, in his celebration of our 'story-telling' imagination, our narrative of life gives us our identity, and helps us learn.

> Why are we so intellectually dismissive towards narrative? … Storytelling performs the dual cultural functions of making the strange familiar and ourselves private and distinctive. If pupils are encouraged to think about the different outcomes that could have resulted from a set of circumstances, they are demonstrating usability of knowledge about a subject. Rather than just retaining knowledge and facts, they … use their imaginations to think about other outcomes. … This helps them to think about facing the future, and it stimulates the teacher too. (Bruner 1996, pp. 39–40).

Reforming Educational Practice for Early Years with the Evidence from Infancy

> "The roots of all sciences and arts in every instance arise as early as in the tender age, and that on these foundations it is neither impossible nor difficult for the whole superstructure to be laid; provided always that we act reasonably as with a reasonable creature." (John Amos Komensky (1592–1671), known as Comenius, in *The School of Infancy*. Quoted by Quick, 1984, pp. 144–145).

Understanding that infants can communicate their intentions and feelings and want to share experiences confirms what experienced teachers of early years and affectionate parents know, that convivial play is the generator of learning from birth. Before a child is ready to accept formal instruction in language, literacy and numeracy they need to enjoy a free life in a safe and interesting environment shared with affectionate companions (Trevarthen 2012).

This, of course, is not a new discovery. Comenius, the Moravian philosopher, pedagogue and theologian who wrote *The School of the Mother's Breast* (1628), *School by Play* (1630) and *The Gate of Languages Unlocked* (1631), and who is known as a creator of schools and as a teacher who elucidated the best principles for educating children from birth to the age of six, appreciated the infant's playful creativity and its contribution to human learning. In the nineteenth century Robert Herbert Quick (1894) described "a growing science of education" intended to help teachers welcome the initiatives of all children to share discoveries in imaginative ways. He recorded the insights of the Jesuits of the sixteenth century, who criticized the restriction of teaching to book learning and said young children must exercise their bodies, and Rabelais who ridiculed the absurd idea of 'pouring in' formulated knowledge. Following them, Pestalozzi and Froebel worked as teachers to reduce the misfortunes of young children obliged to work too soon at prescribed tasks, instead promoting their freedom to enjoy sociable learning at play in nature.

At the end of the nineteenth century James Mark Baldwin proposed that all life actively tests its awareness with 'circular reactions' in which an initiative for action repeats itself to test stimulation, retaining the vitally good and pleasurable relations with the environment and suppressing bad and unpleasant stimulation. He inspired Piaget's theory of active learning and Vygotsky's explanation of the social development of thought and language with the child as playful agent, and he opened the way to understanding how 'self-imitation' leads to reciprocal imitation with others as the key motive of communication (Nadel 2014). But Baldwin's understanding was rejected by the reductive psychology of behaviourism, and it gained recognition in his time only in the writings of philosophers, including Bergson, James, and Dewey.

In the 1920s Alfred North Whitehead, argued for appreciation of the first 'romantic' stage of the educational experience, and retention of its creative energy through to study at the University. He observed that in school childish imagination is transformed into the stage of 'precision' which concerns 'exactness of formulation'. In resistance to this limitation, Whitehead helped Susan Langer develop a philosophy of art in movement, presented as *Philosophy in a New Key* (Langer 1942).

Jean Piaget (1951, 1962) described the infant mind as 'egocentric'. He failed to notice that attractive expressions by eyes, face, voice and hands show more than "pleasure in mastery" of a practical task, and did not appreciate that 'circular reactions' are, as Baldwin showed, readily shared with teachers, if they are not too preoccupied with reason and unreceptive to playful invention.

Jerome Bruner, who already in the 1940s insisted on the importance of a child's purposes and feelings for learning, expanded his philosophy of education in a new way by leading work in the Center for Cognitive Studies at Harvard to study the convivial enjoyment of intentions and problem solving by infants (Bruner 1968). Margaret Donaldson (1963, 1978), also showed that three and 4-year-old children appreciate other persons' points of view to experience a world shared purposefully and with emotional evaluation. They enjoy playing with differences of belief, as long as they do not receive imperative correction.

The foundations of education, in every culture, are in the development from birth of human motives to test and expand active experience, and to share it with companions, 'story-telling' for fun (Bruner 1996; Trevarthen et al. 2014), with emotions of 'human sense' (Donaldson 1978). To understand how we can best support the growth of this curiosity and sociability in infants and toddlers, we can learn from researchers in the arts, especially music. This is the belief of Loris Malaguzzi of Reggio Emilia in Italy, who insists on giving the "hundred languages" of childhood in play with all sorts of media the freedom to discover how they may be used in skills of everyday life. "The program is based on the principles of respect, responsibility, and community through exploration and discovery in a supportive and enriching environment based on the interests of the children through a self-guided curriculum." (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/ReggioEmiliaapproach). That is how childish enthusiasm motivates the learning of conventional practices and beliefs to supporting the traditions and inventions of a culture (Rogoff 2003).

The views of Pestalozzi and Froebel inspired in turn the views and practices of Maria Montessori (1897–1952) and Jerome Bruner (b. 1915, and still teaching), which follow Comenius in their efforts to reduce misfortunes of young children and promote their enjoyment of learning (Trevarthen and Bjørkvold 2016).

These different approaches have led to an acceptance by developmental psychology of the rich imaginative consciousness or 'spirit for life in movement' of a newborn, and appreciation of their special human abilities for communicating 'consciousness' as intentions to know with feelings of curiosity and enjoyment, both defined differently from verbal thoughts or rational explanations that may be developed later to describe 'cognition' of a material causal world. There have been great pioneers of this sense of being a human being with a human mind that lacks words and cognitions abstracted from active motor use. Their advice must guide educators in modern Western cultures.

Modern Prescriptions for Accepting Natural Impulses for Learning

> Early childhood is "…a period of momentous significance for all people growing up in [our] culture… By the time this period is over, children will have formed conceptions of themselves as social beings, as thinkers, and as language users, and they will have reached certain important decisions about their own abilities and their own worth." (Donaldson, Grieve and Pratt, 1983, p. 1. Quoted to introduce New Zealand's early childhood curriculum *Te Whariki*, 1996)

This quotation from Donaldson et al. (1983) supports the understanding of the role of childhood in transmission of culture that has guided the New Zealand formulation of *Te Whāriki* an inspiring bicultural ECEC curriculum that is inclusive of under 3-year-olds (Te Whāriki 1996).

Indigenous views concerning the natural talents of the very young child (Nuttall 2013; White and Mika 2013) demonstrate respect for what Margaret Donaldson

(1978) calls ‘human sense’, common to all cultures, and her recognition that the normal development to a meaningful life for a self-consciousness personality needs oral and practical transmission of culture-specific ‘common sense’ in intersubjective encounters. Donaldson insists that a balance is required between acceptance of the natural eagerness of the child to learn in companionship, and the need for guidance in disciplined methods of learning by instruction from teachers in a planned education (Donaldson 1992, pp. 245–266).

In Scotland, we are fortunate to have these principles adopted into the *Curriculum for Excellence* (Education Scotland 2009) as principles of education that celebrate the child’s agency and well-being made in intersubjective engagement with teachers and professional caregivers as a priority for professional practice. This commitment is evidenced in child-centred pedagogies that attend to the affective nature of the child to work with his or her intentions in creative, imaginative projects that can be achieved, developing confidence in a secure and responsible companionship (Trevarthen 2012). The non-verbal nature of intersubjective relations, building narratives of meaning with patterned autonomic arousal and shared affect become cornerstones of a sensitive pedagogy that can capture the imagination and interest of children, even those with so-called behavioural difficulties, to help them to discover and find interest in learning (Delafield-Butt and Adie 2015, 2016). Such pedagogies, seek to support every child’s interests and capacities to nurture and bring out the best in that child, and have sensitivity for whatever social or emotional difficulties they may have (Gunn and Delafield-Butt 2016).

Every child’s learning is by nature affective and purposeful, never just cognitive – and it is adapted to come to life in intimate and playful companionship. This is a fundamental principle for an effective educational pedagogy, and is no less true for the education of infants, who are beginning to be inquisitive about arbitrary knowledge and skills.

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Chapter 3
A 'Good Life' for Infants in Early Childhood Education *and* Care? The Place of Well-Being in ECEC Curriculum, Pedagogy and Policy

Andrew Gibbons, Robert Stratford, and E. Jayne White

Abstract Notions of well-being have long been heralded as vital to the good life for human beings. This chapter considers the place of well-being in ECEC with a particular focus on the complex interconnections between well-being and the pedagogical experiences of infants. An examination of the place and purpose of well-being is critiqued in relation to eudaimonic and hedonic theorisations of well-being – theorisations that have implications for both the adult and the child. We explore the philosophical and educational underpinnings of a conceptualisation of well-being and use these to critique the contemporary observed problem of a lack of care, a lack of well-being, and the development of the early childhood teaching profession. We consider the competing concerns of care and education of infants and toddlers that are evident in the policies of the ministries of Health and Education in Aotearoa New Zealand. The chapter critiques positivistic approaches that seek to reduce well-being to discrete variables or checklists of health or happiness, and offers alternative views of well-being in terms of both an experience of well-being and a professional knowledge of well-being. Drawing upon the policy context of Aotearoa New Zealand, the final section of this chapter explores how the policy context can use simplistic approaches to well-being to avoid the important interconnections that exist between well-being and pedagogy. A key policy provocation that this chapter then engages with is: Should teachers of infants have a distinct early childhood teaching qualification? The OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Starting strong II: early childhood education and care. OECD Publishing, 2006) notes that no "dominant core professional profile for work with infants and toddlers has emerged. This may be due to seeing the work as primarily a question of care, or in collective situations, as a question of maintaining health and hygiene." We are not seeking to entrench any such dominant profes-

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sion here, however we are seeking to create spaces of resistance for the dominance of some professional knowledge and educational traditions that seem to have made it possible to regard, for example, knowledge of health and hygiene as marginal (at best) matters of professional knowledge.

Introduction

A relationship has been established between well-being in infancy and flourishing through childhood and adult life. Attachment research, for example, shows that the emotional well-being of the infant has a significant impact on the quality of their relationships in later years (e.g. Fearon et al. 2010; Tryphonopoulos et al. 2014). The influence of such research on Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC) is evident in the policies of the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) which position the 'baby's' well-being as a matter of economic sustainability (see Farquhar 2010). The *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (1990) also, talks about physical, social, spiritual and moral well-being as a child's 'right', obligating state signatory parties to:

> ensure the child such protection and care as is necessary for his or her well-being, taking into account the rights and duties of his or her parents, legal guardians, or other individuals legally responsible for him or her, and, to this end, shall take all appropriate legislative and administrative measures. (Article 8)

Contemporary ECEC curriculum documents reflect this emphasis on well-being as foundational, and a key part of both 'caring' and 'education'. The contemporary weaving together of education and well-being for infants is the focus of this chapter. In this discussion we adopt a critical approach to the concept of well-being, one which goes beyond taken-for-granted notions of being 'happy', 'content', 'healthy', or 'realising one's potential', and positions infants as active, interconnected and complex beings. In developing this argument we explore different assumptions about the well-being of infants, with a particular interest in 'hedonic' and 'eudaimonic' approaches to well-being. Our analysis brings these approaches into alliance so as to engage with a complex view of well-being. It is our argument that hedonic and eudaimonic dimensions help form a pedagogical understanding of well-being that can hold together the education *and* care of infants.

From a hedonic perspective, well-being can be seen as a way of maximising the comfort or pleasure of the infant (Deci and Ryan 2008). Ostensibly, such an approach seems vital for teachers who work with infants. As Estola et al. (2014) have explained:

> From the *hedonic* perspective, well-being requires the fulfilment of an individual child's needs and desires. In an early childhood education context, meeting children's individual needs is clearly a requisite for teachers, particularly when working with babies and very small children (2014, p. 938).

While we agree that meeting an infant's needs is an essential requirement in early childhood practice, this hedonic approach to understanding well-being can

also be associated with a narrow view of the infant as wholly dependent or vulnerable – requiring adult intervention in order to generate and maintain a 'state' of well-being. In developing a richer and more critical perspective on well-being, education and care, this chapter also draws on a eudaimonic conception of well-being (Ryan and Deci 2001). A eudaimonic perspective helps to position the infant as a multi-dimensional being, whose flourishing is dependent, not just on 'adults' but on a wider ecology of culture, relationships and contexts (Estola et al. 2014) in which the infant is an active learner and teacher (Peters et al. 2015). When imbued with a eudaimonic perspective, well-being is central to a 'good-life', a life with well-developed ethical and creative elements. This is a flourishing existence where happiness, development and education are enmeshed in the interconnected physical, psychological, cognitive, ethical and spiritual dimensions of life. In such a view well-being is not just regarded as laying foundations, or preparing infants for education, but lies at the centre of education in its broadest sense.

We argue that locating a critical understanding of well-being at the centre of pedagogy, sits well with many international curriculum documents – for example in Aotearoa New Zealand, Australia, Sweden, Norway, United Kingdom and Scotland. Some curriculum documents (for instance in Scotland) provide a separate curriculum for birth to 3 year old infants; while others (for instance Sweden, Aotearoa New Zealand and Australia) integrate infants into a wider birth-to-school agenda. In such texts the infant is characterised as confident and competent. The teacher's role is far more than 'caring' for the health and well-being of the infant. Health and well-being within this understanding involves the teacher's engagement in a collaborative teaching and learning relationship with the infant, family and community – health and well-being understood in an educational and pedagogical sense.

From a critical well-being perspective, we argue that ECEC teachers should be supported to strengthen professional 'well-being' networks, involved in the education *and* care of infants. Such an approach has significant implications for both policy and practice, which we explore in this chapter.

In developing our argument this chapter begins with a discussion of philosophical understandings of well-being. We then examine how well-being has been variously positioned in both policy and practice. In particular we question ECEC policy and practice contexts that establish narrow, instrumentalist and/or regulatory approaches to well-being that undermine the significance of infant pedagogy, and the need for a high-level of teacher understanding and practice. In the final section we look at well-being and ECEC in Aotearoa New Zealand. The Aotearoa New Zealand ECEC setting is used as a case for exploring some specific tensions arising from the drive for increased participation in ECEC against a contemplation of the 'good life' for infants and their families. Aotearoa New Zealand's case illustrates how critical understandings of well-being can be obfuscated in an ECEC policy and practice context. Indeed the Aotearoa New Zealand case shows how the application of a critical approach to well-being would be an important step forward for ECEC and ensuring a careful theorisation of infant pedagogy, education *and* care, that is then open to questions concerning the 'good life'.

Well-Being and Its Meanings

The concept of well-being exists in educational, philosophical, psychological, and policy discourses as something of an intellectual butterfly. A flighty creature, its exact weight, position and life-span can be difficult to pin down. This problem of defining well-being can in part be seen as a symptom of the relationship between the meaning of well-being and the meaning of health. Alderson (2015, p. 17) suggests health is "defined broadly as children's physical, mental, emotional and social health, affected by their families' well-being, and their housing and neighbourhood – wealthy, average or deprived". This definition aligns with that of the World Health Organisation's (WHO) which somewhat holistically sees 'health' as "a state of complete physical, mental and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease or infirmity" (cited by Alderson 2015, p. 18). These fluid definitions ask us to understand the interrelationships that exist between social health, family well-being, and deprivation – and clearly make a connection between health and well-being. They also raise as many questions as they do answers, reflecting something of the broad-ranging possibilities that exist for what actually counts as well-being.

Within this context, government and policy organisations have published a wide range of documents about well-being over recent years. Many of these reports seem to have sought to extract value from well-being for the purpose of political, social and, importantly, economic development. The OECD, for example, has released sizeable volumes concerning 'well-being metrics' detailing how several different 'quality of life' variables are rated across member countries (OECD 2014). The well-being of children and young people has been a focus in light of the identified failure of child and youth mental health services to respond to issues such as youth suicide and self-harm (Gluckman 2011; McLeod and Wright 2015). In Aotearoa New Zealand, for example, this focus has led to an extensive cross-government policy approach known as the *Youth Mental Health Project* (Ministry of Health 2014). This particular policy platform has links to a range of well-being-related policies and approaches in schools, many of which align to the existing ECEC agenda.

What is often absent in such policy and evaluation documents is the extent to which ideas about well-being are drawn from particular philosophical and theoretical conceptions. Questions about the meaning of well-being, and the related concept of what it means to be healthy are often taken for granted rather than carefully explored. In such cases there is a danger or tendency to see well-being as something psychological to measure a child by, and to obscure or neglect the voice of the infant in her experience of well-being (Peters et al. 2015). However in other cases, sometimes even within the same policy texts, well-being is linked to a broader set of concepts that suggest more complex links between physical, cognitive, spiritual and family dimensions. For example, in the New Zealand Education Review Office's (ERO) trial school indicators (ERO 2015a) we see a phrase unlike others in its discussion of well-being. This phrase is placed in relation to a discussion of *Manaakitanga*, a Māori concept of care which describes the immediate responsibil-

ity and authority of the host to care for the visitor's emotional, spiritual, physical and mental well-being:

> In the learning context these understandings encompass the need to care for children and young people as culturally located human beings through providing safe, nurturing environments. In the New Zealand setting, these understandings also need to be extended to include developing and sustaining language, culture and identity to ensure all students have the opportunity to learn and experience education success. (p. 15)

The shuffle between a psychological conception of well-being, and a broader interpretation typically goes unnoticed in policy and practice. However, these two approaches to well-being can have very different political, social and educational repercussions depending on the way a policy or teaching practice is designed, understood and implemented. In the section that follows we focus on two core understandings of well-being that frame the implementation of policies related to well-being in ECEC. We explore distinctions between subjective and objective well-being as a hedonic concept and the often missed ethical, joined-up, holistic, developmental or critical elements of eudaimonic well-being. Significantly, our intention is not to vouch for one way of thinking over another, but rather to explore how together the two concepts can engage early childhood communities in a critical appreciation of what well-being in ECEC for infants can and might be.

Hedonic and Eudaimonic Understandings of Well-Being

In examining "the good life" and the role of education and care, the hedonic and eudaimonic traditions can be traced back to Greek philosophy (Estola et al. 2014; Ryan and Deci 2001). Both have had a significant influence on understanding well-being – not just in determining whether or not people are 'being well' but the ways in which they *know* they are being well. According to Estola et al. (2014), hedonic and eudaimonic traditions are "two distinct, yet overlapping, traditions of well-being" (p. 931). That these approaches can be seen as both different and overlapping indicates significant blurred boundaries in terms of defining well-being, and also defining experiences related to well-being, most notably the concept of happiness (Deci and Ryan 2008).

Hedonia and Well-Being in ECEC

A hedonic approach to well-being emphasises one's feeling about life, including how 'pleasant' our life is, and the conditions or factors that impact on this pleasantness. Hedonic well-being is then typically understood in terms of positive (versus negative) affect (Deci and Ryan 2008). Our emotions and perceptions are an important part of hedonia, and this connection has laid the basis for a growing interest in

meanings and experiences of subjective well-being (in brief terms, identifying how we feel). From a more 'objective' perspective, hedonic approaches have also been influential in the observing, measuring, assessing and controlling of environmental variables in order to understand, evaluate and eventually achieve positive well-being 'outcomes'.

In the paradigm of evidence-based educational practices dominating ECEC policy, there has been a great deal of research on the factors that contribute to subjective and objective (hedonic) well-being. For example, measures of quality ECE environments used extensively in the 1980s and 1990s emphasised safety, health and secure relationships as proxy indicators of child well-being. As Dalli and White (2016) explain, revised versions of these measures:

> remain in use in research requiring a global measure of quality (e.g. Scopelliti and Musatti 2013). The more recently developed Classroom Assessment Scoring System (CLASS) similarly cites research from this period. (p. 38)

Quantification of this nature positions well-being as 'scientific' through the identification of the various social, economic and health indicators that are said to contribute to infants being 'well' and 'cared for' in a global sense. For example, research has demonstrated that higher levels of stress are likely to negatively affect well-being (Sims et al. 2005); while research of the same parental education and employment, have been associated with positive measurements of well-being (Stephen et al. 2003). Perhaps unsurprisingly therefore, the advocacy for quality ECEC is increasingly supported by evidence of the impact of a range of variables within the scope of their impact upon well-being measurements. In keeping with this view, a hedonic emphasis on the well-being of infants in ECEC is granted centrality in practice through universal measurement criteria such as indicators or scales.

While we would argue that there are other ways of thinking about well-being, and also that there are causes for concern regarding such a positivist approach to hedonic well-being, we do not wish to suggest that observing, evaluating and altering environments for the well-being of children and adults is a problem in itself. Where we do see a problem is not that hedonic approaches to well-being exist, but rather that where they exist uncritically they are just as likely to limit well-being. For instance, a focus on achieving or improving discrete 'health and well-being' variables can limit deeper questions about the norms and values that might inform the educational experience (see for instance Biesta 2013). Under such a 'checklist' approach, the infant's well-being exists in a cultural and social vacuum, disconnected from her family, community and culture. Indeed such a focus on well-being 'variables' can also result in health and welfare programmes that are done 'to' individuals and communities, and which may not be in their best interests at all (see for instance Rose 1996).

We would argue that a focus on discrete well-being variables also speaks to a deficit view of both care and education. The emphasis on ameliorating negative effects or maintaining generic levels of pleasantness has, for example, little regard for the thinking subject, that is, the infant. Moreover without contemplation of this wider emphasis, a narrow hedonic view of well-being offers little space for the

agency of the infant and their family. This concern has been raised in a wider critique of the early childhood profession and the development of a professional body of knowledge regarding the child:

> …the diversity that could enrich parents' choices in dealing with their children is replaced by the straightjacket of the exclusive "to be preferred alternative." Similar to the tradition of logical positivism more generally, debates about values are outlawed, replaced by standards often inspired by claims about "what works." Not surprisingly, this trend goes hand-in-hand with the development of technologies that take the place of debates about norms and values, those elements intrinsic to a social practice, and that these technologies strive for ever more description, knowledge, and control for their own sake, since just such a rationale is built into them (Smeyers 2010a, p. 266).

Our argument is that these concerns regarding the narrowing down and instrumentalisation of care and education, can in part be addressed by contemplating additional notions of well-being. A deeper, critical view of well-being then becomes a response to Smeyer's (2010b) point about an over-confident ECEC policy and practice context that presumes that educational research has *already identified* the causes of negative outcomes for children, and that those outcomes can be turned around, made better for all. At the same time, little attention is given to debating the values, cultural norms and aspirations underpinning those desired outcomes. As Smeyers (2010b) suggests, "…there does not exist a single measure of good upbringing by which the optimal outcome can be assessed" (p. 279) and so any claims to authority should arouse immediate suspicion, whether or not these claims appear to be supported by evidence.

Eudaimonia and Well-Being in ECEC

Eudaimonic approaches to happiness and human well-being extend well beyond the scope of mental and emotional well-being or how one feels. Eudaimonic approaches locate happiness within a larger range of variables concerned with the ethics and practice of a good life. Under this approach human well-being is concerned with actualising 'potential' linked to the ethics of how one lives (Deci and Ryan 2008). In contrast to hedonia's focus on the 'affective' domain, eudaimonic well-being is built around a reflective and critical existence. Ultimately this critical facility is one that can be used to help balance the many different aspects of life, including physical, emotional, social, cognitive and spiritual; all of which are lived out in a good way if they can be examined (Clack 2012). More than this, following Smeyers, eudaimonia addresses not just the experience of one's own well-being but also a way of being in our communities as an "ethical responsibility to the other" (Smeyers 2010b, p. 281).

These links made to the 'whole' of physical, emotional, social, cognitive and spiritual dimensions of well-being are the ones we wish to emphasise in this chapter. These issues overlap with hedonic ideas of well-being, and we would argue that when used in critical partnership, hedonic and eudaimonic approaches inform our

understanding of 'the good life' and the complexity of infant pedagogy. This complexity includes critical attention to resonances between different world views.

In Aotearoa New Zealand, a critical approach to eudaimonic and hedonic well-being can be explored in relation to Māori knowledge and experience of hauora. Critical attention requires that resonances are explored rather than assumed. For instance, as non-indigenous researchers, we might tentatively engage with Durie's (1994) holistic notion of hauora and ideas about well-being. Durie (1994) has talked about the four dimensions of *hauora* as *taha hinengaro* (mental health), *taha whānau* (extended family health), *taha tinana* (physical health) and *taha wairua* (spiritual health). Hauora itself is also a contested concept, arguably made more complex by its post-colonial acquisition by English-medium policy and curriculum discourse (Heaton 2011). In this regard, having acknowledged its importance, we would also take a step away from using hauora in any universal manner.

From a slightly different perspective our focus on interconnection aligns with an 'ecological' approach to the broad understanding of well-being. Following Bateson (1972) and Bronfenbrenner (1979), we take the view that being open to the contexts of the child is critical to understanding well-being and the good life. In particular, the social (and natural) ecology of the child is fundamental in understanding how he or she can flourish (Clack 2012; Raghavan and Alexandrova 2014). From an ecological standpoint the infant is seen, not so much as developing (or not developing) established competencies to become a successful learner; but as a thriving, spiritual, physical, emotional, social and cognitive intersubjective subject operating within a set of social (and natural) relationships. This includes relationships within her family – relationships which so often seem distant within educational discourse. In brief, the development of well-being in all its dimensions, becomes the very point of learning and a fuller expression of curriculum.

When talking about helping children to reach their potential, eudaimonic well-being is therefore a central concept. However, by extrapolation, a eudaimonic consideration of well-being signals a very important emphasis for teachers to question what it means to talk about potential in relation to a child's well-being. In well-being discourse the word *potential* has the potential to become rhetorical and instrumental. *Potential* can lose its eudaimonic qualities when it is unexamined as a concept and experience. The point then to eudaimonia is to understand well-being as a complex view of the world in which adults who work with infants understand something of each child's social, ethical, cultural and material ecology. The identification of an infant's ecology suggests a dialogic, negotiated and thoughtful approach to a pedagogy of infant well-being, one that is not narrowly focused on where the child is supposed to be going, the competencies they need to acquire, or whether or not they are 'content' or 'safe'. This is an understanding based on what each child needs to flourish according to definitions that are linked to their own preferences, as well as those of their family, in consideration of their culture and wider society. In eudaimonia, well-being is then associated with a good life not just for oneself but for one's community: to 'do' well-being. It is a public 'good life' of "well-doing" (Estola et al. 2014, p. 931) and much more than personal pleasure.

Until recently infants were considered to be developmentally incapable of establishing and maintaining the kind of intersubjective relationships that have creative and ethical content (e.g., White 2013). While a growing body of research has attempted to understand the experiences of infants in ECEC through this revised view of the infant (see, for example, Johansson and White 2011; Sumsion and Harrison 2014), studies that include a eudaimonic approach are difficult to locate. This can then be considered as an emerging area, one that helps provide a new language to discuss how we approach infant pedagogy and educational policy. In this regard it is important to connect the arguments in this chapter with promising poststructuralist, translational and praxeological approaches to investigations (some in this volume) which open up our thinking about infant ECEC and contemplate the wider complexities of ECEC provision, culture and society.

Well-Being in ECEC for Infants: An Aotearoa New Zealand Case

The Aotearoa New Zealand ECEC policy and practice context provides a specific case of how well-being can be shuffled, to its detriment, between narrow and broad understandings. In this section, we explore how the more critical and eudaimonic possibilities of 'well-being as pedagogy' can be threatened by a focus on increasing early childhood participation as a solution to 'vulnerability' and a policy and practice discourse which sees well-being more as a 'regulatory' or 'pastoral care' concern or response. A critical question for us is the extent to which infants are constructed as helpless and needy – and the implications of such constructions for the limited views of the role and identity of the teacher. While this question needs investigation beyond the scope of this chapter, we would argue that cases such as Aotearoa New Zealand show the importance of a critical approach to well-being and its worth to policy and practice.

The Aotearoa New Zealand ECEC context is subject to considerable government interest, especially its potential to increase the number of children who attend ECEC. Increasing participation in ECEC is a major focus within the National government's headlining 'Better Public Services' (BPS) initiative – a collection of 10 statistical goals, within five key areas, each aimed at reaching a series of quantifiable targets. The ECEC goal is collected with two other goals under the heading 'Supporting vulnerable children'. 'Result 2' as it is known, is simply to 'increase participation in early childhood education'. Its 'goal-mates' are concerned with 'increasing immunisation rates and reducing rheumatic fever' and 'reducing the number of assaults on children'. The rhetoric on the official State Services Commission website for the BPS goals states that these three targets are necessary because:

> We know there is a link between early childhood experiences and adult mental health, drug and alcohol abuse, poor educational outcomes and unemployment. Too many children are at risk of poor outcomes because they do not get the early support they need.
>
> The human and financial costs of not facing up to these challenges are too high. We know that remedial spending is often less effective, and more costly, than getting it right the first time. For example, treating rheumatic fever alone costs an estimated $40 million a year in New Zealand.
>
> Early intervention brings benefits in terms of reduced imprisonment and arrest rates, higher employment and higher earnings later in life. By doing better for vulnerable children, we could set them on a pathway to a positive future, and help build a more productive and competitive economy for all New Zealanders.

The last line of this quote makes the intention very clear: the government's interest in ECEC is fundamentally economic. However it is also concerned with 'vulnerability' and using ECEC services as a way of avoiding costly interventions like mental health services, drug and alcohol abuse, and even unemployment. From this perspective there is also a well-being dimension to the BPS goals, albeit one that is hedonic in its attempt to avoid the unpleasantness that can befall the vulnerable in Aotearoa New Zealand without early intervention.

Although reference is made to the target of lifting the participation rate, so that '98 % of children starting school will have participated in quality early childhood education', questions have been raised about the extent to which the less easily measured aspects of 'quality' have been as much of a focus as 'participation'. These questions reflect a tension between attendance in any ECEC provision and well-being, a debate which has carried over in the media, with various outlets picking up on concerns about quality issues – especially for infants. These concerns include questions about the increasing use of home-based care; the proliferation of new ECEC providers in a rapidly expanding market, the subsequent 'factory-farming' of children in large ECEC settings; child to adult ratios, especially for those under 3; qualifications of teachers; and teacher working conditions.

New Zealand's Minister of Education, Hekia Parata, has been reported as saying that an "overwhelming" majority of services are "high quality". Parata has made this point on the back of various reports, including those from Aotearoa New Zealand's public service agency responsible for monitoring the quality of education – the Education Review Office (ERO). It might be expected that the Minister's claim to 'overwhelming quality' translates to an overwhelming percentage of services demonstrating the sort of curriculum and pedagogy that enables infants, toddlers and pre-schoolers to flourish – both in hedonic and eudaimonic terms. However, in one of its most recent reports the issue of well-being is dodged by ERO via the same sort of well-being shuffle introduced earlier in this chapter. The ERO report *Infants and toddlers: competent and confident communicators and explorers* (ERO 2015b) found that, on the basis of the warm and nurturing relationships observed by ERO staff, well-being was a "priority" throughout ECEC centres. Moreover it was still found to be a priority in the nearly 50 % of the 235 services found to have "a less responsive curriculum". This is despite the fact that, for these same lower quality services ERO reported that they:

> provided less opportunity for infants and toddlers to become confident communicators and explorers. Although teachers usually responded to infants' verbal and non-verbal communication they did not build on these opportunities for rich extended conversations or oral language development. There were fewer opportunities for infants to explore and develop physical confidence. Teachers were less likely to use what they knew about individual infants' and toddlers' interests and developmental milestones to provide experiences that supported children's abilities to actively explore and communicate in many ways.

From a critical well-being perspective this finding is oxymoronic, especially in relation to the Minister's assertion that an overwhelming number of ECEC providers are of high quality. Clearly the "less responsive curriculum" of the above providers raises questions about the well-being of infants and toddlers, and their potential to lead 'a good life'. This is, we argue, an example of how the policy and practice language used by ERO in this report does as much to obscure well-being issues as it does to articulate them. Furthermore, it can also be suggested that there is considerably more that can be done to improve services that are clearly not supporting infant flourishing. From this perspective, there is a considerable lack of urgency about improving infant well-being from both ERO and the Minister of Education. Part of this issue can be tracked back to the use of *well-being* as a strand in the Aotearoa New Zealand ECEC curriculum document *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education 1996). As suggested earlier an enlightened reading of *Te Whāriki* links to a critical understanding of well-being and the good life. Nuttall (2013, pp. 2–3) explains "The language of *Te Whāriki* is not one of risk, vulnerability and competition. It speaks, instead of opportunity, respect and relationships." From its bicultural origins, *Te Whāriki* locates well-being (mana atua) within a tapestry of values and beliefs that are foregrounded by notions of empowerment (whakamana) as the basis for learning potential and power (Ministry of Education 1996). Well-being is then located at the heart of curriculum and pedagogy. It is also viewed as a key priority for Māori who embrace hauora as a related holistic concept (Ministry of Education 2002). A reservation we hold however, one that opens the door for less enlightened approaches when contemplated outside of its bicultural context, is the use of well-being as an isolated strand within *Te Whāriki*. As a single strand, rather than part of a rich bicultural tapestry, the potential error comes from a narrow reading of well-being. This is underlined when the goals listed under the well-being strand of *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education 1996, p. 46) are:

> Children experience an environment where:
>
> - their health is promoted;
> - their emotional well-being is nurtured;
> - they are kept safe from harm.

At once we are confronted by an exclusively hedonic, 'health and safety' approach to well-being. As we have argued, there is certainly a place for such an approach, but it should not be used as a proxy for the intent of *Te Whāriki* which we believe can be understood as supporting the more eudaimonic view of 'well-being as pedagogy' as this chapter has outlined. For instance, in engaging with a complex view of well-being, the ERO report noted above could have highlighted how exploration and communication are interconnected to experiences and exploration of

well-being. Communicating about (or having a say about) well-being becomes an aspect of an infant's rights which we suggest teachers can and should be attuned and committed to within their understanding of their professional roles.

Understanding the existence of a narrow approach to well-being not only helps to understand how the ERO has side-stepped well-being and quality issues for infants and toddlers but also why, when one examines the Ministry of Education's own website on 'Wellbeing at ECE' we are given links to regulatory issues such as 'clean air policies', 'sun-safety', 'protection from whooping cough' and 'food safety', before being directed to the well-being *strand* of *Te Whāriki.* We would argue that the principles of the early childhood curriculum should be 'writ large' in these resources, supporting teachers in a critical educational engagement with, for instance food safety. In this way the teachers are more attuned to how we teach and learn food safety together. In contrast, food safety as regulatory practice arguably leads teachers away from their pedagogical roles, and towards the idea of food safety as something that is done separate from the curriculum, and done to the child without attention to her voice and contribution.

Indeed pedagogy in the early childhood curriculum is never *not* about well-being whether we take the hedonic approach and/or the eudaimonic approach. An important implication we can take from cases like that of Aotearoa New Zealand is that there are significant and complex professional issues underpinning infant pedagogy. Such complexity lends weight to the need to develop a specialised qualification for those who work with children up to the age of three. The OECD (2006) has already recognised the importance of developing an associated specialist profession. In 2011 the Office for the Children's Commissioner in Aotearoa New Zealand reported to Government on the insufficiency of teaching qualifications for working with infants (Carroll-Lind and Angus 2011). The report noted that professional teaching qualifications lacked specialist knowledge, particularly in the area of health and well-being, and that a specialised profession would be better formed through collaboration between the health and education professions. In staffing terms, early childhood centres should be supported to employ paediatric health professionals as well as qualified teachers (Carroll-Lind & Angus).

Policy and regulation regarding the qualifications of teachers have been an ongoing and often polemic debate in Aotearoa New Zealand, as it has elsewhere around the globe. One particular concern has been the looseness of regulations around staffing and qualifications. As a result a centre may have a sufficient number of qualified teachers to be licensed as teacher-led, but how those teachers are distributed across children's age-groups within a centre is not regulated. The distribution of qualified teachers by age reflects a broader concern that the need for a qualification is associated with status of the children with whom teachers work. Following Cameron (2003), the absence of a dedicated qualification arguably reflects the low status of the teacher who works with infants, and that low status arguably reflects the low status of the infant.

But if existing teaching qualifications are indeed insufficient in relation to knowledge of working with infants, then the absence of qualified teachers may *at present*

not be an issue in terms of the lived experiences of infants – arguably infants would not be any better off with a qualified EC teacher where the qualification provides for no specialist knowledge of working with under-threes. However, it is an issue in terms of government and sector policies and practice in terms of ensuring that government agendas for increased participation are supported by agendas for increased attention to the experiences of the infant in ECEC. In other words, ministries of education and health have significant work to do in responding to the existing reports and calls for a specialist infant teaching qualification.

In making this suggestion we recognise that there is a series of ongoing tensions regarding the creation of specialist age-based qualifications. The normalisation of a child's development into ages and stages has, as argued above, limited the ways in which the well-being of infants has been understood. In addition a specialist qualification runs the risk of amplifying an instrumentalist view of teaching practice (Moss 2006). However, a specialist qualification can be developed as an engagement with these tensions in order to open up, and broaden, critical dialogue around ECEC policy and practice. Within the context of this chapter then, the development of a specialist qualification should recognise the complexity of the different philosophical approaches to the meaning of well-being. This recognition should begin with the very design of qualifications in order to respond to ongoing concerns and critiques regarding the nature, purpose, and experience, of studying teaching in higher education (see for instance Dall'Alba 2009; Novinger and O'Brien 2003).

Concluding Remarks

Throughout this chapter we have set out to build an argument for a more complex view of well-being in ECEC for infants, as it might be interpreted through curriculum, pedagogy and wider policy. To do so we have explored the interplay between philosophical notions of hedonia and eudaimonia and applied them to the concept of well-being as it appears in contemporary EC curriculum and policy documents – arguing that a narrow approach to well-being does not serve infants, families, teachers or communities well. Our concern has been that regimes of well-being measurement fail to appreciate the dynamic features of well-being as an integrated concept in the educational experience of infants, their families and communities, orienting instead to notions of vulnerability and deficit. We have illustrated problems that are encountered when well-being is viewed outside of its wider context, and where it is promoted as a hedonic issue alone. A philosophical approach to questioning the meaning and experience of well-being locates well-being at the heart of pedagogy rather than as a prerequisite to learning. In contemplating well-being, and the idea of a good life, we suggest that a fuller appreciation of well-being has much to offer pedagogy as central to the tapestry of education.

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Chapter 4
Care, Upbringing and Teaching in 'Horizontal' Transitions in Toddler Day-Care Groups

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Abstract This chapter focuses on the fundamental notion of early childhood education as an integrated whole, composed of care, upbringing and teaching, in the context of Finnish early childhood education. These three concepts – care, upbringing and teaching – are addressed firstly on the conceptual level, and then empirically by illustrative examples from day-care groups for one-to-three-year-old children.

Our main question focuses on how care, upbringing and teaching are implemented in small-scale 'horizontal' transitions children experience between events or activities during the day as part of the experience of day-care, and how these events might be evaluated from a pedagogical perspective. Empirical data of horizontal transitions were collected by observations and video recordings in three day-care groups. The illustrative examples selected and discussed are linked to everyday life transitions occurring in day-care centres.

Our analysis shows how horizontal transitions provide many opportunities to bring care, upbringing and teaching together into an integrated whole. The transitions are also important contexts for young children's learning. The chapter gives examples of good educational practices for supporting children's learning, development and well-being in day-care groups. Further, by raising awareness of less-known issues in early childhood education, it could offer pointers for teacher education and teachers' professional development.

Introduction

This chapter takes a dual point of entry to everyday life in early childhood education for one-to-three-year-old children in Finland. It sheds light on the kinds of small-scale "horizontal transitions" (Kagan and Neuman 1998, p. 2) – such as moving from one location/place to another or from one activity to another – that occur during daily life in a day-care centre but are often difficult to recognise. In addition, the

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chapter deals with the fundamental notion of early childhood education as an integrated whole comprising care, upbringing and teaching (Broström 2006).

In many countries early childhood education – or early education – is defined and understood as a pedagogical activity, which combines education and care (early childhood education and care, or educare). In other countries it is seen to include three interrelating dimensions, such as: Betreung, Erziehung and Bildung in Germany; care, education and teaching in Finland; and care, upbringing and teaching in Denmark. In this chapter we make use of the last mentioned perspective, presented by Stig Broström (2006) in his broader analysis of the concepts related to early childhood education. We give specific attention to the notion of *upbringing*[1] since in many English-speaking countries this activity is largely understood as relating to the activities of parents vis-à-vis their children rather than as something which early years practitioners are engaged in.

Our rationale behind the chapter is to enhance discussion about the various small-scale events and situations during daily life in day-care centres that can be both fleeting and unplanned. When analysed in detail, however, these small-scale events form an important context for children's learning. In other words, by analysing care, upbringing and teaching in these events and situations, it is possible to gather evidence and examples of educational practices which support children's development and well-being in day-care groups.

The chapter begins with a discussion of the concepts of care, upbringing and teaching, drawing on the research literature. Various types of small-scale horizontal transitions are then identified from observational data gathered in day-care centres and interpreted through the three lenses of care, upbringing and teaching. Our main questions focus on how care, upbringing and teaching are implemented in horizontal transitions and how these events can be evaluated from a pedagogical perspective.

Horizontal Transitions in Early Childhood Education

The literature on early childhood education and child development offers various definitions and characterizations of the concept of *transition*. In their review of the literature on early childhood transitions, Vogler et al. (2008, p. 1) provide a generic definition of transitions as "key events and/or processes occurring at specific periods or turning points during the life course." Transitions relate to a person's experiences and well-being in everyday life, as they are linked "to changes in a person's appearance, activity, status, roles and relationships, as well as associated changes in use of physical and social space, and/or changing contact with cultural beliefs, discourses and practices, especially where these are linked to changes of setting and in some cases dominant language" (Vogler et al. 2008, p. 1). In addition, transitions

[1] The Oxford Dictionaries Online define upbringing as "the treatment and instruction received by a child from its parents".

often involve major psychosocial and cultural adjustments for the individual (Vogler et al. 2008) and, in the case of children, for the whole family involved (Griebel and Niesel 2009).

Research on transitions on the early childhood years has focused primarily on children's 'vertical' and formal transitions in educational contexts, such as the first transition from parental care to out-of-home care (Dalli 2002; Dunlop and Fabian 2007). Both the challenges the transitions pose for children (e.g., Ahnert et al. 2004; Dalli 2002; Datler et al. 2012) and children's own agency in constructing the transition have been discussed (e.g., Seung Lam and Pollard 2006). Children's horizontal transitions are often less prominent in the literature, and less focused on daily life, than the more predictable vertical transitions (see e.g., Kagan and Neuman 1998; Rutanen in press; Vogler et al. 2008). Horizontal transitions are those movements that occur on a weekly or daily basis between various spheres or domains of children's lives (Vogler et al. 2008), such as moving between educational institutions and home during the day. In this chapter, we focus on even smaller movements children experience within their early childhood education setting: small-scale horizontal transitions that involve moving from one location/place to another and/or from one activity to another. In practice, for example, the morning hours between breakfast and lunch may have already included various transitions of this type. Our empirical analysis starts by identifying the various types of small-scale horizontal transitions that conform to this overall definition. After we have identified diverse horizontal transitions from empirical data, we will analyse and discuss how the three dimensions of early childhood education, i.e. care, upbringing, and teaching (Broström 2006) appear in educational practices in these transitions.

Care, Upbringing and Teaching: Three Overlapping Dimensions of Early Childhood Education

According to the National Curriculum Guidelines on Early Childhood Education and Care in Finland (2004):

> early childhood education is an integrated whole comprising the intertwining dimensions of care, education and teaching. These dimensions receive a different emphasis according to the age of the child and the situation. The younger the child is, the greater the extent to which interactions between the child and educators take place in care situations. These situations also involve education, teaching and guidance, being important for both the child's general well-being and learning. (p. 15)

However, the guidelines do not describe how the care, education and teaching of children should or could occur in day-care groups. In addition, there is a clear lack of research on how these dimensions are realized in practice (see, however, Hännikäinen 2013).

Broström (2006) has approached this issue from both the theoretical and pedagogical perspectives by examining the concepts and contents of care, upbringing

and teaching in relation to each other. *Teaching* is conceived by Broström (2006, p. 396) as "a conscious and systematic organization and guidance of processes that form the basis for children's activities through which they construct and appropriate knowledge, skills and competencies." This view offers children space to participate in and affect their own learning. To teach children requires an educator who is able to listen to and observe children sensitively and who notices children's current interests and needs. Teaching, as defined by Broström (2006), includes the idea that the educator is able to capture children's momentum towards learning (Brownlee et al. 2009; Fumoto et al. 2004) and to utilize any teaching opportunity in a way that promotes children's development (van Oers 1996). In practice, this is done by applying different strategies, such as giving advice and hints, explaining and questioning, repeating and rephrasing children's utterances and modelling their activities (Hännikäinen and van Oers 2002; van de Pol et al. 2010).

Upbringing is also "a conscious and systematic organization and guidance of processes that form the basis for children's activities through which they develop fundamental personal qualities such as will, character, morals, and norms, attitudes, consciousness, and behaviour" (Broström 2006, p. 296). This definition builds historically on the German concept of Bildung as personal growth, self-realization, and on the ancient concept of Paideia as formation of personality, behaviour and moral attitude through breeding, environment and culture. Thus, upbringing might be understood as socialization in which the child has an active role. Referring to Løvlie (1984), Lillemyr (2009) has emphasized that in relation to children's learning, upbringing can be analysed both from a moral and a strategic perspective. From the moral perspective upbringing offers the child the experience of being accepted and respected. Through this experience, upbringing impacts on the development of the child's world of values. From the strategic perspective, upbringing offers children an opportunity to acquire knowledge about themselves and about the outside world, as well as to construct a relationship to, and communicate with, that world (see Lillemyr 2009, p. 60).

Referring to Diderichsen (1997), Broström defines *care* as "a specific relation between people characterized by the fact that one person focuses on another person and acts in a way which serves the other person and supports his or her wellbeing" (Broström 2006, p. 396). In early childhood education, care is often understood as '*basic care'*, that is, as physical care, caregiving in daily routine situations. In addition to these practical activities, care is also conceived as '*caring'*, that is, psychological care, which takes an empathetic moral and intellectual stance towards children (e.g., Broström 2006; Goldstein 1998; McNamee and Mercurio 2007). Noddings (1992, p. 16–17) asserts that "caring is a way of being in relation, not a set of specific behaviors (…)When I care, I really hear, see, or feel what the other is trying to convey", with the result in the child feels loved, appreciated, understood, and connected with other people (Thyssen 1995).

In early childhood education, the concepts of 'emotional work' (e.g., Taggart 2011) and 'professional love' are sometimes used to depict caring (Page 2011, 2014). Professional love means care on the emotional level, visible in reciprocal attachment, tenderness and closeness, but at the same time it involves reflection and

decision-making based on a professional understanding of children's needs, well-being and development (Jensen et al. 2010).

How are the three dimensions of early childhood education linked? Although care, upbringing and teaching can be differentiated, both theoretically and in research, in educational practice and in children's experiences they are mingled. In the process of supporting children to construct and appropriate knowledge and skills, educators also influence children's values and attitudes, while at the same time caring for them (Broström 2006). However, in individual situations, one of the three dimensions might be more dominant than the others, and in some cases only one of them might be clearly visible. In the next section we will dive into the empirical material to investigate how these dimensions exist and co-exist, particularly in the situations that involve horizontal transitions in toddler day-care groups.

Ethnographic Data and Illustrative Examples

Data from two different projects *((In)visible Toddlerhood? Global and Local Constructions of Toddlers' Places in Institutions* and *Emotional wellbeing of the younger children in day-care groups: participation, social relationships and teachers' role in joint activities* were used to answer the research questions on how care, upbringing and teaching are implemented in small-scale horizontal transitions and how these events might be evaluated from a pedagogical viewpoint.

Both projects were carried out in Finnish municipal day-care centres. Methodologically, the projects applied a variety of ethnographic data collection methods, primarily paper-and-pen observations and video recordings. The observations and video recordings covered different events during the day: teacher-led structured activities such as music sessions, routine activities such as meal times and child-initiated activities such as free play.

In the first project, data were collected from a day-care group that comprised of 13 children aged 18–34 months (in the beginning of the data collection) and three educators. The data were collected over a 6-week period and included observational field notes and 130 h of video recordings. The second project was carried out in two day-care groups. One group comprised 12 children aged 12–37 months and three educators, while the other was a sub-group of eight children aged 15–28 months and two educators drawn from a larger mixed-age group. The data were collected over 4 months, yielding 37 h of documented observations and video-recordings.

The data were analysed by applying qualitative content analysis. Authentic examples, excerpts from the observations, from all three groups are given; they are not intended as generalizable, but as illustrative examples of different events.

Identification and Analysis of Care, Upbringing and Teaching During Horizontal Transitions

In all the groups, the video recordings selected for this analysis were made during the morning, after the breakfast hour and before the children went outdoors. Perusal of the data showed that it was possible to identify transitions from one location/place and/or activity to another. Some transitions were implemented by the educators after clear initiatives made by the children, and some were more clearly based on a prior agenda set by the educators. However, in practice, most transitions took place as an outcome of moment-to-moment interactions among the children and the educators, and hence it was impossible to identify a single initiator or initiative for the transition.

The transitions identified were labelled in one of the following six categories:

1. NEED, the child expresses a need to go somewhere and/or do something
2. MOTIVATIONAL, the educator assists the children to elaborate their play or other activities thus motivating them to extend their experiences.
3. INTERVENTION, the educator directs the child(ren)'s attention from one activity to another
4. AGENDA, the educator pursues a pre-planned activity
5. ROUTINE, the educator makes sure all the children engage in certain routine activities
6. SPONTANEITY, the educator suggests a new activity or another place for the children based on an unplanned idea.

NEED – A Transition Based on Explicit Initiatives by Children

Some transitions were implemented by the educator on the basis of explicit initiatives by individual children: the child expressed an interest to go somewhere or to do something (*need*). In the following example, Emma has been playing with Silvia, Victor and the educator Helen. Emma leaves the group and approaches the educator Hanna.

Emma (2:4) comes and sits down in front of HANNA. Emma takes HANNA's hands.
HANNA: "Oh, are we rowing?"
Emma nods. HANNA and Emma begin to 'row' by moving their bodies and swinging to and fro hand in hand.
HANNA sings: "There were two rowers in the boat, the waves roll the boat, will you come and row with me…"
Emma smiles, looking cheerful. Lily (1:4) comes to watch.
HANNA to Lily: "Would you like to join in?"

Emma gives her place to Lily. HANNA and Lily row, HANNA sings and Lily laughs.
Lily: "More."
Lily and HANNA row and sing several times. Lily stands up and stays close to HANNA.
HELEN, Sylvie (2:2) and Victor (2:3) join the group. Sylvie and Victor sit down opposite each other.
HELEN helps them into the position of a rower.
HELEN and HANNA sing the song together. Sylvie and Victor are smiling and rowing more and more wildly and eventually fall down wild with joy.
HANNA: "Oh no, the whole boat was about to capsize."
Sylvie turns to HANNA: "Ämä-ämä-äkki."
HANNA: "Oh, hämähäkki [Incy wincy spider]."
HANNA and HELEN sing and play the song together. Sylvie and Victor play with them, Lily watches.
Lily: "More."
HANNA and HELEN sing four verses and children try to sing with them.
Lily laughs and seems to put her heart and soul into the game.
Sylvie comes closer to HANNA singing another song: "Hey, hey, HANNA."
HANNA laughs and responds singing "Hey, hey, Sylvie."
HANNA and HELEN sing the song substituting the names of Sylvie, Victor, Lily and Emma.

In this example, the first horizontal transition initiated by Emma was about moving from one place, activity, educator and children's group to another. By taking the educator's hands, she expressed her interest in playing a game which she seemed also to have played earlier. The educator was attentive and understood Emma's wish: actions which can be characterized as caring. While singing the song, teaching also took place: the words and melody of the song were practised. The situation then changed when Lily came over to observe the game. The educator recognized Lily and invited her to join the game, thus communicating that she was giving her individual attention and care. The game was repeated a few times, and care seemed to be mixed with teaching, as the educator repeated the song various times making the content clear to Lily. In addition, the particular movements linked to the song were repeated in a very explicit way. Lily then stood up and remained an observer. This was the moment of Lily's transition from one activity to another and at the same time the transition of Sylvie and Victor, who came over with another educator, Helen. Helen understood their intention and assisted them to begin the game and also commented on their wild movements in a friendly way. Again the educator's actions can be considered to be caring actions through which the children would have felt that their intentions were understood by Hanna. The episode continued with small modifications when Sylvie suggested other songs and the educators fulfilled her wishes. It is clear that caring dominated in this situation, but there were also moments of teaching pertaining to certain skills, such as moving, singing or

memorizing. The situation included also teaching about the social skill of turn taking. Upbringing, however, deals with wider areas than turn taking. In the interactions we have described upbringing is visible in the way the educators ensured that all the children had equal possibilities to participate and learn from each other, in other words, it covers a general attitude towards the other and the ethical stance of how to relate to the other. All the transitions emerged suddenly and were not systematic or pre-planned by the educators; hence, the teaching and upbringing actions of the educators included also spontaneous events arising on a moment-to-moment basis.

MOTIVATIONAL – The Educator Assists Children to Elaborate Their Activities

In the category of *motivational* transitions, we identified events when the educator suggested new ideas to the children for elaborating their play or other activities and thus motivated them to extend their activities. In the following example, the educator, Lena, deepens a theme that two girls had initiated.

Olivia (2:2) and Venla (2:4) are standing next to the couch, Olivia has a toy thermometer.
Olivia: "She's fallen sick". She puts the thermometer on the couch.
Venla: "Open wide, open wide." She takes the thermometer and proffers it to Olivia.
Olivia opens her mouth, Venla touches her mouth with the thermometer.
LENA is with Matias (2:1) at the other end of the room and shifts her attention from Matias to Olivia and Venla.
LENA: "Did Olivia have a temperature? Did she, Venla? "
Venla: "Yes."
LENA: "Did she have a high fever?" Venla answers (inaudible) and moves towards LENA.
LENA: "Shouldn't you take care of her if she is sick?"
Venla: "I have this sort of money." Venla proffers fake/toy money to Olivia.
LENA: "Give me the money, and go and take care of Olivia."
LENA (pointing to the closet): "Should we get the medical instruments?"
Olivia and Venla: "Yes." They move towards the closet with LENA.
LENA: "I wonder if there are any instruments we can use to take care of Olivia."

The educator observed the children's play and elaborated the theme initiated by the children. From a small gesture made by Venla, she interpreted that a nursing game could be emerging. She identified the focus of attention of these children, interpreted their viewpoints and in this way, expressed care. By adding a certain content to the game, namely, the idea of fetching medical instruments, she taught the children that these are the tools that belong to a nursing setting. Upbringing was

also involved when she suggests that they could or should take care of a sick person. An ethical standpoint was thus introduced into the game. The transition also became co-constructed, as the original theme was initiated by the children, but the change in the physical setting was elaborated and supported by the educator.

From a pedagogical perspective, this episode contains an interesting dilemma. While Lena was observing these girls and engaging with them, forming a care relation, she had to move her attention away from Matias who was next to her and with whom she had been interacting just a moment before. Thus, this interaction is also an example of an event where educators are faced with simultaneous initiatives and needs expressed by children.

INTERVENTION – The Educator Directs Children's Attention from One Activity to Another

In events classified under the category of *intervention*, the educator proposes new activities to direct the children's attention to something other than the events that have just taken place. This can happen, for example, in a conflict situation between children or after a minor accident. The next example is about resolving a conflict.

Olivia (2:4), Venla (2:2) and Matias (2:1) are sitting by the table cutting out shapes with play dough moulds. Olivia tries to grab Venla's moulding spoon and starts to cry when Venla refuses to let her have it. Venla continues to mould the play dough smiling. Olivia tries to reach over to Venla, cries and eventually hits Venla. Venla screams, hits back, and continues moulding, still smiling. After a while, Olivia again reaches out for Venla's tool, and Venla stops her. Olivia glances at the door and cries. The educators are dressing the other children in the corridor, but they can see what's going on.

KATHY to Olivia: "Now could you Olivia come over to the bathroom and [then] we can go out."

Olivia doesn't respond to the invitation, but hits her head against the table. Venla throws a (moulding) tool that flies close to Olivia. Olivia cries louder and louder.

KATHY to Olivia: "Come and tell me what's wrong." Olivia stays where she is.

Olivia to KATHY: "Venla threw a fish (a moulding tool) at my head."

KATHY to Olivia: "Tell Venla that it is not nice if a person throws a fish at someone's head." She also repeats the invitation to come over to the bathroom.

LENA to Matias: "Would you come over here to get dressed Matias, come over here."

LENA goes over to Matias, picks up his play dough and puts it in a box.

LENA to Matias: “Let’s pick up these yellow bits here and put them in this box, like this … yours is a nice one. But now, let’s try putting it away, yes, there.”
LENA to Olivia and Venla: “You can also soon start putting the play dough away in that box. Let’s (all) go out.”

The educators had their hands full: they were dressing the children in the corridor. Olivia and Venla were cutting out shapes with play dough moulds in another room. As it was time to go out, and as the educators also perceived the escalating conflict between the girls, they attempted to intervene in the conflict while also continuing with their task of dressing the children. In order to deflect the children from the conflict, they initiated a transition verbally, suggesting that it was time to go to the bathroom and put away the playthings. The educators were faced with a dilemma: whether to react to the fight between the girls or to continue dressing the other children. By intervening verbally they created a relation of care: they showed they had noticed what was going on and reminded the girls that they were present if needed. At the same time, they distanced themselves somewhat from the situation and allowed Olivia and Venla to resolve the situation in their own way. The educator didn’t ask for a detailed account about who started the hitting or throwing and why. The solution offered by her, in addition to a short ‘upbringing’ remark on how to express oneself to another person if the former acts in an unwanted way, was to invite the girls to take a break from what they were doing, that is, to suggest a transition to another activity. Lena was also teaching the children about what to do after a certain activity; she guided and assisted the clean-up and spent time with the children to collect the play dough and the moulding spoons.

AGENDA – The Educator Pursues a Pre-planned Activity

Agenda transitions occur when the educator has planned an activity in advance and implements it by inviting the children to participate in the activity. In the following example, the morning events cluster around the play dough moulding activity and the invitations the educator makes to the children.

In one room, a group of children are moulding play dough. The other children are playing in another room (play room) with LENA. Every now and then, RITA, who is responsible for checking that no child is left outside the moulding activity, goes into the play room to invite children to join in. The children who have done the moulding activity return to the play room. The invitations are given in a form such as:
RITA to LENA: “Someone could come now.”
(…)
RITA to Leo (2:1): “Come and do some moulding …Come here and see.”
(…)
RITA to LENA: “I’ll send them [children who have done the moulding] to you.”
LENA: “Ok.”

(…)

The third educator, KATHY, arrives and RITA leaves the room where children are moulding. She invites four boys who have done their moulding to do gymnastics in a bigger hall.

LENA says to KATHY that she could read to Matias (2:1). KATHY suggests that LENA and Matias could go in the other room to read. KATHY then takes care of the moulding.

KATHY to Ilmari (1:8): "Do you want to go and do moulding?"
Ilmari: "Moulding."
KATHY, pointing to the other room: "There, moulding."
Olivia (2:4) loudly: "I want to go and do moulding!"
KATHY sighing a bit: "Yes…Let's see what the situation is like in there." She goes towards the door.
Olivia: "Me too!" Olivia opens the door to the room where the moulding is going on. Olivia and Ilmari go inside.
Olivia: "Yeee!"

In this example, various children went through a sudden transition from one activity and location to another, namely, from free play to a more structured activity in the other room. The educators had the leading role in deciding who went where and did what. Partially, the decision was made in advance, e.g., the children who were invited to do gymnastics were already known, as it was their turn that day. However, for some children this transition occured suddenly, in the middle of their play with others. For some, it seemed to occur at a moment when they were not deeply engaged in whatever they were doing; it was for that reason that they were selected to move. Sometimes the educators asked who wanted to go next, as in the case when Kathy asked Ilmari. Olivia, on the other hand, didn't wait for an invitation, but directly expressed her interest in going to do moulding. In another words, she managed to initiate a transition for herself.

Matias is also a special case in this pre-planned transition, as the educators had expressed concern about his language skills and thus had decided that they should read to him as much as possible. When Lena suggested that she could read to him, Kathy agreed and emphasized that they should have a private, more focused moment alone in the other room. Here, special attention was paid to Matias and both of the educators established a care relation to him: Lena by inviting him and Kathy by suggesting the special attention. In terms of upbringing, all these invitations and the flow of children from one place to another contained a message to the children: they could join in an activity with a particular educator, but not all at the same time. They were expected to take turns and respect others' turns. In addition, all the children were expected to do the moulding activity that morning and no-one refused.

From the perspective of pedagogy with the youngest children, this transition, which was in the background all morning, is characterized by efforts to meet the challenge of encountering children on fair terms. As there was no clear plan about

the order in which the children were to participate in the activity, the children were able to influence the educator's decisions on this issue.

ROUTINE – The Educator Engages Children in Routine Activities

In a *routine* transition, the educator makes sure all the children have followed the steps of certain activities that are not negotiable. The example below is about tidying, gathering up the toys on the floor.

Sylvie (2:2) is riding on a rocking horse. HELEN comes up to her.
HELEN: "It's Sylvie's job to gather up the Lego blocks as you're the one who's spread them out."
Sylvie does not react.
HELEN looks at Sylvie: "Sylvie, do you know what, you could start gathering up the Lego blocks, I can help you."
HELEN lifts Sylvia off the horse and sets her down.
Sylvie begins to gather up Lego blocks from all over the room together with HELEN. Sofia (1:3) comes and drops a cupboard from the doll's house into the Lego box.
HELEN in a warm voice: "Yes, thanks. The idea is good but its place [the cupboard] is in the doll's house over there."
(…)
Sylvie picks up the last blocks from the floor.
HELEN: "This was great, well done, thank you Sylvie."

Time has elapsed in gathering up the toys and it is now lunch time. Helen and the children go off for lunch in another room.

Sylvie had been playing with the Lego blocks but then moved to another activity, riding on a rocking horse. The educator came over and reminded her of the rule that before you start a new activity, you must put away the toys you have just been playing with. Thus, her activity openly enacted upbringing. Sylvie pretended not to hear what the educator said and the educator repeated the request. When she promised to help, she also communicated caring: Sylvie did not need to do the chore alone. Sylvie accepted the change in her activity and got busy gathering the blocks.

Sofia, who had been wandering around, also tried to do her bit. The educator acknowledged Sofia's collaboration by thanking her and giving her advice how to do the job properly, that is, Sofia enacted caring and teaching at the same time. Finally, caring and upbringing are visible in the way the teacher thanked and praised Sylvie for her contribution to the tidying routine. The episode finished with a group transition to another place and another activity.

SPONTANEITY – New Activity Based on An Unplanned Idea

The category *Spontaneity* was used to classify events in which the educator suggests a new activity or another place for the child based on an unplanned idea. In the following example, the suggestion arises from situational perception.

Ida (1:2) is concentrating on playing with toy bricks on the floor.
KAARIN is reading a book to Natalia (1:6) who is sitting in her lap on the couch.
KAARIN to Natalia: "The book's come to an end. Shall we go and build [with the bricks] with Ida, as Ida is all alone?"
KAARIN sets Natalia down on the floor and they join Ida.

This is a typical situation in day-care groups: the educator focuses on doing something with one child or a small group of children, but at the same time she attends to what is happening around her. In the above example, the fact that the book was read to the very end and that Ida was alone prompted the educator Kaarin to suggest a new activity for Natalia. By suggesting joint play, Kaarin displayed a caring attitude towards Ida who was playing alone. Further, through her suggestion she supported the development of the girls' mutual relationship, thus, her educational activity could also be interpreted as one of upbringing.

Discussion and Concluding Words

The examples from daily life in early childhood settings which we have analysed in this chapter illustrate that everyday life in these settings is filled with various horizontal transitions. Some of these transitions are easy to recognize and identify – such as the transition from indoors to outdoors, or children's arrival at the day-care centre (Vogler et al. 2008) – but the smaller-scale transitions, that include a shift in location and activity, can be more difficult to recognize.

The daily flow of co-constructed actions among children and adults is based on a continuous stream of initiatives and suggestions from different actors. Similarly, most of the transitions discussed here emerged as a result of interaction between child and educator: something about children's actions or the situation itself led the educators to initiate the transition in question (cf. MOTIVATIONAL, INTERVENTION, SPONTANEITY). The children also initiated some transitions explicitly, and in these cases the transitions were not planned by the educator in advance (cf. NEED). Only a few of the transitions were clearly initiated by the educators following a previously agreed agenda (cf. AGENDA, also ROUTINE).

The analysis shows that various transitions were interlinked and occurred in parallel. The educators had their attention directed at various children simultaneously, and the suggestions for changes of activity were mainly linked to the educators' spontaneous interpretations of what was going on in the situations and among the children. It is possible that these interpretations are susceptible to misunderstanding

because one-to-three-year-old children's nonverbal communication cues are based on a mix of body postures and movements, gestures, facial expressions and vocalizations.

The care, upbringing and teaching dimensions that inform moments of transition are not always clear-cut and interpretable from the flow of actions. A single episode usually involved all of them. In our data, care and upbringing were clearly merged while teaching occurred in more short-term, situational moments.

Care, in the sense of a particular care relation to a child (Noddings 1992), was visible in most of the transition episodes. Some episodes clearly illustrate that educators need to form a care relation not only to an individual child but to a group of children: they need to observe and analyse events and initiate different activities or transitions taking into account the well-being of the whole group. In other words, the care relation exists simultaneously to many children, but in diverse ways.

The upbringing and teaching that were enacted in the horizontal transitions we analysed, contrary to the strong emphasis in the definition by Broström (2006), were seldom consciously and systematically done, that is, clearly planned or organized in advance. They occurred more on a moment-to-moment basis, as reflection and reaction to children's actions. Educators' pedagogical activity, whether it was care, upbringing or teaching, seemed to depend on their interpretation of situations as they unfolded moment by moment.

This analysis of the care, upbringing and teaching visible in small-scale horizontal transitions points to the need to pay attention to the multiple challenges that educators face in their daily work. Educators function amidst a broad spectrum of needs and initiatives expressed by the children they work with. The analysis we have presented shows how educators engage in silent reflection about the needs of the different children and of the priorities that need to be addressed in each situation, including which child(ren) to apply care to in a situation where several children's needs are competing for attention (see also Dalli 2012).

In general, our analysis shows how horizontal transitions provide many opportunities to bring care, upbringing and teaching together into an integrated whole in pedagogical practices. As horizontal transitions often include all these three dimensions of early childhood education, transitions are powerful contexts for young children's learning, development and well-being. This chapter presented empirical examples of good education practices that are not all based on clearly pre-planned and structured teaching and instruction, but often fleeting moments that emerge in the everyday life in the day-care centres. We argue that for professional and practice development it is important to further examine the role and the links of both routine events and practices, fleeting moments of change, and children's emerging initiatives that form the overall picture of the child's day. To have a reflective look into these processes is of crucial importance for the educators in toddler day-care groups. This critical examination, both in research and practice, provides insights into the complexity of educator day-to-day practices. This challenges the image of early childhood education with the youngest children as being solely a matter of basic care and caring.

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Chapter 5
Toddlers' Participation in Joint Activities with Peers in *nido*

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Abstract Socialization with peers is one of the main goals of early childhood education and care outside of the family but the processes of young children's sociality in ECEC centres are still to be fully understood. This chapter presents an analysis of toddler's sociality with peers during their everyday life in an ECEC centre, based on ethnographic data (videos and written notes) collected during a whole morning within the toddler program of a municipal *nido* in Italy. It highlights that in a group situation children's attention is aroused by a multiplicity of social stimuli and that they often participate in joint activities with peers. The analysis of toddlers' participation shows that both social and cognitive processes converge in children's sociality with peers and contribute to make the ECEC experience an important step in the course of their life. Implications for educational practices in ECEC centres are also discussed.

Social Processes Among a toddlers' Group During the Day in *nido*

In most European countries, families' demand for group day-care for infants and toddlers has increased dramatically. This demand results from many factors but it is unquestionable that it also comes out of parents' acknowledgement that the social experience of their children at home is mostly restricted to dyadic or triadic interactions with adults and many of them have only sporadic social contacts with their peers, mostly in playground or parks (Musatti 1996; Rullo and Musatti 2005; Vandenbroeck et al. 2009). Thus, many parents expect that ECEC will provide their

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children with the opportunity to be 'socialised' (Scopelliti and Musatti 2013). Even among professionals and experts there is general agreement that one of the main goals of ECEC is to give children the opportunity of social experiences outside of the family, with other adults and, in particular, with other children. However, the question raised by Hartup (2005) about by which processes and under which conditions, peer interactions have a beneficial effect on children's behaviour and development remains unanswered also with regard to early childhood. Even if, in recent years, a growing concern about the quality of children's experience appears in policy documents, as for example in recent documents of European Commission (2011, 2013), what exactly constitutes quality with regard to young children's socialisation in ECEC is still to be made clear.

In ECEC centres young children have to cope with a complex social experience, as they meet a number of peers and adults for a significant part of their everyday life over a long period of time within an organised setting. In this situation, important social, emotional, and cognitive processes are activated in the children, as their different competences, wishes, and needs compete. As such, a better understanding of other persons' behaviours, intentions, emotions, and moods is required, and new communicative and interactional modalities have to be developed. We argue that a good quality ECEC is one where young children: are supported in facing their first exposure to a social situation outside-the-home; can acquire a positive stance towards other people; enjoy the benefits of sharing knowledge and emotions; and experience participating in a community of practice at an early age (Lave and Wenger 1991).

The study of toddlers' participation in activities with peers can open new perspectives on the processes of children's sociality within an ECEC centre and contribute to our understanding of how and under which conditions children's cognitive and communicative competences can support each other's development and, consequently, give us suggestions for planning educational practices in ECEC centres. When educators propose or indirectly suggest an activity to a group of children at an early age, how could they sustain children's interactions and sharing of meanings? Which challenges will each child cope with and how could that child be supported in interacting with peers?

Studying Toddlers' Social Experience with Peers in ECEC

While a considerable number of good practices have been realised in ECEC all over the world in order to provide children with a positive social experience, research on children's peer sociality in ECEC centres has not been extensive. When researchers first met ECEC centres, they were mostly focused on the issue of whether children in their first years were able to acknowledge the presence of their peers and have any positive social contact with them or, *vice versa* whether the presence of many other children would prevent the young child from establishing a meaningful relationship with her/his caregiver. Over the years, a more positive view of young children's

sociality with peers even in early life has emerged. Studies exploring interactions between infants and toddlers within a regularly-attended context, such as the Loczy orphanage, a playgroup, or an infant-toddler daycare centre, where children experience contact with peers within a framework of growing reciprocal familiarity, found that toddlers were keen and able to communicate and interact with their peers even at an early age (Vincze 1971; Mueller and Brenner 1977).

Stambak et al. (1983) analysed the relations between toddlers' activities when they explore objects and their physical or symbolic features within carefully arranged play settings and in a small group of 3–4 children. The organised framework supported children's reciprocal observation, promoted their joint attention around objects and phenomena, and at the same time allowed them to use peers' activity as a stimulus to transform their own (*organisational imitation*) or a suggestion for coordinating both activities (*cooperation*). This study made some important points. First, it showed that attention paid to objects by toddlers is not in conflict with their attention to their peer's activities as, rather, they reinforce and valorise each other. Second, it highlighted the relevant role the quality of the context, such as spatial arrangement, type of play materials, and size of children's group, in orienting children's activities as well as their coordination. Last but not least, in a further discussion of the study, Verba et al. (1982) pointed out that the relations found between the activities of two children are the same as those identified in the successive actions produced by a single child in her/his process of cognitive construction (Piaget 1937/1954; Sinclair et al. 1982/1989).

In the course of their everyday life in ECEC, children have to face many social situations with a variable number of participants, both adults and children, and in constant change. They are stimulated to pay attention to a variety of activities, must find their own way in relation to them, and, eventually, engage in a joint activity. Important cognitive processes are involved in toddlers' joint activities, also within such more complex social contexts. Musatti and Panni (1981) showed that children who meet and play together in ECEC centres in the second year of life can elaborate and share short play rituals and rehearse them over time. Brenner and Mueller (1982) hypothesised that the repetition of joint activities by toddlers come to constitute a set of shared meanings, *almost symbols in action* to which they are able to make reference in communicating with their peers (Musatti and Mueller 1986). Verba and Musatti (1989) observed that in ECEC centres toddlers' attention is constantly aroused by their peers' activities and claimed that processes of deferred imitation (Piaget 1946/1962) are at work also within a large group of children even when not clearly expressed. Musatti (1993) argued that all these studies suggest that sharing activities with peers can play a specific role in supporting children's cognitive development.

As Hännikäinen and Rutanen (2013) have pointed out, in recent research a new interest in early sociality in ECEC centres has emerged. Recent studies are characterised by their particular concern for educational implications (Rayna and Laevers 2011) and by a more holistic perspective on children's experience in ECEC. The important role played by educators' use of space, their location and spatial positioning in orienting children's engagement in social interactions and activities has now

been highlighted in several studies (Musatti and Mayer 2011; Rutanen 2007, 2012; Vuorisalo et al. 2015; White and Redder 2015).

In this chapter we present an analysis of toddlers' participation in joint activities with peers during their everyday life in an ECEC centre with a particular focus on the cognitive processes involved in them.

Erving Goffman's work is an important reference for the analysis of how persons participate in a social situation. He argued that the immediate reciprocal presence of two or more persons creates a sort of inter-dependence between their present or future actions, and that their sharing an attentional focus transforms the simple gathering into a participation unit (Goffman 1971). Moreover, he showed that persons can be involved in interaction within different roles, as direct or side participant, bystander, over-hearer, and carry out different activities even within the same participatory framework (Goffman 1981). With regard to toddlers' participation in joint activities these considerations raise the question of how co-presence in ECEC social situations turns into the sharing of attentional focus and involvement in joint activities with peers.

Clark (1996), who analysed interactive processes in conversation between adults, pointed out that only reference to a somehow shared knowledge, a *common ground*, makes possible the encounter of individual activities into a joint activity. During a developmental period such as toddlerhood children's communicative and cognitive competences may be particularly uneven and common ground may be loosely defined and mean something slightly differently to each child. Thus, a second major question is about how children's individual activities come to intermingle into a joint participatory activity and how their participation is affected by their different competences.

In previous studies (Picchio et al. 2014b; Picchio and Mayer 2015) we showed that participation of toddlers coming from another linguistic home context in joint activities with other children was favoured when the activities were inscribed within scripted formats that supported children's comprehension of the goals and content of the activity and, eventually, of their role in it. In the present study, we explore whether and how children's different comprehension of a common ground have any implication for their participation in a joint activity with peers, with regard to the degree of their involvement in it and the relations they establish between peers' actions and their own.

The Observations

The analysis of toddlers' participation in joint activities with their peers presented in this chapter is based on observations of the social situation developing in an ECEC centre. The observations were collected using ethnographic procedures over the course of a morning within the toddler program that caters for two to three year-old children of a municipal *nido* in Italy.

The setting consisted of two big rooms, where a number of play corners (for reading, pretend play, constructions, etc.) and play materials (toys, puppets, blocks, etc.) were available to children, together with a large outdoor green area with many trees, shrubs, a sand pit, a wooden tunnel, some tricycles, buckets and spades, and so on.

Sixteen children (8 girls and 8 boys) aged between 29 and 40 months (at the end of the educational year some of the children had already turned 3 years) and three educators were present in the setting. Informed consent for participation in the study was obtained for all the children and educators as well.

The observations were recorded by two researchers who were present in the setting between 8.30 am to 12.30 pm. We chose to observe the entire morning from the time of the children's arrival to the end of their lunch as this period constitutes a well-defined temporal unit of toddlers' everyday life in *nido.* Two types of observations were made: video records and handwritten notes. The video records (4 h 10 min) of children's activities involved two or more participants. The records were filmed by two video cameras simultaneously and were transcribed in their entirety. On the basis of the transcription we could identify most of children's gatherings, that is any set of more than two children in immediate co-presence, and obtain a detailed description of the content, setting (location and play materials), development, and duration of children's activities, and the number and stance of all the children who were somehow involved in the activity. The handwritten notes were focused on the evolution of the social situation in all its detail: people present, activities, social behaviours, and locations of adults and children. The notes were subsequently elaborated into a written report (Picchio et al. 2014a), which allowed us to re-situate the analysis of children's activities in the evolution of the whole social situation and have a global view of it.

The educators of the programme participated in the analysis of the videos. Their situated perspective, as actors taking part in the everyday life of the *nido*, provided further elements for understanding the meaning of events and the children's behaviour.

In the following section we depict the general features of the social situation observed and describe some major processes of children's participation in joint activities. In the examples reported the children's names were modified.

A Vibrant Social Situation

The picture that emerged from our observations was that of a vibrant social situation characterised by a serene social climate and few conflicts among children. As we collected our observations in late spring most of the children were familiar to each other as they had been attending the centre at least since the beginning of the educational year in the autumn. As a result, we were able to catch hints that closer relationships had been established between some of the children: a group of three older boys gathered together repeatedly, played, chatted, or had some brief conflicts, one

young girl was somehow protected and helped in social contacts by another girl, who, in turn, watched another older boy constantly and imitated him frequently. However, this kind of special relationships did not seem to keep any child from joining other peers disjointedly from their preferred companion.

All morning, the children appeared to pay continuous attention to the activities and events developing all around the setting and, even during the less scripted moments, when activities and roles were not determined by adults or ritualised as in the case of meals, most of the time children gathered together in more or less numerous groups and participated in joint activities. Occasionally, a particular child was isolated and played alone but she was soon joined by another child who was interested in her activity and, *vice versa*, even when some children were wandering around, they were keen to get involved in some activity initiated by another child or proposed by an educator. During the development of joint activities, the number and identities of participants would sometimes change as some of them would easily move apart and leave the group while other children might join in, or one of the children previously involved might rehearse the activity with other partners.

We identified the following morning schedule:

8.30–9.25 Welcome. As each child entered the centre, she and her parent were welcomed warmly by an educator at the door, upon which the child said goodbye to the parent and joined the other children. Meanwhile, another educator played or chatted with children already present. During our observation the educators proposed two activities to small groups of children: cutting out pictures from a magazine and reading a picture book. Other joint activities (some conversations and pretend play activities) were initiated by children and in most cases educators joined them as well. All gatherings occurred at locations spatially identified as around a table, or on a wide carpet.

9.25–10.00 Breaktime. Children took a seat at small tables in fixed places and ate some fruit for more than half an hour. While eating the children chatted with their peers about the fruit or they were encouraged by the educators to tell of their experiences out of the centre. A short imitative play was carried out between two children.

10.00–11.20 Outdoor play. It was a sunny and warm day in late Spring and children were happy to access the outdoor green area, where they scattered all around, gathered in small groups, and shared independent or adult-proposed play activities for more than 1 h. We identified three major types of joint activities. In the surroundings of a sand pit, which contained little sand and was also used as a container of tricycles and other plastic materials, we repeatedly observed small groups of 2–4 children getting involved in digging sand or dirt from the soil with spades or hands, pouring the sand/dirt into baskets or other containers, and/or pretending to prepare food. These activities involved an adult only episodically. The joint exploration of insects (bees, spiders, and ladybirds) was another activity that repeatedly interested small groups of children at different moments and in different locations. This was initiated by a girl and supported by two educators. The third main joint activity that attracted many children for a long time

(45 min) consisted of a pretend play, originated by a girl, who began to put leaves into a play cart, and expanded by an educator, who encouraged other children to join her.

11.20–11.40: Preparation for lunch. Children returned inside the building to their rooms, went to the toilet, washed their hands, and co-operated in setting the tables for lunch.

11.40–12.30: Lunchtime. Children took a seat at the tables and had a slow three-course lunch during which they chatted with their peers and the educators.

Children's Participation in Joint Activities

The most striking feature of this hive of activity was the multifaceted and multi-layered quality of children's participation in joint activities with their peers. While almost all of the joint activities attracted the attention of the many children who were moved to join in, not all of them were fully involved. We often observed a number of children who remained nearby as bystanders, or just kept an eye out at a distance and eavesdropped on what was going on. Furthermore, even among the children participating in the joint activity, we were not always able to identify for sure whether they were addressing an action to a peer or just carrying out an action somehow related to the peer's, nor, in many cases, to differentiate the roles of addressee and side participant.

A related phenomenon is the fact that, within the framework of one joint activity, we often found other minor joint activities carried out by some side participants. They could be developed in parallel or even embedded in the main one. In the following short episode, in the framework of the activity "cutting out pictures from a magazine with scissors", a familiar one for the children, we observed the development of a number of other joint activities.

Example 1. Naming objects (Mauro, 39 months, Carlo, 40 months, Bastiano, 40 months, Camilla, 39 months, Maria, 33 months, Enza, 29 months) (5 min duration)

1. Five children, Mauro, Carlo, Bastiano, Camilla, and Maria, and an educator are sitting around a small table cutting pictures from a magazine and naming the objects in the pictures. Suddenly, Mauro and Carlo have a quarrel about the name of a toy motorbike which Carlo holds in his left hand and asserts is a pickup truck. Mauro is disturbed by Carlo's joke and protests that Carlo's object is a motorbike. The quarrel goes on and Camilla joins it and teases Mauro by adding a further absurd name for Carlo's object: "It's a laundry!". Carlo and Camilla burst into laughter while Mauro cries. The educator intervenes and stops the quarrel.
2. In the meantime, a younger girl, Enza, approaches the table, but she is rejected harshly by Maria, who tells her imperatively: "There is no place!". As a result, Enza sits on the carpet a short distance away and puts two Lego blocks together.

She then approaches and shows her construction to the educator, naming it: "Car!", and, invited by the educator, repeats: "Car!". Then, she approaches Maria and stretches her hand with the Lego construction towards Maria as if to offer or show the toy to her, but Maria takes no notice of her offer, despite Enza's repeated attempts to get her attention. Eventually, Enza gives up.

This example shows the competence of Carlo and Camilla in playing with language while participating in the cutting activity all the while pursuing a secondary goal (teasing Mauro). On the other hand, Enza was able to join in the activity of naming at a less complex level, albeit one where she related it to the older children's activity, as she assigned to her construction a meaning linked to the ones under discussion (pickup truck, motorbike… car). Also Enza had a secondary goal as she wanted to enter into Maria's good graces and, thus, be allowed to participate in the joint activity around the table.

Sometime later, still during the Welcome period, we identified a similar phenomenon in the course of a longer joint activity. This was initiated by Carlo, a highly talkative and creative boy, who evoked an airplane flight recently taken with his parents by arranging a set of chairs and pretending to pilot an airplane. An educator was keen to support his initiative and gradually many children joined in the play. We identified three phases in the development of the activity.

Example 2. Air travel (Carlo, 40 months, Nora, 38 months, Adele, 34 months, Maria, 33 months, Alfio, 29 months) (15 min duration)

1. In the first 5 min, Carlo arranges the setting, aligns many chairs, sits on one of them and pretends to pilot an airplane, communicating further details about the aircraft (ignition button, toilet signals, fastening seat belts, speeding up) to the educator. Then, he shouts at the other children that they should join the plane. Maria approaches and Carlo orders her to fasten her seat belt, but she seems to find it difficult to place chairs in a location that will allow her to repeat exactly Carlo's positioning and gestures. Nora comes to help her in setting the chairs correctly, while another girl Adele, invited by the educator, approaches and takes a seat. Carlo, who goes on pretending to fly the plane (continuously making sound effects and telling what he is doing), tells her to fasten her seat belt as well. Then, he jumps on his chair and again calls for other passengers. Five children and another educator approach.
2. Two parallel activities develop. On one side Maria, Alfio, and Nora are still busy setting the chairs up accurately in order to reproduce Carlo's positioning exactly, then Maria imitates Carlo's actions of pretend flying accurately. On the other side, Bastiano, Mauro, Anna, and Camilla seem to be more interested in the pretend play, as Bastiano proposes variations (travelling by train rather than flying) and then interacts in the role of passenger by asking Carlo: "When are we leaving?" and, then, talking to him about the use of the airplane toilet.
3. Carlo pretends that it is now lunchtime and distributes pizza to the passengers who pretend to receive it and eat obediently. Eventually Maria also interacts directly with Carlo at pretend level, as she takes the pizza he offers and imitates him in eating it and producing sound effects. Then, Bastiano gets close to Carlo

and imitates him by flying the plane and repeating what he says. Finally, it is break time and the educator asks the children to stop play.

This episode highlights quite clearly how children's participation in a joint activity can be achieved in actions which are more or less complex and are related to each other in particular ways. Again, children's different symbolic competences emerge: Carlo and Bastiano participated in the elaboration of the pretend plot, albeit in different roles (pilot and passenger), while Maria imitated Carlo's gestures of driving accurately without assuming the role expected of her by Carlo (passenger in the plane flown by Carlo). Only in phase 3 did she participate in the pretence, by which time the symbolic action was simpler (accepting imaginary pizza and eating it). All over the play episode the other children cooperated in even more peripheral ways (setting up chairs and just sitting on them) or took a bystander stance. Again, we can conclude that all the participants shared a very blurred common ground (travelling by airplane) but their actions referred to it at different degrees of complexity: some of them because they do not seem to be able to participate at a pretend level, others because they might not have experience of airplane travel.

In the preceding examples the setting in which the joint activities developed was somehow defined: in the first case the children's cutting activity was set up around a table, in the second the setting was an important part of the activity (and we saw children's engagement in its arrangement). In both cases, the continuous presence of an educator made the children's gathering more stable. In the following example, no adult intervened in the children's joint activity of picking up soil with tools or hands and pouring into a container. The activity, which was mostly realized at the pretend level as "preparing food" was rehearsed several times by a group of three little girls over the course of the outdoor play. We identified four phases in the development of the activity.

Example 3. Preparing food (Nora, 38 months, Leila, 39 months, Maria, 33 months, Anna, 32 months, Gianni, 32 months, Alfio, 29 months, Mauro, 39 months)

1. (6 min 5 s) (Nora, Leila, Maria, Anna, Gianni). Nora, who is sitting on the ground in the surroundings of the sand pit, is busy picking up soil with a plastic cup and pouring it in a bowl. Leila and Maria, who are tricycling around, approach her and Maria asks Nora what she is doing. As Nora answers: "I am doing food", they sit down near her and begin to pick up soil by hand to fill Nora's cup that she pours into her bowl. Nora announces again: "I am making food for Leila, Nora and Maria. Mummy will not eat it". Maria asks: "Why?", Nora: "Because she's sleepy." The three girls go on with their play for a moment. Anna approaches and stands nearby to observe their play. She looks shy though interested. Gianni approaches too, but he is rejected by Nora. Eventually, Anna approaches with her handful of dirt that she intends to pour into Nora's bowl; as she hesitates Maria invites her to sit down near her. Gianni also picks up some dirt and offers it to Nora saying: "Take the food". Nora stretches out her bowl towards him and says: "Ok, put here.", then she gets up and goes away to pick up more soil.

2. (2 min 30 s) (Nora, Leila, Maria, Anna, Gianni). While Nora is away Maria, Leila, and Anna, who are still sitting in circle begin to pick up soil and pour it on their legs. Anna transforms this activity into a sort of play ritual that she repeats several times with great enjoyment, while the other girls look at her, smiling. When Nora comes back, Anna leaves. The three girls and Gianni resume their previous play. Nora distributes her food to everybody but then she refuses more soil collected by her partners and looks for other ingredients. The activity falls apart and everyone goes their own way.
3. (5 min 5 s) (Nora, Leila, Maria, Alfio, Mauro). Some minutes later, we see Maria again at the same place pouring soil from a bucket into a container. She is disturbed by Alfio but she goes on with her play. Leila joins her and she too begins to pour soil. Eventually, Maria announces: "I have finished… I'm going to Nora" and goes away, calling to Nora, while Leila goes on pouring. Bastiano joins the place and begins to pour soil into a toy pickup truck. He starts to explain to Mauro that he is preparing food but he soon leaves, while Leila goes on pouring soil into the bowl.
4. (2 min 20 s) (Nora, Leila, Maria, Alfio). Leila and Alfio are still there pouring soil into the container. Nora comes back bringing a small cart and greets them, saying: "Good morning!". Leila overturns her container while pouring some soil and shows it to Nora: "I have done a big castle". Nora picks up a stick nearby, then sits down. Leila announces: "I am making food" and begins to stir the soil inside the container with Nora's stick. Maria joins them and begins to pour soil into another container. While pouring soil into the containers, the three girls name the pretend ingredients (sugar, salt, chicken, ice-cream). Leila turns her container full of soil out onto the ground, taps on it, and pronounces an unintelligible word many times (perhaps a magic formula). Then, Nora collects some small stone chips and put them in the container, while Leila collects leaves. Some minutes later, Nora and Maria get up and go to join another activity of leaf collection organised by an educator. Leila stays by herself and goes on filling the container, tapping on it until Nora is sent by the educators to tell her that it's time to go indoors. Leila gets up obediently and follows Nora, but after a few steps she stops, turns towards the container and bowl abandoned on the ground, and blows a kiss at it. Nora imitates her.

This example is representative of how toddlers' joint activity can develop when they can make reference to a well-known common ground and co-ordinate their actions effortlessly within a well-known format. We want to emphasise that only one of the children elaborated the pretence while the other participants, albeit very interested in her proposals, were just keen to help her to collect soil and accept her "food". The activity did not develop along a story line. Again, as in the other examples, one of the participants, who had not yet mastered speech very well, abandoned her bystander stance and assumed a central role by proposing a simpler play ritual in parallel to the main activity, in this case during the absence of the principal actor.

It is also noteworthy that other children joined the activity occasionally and not all the main participants were involved all the time but they came and went. It seems

evident that the children's joint activity found an important point of reference in the location of the activity, the surroundings of the big sand pit, and the material objects which they used which came together. Eventually, two of the main participants acknowledged the identity composed by location and objects explicitly when they addressed it with the final salute: the kiss.

Discussion and Conclusions

Our analysis has highlighted that the impulse to have social contacts and share experiences with other children is a powerful driving force that organises the personal agenda of each child during everyday life in ECEC centres. Children are interested in other children, curious about their activities, and willing to do things together with them. Moreover, we have shown that complex cognitive, interactional and emotional processes converge in children's sociality with peers, contributing to make the ECEC experience an important step in the course of their lives. Because of the toddlers' unstable representational and communicative competences, as well as their fast-paced interactional positioning, these processes are particularly evident. However, we would not suggest that similar processes could not be identified in peer interactions in groups of earlier ages (Selby and Bradley 2003).

In a group situation, children's attention is aroused by a multiplicity of social stimuli but they are particularly attracted by activities shared by some of their peers and they get together around these activities. We observed that most of the children's gatherings evolved in their actual participation in joint activities. Yet, children participated in a joint activity with different degrees of involvement and by different processes. Children participated by taking different stances and different roles and these stances and roles might change in the course of the same activity. Their participatory activity might fluctuate, be somehow unclear, or be performed without any communicative expression directed to a partner and in ways that are not easily recognisable by adults. In many cases, a proposal made by a child in the course of an activity was not really addressed to a peer in particular, rather it was directed to an undefined audience and there was always a number of other participants ready to gather around and consider the proposal even if just as a side participant, bystander or eavesdropper. We have also shown that the roles of direct participant and side participant could often be unclear and/or interchangeable.

Most importantly, we found that children did not hesitate to re-interpret activities at simple cognitive levels or to act in a peripheral positioning with regard to the activity proposed by a peer. In our view, this peculiar readiness to join in peers' activities, which takes origin from children's deep-rooted feelings of curiosity for them, is also nourished by children's capacity to refer to a *common ground*. The latter is constituted by a shared albeit often blurred knowledge concerning objects and their use, relations between activities, and events, that children acquired during their common experience in the ECEC social situation. Participating in joint activities somehow actualises such a knowledge and makes it visible to each participant's

eyes. In Piagetian words, we would say that even if children's activities might not appear to be fully coordinated, in the course of a joint activity the meaningful, often weak, links between participants' individual activities become evident as an *object to think with* (Inhelder et al. 1992) for each of them.

Overall, these considerations suggest that more thorough analyses of children's social experience with peers in the course of everyday life in ECEC centres could lead to a better understanding of the implications for children's well-being, learning and social inclusion.

Some interesting educational implications also emerge. In a previous study (Musatti et al. 2013) we described how educators of another Italian *nido* pursued the emergence and reinforcement of a common ground among children as a major educational objective in order to support their reciprocal attention and participation in joint activities. The detailed analysis reported in the present study has highlighted that children's reference to a common ground can be multi-layered and their differential access to a joint activity can favour the meeting and reciprocal enrichment between young children' uneven and unsettled competences. This endorses the view that supporting children's participation in joint activities by multifaceted and unobtrusive educational practices can be really inclusive and allow each child to have a meaningful and fruitful social experience. The importance of the setting, in all its symbolic and material components, in promoting both children's gathering and their participation in joint activities, has also been confirmed.

In a more general perspective, we can conclude that it is a major challenge for early education professionals to understand under which conditions children's sociality will thrive and which anchorages should be provided to children's thrust to participate in joint activities with peers.

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Chapter 6
The Richness of Everyday Moments: Bringing Visibility to the Qualities of Care Within Pedagogical Spaces

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Abstract Care is an epistemological construct that requires intellectual sensibility and judgment. This chapter offers a way to understand the relationship between our actions and the construction of care as a form of knowledge. Drawing upon the French tradition of examining the richness within the everyday, the concept of 'le quotidien', 'the dimension of lived experience that is involved in everyday life' (Sheringham, Everyday life: theories and practices from surrealism to the present. Oxford, Oxford University Press, p. 2, 2006) is applied to early childhood education. The notion of le quotidien brings value to the often-overlooked aspects of everyday practice within infants' and toddlers' pedagogical spaces by acknowledging everyday moments as a space of transformation, invention, possibility and optimism. A 3-month case study was undertaken in an Australian long day care centre to investigate the epistemological nature of care. Through the use of pedagogically documented moments between children and educators, visibility is given to the capacity of the unseen relational space to construct shared values, revealing the intersubjective and intellectual nature of care.

Introduction

The practice and notion of 'care' has had a long tradition in early childhood pedagogy. Interpretations of care have often been underpinned by a focus on care as an emotional response accompanied by the associated notion of the responsibility of being with the other (Noddings 1984, 2002; Tronto 1993; Fisher and Tronto 1990). Alternatively, the image of care has been bound by the physical nature of care, the actions of "caring for" the needs of the child, feeding, changing and the like. In many ways, it could be argued that care has traditionally been understood as a manner of working that defines actions and approaches to working with young children and their families.

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In contrast, this chapter proposes that care is an *epistemological* construct that requires intellectual sensibility and judgment. We draw upon the notion of quotidien inquiry (Lefebvre 1987; Moran 2005; Sheringham 2006; Schilling 2003) as a way to orientate our lens, to appreciate the richness of daily practice and the ways in which everyday moments reveal the epistemological nature of care. Care, we argue, is mutually constructed between adults and children within the moment. When individuals bring their own subjectivities to an interaction, that is, their own unique ways of being, of thinking and responding, something new is constructed. The intellectual nature of care is grounded in this interdependent meeting of the subjectivities of between young children and educators within daily practices. Care becomes an attribute that ties the pedagogical space together; it is the shared, connecting, nourishing quality that is present in each aspect of the day, hidden in 'the fabric of the everyday' (Sheringham 2006, p 275). In this chapter, the notion of the mutual construction of care is understood through the active and interdependent subjectivities of children, educators and pedagogical spaces.

Research Design

To bring visibility to the notion of care as a form of knowledge, a 3-month case study was undertaken in an Australian long day care centre. Taking the role of co-participant, working alongside children from 5 months to 3 years 2 months and their educators, the first author documented naturally occurring everyday interactions (such as meal times, transitioning from indoor play to outdoor play, and arrivals and departures) through written notes and photographs. The research employed pedagogical documentation as a methodology to contextualise the lived experience of care as a form of knowledge within young children's play spaces. Pedagogical documentation is a concept for making ideas and learning visible through gathering and analysing examples of conversations, photographs, artefacts, drawings and paintings. It is a way of working that is provoked by the work of educators in Reggio Emilia, Italy and is described by Rinaldi as 'visible listening' (2005, p.22). Central to pedagogical documentation is the process of analysing and researching the thinking and meaning-making that accompanies interactions and the engagement with the pedagogical space (Guidici et al. 2001; Edwards et al. 1998, 2012).

Pedagogical documentation does not simply tell or retell a story, it is bounded by a conceptual thread or narrative running through the investigation (Lenz-Taguchi 2010). Within the investigation described here, the conceptual thread that ran through the pedagogical documentation was the notion of *'le quotidien'* (as subsequently explained), particularly the critical potential of everyday moments as a space that sustains transformation, invention, possibility and optimism. Through the analysis of pedagogically documented moments between children and educators, our aim was to give visibility to the construction of the shared qualities of care, revealing the intellectual sensibility and judgment of care.

The three pieces of documentation presented in this chapter are part of a collection of over seventy pedagogical care moments. Quite purposefully, something as

utilitarian as feeding bibs have a place in each narrative. The place of bibs within each of the pieces of documentation reflects the capacity of everyday moments to reverberate, sustain and re-create care through the intellectual construction of past experiences with the potentiality of the future. These narratives bring visibillty to care as a connecting thread within pedagogical spaces, contextualising the value and density of often-overlooked aspects of everyday practice within infants' and toddlers' pedagogical spaces. Our aim is to illustrate that, through the foundation of routine practices that children and educators engage with on a daily basis, a context and culture of care is created.

Building Upon the Narrative of Care

The rethinking of the place of care as an epistemology is reflective of the becoming nature of knowledge, specifically, the reconceptualised "narrative of care." Words such as 'care' are embedded with meanings and narratives (Moss 2014). However, Malaguzzi (1998) cautions – "Remember, meanings are never static, univocal or final; they are always generative of other meanings" (p. 81). It is important, therefore, to recognise that, in thinking about care as 'something we know about' or as a form of knowledge, we are building upon the richness that previous authors have offered to the discourse, to the narrative that the term 'care' inherently carries with it. The following 'snapshot' offers a brief orientation of authors who have had prominence within the theoretical discussions of care as it relates to the domain of early childhood education.

The narrative of *an ethic of care*, was first offered by Noddings (1984, 2002). Noddings positioned the nature of care within the realms of morality and the interdependent relationship of 'feeling with the other'. Fisher and Tronto (1990) and Tronto (1993) shifted the narrative to be inclusive of a plurality of care, which focussed on particular acts of caring and habits of mind including: attentiveness; responsibility; competence; and responsiveness. Building upon Tronto and Fisher's acts of caring, Dahlberg et al. (2007) and Dahlberg and Moss (2005) expanded the narrative of care to *an ethic of relationships.* These authors point to the idea that care is a discursive act, a way of relating, which is always made in relationship with others.

Our consideration of care as a form of knowledge implicitly acknowledges these theoretical narratives and expands the possibilities afforded by this interpretation of care as existing in relationship with others. The work of Massumi's (2003) ethico-aesthetic paradigm is foundational to the notion of the epistemological nature of care we discuss in this chapter. Massumi (2003) argues that rather than the application of universal norms: "Ethics (in this sense) is completely situational. It is completely pragmatic. And it happens in-between people in the social gaps. There is no intrinsic good or evil. Ethics is about how we inhabit uncertainty together" (p. 7). Building upon this perception of ethical judgement, it is similarly argued that care stands and lives within the moment; it is a collective construction that is constantly shifting and being re-created on a case-by-case basis within each new moment.

The Quotidian as a Way to Examine Everyday Practices in Pedagogical Spaces

Quotidian inquiry stems from the French Marxist sociological tradition of examining moments to uncover the richness within the everyday (Lefebvre 1987). The concept of *'le quotidien'* is presented in this chapter as a way to bring value to the often-overlooked aspects of everyday practice within infants' and toddlers' pedagogical spaces, such as serving a meal, mopping a floor or finding a lost hat. The quotidian relates to the intellectual tradition of thinking and theorising *'le quotidien'* – 'the dimension of lived experience that is involved in everyday life' (Sheringham 2006, p. 2). Sitting within the domain of sociocultural studies the notion of *le quotidien* is a conceptual tool used to critique everyday life. Theorists of the quotidian, such as Lefebvre, Barthes, Certeau and Perec (Highmore 2002; Moran 2005; Sheringham 2000, 2006), were responding to the growing image of the homogeneity or colonisation of daily practices in France. These theorists examined the *lived* experience of daily life, bringing new insight into contemporary understandings of the concept of the quotidian and re-creating it as a space of transformation and possibility, where the totality and richness of complex social relations come into play. As Lefebvre unequivocally appeals, 'Why wouldn't the concept of the everydayness reveal the extraordinary in the ordinary?' (1987, p. 9).

While the quotidian is constituted through everyday experiences, it is in fact endlessly forming and reforming through the appropriation of human activities and encounters. Indeed, the philosopher Jean-Luc Nancy (2004) states that the everyday 'reveals itself not as the seat of shoulder-shrugging empiricism or resignation but …a stubborn resource for thinking otherwise' (in Sheringham 2006, p. 398). To critique the everyday is to challenge the notion of the ordinariness or inevitability of daily practices and actions. Rather, quotidian discourse brings value to the collective point of everyday experiences, positioning these interactions as a space of transformation, invention, possibility and optimism by giving visibility to the unseen qualities that underpin our lived experiences (Moran 2005; Sheringham 2006; Schilling 2003).

Lefebvre (1987, 2004) was the pioneering thinker behind *le quotidien* as a concept, exploring the complex relationship between the individual and the social within the space of the quotidian. Using examples of everyday life, such as a woman buying a bag of sugar, Lefebvre shows how this seemingly singular moment reverberates across complex social relations, 'It is the invariable constant of the variations it envelops. The days that follow one another and resemble one another, and yet- here lies the contradiction at the heart of everydayness- everything changes' (Lefebvre 1987, p. 10). What Lefebvre is saying is that our everyday practices are characterised by a coming together of resemblance and distinction.

The understanding of the quotidian as an 'invariable constant of the variations' is significant to our understanding of care as an epistemological construct. Care is intersubjectively constructed within the space of everyday practices that are, by

their very nature of being part of a new day, always in process, merging, evolving, transforming and mediating. It is in the meeting of familiarity and difference, where we use judgment and are shifting our response, as individuals come together and new subjectivities meet, that the epistemological nature of care is apparent through the thinking and consideration that accompanies actions.

The Potentiality of Moments

The examination of care as a form of knowledge is underpinned by the conceptualisation that the quotidian is a collective point of convergence (Highmore 2002; Sheringham 2006; Lefebvre 2004). This means that when one re-encounters an everyday experience, such as mopping the floor, folding washing or serving lunch, the resonance of past moments persists and through potentiality of the present, care is born *in the moment*. Moments offer us a way to re-examine the overlooked aspects of care, to uncover the play between our actions and the dynamic construction of care. The intention of focusing on 'moments' is not to isolate a single interaction but to pause and project the multiplicity and intersubjectivity of care within the moment.

Rhythmanalysis (Lefebvre 2004) has traditionally been used to explore the everyday through the analyses of 'moments' or 'rhythms' of the everyday. Using the metaphor of the metronome, Lefebvre suggested that it is in the gap between the beats, where space and time interact, that potentiality is born (Lefebvre 2004). The density of moments lies in their capacity to be a collective space that identifies, creates and transforms a situation that did not pre-exist. Moments are not an anchored event; rather they have duration, resonating and reverberating across days, weeks and years, shaping the culture of spaces. Lefebvre's consideration of moments recognises the capacity of social space in our lives, in shaping knowledge through the interaction of individuals meeting in relational space, between the continuous tick of the metronome.

The consideration of the potentiality of moments offers early childhood educators a way to understand the affinity between the enactment of daily practice and the constant construction of care between children and educators alike. Embedded within moments are the unseen qualities that connect all the elements within the context of pedagogical spaces, such as respect, tenderness, curiosity and relationships. Rather than being suspended above and distant from everyday practice, these unseen qualities are played out interdependently in actions, attitudes and interactions, 'Everydayness lies in practices that weave contexts together; only practices make it visible' (Sheringham 2006, p. 360). The pedagogical documentation offered in this chapter focuses on the tiny details of brief moments of within everyday practice- in-between the tick of the metronome- the time of potentiality, when the reference point of the initial moment persists, but is transformed through the starting point of a familiar yet new interaction (Elden 2004; Lefebvre 2004).

Educators and Children Creating Contexts and Cultures Together

The first piece of documentation takes place as a group of toddlers, aged between 18 months and 2 years, are getting ready for morning tea. This narrative introduces the notion that the construction of care is made in company. At each meal the children choose their own bib. Avoiding all of the trappings of a generic, mass-produced product, these bibs are beautifully handmade by a parent in a range of fabrics. They reflect the tenderness of a parent's touch through the individuality that accompanies each bib, with carefully piped edges and placement of tabs to gently fit the bib at the nape of a child's neck rather than clumsily pulling it over their head through a neck hole. Each child around the table is given the time to decide which bib to wear. For some children the decision involves quite a long deliberation, as they decide upon a different bib at each meal. For others it is a decision made in an instant as they seek a favourite bib.

The considered approach, which both children and adults engage with in the moment of choice, is a reflection of the capacity of moments to honour individual ways of being in the collective construction of the knowledge of care:

> Christopher was taking his time, pondering his decision. It was not that he did not know which feeding bib he wanted but more that Christopher seemed to enjoy the process of choice. His finger firmly indicated the bib with the lion print and Beth, the educator within this moment, warmly confirmed with him, *"You'd like the lions…OK"*
>
> When Matthew came to make his choice he made an immediate decision. Kate, another educator in the room, shared the thinking that she intuited had accompanied Matthew's decision, *"Matthew loves green, don't you Matt?"* To which Matthew responded, *"Yes, green one."* Matthew purposefully pulled the bottom of his bib out so that it lay on the table. He looked down and pointed to the green. Matthew then took a moment to look closely at his bib and pointing to a detail of the bib he said to Kate: *"Flower on a leaf"*.

This ritual of deciding upon a bib at mealtimes reflects a belief in the agency of young children to make decisions about things that affect their lives. This may seem like a small gesture; however, it speaks volumes to the notion that we do things with the belief that children will notice. As Hawkins (2012) reminds us:

> 'Respect for young children is not a passive hands-off attitude. It invites our own offerings and resources…To have respect for children is more than recognising their potentialities in the abstract, it is also to seek out and value their own accomplishments – however small these may appear by the normal standards of adults' (p79–80).

There was not an assumption by the adults that Matthew would like the green bib, rather he was given the potentiality of the moment, to construct care through his decision that it was that one that he wanted. It was an opportunity for Matthew to share his love of green, to affirm with Kate and to share with others who accompanied Matthew in that moment. But there was more than this; Matthew did not just pick the green bib for its green quality alone, his noticing of other qualities in the bib, with its little daisy flowers, shifted the initial moment of care from the touchstone of his love of green to the delight in finding the intricate details of the fabric, expanding on the potentiality of the past. In the same way, a new reference point of care was created between Christopher and Beth, that of enrichment through the re-meeting of who they each were. Christopher was not rushed in making his choice, in fact his desire to deliberate and to be sure was affirmed by Beth; within that moment Beth showed an appreciation for Christopher's considered opinion.

For early childhood educators to remain committed to a considered and thoughtful approach to those aspects that children, families and staff engage with on a daily basis means that no aspect of the day is privileged over another. Bibs are embedded with this quality of care, from the considerations around the design of the bibs to the

sensibilities within each interaction of choosing a bib. This ritual provided an opportunity to show respect for young children through the actions and decisions that accompany them and an opportunity for children to share their ways of being.

Reflecting the idea of 'moments' as an interactional space, Barthes (1971, in Sheringham 2006, p. 200) uses the term 'incidents' in the same way. Barthes states, 'the incident is simply what falls, softly, like a leaf, on the page of life. It is this fleeting, light fold in the fabric of days, that can scarcely be noted'. It is in the tiny details of these brief almost immeasurable incidents or moments of the everyday that the epistemological nature of care is revealed: It is in the time given to Christopher to ponder his decision, and in the opportunity for Matthew to see the little daisies in amongst his love of green.

Each new moment carries with it a new opportunity to bring individual subjectivities – individual ways of being, thinking and responding- to the interactional space, while drawing upon understandings of past experiences. Within this moment of choosing a bib, a new construction of care is shaped. Returning to the familiar experiences of our quotidian practices does not bring with it sameness, but rather affords an opportunity for a new construction of care, born in a moment. Each interaction is fresh and new, as each interaction is shaped by the meeting of subjectivities in the joint construction of the knowledge of care.

To Be Part of Something Bigger Than Ourselves

Within the next story, we meet Mae (2 years 7 months) and Amanda (an educator), involved in the task of folding a basket of washing.

> The children were all playing in the garden as the day was coming to a close. Mae looked so excited to see the washing trolley come outside. Mae joined Amanda who immediately acknowledged, "Would you like to fold some washing Harlow?" as she handed Mae a face-cloth. Amanda watched Mae lay the face-cloth out across the table and she lent in close, "Now you go over, that's right". Amanda pointed closely at the corners of the facecloth, showing Mae the detail of bringing the tips of the corner together with the delicate touch of her fingertip. "That's right, you put the tips together and then over again." Mae listened intently and then folded the face-cloth so that it folded into quarters. Offering Mae one of the cloths used to wipe tables, Amanda reassuredly said, "That's right Mae, it's tricky isn't it? Would you like to fold a cleaning cloth now?" This question from Amanda followed straight on as an acknowledgement of Mae's commitment to the delicate care of folding the washing.

What was striking in this moment was that the cleaning cloth was given the same care, attention and devotion as the face-cloth by both Amanda and Mae. Amanda carefully accompanied Mae through the same folding steps; they gently held the corner tips of the cloth in their fingertips, as if it was fragile. Amanda so warmly and reassuredly said to Mae, "That's right, over and over again" she said it very slowly and methodically so as not to rush or interrupt Mae's immersion in the moment.

This narrative shows how the shared knowledge that we bring to moments holds, sustains and enriches a new shared knowledge. The shared appreciation of Mae and Amanda's individual place in folding the washing reflects the notion that their considered approach to this everyday interaction takes an active role in the intellectual construction of care. Bruner (1986) theorises that it is a cultural simultaneity or belonging to a community that affords individuals the context in which to construct and recognise their own knowledge, 'It is not just that the child must make his own knowledge his own, but that he must make it his own in a community of those who share his sense of belonging to a culture' (Bruner 1986, p. 127). Amanda and Mae share an appreciation for the belief that children will notice, that their individual care in this moment will be valued and will continue to resonate.

The Mutual Gaze of Care

The last story returns to where we began: 'the moment…the blink of an eye, (is) a gateway where past and future collide, and the image of the eternal recurrence' (Lefebvre 2004, p. x). Quite purposefully, narrative three draws upon bibs and folding washing as a touchstone upon which to think deeply about the epistemological nature of care and the value of often overlooked everyday practices. It is in the

richness of the quotidian, in the enduring capacity of the little things that happen on a regular basis throughout the moments of the day, that the intellectual construction of care is generated, re-generated and sustained. In particular, narrative three illustrates how moments have the capacity to continue to reverberate over time and to shape shared, interdependent creation of care between children, adults and objects. It reflects the value entangled in the bibs beyond their purpose, the value in quotidian practices such as folding washing and the associated value of the potentiality of everyday moments. The children in this narrative are between 2 and 3 years old and we re-meet Amanda, an educator, folding washing in the late afternoon.

> Max sat on the couch, looking very comfy and relaxed; he was just contented to have Amanda's company as she folded the washing and looked out onto the children enjoying the afternoon in the garden. Amongst the washing were new bibs, just handmade and coming through their first wash. Amanda showed Max the new bibs, "Oh! Look Max, we've got new bibs". As Amanda pulled out each bib they both stopped and had a look at the images on the fabric, "A hungry caterpillar one"…"An owl one"…"This one's got racing cars on it"…"Cat in the Hat"…"A fast one".
>
> Jasper, Nicki and Henry came and joined in the discussion; there was such interest and excitement in finding a new favourite bib. As each bib was pulled from the basket there was the same level of excitement. This was a moment of reconnection with the value of bibs that these children know so well. Even though they no longer wear bibs they know and understand the significance of bibs; the excitement that the children inherently carry in having a particular bib or quality in a bib that you love; the knowledge that bibs are indeed a platform that support individual and shared ways of being.

Nicki and Henry returned to play in the garden, while Jasper and Max stayed with Amanda, excited by the possibilities of the new bib prints and the possibility of identifying a new favourite. Amanda joined in this joy, "Oh! Look! This one's got moustaches on it." She put the moustache up against her lip to show Max and Jasper why she was so delighted by the possibility of the moustache bib, particularly the humour that it held. Max and Jasper fell about laughing with great hilarity. Although there was the shared joy of the moustache bib, this was clearly Max's favourite. Jasper and Max still knew their preference. Jasper loved the bib with the Very Hungry Caterpillar food on it and Max was resolute with his immediate preference for the owl print bib.

> Jasper and Max were both quite conflicted about how to manage their interest in the new bib. Jasper wanted to try it on, seemingly for the novelty of wearing a bib. He remarked to me, "Bibs are for babies". They both however wanted time with the new bibs, time that they would not have had at mealtimes because they no longer wore bibs. This conflict was resolved by carrying the bibs with them as they played. When Jasper was finished with the bib, he even ensured that it was safely put in its rightful place.

Within the moments discussed above, a notable feature is the quality of memory. In quotidian discourse, memory has a particular function within the context of moments (Sheringham 2006). Adopting the Greek term *Kairos,* the opportune moment, to describe the 'illuminating' knowledge of memory, Certeau explains:

> 'A memory, whose knowledge cannot be dissociated from the time of its acquisition… nourished by a multitude of events among which it moves without possessing them…it also computes and predicts 'the multitude of paths for the future' by combining antecedent or possible particularities…The flashes of this memory illuminate the occasion' (1980, in Sheringham 2008, p. 220).

The place of memory is certainly present within the collective knowledge that underpinned this joyful re-meeting of the children with the bibs. The care that is embedded within the memory of bibs clearly still had resonance with these children even though bibs no longer fulfilled a utilitarian purpose for them. What we see in this narrative is that the everyday interaction of choosing a bib has supported an architecture for thinking. Moments continue to construct a knowledge through their enduring capacity to nourish and inform the complexity of constructing knowledge in company.

It is the shared construction of care that informs the attitude and sensibilities that children and adults bring to quotidian practices. The capacity of moments, 'in between the tick of the metronome', where past experiences meet the potentiality of the next, have the spaciousness to reconstruct care, as it is enriched, redefined and made anew through the meeting of subjectivities within the moment. It is in this 'ethico-aesthetic paradigm' that is completely situational and contextual that the dynamic nature of care is constructed. Within this moment between Amanda, Jasper and Max, care was imbued with qualities such as wonder, curiosity, humour, memory, tenderness, tenacity and respect. Within the next moment, although informed by the past, care will be constructed within a new situation that brings with it a new context and different qualities. The understandings of care persist, they become touchstones upon which care can be engaged with, within the context of a new interaction in turn constructing a new knowledge of care.

Conclusion

The aim of quotidian inquiry is not to focus on 'the spectacular and eventful', but rather those moments that are 'precious and compelling in the quotidian' (Sheringham 2006, p 397). In this chapter, we have demonstrated that everyday practices, such as folding washing, have a rich value. Through their persistence,

quotidian practices have succeeded in resisting the spectacular, and manifest themselves in a new way with each new day. Moments offer us a way to re-examine the overlooked surfaces of care, to uncover the play between our actions and the dynamic construction of care (Highmore 2002). The intention of focusing on 'moments' is not to isolate a single interaction but to recognise that everyday practices are under constant construction; they draw upon knowledge from the past and construct new knowledge within the moment.

In this way, attention is drawn to the transformative and inventive nature of care. Care is something that we think about, something that we intellectualise, something that we're balancing, weighing and responding to within every interaction. This is the epistemological nature of care, it requires sensibility and judgment because it is always in process and is changing. Care, therefore, stands and lives within the moment. Returning to the notion of Massumi's ethico-aspect paradigm, the nature of these moments of care engage educators and children in the intellectual processes as responses that are 'completely situational…completely pragmatic' (Massumi 2003, p 70).

We conclude by affirming that everyday moments hold a significant place in constructing the knowledge of care. Care is made real through interactions and relationships; it is mutually constructed within the density and spaciousness of moments. The moments of wiping a baby's face after a meal, tidying a sandpit or packing a toddler's bag – all of these everyday moments are significant parts of the integrated construction of care as a form of knowledge. If we are to think of care as an epistemological construct, then we need to recognise that it is completely situational and contextual. From this point of view, care does not reside in one person, within their disposition alone or indeed an interdependent relationship with the other, but is created and actualised between people and materials. Every time there is an encounter, something new is created within the intersubjective potentiality of a moment. Care as a form of knowledge brings with it the responsibility of the affective potential of our everyday practices and the complexity that accompanies making choices that contribute to collective ways of knowing and being within pedagogical spaces. Care as a form of knowledge is the connector and connection between all the elements in our everyday practice with infants and toddlers.

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Chapter 7
Supporting Concordant Intersubjectivity and Sense of 'Belonging' for Under Three-Year-Olds in Early Years Settings

Helen Marwick

Abstract Through concordant intersubjective interactions, in which mutual consciousness is supported in positive companionship (Minnis H, Marwick H, Arthur J, McLaughlin A. Eur Child Adolesc Psychiatry 15(6):336–342, 2006; Trevarthen C. The concept and foundations of infant intersubjectivity. In: Braten S (eds) Intersubjective communication and emotion in early ontogeny. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, pp 15–46, 1998; Trevarthen C. Infant Child Dev 20(1): 119–135, 2011), across the first months and years, infants and young children develop their understanding of themselves and other people. Familiar shared experiences, playful interactions, and co-creation of meanings develop their growing understanding of emotionality and intentionality in themselves and others, and their expectations about other people's acts and feelings (Marwick H, Murray L. The effects of maternal depression on the 'musicality' of infant directed speech and conversational engagement. In: Malloch S, Trevarthen C (eds) Communicative musicality: narratives of expressive gesture and being human. Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 281–300, 2008), and lead to a growing sense of self-identity in relation to others, which brings with it a reliable sense of 'belonging', or 'awareness of a collective level of knowing', and meaning within their interpersonal world (Gratier M, Trevarthen C. J Conscious Stud 15(10–11): 122–158, 2008). This positive confidence in understanding of self and other can become vulnerable in the transition into, and experience of, the group environment of an early years setting, in which existing expectations, perspectives and intentions of the participants may contrast and vary, and lead to discordant intersubjective experience of communication and shared understandings for a child (Marwick H, Murray L. The effects of maternal depression on the 'musicality' of infant directed speech and conversational engagement. In: Malloch S, Trevarthen C (eds) Communicative musicality: narratives of expressive gesture and being human. Oxford University Press, Oxford, pp. 281–300, 2008). This chapter examines the challenges inherent in supporting

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concordant intersubjectivity and a sense of 'belonging' for under –3-year-olds in group based infant and toddler settings, and models of pedagogy and interaction applied in such settings.

Concordant Intersubjectivity

The role of another person is paramount in the social and emotional development of a human infant. The pioneering work of Trevarthen and colleagues, and other key theorists and researchers in the latter part of the twentieth century, drew the scientific community's attention to the processes of interpersonal connection active in the earliest interactions and communication between infants and caregivers (e.g. Trevarthen 1974, 1979; Brazelton et al. 1974; Stern 1985; Trevarthen and Hubley 1978; Murray and Trevarthen 1986; Murray 1992; Meltzoff and Moore 1994). It has been documented that infants are born with active communication processes and with preferential perceptual discriminations in relation to the expressiveness of other humans (DeCasper and Fifer 1980; Murray and Trevarthen 1985, 1986; Cooper and Aslin 1990: Nagy and Molnár 2004). Intonation and pitch movement have been noted to express and affect the emotions of infants and caregivers from the earliest interactions, with infants being soothed by a gentle falling intonation, and with a rising intonation used to invite attention, engagement and response from an infant (Papousek and Papousek 1981; Papousek et al. 1985; Fernald and Kuhl 1987).

Caregivers are found to modify their speech and expressiveness to optimise responsiveness, attention, and emotional equilibrium in the child (Stern et al. 1982; Trevarthen and Marwick 1986; Fernald 1992; Papousek and Papousek 1997; Marwick and Murray 2008). Microanalytic analyses have indicated a shared expressive periodicity in neonates (Trevarthen 1999; Malloch and Trevarthen 2008) including behaviours such as reciprocal imitation, mutual attentiveness, contingent responsiveness and shared affect (Murray and Trevarthen 1985; Nadel et al. 1999). In our earlier studies Colwyn Traverthen and I demonstrated that early interpersonally-focused interactions with turn-taking in initiating communicative moves are characterised by gentle attuned expressiveness to sustain attention and regulate emotional states (Trevarthen and Marwick 1986, see also Stern 1985). Even at 8 weeks old the active participation of the infant in these affective communicative exchanges can be shown (Murray and Trevarthen 1985, 1986), with both infant and caregiver immediately noticing non-contingency in responsiveness of the other. Trevarthen (1979) argues that these focused interpersonal interactions both evidence and support a shared consciousness in the experience of the caregiver and infant, which he terms 'primary intersubjectivity'. Trevarthen's theory of 'innate intersubjectivity' builds on the concept of intersubjectvity used in philosophical perspectives that set out to interpret processes of interpersonal understanding, communicative competence, and social identity (e.g Buber 1947; Habermas 1970; Ryan

1974). As Trevarthen (1998) explains: 'a child is born with motives to find and use the motives of other persons in 'conversational' negotiation of purposes, emotions, experiences and meaning' (p. 16).

These gentle early interactions are found to later develop into more boisterous game-playing activities, with rhymes and songs, and playful manipulation and exaggeration of expressiveness which surprise and amuse the infant. This affective expressive playfulness underpins developing shared expectations of others and anticipations of actions (Trevarthen and Marwick 1986; Marwick and Murray 2008). Bruner (1995) and Stern (1985/2000) highlight that this playful, deliberate contravening of shared expressiveness and mutual understandings supports a developing sense of the intentionality of others and of the self. As the infant moves through the second half of the first year, shared understandings with a familiar other about the world and objects in the world are reflected in the development of 'secondary intersubjectivity' (Trevarthen and Hubley 1978), indicating a mutual awareness in both infant and caregiver of their joint attention to, and potential feelings and intentions towards, an object or event. This shared imaginative consciousness of joint attention enables the complexity of interpersonal intentionality, mutual understanding and emotion to be symbolised in sound, gesture and word, and purposeful, communicative referential acts are expressed by the infant in interaction (Ryan 1974; Bruner 1995; Marwick and Murray 2008). An infant may for example, use gesture, intonation and eye-movement to request an object, or to direct an adult's attention to something in the world, or perhaps to tease an adult (Halliday 1975; Reddy 1991).

Within secondary intersubjectivity, therefore, the infant and caregiver share mutual anticipation of one another's feelings and behaviours. Infant and caregiver enjoy familiar activity routines and communicative exchanges, and develop further shared meanings arising from these (Bruner 1986, 1990), with symbolic imaginative representation and conceptual understanding about the world supported in the infant through attuned joint play (Emde et al. 1997; Tamis-LeMonda et al. 1998). According to this view, language acquisition and communicative understanding develop in joint attention in conversational interaction over the early months and years and reflect mutual focus and interpersonal sympathy (Halliday 1975; Bruner 1983; Trevarthen and Marwick 1986). Children become fluent conversationalists over these first few years, demonstrating not just a rapid development in vocabulary use and comprehension, but also a growing competence in a range of pragmatic conversational elements, such as: propositional relevance; the pragmatic cooperative assumptions of 'quantity', 'quality' and 'clarity' described by Grice (1975); and inferential perspective taking abilities (Tizard and Hughes 2002).

Such intersubjective interactions, in which mutual consciousness is supported in positive companionship (Minnis et al. 2006; Trevarthen 1998, 2011) across the first months and years, are the means through which infants and young children develop their understanding of themselves and other people. Through familiar shared experiences, playful interactions, and co-creation of meanings, very young children develop their growing understanding of emotionality and intentionality in themselves and others, and their expectations about other people's acts and feelings

(Bruner 1990; Marwick and Murray 2008). Being able to predict the behaviours of significant others supports emotional self-regulation in the infant (Papousek and Papousek 1997), and leads to a growing sense of self-identity in relation to others, and of 'other identity' in relation to self (Stern 1985/2000; Murray et al. 2010). In this way the infant and caregiver share mutual anticipation of one another's feelings and behaviours which brings with it a reliable sense of 'belonging', or 'awareness of a collective level of knowing' and meaning within their interpersonal world (Gratier and Trevarthen 2008; Murray et al. 2010). The theoretical complexity of the concept of 'belonging' has been outlined by a number of researchers (eg. Peers and Fleer 2014; Stratigos et al. 2014) who examine a range of perspectives including, for example, sociological, political and psychological. The 'sense of belonging' I am describing here takes a psychological perspective, and refers to the sense an individual has of being an intrinsic part of their social world, where they have agency and confidence in the responsiveness of others to their initiatives, and where they hold that position in relation to the initiatives of others. This sense of belonging is underpinned by a shared intersubjective understanding of the concepts, ideas, feelings and intentions of others. In this way, concordant intersubjectivity creates and reflects a sense of belonging.

Discordant Intersubjectivity

In our observations of infants, Colwyn Traverthen and I found that when communicative and interpersonal expectations of the infant are not met, such as in meeting an unfamiliar adult, the infant can be seen to show upset and perplexity (Trevarthen and Marwick 1982). Such a response to the lack of correspondence in experience and expectation, highlights that the processes of intersubjective experience do not always lead to an awareness of 'concordant' sharing of subjective states, where each feels 'joined' in feelings and intentions, but can lead to an experience of 'discordance', where subjective states are not shared but are 'mismatched' (Minnis et al. 2006). For example, where the initiative of an infant to request an object from an adult is not met with contingent positive responsivity in the adult, and the object transfer is not therefore achieved, it can be understood that there is a mismatch or discordance within intersubjective experience for both participants. Where concordance applies to experiences where affect and intentions are shared, or understood and supported between people in cooperative engagement, discordant experience can occur when the other is 'unfamiliar', 'unavailable', 'un-attuned', or 'unsupportive', such that affect and intentions are not shared or understood.

The supportiveness of a person towards another is fundamental to the theory I have developed which I call 'interpersonal positioning' (Marwick 2016). Interpersonal positioning is defined as **the positioning of a person in relation to their emotional 'supportiveness' towards another person – the extent to which they feel positive, receptive and cooperative towards another person**. Concomitantly with this is **a person's feeling of being supported or unsupported**

by another person. Concordant intersubjectivity would reflect supportiveness on the part of both participants, where discordant intersubjective experience would reflect unsupportive interpersonal positioning on the part of at least one person. Interpersonal positioning theory would argue that for a person to feel a valued member of a community, with confident agency and a sense of belonging, supportive interpersonal positioning should be experienced.

Clearly in everyday activity, there will be potentially some elements of discordance in intersubjective experience for any child and caregiver. For example, an infant may indicate that they do not want to leave an activity, but a caregiver, while recognising this wish on the part of the child, may, for a range of practical reasons, nevertheless remove the child. The manner in which a child's intention is not cooperated with will impact upon the emotion experienced by the child. Thus, if, for example, the adult removes the child in a positive playful way, or distracts the child with some other focus for attention so that the child's initial intention is overlaid or replaced with another, then the feeling of discordance may be minimised. Important in this argument, however, is the concept that in an interpersonal interaction, it is not the case that a 'lack' of concordant intersubjectivity in engagement is an experience which has no impact on the child, but that such an interpersonal experience is 'actively discordant' for the child, and indicates lack of interpersonal supportiveness.

In examining the role of concordant intersubjectivity in relation to the development of difficulties in attachment relationships, Minnis and I, with colleagues, suggest that it is the balance of concordance to discordance in everyday interpersonal experience that is important for the mental well-being for both child and adult (Minnis et al. 2006). In cases where concordant intersubjective experience is inconsistent, unpredictable, or lacking, it is argued that insecure attachment (Ainsworth 1985), inconsistent or negative representations and expectations of others (Bowlby 1969), or mental health difficulties (Osofsky 1987; Trevarthen and Aitken 2001; Murray et al. 2010; Puckering et al. 2014) can occur. Such findings highlight the link between the child's experience of concordant intersubjectivity and mental well-being.

Intersubjective Experience in Early Years Settings

As a young child moves into group childcare, they encounter a new environment with expectations, perspectives and intentions that may vary and contrast from person to person (Goouch and Powell 2013; Fisher 2016). The different routines and activities and the multiple adults and children in the new environment will place a new set of social demands on a young child, which could make a child's positive confidence in understanding of self and other, and a feeling of belonging become potentially vulnerable. Interacting with a range of caregivers and other children in unfamiliar routines and activities can be understood to place challenging demands on the communicative expectations of a young child and their understandings of

how people behave and engage interpersonally. The home environments of children entering an early years setting will be diverse, and children themselves will bring a range of differing personal expectations, interpersonal representations and activity routines (Fisher 2016). With Lynne Murray (Marwick and Murray 2008) I have suggested that a lack of familiarity and predictability within the environment could lead to discordant intersubjective experience of communication and shared understandings for a child.

The group activities and solo exploration which take place in early years settings could reduce the interpersonal demand on the child, but so too do such activities reduce the opportunities for attuned intersubjective experience for the child. For children under 3 years old, research demonstrates the need for such concordant intersubjectivity in relation to positive developmental outcomes and well-being for a young child, and this sets a challenge for the staff in an early years setting to consider how best to support concordant intersubjective experience for children and staff.

Intersubjective Conversations

The need for practitioners to learn about the home environments of each child in order to get to know more about the child and their family is clear (Fisher 2016), and knowledge of the child and the expectations of the child and family should help a practitioner to support the child in attuned interaction and communicative engagement. Conversational and communicative engagement between adult and child in the early years setting is a key strand of interaction contributing to social, cognitive and linguistic developmental outcomes for a child, and is a fundamental means to joining another person in feelings, ideas and intentions. White et al. (2015) emphasise the role of attuned and responsive teachers in developing dialogic interactions which were observed in their study to underpin positive intersubjective experience with infants within an early years setting.

In her study of practitioner interactions with children from 6 months to 6 years in early years settings in the UK, Fisher (2016) found the most 'effective conversations' occurred in one-to-one interaction between a practitioner and a child. This resonates with the research evidence of how shared meanings can be experienced and the support given by a parent for sustaining engagement and developing conversation (Bruner 1990; Tizard and Hughes 2002; Buckley 2003). Fisher points out however, that achieving a one-to-one context for shared intersubjective experience can be difficult in a group setting. The majority of such one-to-one interactions in Fisher's study were found to be interrupted by other children in the setting, resulting in a break in engagement and direction of thought, which was reported to be difficult to re-establish for both the child and the practitioner.

Such a situation poses challenges for all concerned in relation to sustained concordant intersubjective experience, including the child who has interrupted but who may not have received the sought attention. Every conversational move carries emo-

tional force in relation to the speaker and to the recipient (Searle 1969), and interpersonal positioning could be described as being part of the 'emotional force' of an utterance. That emotional force may be supportive, such as: agreeing, complying, or comforting, or, alternatively, the emotional force of a conversational move can be less supportive, such as: disagreeing, refusing, or dismissing. In my recent analysis of peer conversations between young children in an early years setting (Marwick 2016) I was able to indicate the complex and pragmatic understanding and use of emotional force and conversational implicature (i.e. meaning suggested by, but not explicitly stated in, an utterance, Grice 1975) that can be observed in young children's communicative exchanges, and their sensitive appraisal of the interpersonal intentionality and interpersonal positioning in the utterances of other people. Clearly, the impact of the emotional force can be very influential upon feelings of positive relationships, self-identity, self-esteem and well-being (Marwick 2016), and a child faced with the interactive unavailability of an adult may feel unsupported and dismissed, even when a well-intentioned strategy has been used to explain the practitioner's temporary unavailability. At the very least, fragmented or disjointed attunement and engagement with a lack of consistent positive attentive interpersonal positioning and responsiveness to the child can be understood to reduce opportunities for developing strong joint attention, for establishing shared reference, and for consistency in consequent prediction and expectation about conversational partners.

Effective Interactions

A considerable amount of research has been carried out into verbal interactions between adults and children, which has helped to inform effective approaches for adults to scaffold the learning of a child through language and conversation (e.g. Anghileri 2006). Examining teacher and infant interactions in the context of an early years setting specifically, White et al. (2015) found that initiations by New Zealand infant teachers which involved a combination of both verbal and also non-verbal expressiveness were most effective in gaining responses from infants under one year old.

However, in their recent work looking at practitioner-child interactions in baby rooms in the UK, Goouch and Powell (2013) suggest that strategies to encourage communicative engagement between teachers and infants are not well understood or used effectively. The talk of practitioners to young children is reported to be often disruptive or 'interfering' (Fisher 2016) with practitioners found to be using too many questions which disrupt the flow of thought and intention in the child (Goouch and Powell 2013; Fisher 2016), and do not lead to shared understandings and co-created meanings.

Fisher reports that the most effective communicative interactions in her study occurred when the adult, rather than initiating conversation with a child who was engaged in an activity, sat attentively near the child and waited for the child to initi-

ate a conversational interaction. This is a similar finding to that of Singer and colleagues (2014) in their study observing practitioner-child interactions in relation to the role of the teacher in supporting 2 and 3 year old children's levels of play engagement in 24 Dutch childcare settings. This study found that the highest levels of play engagement for the children in the study were observed to occur when the practitioner, rather than moving in and out of a playroom, remained near to the child, and thus 'available' for interaction, and also when interactions between teacher and child were reciprocal without the practitioner having initiated the interaction and interrupted the child's activity. Singer and colleagues argue that a model of adult-child interaction which involves the practitioner sitting close to the children and being available for interaction would most support high levels of play engagement for children.

Even if it is possible for practitioners to achieve a non–interactive but attentive availability without interruption of children's activities and engagements in an early years setting, the balance of initiation of interaction with very young children, has to be given careful consideration. Reciprocity in communicative expression and interaction has been seen to be fundamental to intersubjective experience (Trevarthen 1998), and, although children in the first years are motivated to engage in solo exploration of the world and develop their learning and cognitive understanding through this (Piaget 1954; Trevarthen and Aitken 2001), the role of the adult is also key in developing symbolic play (Bornstein et al. 1996), linguistic and conversational abilities, conceptual representations, and social and cultural understanding (Vygotsky 1978). In our analysis of data from a prospective non-clinical population cohort study (Marwick et al. 2013) we discovered that reduced maternal speech and activity in mother-child interaction at 12 months predicted later mental health diagnosis in the child. The young child's early pretend play is found to reflect the activities and relationships which are important to the child and which have personal and interpersonal significance for the child (Winnicott 1971; Fein 1984; Trevarthen and Marwick 1986). While children's early play with each other may be found to be joyously imitative and sustained (Nadel and PezŽ 1993), the shared creation of the imagined activity by the child and an adult supports the development of more complex symbolic play and an imaginative narrative in these early years (Bornstein et al. 1996). A key element within the young child's pretend play is humour; infants will play with the boundaries of conceptual and emotional meaning, upturning expectations and building suspense (Horgan 1981; Reddy 1991; White 2014), and a playmate who shares the conceptual understanding of the infant is essential to the success of these games.

The pivotal role of the adult in relation to infant interactions and play engagement in an early years setting is demonstrated in the recent small-scale, in-depth study of the relationships and interpersonal experiences of two children under the age of one year in an early years setting carried out by White and Redder (2015). In this study, the close proximity of the teacher to the infant was found to positively influence reciprocal interpersonal interaction between the two, and greater infant engagement with an object was observed when the key worker was close by the infant. Importantly, however, it was noted that greater infant engagement with an

object did not occur when a teacher other than the infant's key teacher was in close proximity to the infant, and, in contrast to the position of Singer and colleagues (2014), White and Redder argue that teacher proximity alone is not the key factor in promoting infant object exploration and play, but that the relationship between the infant and the teacher influences the child's engagement with the object.

While both child-led and adult–led activities are considered to contribute positively to learning and development in early years settings (Fisher 2016), the findings above suggest that the quality of relationships for an infant in relation to adults and other children in the setting is fundamental to effective involvement in both these forms of activity. Approaches to support intersubjective engagement, shared understandings and co-created meanings are, therefore, of the highest importance to establish in an early years setting.

Future Directions

Research in child development has thus shown the importance of experiencing concordant intersubjectivity in relation to positive developmental outcomes, and for the development of a sense of belonging and the experience of well-being for a child. A growing body of research looking into the interpersonal relationships and intersubjective engagements of young children under 3 years of age as they move into and experience group based childcare settings has demonstrated effective approaches being used within some settings in relation to supporting children's positive intersubjective experience. Such research, however, also highlights the difficulties that may be encountered in an out-of- home group setting in trying to establish concordant intersubjectivity and supportive interpersonal positioning for children, and in finding and following models of interaction that reflect the changing developmental needs of very young children. With increasing numbers of children under three reported to be attending out of home care (Dalli et al. 2011; Goouch and Powell 2013; OECD 2015), further research which can inform policy and practice in relation to supporting concordant intersubjectivity and reducing discordance in children's experience is a clear priority.

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Part II
Foregrounding Policy

Chapter 8
Tensions and Challenges in Professional Practice with Under-Threes: A New Zealand Reflection on Early Childhood Professionalism as a Systemic Phenomenon

Carmen Dalli

Abstract Internationally there has been an upsurge in the professionalisation of the early childhood education and care (ECEC) workforce and in debates about the meaning of professionalism when applied to practitioners in early childhood settings. This chapter elaborates on the notion of early childhood professionalism as a systemic and ecological phenomenon rather than as a characteristic that resides in individuals and their actions. In the context of changing policy priorities about the professionalisation of the New Zealand ECEC workforce, the chapter draws on evidence from two recent projects to present the argument that teachers' professional practice within the immediate environment of their early childhood setting, however creative and resourceful, remains limited in what it can achieve without a supportive policy infrastructure. The chapter presents the argument that structural policy arrangements at a systemic level are essential to ensure professionalism of practice.

Introduction

Internationally, the last two decades have seen a sharp rise in scholarly and policy interest in the topic of early childhood (EC) professionalism. This reflects the growing participation rates in out-of-home early childhood education and care (ECEC) services (OECD 2015) prompting governments to seek to improve the quality of their services by "professionalising" the ECEC workforce (e.g., HM Treasury 2004; Ministry of Education 2002). Growth in participation rates in 'formal' ECEC

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services[1] has been most marked for children aged up to 2 years, with OECD figures showing an increase of around 5 % between 2006 and 2013.[2]

Responding to recent developments, the tools of workforce professionalisation used in different jurisdictions have included the introduction of new credentialing initiatives such as qualifications and accreditation processes, prolonged training, and enhanced professional development. These policy tools mirror traditional understandings of professionalism based on the traits that well-established professions, such as law and medicine, have in common, for example:

> The monopolization of particular forms of expertise, the erection of social boundaries around themselves through entrance qualifications and extended training, and an ideology of public service and altruism ….professional autonomy [is justified]… by the self-policing mechanisms constructed through their own internal criteria of standards maintained by the profession itself. (Abbott and Meerabeau 1990, p. 3)

By extension, individual members of a profession would be expected to achieve the prescribed qualifications and uphold standards often enshrined within a code of ethics. In this view of a profession, professionalism is constructed as a quality that derives from the possession of particular traits, and therefore as something that primarily resides within individuals. Scholarly discussions about early childhood professionalism have often referenced these characteristics as their starting point when attempting to position early childhood work as a profession, using them as a gauge of how ECEC work measures up (e.g., Dinniss 1974; Katz 1985).

By contrast, more recent conceptualisations of EC professionalism have been based on attempts to capture what it means to be professional from the perspective of early childhood practitioners themselves (e.g., Brock 2012; Dalli 2006, 2008; Lazzari 2012; Osgood 2010; Vincent and Braun 2011). Rather than looking at other professions and their characteristics as the benchmark for professionalism, the aim of these studies has been to create a definition that speaks to the unique characteristics of early childhood work itself. For example, the 'ground-up' view of EC professionalism, constructed from qualified New Zealand (NZ) EC educators' responses to national survey questions about being professional and acting professionally (Dalli 2006), clearly showed that NZ EC educators working in education and care centres, including with children aged under three, saw structural elements such as qualifications as integral elements of EC professionalism. At the same time, EC professionalism was additionally perceived as including a willingness—and the associated skills—to engage in collaborative relationships with others in the immediate work environment as well as the broader community. These qualified educators also viewed professionalism as evident in educators' pedagogical style and strategies. In this way, professionalism was not understood to be a static quality existing within a person but rather within (collaborative) interactions with others.

[1] Formal early childhood services are defined by the OECD as including centre-based services, organised day-care and pre-school (public and privately owned), as well as professional childminders or family daycare services.

[2] Participation rates rose from just over 28 % to just under 33 % of children aged 0–2 years in 30 (out of 38) OECD countries for which data were available for both 2006 and 2013.

As my colleague, Mathias Urban, and I have argued elsewhere (e.g., Dalli and Urban 2010), such 'ground-up' conceptualisations are creating a new discourse of professionalism, one that enables the EC profession to claim its own identity.

Following a six-country project in which researchers from each country investigated a day in the life of an early years practitioner, with Miller and Urban I have further argued (Dalli et al. 2012) that the meaning of EC professionalism is "embedded in local contexts, visible in relational interactions, ethical and political in nature, and involving multiple layers of knowledge, judgement, and influences from the broader societal context" (p. 6). To capture this rich complexity of influences, we drew on the terminology of Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological systems theory and outlined a conceptualisation of professionalism as an "ecology" affected by: (i) situations in which the practitioner is physically present and has face-to-face contact with influential others (the microsystem level of interactions); (ii) the relationships between the practitioner's microsystems, or connections between situations (the mesosystem such as team connections, or inter-professional work); (iii) the settings in which practitioners do not participate but in which significant decisions are taken that affect them (the exosystem, such as the activities of local or regional authorities, or events in the parents' places of work); (iv) societal assumptions about 'how things should be done' (the macrosystem with its values and broad ideological patterns of a culture); and (v) developments of the ecological system over time (the chronosystem level that provides the socio-historical context for practice).

My argument in the remainder of this chapter elaborates on the notion of professionalism as a systemic and ecological phenomenon (see also Dalli 2010). Drawing on two projects carried out in partnership with NZ teachers of children younger than 3 years, I argue that teachers' professional practice within the immediate environment of their early childhood setting, however creative and resourceful, remains limited in what it can achieve without a supportive policy infrastructure. Positioning the studies against a brief outline of the history of EC provision for under-3 year olds in NZ, I argue that the studies illustrate tensions and challenges in professional practice that emanate from beyond the immediate context of the teachers' day-to-day ECEC setting. The tensions highlight the need to revitalise the agenda of EC professionalisation—systemically defined—which was strongly in place at the turn of the new millennium but which has since lost momentum. Re-vitalisation of the professionalisation agenda includes the need for sector leadership to articulate the specialist nature of EC professional practice with children aged up to 3 years.

Professionalism in EC Provision for Under-Three Year Olds in NZ: A Historical Overview

The New Zealand history of EC provision for under-3 year olds, not unlike that in many other countries (e.g., Goouch & Powell, this volume), has been a notoriously chequered one with government policy never quite seeming to 'get it right' to

guarantee and sustain lasting improvements to the quality of services. With every few steps forward, there seem to be corresponding ones backwards. For example, despite research and reviews of EC provisions going back many decades urging improvements to funding levels, adult-to-child ratios, and to staff qualifications and working conditions (e.g., Kerslake 1987; Podmore and Craig 1988), when government funding rates for under-2 year olds were finally increased, and adult-to-child ratios improved as a result of the Meade Report (1988) and the subsequent *Before Five* policies (Lange 1989), the policies lasted barely a year before they were dismantled by a new conservative government elected in 1990 (Dalli 1993; Meade and Dalli 1992). The results of that reversal of fortunes were evident in a study in the mid-1990s which investigated the quality of childcare for under-2 year olds, and of the staff, centre and family variables related to quality (Smith et al. 1995). It concluded that working conditions, wages and education of staff were of crucial importance in providing high quality childcare environments for infants, and yet far too many staff had "low levels of school education, [were] untrained, poorly paid, and experience[d] less than adequate working conditions" (p. 64).

This grim picture within services for infants and toddlers was mirrored elsewhere within the broader ECEC sector which, throughout the 1990s, was generally characterised by policies that cut back government funding, and opened up the EC sector to market forces. A mushrooming of commercial centres in receipt of government grants but without robust controls on quality provision, and tremendous variations in pay rates (Mitchell and Noonan 1994) were some of the effects of the policies. Even the historically fully state-funded kindergartens were affected with a new funding regime introduced that linked their funding levels to enrolment numbers and thus opened them up to fluctuations in income (Dalli 1993; Duncan et al. 2007). In marked contrast to this overall regressive picture, the development of the curriculum document *Te Whāriki* (Ministry of Education 1996) provided a beacon of hope and a uniting focus for the sector. Acclaimed internationally as an innovative and paradigm-shifting curriculum for the early years (e.g., Pramling et al. 2004), *Te Whāriki* asserted the child's right to be considered a learner from birth, describing the education and care of infants and toddlers as "specialised" and "neither a scaled-down 3- or 4-year-old programme nor a baby-sitting arrangement" (p. 22). Yet this bold statement was far from supported by the necessary policy infrastructure to ensure that very young learners would indeed experience the specialised curriculum envisaged in *Te Whāriki.* It was not until the introduction of the 10-year Strategic Plan (SP) for Early Childhood Education, *Pathways to the Future: Ngā Huarahi Arataki* (Ministry of Education 2002) that a broad platform of policy was put in place that promised to improve the overall quality of the ECEC sector and, within that, provisions for infants and toddlers.

Of particular significance for the under-3 year old part of the ECEC sector was the *Strategic Plan* (Ministry of Education 2002) policy of a 100 % qualified workforce by 2012. This raised the hope that for the first time, children aged up to 3 years would be guaranteed fully qualified teachers working with them consistently. This was a significant win for this neglected part of the EC sector where, apart from the historically documented low qualification levels of staff in childcare centres, it had

long been reputed that, in mixed-age settings, the least qualified staff were often allocated to work with the youngest children. Thus, optimism was high that a professionalised workforce, working in much improved conditions, would go a long way to rectifying the low quality issues identified in the past.

But the winds of political misfortune were to strike again: before the SP policies could be fully bedded in, a change of government in 2009 resulted in the unravelling and premature end of the policy implementation plan (e.g., see Dalli 2010). The target of 100 % qualified staff in teacher-led services was lowered to 80 %, with this being reduced further to 50 % qualified staff with under-2 year olds; and a pre-election promise of 1:4 ratios (versus the minimum of 1:5) was "postponed". Incentive grants for centres to employ 100 % qualified staff were also discontinued, resulting in centres replacing trained staff with cheaper untrained ones; professional development programmes were also cut. Additionally, the highly successful action research programme—the Centre of Innovation (COI) initiative referred to by Urban (2008) as a "hopeful example" of systemic professionalism—was also terminated in 2010, thus closing off a path that for the previous 8 years had linked practice to research and to critical enquiry, and led to the documentation of many examples of good practice. Urban had argued that the COI programme illustrated how, when joined to critical enquiry and supported by a robust and well-resourced policy framework, practice can bring about innovation and contribute to building up a professional body of knowledge—elements which he saw as a cornerstone of EC professionalism at the systemic level.

These cuts to professional support were made despite local evidence that there was still much to be done to ensure quality for infants and toddlers in early childhood services. For example, a 2009 report by the Education Review Office (ERO) found that at a time when participation of under-2 year olds in ECEC centres was rising rapidly, "three quarters of centres did not have well-embedded programme planning" (p. 6) and "interactions between children and teachers fostered and extended children's interests and ideas" (p. 9) in only just over 50 % of the centres reviewed. A more recent official statement by the ERO (2015) on quality in infant and toddler settings shows that nothing much has changed to improve professional practice since 2009; and nothing much appears to be planned either. A Sector Advisory Group (2012) report on quality education for children under two, commissioned by the Minister of Education, with recommendations for what needs to happen to improve the quality of infants' and toddlers' experience in EC services, remains languishing on the Minister's shelves. At the time of writing there appears to be a lack of political will to redress the erosion of the EC professionalisation agenda, when professionalisation is seen as a systemic issue. In a systemic view of EC professionalism, professional practice is underpinned by a comprehensive policy infrastructure that establishes the preconditions for meaningful interactions between children and adults (e.g., staff to child ratios, group size, and staff qualifications) while also stimulating and enabling the maintenance of a creative spirit of innovative practice and critical reflection (see Dalli 2010). As noted earlier, such an infrastructure would involve all levels of the professional system: beyond the level

of the individual teacher in her local context to the levels of policy and research, and the broader ecology of the profession.

Clearly, the unravelling of the SP policies has had a serious impact on the EC sector, including on practitioners working with under-3 year olds. A recent survey (Dalli and Cherrington 2015) of how qualified NZ ECEC teachers in a random stratified sample of ECEC settings are using the EC code of ethics developed in the mid-1990s, confirms that a feeling of despondency is settling on the ECEC workforce. The despondency relates to the stalling of the professionalisation agenda that has been in place in the sector since at least the 1980s, and from shattered hopes that ECEC work would finally be recognised as valuable work. In answer to a question addressed specifically to qualified teachers who had worked, or were currently working, in settings for under-3 year olds, respondents (n = 57) additionally expressed concern about structural issues such as large group sizes and high noise levels, adult-to-child ratios that did not conform to legislated standards "especially in the early morning and late afternoon" and not having "enough 1:1 time with the younger children" due to "government funding … not supporting the right ratios for this age group."

Survey respondents from all parts of the ECEC sector (total respondents = 189) bemoaned the fact that despite ECEC teachers having upgraded their studies and qualifications, working with agreed professional values, and striving continually to improve their practice, and despite wanting to engage in professional development and continuing to do the best they could for the children in their care and for their families, the policy infrastructure to support this was being eroded. Respondents reported wanting to uphold the reputation of their profession but worrying that without a fully qualified workforce, they were, as one teacher of under-3 year olds put it, working "with untrained staff who were unable to provide reasons for doing things."

Elsewhere I have argued (Dalli 2012) that this erosion of the policy infrastructure that supports professional practice with the youngest children shows no acknowledgement of the specialist nature of work with infants and toddlers. Rather, it suggests that the popular ideology that "anyone can look after children" remains alive and well and possibly back at work in policy circles.

In the next section I argue that when the policy infrastructure fails to provide systemic support to those working with under-3 year olds, the result is that teachers experience tensions that challenge their ability to enact best practice. I draw on two projects conducted over the past decade to illustrate this argument.

Tensions and Challenges to Professional Practice Within an Unsupportive Policy Infrastructure

Project 1: Under-Three Year Olds in Kindergartens

The project I draw on first was completed in 2006 at a time when the impact of the changed funding regime for kindergartens, introduced in the 1990s, was becoming visible across NZ. With many kindergartens struggling to maintain full enrolment

within their traditional structure of separate morning and afternoon sessions for children aged 3 years and older, the new funding formula was putting pressure on kindergartens to diversify their operations and make up the shortfall in funding by enrolling children younger than 3 years (Duncan and Dalli 2006). Against the backdrop of the 10-year strategic plan, with its promise of improving the quality of the EC experience for all children in EC settings, our project set out to explore how under-3 year olds were faring in settings that traditionally had children aged 3 years and older, and how kindergarten teachers were responding to their new professional context. Working closely with a group of kindergarten teachers from four kindergartens in Dunedin and Wellington, we also invited all other interested teachers from the Kindergarten Associations of the respective areas to participate in discussion groups. Our aim was to explore wider understandings of 2-year olds in the kindergarten setting and to build a community of practice around kindergarten teachers working with this younger age group.

A major tension in this project was the realisation by the kindergarten teachers that they could be doing things better. They identified two key constraints affecting their work: firstly, despite being fully qualified teachers holding a kindergarten diploma or a 3-year degree, the teachers felt that their training background had not prepared them for work with under-3 year olds. Secondly, the teachers identified that organisational barriers, such as the equipment within the kindergarten physical environment with its activity areas set up for older and larger children, hindered their ability to modify their practice. Moreover, working in teams of three teachers with large group sizes of up to 45 children meant that there were simply not enough trained adults to go round.

During reflective discussions of observations in the case study kindergartens, and in the discussion groups, the teachers saw 2-year olds in both familiar and new ways. They observed that the children were challenged by the physical environment but also highly competent in learning about their new environment. They discovered that as their experience with 2-year olds grew, their apprehension diminished and they were able to list a number of "joys" of working with this age group, including:

- watching the sense of wonder that 2-year olds have about the world, watching them achieve something new;
- seeing a child "work out the code" of how a routine worked;
- the "specialness" of the snuggles, hugs, the 'being taken by the hand', the "coming up to you and their wee arms just go up and give you a hug";
- feeling that they were needed and trusted by the child.

However, the joys did not diminish the concerns the teachers had about being able to provide the high quality learning environment that they knew the children would benefit from. These concerns are echoed in a recent survey (White et al. in press) in which kindergarten teachers stated similar—in fact increased—concerns in light of growing numbers of 2-year olds attending their services.

So, in this study, while the (qualified) teachers were able, during the project discussions, to reflect, reconceptualise and reframe their work with 2-year olds, they

were not able to directly change the structural factors they worked within. Group sizes, the trained teacher-to-child ratio, and the mix of under- and over 3-year olds worked against positive experiences for the 2-year olds and were sources of major frustrations in the teachers' work.

The enrolment of under-3 year olds in the kindergartens in this study had shifted the teachers' traditional ways of "doing early childhood" to incorporate practices—such as a form of key caregiving system—that sat awkwardly with their traditional staffing structures. The changes put new demands on the teachers. Although they responded to the demands with resilience, creativity and determination, the demands stretched the teachers who felt strongly that the current ratios of trained teachers to children were inadequate to allow them to engage in the quality of professional practice that they aspired to.

Project 2: Infants and Toddlers as Learners: Pedagogy in the First Years

The second project I draw on was completed in 2010 and involved 12 teachers from five infant and toddler centres in Auckland and Wellington and five researchers each working with one of the five centres (Dalli and Doyle 2011; Dalli et al. 2011). Initiated while the 10-year strategic plan was in full swing, and motivated by the assertion in the NZ curriculum of the child's right to be considered a learner from birth, the project investigated how learning and teaching were understood in the five case study centres. A key objective of the project was to identify ways to strengthen pedagogy with very young children. As in the previous study, although all the teachers in the project were trained, many of them felt that their training had had a rather limited focus on infants and toddlers. At the start of the project one teacher explained her team's interest in the study:

> While we regard ourselves as providers of both high quality education and care for very young children, the teaching and learning part of our curriculum proves difficult to pinpoint or articulate.

Trying to pinpoint learning, the teachers agreed to collect slice-of-life video observations of three or four children in each centre. Within 2 weeks of the video observations, the researchers met with the teachers to discuss teacher-selected excerpts from each child's videos. The discussions focused on identifying the learning that was occurring for the child and how the teachers enacted, understood, and articulated their pedagogy. Cluster group discussions with participating teachers from different centres assisted in the analysis of these data.

Two key tensions in this project were: firstly between the apparently contradictory and multi-layered views of the child expressed by the teachers, constructing

children as simultaneously competent and vulnerable; and secondly in the way the teachers spoke about their role in children's learning which positioned them as responsive to children's lead rather than as intentional facilitators of learning. A further challenge was the enactment of a pedagogy that they felt others, both outside and within the EC sector, did not fully appreciate. The teachers appeared to have difficulty responding to these tensions suggesting a need for a systemic approach to articulating the nature of infant and toddler pedagogy and unpinning this with a sound policy infrastructure to support practice.

Tensions in the Teachers' Views of the Child

The different narrations by the teachers of the child as learner included the view that the child was: a discoverer; sense-maker; an embodied learner; a future world citizen; but also vulnerable and seeking security.

A further dominant construction was of the child as a biological organism whose development unfolds naturally in a logical progression through interaction with the physical environment. In one centre, this image was supported by ideas from the Pikler philosophy (Tardos 2007), especially its strong focus on allowing children to experience free movement; one teacher said:

> You can see how intrinsically motivated they are to learn with their bodies and with their mind and their emotions…so they can move with intent and achieve the goals they are setting.

Watching a video excerpt of an 18-month old lying on her mother soon after arrival at the centre, teachers from another centre reflected:

> See how she really lies back: she's quite knowing … while she is there and she's on mum, she can keep her there … as long as she stays on her back.

In this construction, the child is also a sense-maker, agentic in setting her own goals and achieving them, thus learning to control her world. Later, sharing this video excerpt in a cluster meeting, the teachers said: "Everything she did that afternoon had a purpose."

These teacher narrations about children's learning show that the teachers did not construct children as learners in the traditional school sense of learning definable content. Rather, they saw children as learners about, and for, life as a holistic and all-encompassing experience; as becoming "prepared for the world." Yet, concurrently with these images of the child as competent, the teachers also operated with images of children as vulnerable and needing protection, security and guidance, captured in statements such as "we are the safety blanket that will come up and offer her a hand." These different images were held in tension and indicate multi-layered views of children; one image of the child did not fit all, and not at all times.

Tensions in Teachers' Views of Their Pedagogical Role in Children's Learning

Similarly, the teachers' narrations about their own teaching were complex and multi-faceted. Without exception, the teachers talked about relationships as the core of pedagogy and central to children's learning. Relationships that enabled learning were marked by respect, opportunities for exploration, and an atmosphere in which children could feel valued. Metaphors such as the teacher being the "safety blanket" or the "emotional anchor" additionally indicate the teachers' awareness of the emotional nature of infant and toddler pedagogy (Elfer 2012; Leavitt 1994; Page 2014). When these ideas are also linked to the view that the teacher's role was to "help [children] be prepared for the world", then teaching emerges as an all-encompassing activity whose effect extends beyond the here and now and into future learning.

However, this last construction of the role of the teacher was often shaky in other parts of the project data, exposing seemingly contradictory views about the nature of infant and toddler pedagogy. On the one hand the teachers talked about their pedagogy as intentionally responsive to cues from the child, and as having an effect that extended into the children's future. On the other hand the teachers spoke of children's learning as spontaneous and as resulting from children's own agency rather than teachers' action. This fundamental tension permeated the project discussions and hindered the teachers from being able to clearly articulate what they contributed to children's learning.

In one example of this tension at play, teachers who elsewhere had articulately explained many aspects of their practice by referring to relevant theoretical ideas and to the curriculum document, *Te Whāriki*, made statements about their teaching indicating that they viewed teaching as existing in the background of children's learning rather than as an intentional activity. This is exemplified in the statement: "learning is letting them develop at their own pace, and being there to support them if they need you. I think they learn through experiencing things for themselves. Basically, that's it: they learn through their own experiences". Since this statement seemed contradictory with the teacher's earlier statements—which had explained that teaching required presence and the building of relationships—I asked the teacher why she was "writing herself out of the learning equation." The ensuing discussion led to further elaboration of the "hows" and "whys" of teaching under-2 year olds with the teachers identifying four key practices that they saw as central to quality pedagogy with this age group:

(i) being watchfully attentive within a relationship-based pedagogy;
(ii) focusing on establishing a calm, slow pace;
(iii) seeing care, respect, security and belonging as both the hows and whys of the curriculum;
(iv) viewing planning as ongoing observations.

Elaborating on the first of these practices, the teachers used phrases such as: "doing by not doing", or "being actively present while standing still and quiet." In exploring the meaning of "presence", the earlier tension about the role of the infant-

and-toddler teacher re-surfaced when, as the researcher, I asked one of the teachers to explain whether presence meant "the absence of action." Firmly, the teacher replied:

Teacher: *You are observing and thinking the whole time you are there. And you are thinking about—'is this a teaching moment? Can I say something?' For me, I have given myself permission to not butt in. Because other people around you think that you should be doing, actively doing something but sometimes they just need you to shut up and leave them alone for a minute.*

CD: *So, if somebody came and saw you not doing anything, what would you say?*

Teacher: *I am! I am observing! I am considering where this child is at and I'm considering where she might go next, and whether I need to step in or not, or whether I need to say something or not.*

In these statements, therefore, stillness or presence is not only physical but refers to emotional attunement, an ability to orient oneself to "the child's experience rather than focusing on techniques and strategies" (Goodfellow 2008, p. 18).

However, the teachers also emphasised that the ability to enact a pedagogy of the kind they described—to establish and maintain a calm slow pace, and to observe as the basis of a responsive pedagogy—furthermore required supportive structural conditions (see also Dalli et al. 2011; Lee 2006):

> Especially … the ratio of teachers to children; you've just got to have enough people for the children, otherwise it becomes a minding business [where] you've just got a bunch of little kids in a room, that you're just trying to keep happy and occupied. But if you've got enough people, then you can do a good job, a thorough job, of putting into [contributing to] each child's life. … You've got time to observe … if you haven't got enough people, you haven't got time to sit there and watch them.

Talking about the need for appropriate ratios, the teachers lamented that not everyone understood the need for these structural conditions, including management and other early childhood colleagues. During one cluster meeting, one teacher recounted the dilemma of "having a manager come in, and here's me saying "calm down, chill out", you know, and this … manager saying "well, get busy."

As the discussion continued, the teachers commented that it was "almost like you have to defend your position as a professional teacher," including "to other professional teachers, that's what gets me! They don't understand the nature of the (age) group, they don't see it. All they see is low numbers, high ratios."

Enacting Professional Practice

The two projects I have drawn on were conducted some years apart but both occurred within the hopeful policy context of the 10-year strategic plan with its promise of enhanced quality practice in all EC settings. Nonetheless, it is clear that for the teachers in the two projects, enacting professional practice was challenging. In each

case the teachers were limited by the structural constraints in the broader ecology of their practice.

In the first project, while the kindergarten teachers showed themselves as able to adapt to working with 2-year olds within an environment set up for older children, their adaptability was challenged by an unresponsive infrastructure within their work context. This suggests that while teachers can, at the local level of their professional action in their setting accommodate some change, where the system does not adapt at the broader level of policy there will be a tension that cannot always be smoothly navigated. Professionalism cannot work solely at the level of the individual; individuals need to be supported by a complete professional system.

In the second project, tensions were evident in the way that the teachers constructed the child as competent as well as vulnerable and in the difficulty the teachers faced in untangling the complex discourses around this topic. Further complexities lay in the unresolved tensions in the ways the teachers constructed learning and teaching in infant and toddler settings: the teachers' statements simultaneously positioned their role as intentional as well as hands-off or intuitive. Thus, while the teachers identified pedagogical practices of care and respect—such as relationship-based practice, watchful attentiveness, and so on—that drew on well-known notions about high quality practice with infants and toddlers, they were not clear in articulating them as part of their professional practice. The teachers' diffidence in claiming these practices as intentional versus intuitive clearly points to a need to re-position these notions within a framework that is clear about its theoretical knowledge base (or bases) as well as ita practices. In the project we concluded that these difficulties indicate a need for sector leadership to draw on the multiple knowledges at play, and on perspectives that can help untangle these discourses. We recommended specialised training focused on working with infants and toddlers.

Taken together, the examples discussed in this chapter show that professionalism is not simply about an act by a teacher or a group of teachers in their working context: professionalism is an ecology, a system with elements working together at multiple levels: a supportive infrastructure of policy is as important as professional action at the individual and local level of pedagogical practice and, for work with under-3 year olds, must include specialist teacher preparation.

Concluding Thoughts

In this chapter I have argued that structural policy arrangements, including specialist teacher preparation, are essential to EC professional practice with under-3 year olds. Following a brief historical overview of the professionalisation agenda in NZ, and its significance for the under-3-year old part of the EC sector, I have suggested that during the first decade of the new millennium a promising policy infrastructure was briefly in place through the provisions of the 10-year strategic plan, but this has since been eroded. Drawing on two projects that aimed to improve professional practice with infants and toddlers—both conducted during the hopeful period when

the strategic plan was in effect—I highlighted tensions and challenges encountered by the teachers in the projects. In each case, the findings showed that relying solely on the actions of teachers working at the local level of their EC centre can only do so much to remedy the failures of the system. On this basis I have argued that it is time to re-instate a systemic approach to enhancing professional practice with under-3 year olds in EC group settings. Structural changes—such as specialised training for work with this age-group, regular professional development, and opportunities for active self-reflection—*do* make a difference to professional practice.

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Chapter 9
Educators' Perspectives on Attachment and Professional Love in Early Years Settings in England

Jools Page

Abstract In the current risk-averse climate of the United Kingdom (UK) necessarily intimate relationships that early years educators develop with young children have become a matter for intense scrutiny. This chapter draws on a field-based study which investigated how early years educators in England engage intimately with young children to meet their needs and determine what 'love' looks like in early years settings. Emerging from a critical review of the attachment literature the study used an online survey, in-depth interviews and focus groups to explore how notions of professional care and love are constructed within a contemporary early childhood discourse in England. The findings of the study suggest educators want to feel more confident about their professional decisions in relation to expressions of love, care and intimacy. Educators also wanted to inform their everyday intimate relationships with young children with a better understanding of attachment theory and its focus on attuned relationships.

Introduction

Early Years policy in England mandates for close relationships to be formed between adult professionals and children, referred to as the Key Person Approach (Department for Education 2012). Nonetheless, national guidance falls short in its recommendations on how these professional intimate relationships should be formed, supported and managed. Recent research in England has shed light on the complexity of implementing key person roles in group care settings, evidenced in a small scale pilot project which was set up to examine how one nursery team was developing the key person approach (Department for Education 2012) to facilitate close attachments with infants, toddlers and their families (Page and Elfer 2013). This case study drew on a range of qualitative methods, to gather staff accounts of their

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experience of daily interactions with young children. The findings revealed that some staff received little support in how to implement such relationships, relying largely on their intuition. The challenge for some of the educators to cope with the rollercoaster of emotion and anxiety these relationships can induce was overwhelming, a point also acknowledged in previous work by Elfer (2012) and Taggart (2011).

In recent years, a small number of high profile cases where early years educators in the UK have been convicted of child abuse, and the continued media exposure of abusive behaviours by clergy and by various 'celebrity' entertainers have led to a climate of wariness, if not suspicion, around the general issue of adults' professional relationships with very young children. For those who work in early years settings this raises the difficulty of how to express the intimate, affectionate and caring behaviours which the role characteristically demands of them in their role as *loco parentis*, and which very young children need in their development of healthy attachment relationships. In an earlier life-history study (Page 2011) with mothers who had decided to return to work after the birth of their first baby, I created life-based narratives to understand how these mothers had reached their decisions, and revealed the part that 'love' played in decisions about childcare; analysis of these narratives prompted my conceptualisation of *professional love*. Despite a growth of literature on relational pedagogy in infant early childhood education literature (Berthelsen et al. 2009; Dalli 2006; Degotardi and Pearson 2009, 2014; Harrison and Sumsion 2014; McMullen and Dixon 2009) sections of the news media are eager to uncritically advertise aspects of rare cases of professional abuses. Although the notion of love and care is beginning to gain more traction within the early years discourse (see for example; Brooker 2010; Dalli 2006; Taggart 2011; Powell and Goouch 2012) the real issue, of an appropriate professional love between adults and young children, remains for the most part unexamined in the daily practice of early years settings, because it is obscured in the same climate of wariness.

Relationships, for me, are at the heart of learning. Nonetheless, as Cassidy (2008) contends, relationships are not easy and take time to develop. Appropriate loving relationships between adults and children are situated most often within familial contexts and, in Western contexts such as England at least, are often studied from the perspective of Attachment Theory (Bowlby 1965, 1982). However, although debates about love can be found within the philosophical, psychological and religious literature it would be fair to say that notions of love in professional early childhood education and care roles with children have only become more widely debated over the last decade (Gerhardt 2004; Dalli 2006; Lynch 2007; Lynch et al. 2009; Page 2011; White 2016; Campbell-Barr et al. 2015)

In this chapter I focus attention first on an overview of recent studies on love within the educational domain, more specifically within contemporary discourses of early childhood education and care. I then present a recent project conducted with early years educators in England titled *Professional Love in Early Years Settings* (PLEYS) which sought to examine the views educators held about professional love within the context of their daily work with children and families, and the impact of these views on their daily practice. Finally, I consider the implications of the study findings for children, families and the early years community.

Love in a Cold Climate: Constructions of Care, Intimacy and Love

Many have argued that theories of attachment are crucial to understanding human relationships (Brooks-Gunn et al. 2003; Melhuish 2004; Belsky 2007). In spite of the controversy which continues to surround John Bowlby's and Mary Ainsworth's pioneering research carried out in the 1950s and 1960s on mother/child attachment, the legacy of attachment theory remains. Elsewhere (Page 2015a) I have discussed where Attachment Theory sits within modern interpretations of adult-child relationships in group care and education contexts for very young children and argued for a continued critical appraisal of Bowlby's work in relation to perspectives of love:

> Thus, taking Bowlby's suggestion that the mother's feelings are innately triggered by her 'love' for the child, there is, I suggest even more reason to discuss how these responses are triggered, or not, in adults who are unrelated to these young children in early years settings. I have been arguing for a dialogue about the ethics of *love,* care and education as being central to the holistic development of babies and children. (Page 2015a, p.85)

Attachment Theory cannot be viewed in isolation. Contemporary research draws much needed attention to interdisciplinary studies. Whether or not infants and toddlers should be cared for in group daycare remains an unresolved issue (Melhuish and Petrogiannis 2006). Parents, mothers in particular, are frequently made to feel guilty by increased media hype (Daily Express 2009; Daily Mail 2013) about attachment concerns if a mother returns to work after the birth of a child and chooses non-familial childcare. This is not a new concern of course and, as I have argued elsewhere (Page 2013a), this is problematic for parents. Unlike in New Zealand where, since the 1980s, care and education have been considered more thoughtfully as part of a pedagogical approach to learning (Dalli, and Kibble 2010), in England, caring has never gained the same status in policy as early education. Rather, the emphasis has been entirely on cognition and learning with central arguments related to the academic qualifications of the workforce (Goouch and Powell 2013) and debates about quality (Mathers et al. 2014). There has been a complete policy refusal to acknowledge the place of feelings, which Lynch et al., (2009) and also Dalli (2006) have argued is because emotions are fragile and untrustworthy, a point also made by Gerhardt (2004): "Feelings could only muddy the waters because they were neither predictable nor measurable" (p.3). Yet, research has long confirmed that feelings matter; indeed it is well documented that we are born with an innate desire to be in close relation to others (Gopnik et al. 1999; Trevarthen 2005). As Gerhardt (2004) further contends, "It is as babies that we first feel and learn what to do with our feelings, when we start to organise our experience in a way that will affect our later behaviour and thinking capacities" (p.10). It is no surprise then that working parents want the adults who work in professional roles with their children, particularly during the infant and toddler years, to form strong, close, appropriate, loving attachment relationships with them (e.g., Brannen and Moss 1991; Brooks-Gunn et al. 2003; Buzzanell et al. 2005; Page 2011).

More recently, Campbell-Barr et al. (2015) carried out a small-scale study which compared the dimensions of love in early years roles between workforces in England and Hungary which operate in very different political and policy contexts. Campbell-Barr et al.'s mixed method, non-representative study sought the views of a group of lecturers and students in one higher institution in England and another in Hungary about their attitudes to early childhood practices. With respect to love as an aspect of early years practice, the attitudes of educators within the different countries were largely context-and culturally-bound. The authors noted how some words they had used in their survey were not directly translatable from one language to another and therefore attempts to make comparisons became problematic not only at the level of words but also conceptually. Notions of compassion were more readily accepted within the English participants' discourse whereas the term 'compassion' had a different meaning for the Hungarian participants as illustrated below:

> According to the Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary of Current English (Hornby 1989) compassion means pity for the sufferings of others, in Hungarian szánalom. Hungarian researchers involved in the project suggested that it was difficult for Hungarian students to understand the meaning szánalom in the context of working with young children. After further team discussions about word meanings, we wondered whether compassion was perhaps a more restricted form of love – a safer option for the English students to use. (Campbell-Barr et al. 2015, p. 319–320)

Student participants in England were far more cautious in their responses to questions about demonstrating signs of love towards children than their Hungarian counterparts suggesting that language and tradition have a part to play in how love is interpreted and performed in practice. In other words the authors argue that because notions of love are accepted norms within Hungarian society, there was less suspicion surrounding demonstrations of love towards children within their early childhood education domain. In one sense, I welcome this Hungarian cultural capacity to accept demonstrations of love into the lives of young children in early childhood settings with such ease. It would seem likely on the basis of the findings from this study that there are fewer constraints on the Hungarian participants which the authors suggest are to do with 'the result of different cultural conceptions around children and legal requirements' (p. 321) and the difference in attitude regarding touch compared to their English counterparts. The authors suggest that this is because of the 'moral panic' (Piper and Smith 2003) in England surrounding close intimacy between adults and young children. Equally it could be argued that, from a UK perspective, to view love with such acceptance, simplicity and lack of theorisation silences the underlying anxiety of professionals who work in emotionally intensive roles with infants and toddlers. In my view there is a need to scrutinise these ideals to avoid perpetuating the sad myth that love and care of other people's children is easy and is of less importance than education.

Relationships and Love

The idea that relationships are complicated and multifaceted is, as previously noted, not a new concept. The challenge for contemporary scholars is to try to make sense of what Degotardi and Pearson (2014) refer to as 'the relationship worlds of infants and toddlers'. Drawing on a number of examples from their own research within the Australian context, these authors have 'thrown down the gauntlet' in an attempt to disturb the policy and practice rhetoric to shed new light on the ways in which very young children make sense of the world they inhabit. Interestingly, Degotardi and Pearson (2014) reported that in their own research which investigated relationship perspectives from the point of view of parents and educators, "the word 'love' and the associated word 'loving' were almost totally absent from the key words provided by parents and educators" (p.75). These respondents seemed to favour the term 'friendly' when asked to identify terms that summed up the 'ideal' relationship. This echoes Brooker's (2010) discovery that educators in her small scale study in England viewed their relationship role with children to be more like a 'best friend', a finding supported also by Campbell-Barr et al. (2015).

There is not enough space in this chapter to examine the cultural and linguistic locatedness of love in Early Childhood Education and Care. Yet, it is important to be clear that culture and context – as opposed to any attempt at universal definitions of love – remain paramount in any [mis] understandings of notions of love within the global early years discourse. For example, in New Zealand, Jayne White, has taken a dialogic lens to theorise the relationship between loving and learning in early childhood education and care which she refers to as 'teaching with love' (White 2016). White's reference to Bakhtin's interest in human emotion is of particular interest in the context of this chapter as is the lore of language of relevance here too. As White (2016) points out: 'Bakhtin never talks about any word or text without first considering its relationship with people in time and space' (p. 2) thus the nature of context and culture is a signifying factor in this contemporary discourse on love in early childhood education and care settings. In relation to the English context, I have written extensively (Page 2008, 2011, 2013a, b, c, 2014) about how I have conceptualised the term 'professional love' which builds on Noddings' (2003) moral theory of relational ethics and her concept of reciprocity. White (2016) contests this view arguing that Noddings' notion of 'motivational displacement' is insufficient because it does not pay attention to the form-shaping nature of love and the idea that thoughts must be '*lived into*' rather than merely received (p. 87).

Notwithstanding White's reservations, I have argued that 'when professional carers are able to support young children in the context of Noddings' notion of reciprocal, ethical care, then this fits with what the mothers in my study wanted for their babies' (Page 2013a, p.8) as a form of 'pedagogical love' (Page 2011). The insight from this study that parents are making decisions about childcare based on the warmth of the educators' response to their child led me to reflect that the early years

workforce should have a right of reply about their views on the place of caring, warmth, intimacy, emotion and love, resulting in the project I want to talk about in the rest of this chapter.

Overview of the Professional Love in Early Years Settings (PLEYS) Project

In 2015, I led a small research team of four people on a project titled *Professional Love in Early Years Settings* [PLEYS]. The aim of the project was to investigate, and provide a clear definition of, what is considered to be safe, appropriate, and loving intimate practice in professional relationships between adults and children such that they cannot be misconstrued as child abuse. As a team, we spent 5 months from February to July talking to early years professionals across England and worked intensively with early years educators within an external partner group of eight nurseries located in the South East of England. The study asked two questions: (i) in the current risk-averse climate, how do early years educators engage intimately with young children to meet their needs?; and (ii) what does love look like in early years settings?

We employed a range of methods in an attempt to reveal the conceptions and practices of intimacy at work in professional early years settings, and also in the education and training of early years educators (who represented a range of experience and qualification). The main challenge for us was in the identification and subsequent anonymity of the sample, so that participants could take part without prejudice, responding with honesty and openness.

There were four phases to the project. In phase one an open online anonymous questionnaire survey was distributed to early years educators in England through a variety of professional early years networks including, *Nursery World*, *The National Children's Bureau*, and *Men in Childcare*. The questionnaire was piloted with twenty-five volunteers who were known to the research team and fitted the criteria for the project: they were working in an early years role with children aged birth to 5 years in England and were legislated by the Early Years Foundation Stage (Department for Education 2014). The pilot responses were analysed and the survey amended accordingly. In March 2015 the online survey was launched and within a month 596 responses were received and analysed using SPSS (quantitative) and NVivo (qualitative) software. To allow further contributions from the early years sector, the survey remained open, eventually yielding over 700 responses over the life of the project. In Phase two, follow-up in-depth interviews were carried out with two male and eight female educators who volunteered to participate in a deeper level of enquiry. These interviews were transcribed and analysed thematically. Phase three of the project was based on the responses from the survey and the individual interviews, and consisted of three focus group discussions with 26 volunteers within the eight nurseries of the collaborating partner in order to explore emerging

thematic categories; participants in the focus groups included managers, room leaders and apprentices.

The final Phase four was the development and trialing of a professional development package (the Attachment Toolkit) with the collaborating partner, aimed at developing a resource that would lead to the continued development of further professional understanding of love within the early years sector in England.

The Study Findings

The initial data set from the online survey yielded 596 responses from a range of home-based educators (childminders), early-years teachers, teaching assistants, head-teachers and other early-years professionals. The majority of these respondents (304, 51 %) were qualified to level five or above of the English early years qualifications list (Department for Education 2015), were female (562, 94 %) and had been working in the sector for 10 years or more (328, 55 %). Educators answered a range of questions around their beliefs and experiences related to attachment and 'professional love' more broadly. Participants were asked to state how strongly they agreed with a series of statements related to professional love in early-years settings. Statistical analysis showed a very positive response to these statements with most educators explaining that they were comfortable in enacting professionally loving practices such as hugging and using sensitive touch to build security and attachment. Despite this positive attitude towards the role of professional love, participants did express some worries about these aspects of their work. For example, educators reported they felt comfortable having collegial discussions within teams or settings but reported variable levels of confidence in talking to others, such as friends or family, about attachment concerns. Similarly, while participants were very positive about the appropriateness and value of their professionally loving actions, opinion was again mixed on whether or not they would feel comfortable being alone with children; one in five educators claimed that they avoided doing so. Finally, around ten per cent (10 %) of educators worried about false accusations and how others view the appropriateness of their actions.

Educators were asked to describe what they understood by the term 'professional love' in their own words. Some definitions were quite broad with responses which involved phrases around "care" and "kindness". Significant numbers of participants made conflicting comments when relating professional love to parental love. There was a very strong relationship between participants' beliefs about their own practices and what they believed parents would want for their children – this seemed to be a central motivation for educators. Just over half of the respondents to the survey (334, 56 %) stated that they were not concerned about parents' attitudes towards 'Professional Love' practices. Where this was justified, it was on the grounds that educators felt that they were acting in line with what parents wanted for their children (131, 22 %) or that they felt that parents understood there were clear policies or boundaries in place (18, 3 %). The majority of these beliefs centred around feelings

of genuine affection and fondness towards the children with typical statements being: "*I am fond of the children I care for*" or "*You have stronger feelings for the children in your care than with other children who are not*".

The importance of establishing some form of attachment with the children was a very common feature when educators defined professional love. For example: *"growing strong attachments to the children in my care"* or *"it is inevitable that you will form a bond with the children you work with and that they will form a bond with you"*. The role of physical contact such as hugging and kissing was present in a number of definitions often with some delineation between acceptable and non-acceptable actions. A small number of educators went further to explain that displays of affection in general must be initiated by the child.

In response to a child saying *'I love you'*, nearly half (270, 45 %) of the 596 respondents said they would say '*I love you'* back. Others said they would give limited reciprocation by saying something like '*I like you'* (131, 22 %), or '*that's nice'* or *'lovely'* (91,15 %) or use diversionary phrasing such as *'I love spending time with you too'* (9, 2 %). Only two per cent (14 participants) said they would explain or explore other relationships by asking questions like *'who else do you love?*', a further two per cent (12 participants) said they would respond by saying '*you are all loved'* and one per cent (6 participants) said they would give a non-verbal response like a smile or a hug.

More experienced educators who had been working in the field for 10 years or more (and correspondingly, older educators) tended to have even stronger positive views about the role of professional love in early years practice than those who were less experienced (or younger). Further analyses of responses across groups of educators revealed that in comparison to educators working with older children, a slightly higher proportion of educators who work with infants and toddlers reported that they felt more inclined to kiss the children they worked with and that parents approved of them kissing their child.

Finally, educators were asked about the type of continued professional development training they felt was most needed to support them to develop and maintain appropriate attachment relationships with children and families in their early years settings. The main findings derived from the individual and focus group interview data, together with the survey results suggested educators wanted to feel more confident about their professional decisions in relation to expressions of love, care and intimacy. There were many instances when aspects of love, intimacy and care were spoken of as if they were overlapping concepts suggesting that overall the respondents found it difficult to distinguish these concepts from one another within professional early years practices. The following statement is representative of many similar comments made by respondents throughout the phases of the research:

> *Early years professionals should be taught … how to act with professional love and that this is an important part of their work. All those no touch etc. policies are greatly contra productive in the first instance for the children and secondly for the professionals.*

Thus the term 'Professional Love' provided the educators with the language to appropriately describe the close, loving intimate and affectionate bond which, over time, inevitably develops with the children in their care in the context of reciprocity and shared understanding, and as a way of interacting that does not undermine parents.

Arguably therefore, when educators are able to 'de-centre' and to see the world from the view of 'the other', then they are less likely to become 'too attached' because they are thinking about and responding to the needs of 'the other' as opposed to thinking also about their own needs. The ability to de-centre, then, seems to lessen the likelihood of any misunderstanding about professionals' intentions toward the children, and avoid the risk that the intentions could be misconstrued as some sort of inappropriate practice or overstepping of their role. Such concerns may be culturally bound about how attached is *too* attached, but these were very real concerns for the respondents in our study nonetheless. On the basis of these findings I would therefore suggest that when educators engage in dialogue and reflection it can lead to the creation of policies and implementation of practice which can protect and safeguard young children. The respondents also told us that they wanted an overview of Attachment Theory, with examples of how to apply their understanding of this theory to their everyday intimate relationships with babies and young children.

Implications for Educators, Children and Families

As an outcome of the project, a website, which is publicly available, was designed. This site hosts the 'Attachment Toolkit', a freely available professional development package intended for use in early years settings and for use in initial training programmes (Page 2015b). The 'Attachment Toolkit' includes case studies, narratives and video materials to support early years educators in their attachment interactions with young children and in their work with families, particularly during times of parent/child separation. These materials have begun to be accessed by public and private sector organisations. Feedback received via the website evaluation form based on use of the Attachment Toolkit in early years settings suggests that the materials have so far been well received by early years professionals. Educators have reported that they found the Attachment Toolkit to be an accessible resource and as a result said they are becoming more confident about the appropriateness of their intimate interactions and in the development of loving relationships with infants and toddlers. The collaborating partner group of nurseries has been using the Attachment Toolkit to debate and develop new policies and procedures with their staff, designed to provide educators with the 'confidence to cuddle' infants and toddlers in their care and to be able to discuss professional love with parents too.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have presented results from the PLEYS project which considered some aspects of what it means to provide infants and toddlers with professionally loving practice within the early childhood educational discourse. I have reviewed some recent studies which reflect the growing interdisciplinary nature of contemporary research on relationship-based interactions and the place of love, care and intimacy in this focus. My exemplifications have only 'scratched the surface' of theoretical standpoints on love, care and intimacy and have largely drawn on attachment theory. Of course to place an emphasis on some theories inevitably omits reference to others which are of equal importance within the context of this debate. For example, I have denied any space in this chapter to discuss psychoanalytical, psychological, neuroscientific or anthropological research – all of which have important roles to play in situating, problematising and extending this important discussion. Nonetheless this study serves to open a space for debate that can be further expanded in future including through paying attention to the context, culture and language of love.

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Chapter 10
Babyroom Workers: Care in Practice

Kathy Goouch and Sacha Powell

Abstract What are we are asking of the young women employed in baby rooms in daycare settings? Globally, baby room workers find themselves in the unenviable position of having limited training, low status, poor pay and conditions but extraordinarily high levels of responsibility for babies for most of their waking (and sleeping) lives during the working week. Through a series of six research and development projects carried out between 2009 and 2015 in early years setting for under-3 year olds in England, evidence has emerged that baby room employees are concerned to increase and develop their knowledge but remain predominantly driven by the fulfilment of functional tasks. Using an interpretive, exploratory approach within a critical feminist paradigm, the projects identified the problematic expectations faced by people employed to 'care' for babies and young children within a policy context that devalues that care and accords baby room workers very little status in society. The chapter argues that the 'value' applied to babies and young children (and consequently to those who care for them) is currently not very high and the increased urgency to 'professionalise' childcare might be leading to an international sidestepping of the apparently contentious issues of affect, intimacy and nurturance, leading to uncertainty about the very nature of care for babies.

Introduction

Robert Owen's and Samuel Wilderspin's infant schools, first established in 1816 and 1819 respectively, are usually credited with originating the UK's provision for early childhood education and care (ECEC) beyond the family domain. But public involvement in young children's care and education has a longer history which can be traced back to 'dame' schools of the seventeenth century and philanthropic initiatives of religious groups, such as the Methodists (Bell 2011). While there are some trends and developments in common, different stories can be tracked across the four

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nations of the UK: England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland. Perhaps the most obvious similarities lie in the potentially conflicting reasons for public involvement and political intervention in ECEC. Such reasons include support for parents' (especially mothers') abilities to go out to work; enhancing (or arguably standardising) children's early learning and development; and intervening in the lives of children who are deemed to be 'disadvantaged' with poor 'life chances' by virtue of the socio-economic background of their family. Conflict occurs because policies that seek to enhance childcare for working parents demand sufficiency and affordability; whereas policies designed to enrich children's learning and welfare demand high quality provision, which is costly (Scarr 1998; Nutbrown 2013). This conflict is particularly acute where provision is for babies and toddlers since ideal ratios of adults to babies are more generous (1:3) than for older children and are thus more expensive. This cost is passed on to parents because ECEC attracts a fee; there is no universal entitlement to free early education for children from birth until the start of the academic term after they turn three (when all children become eligible for 570 h per annum), although working parents may be eligible for 'childcare' tax credits. In some cases taxes may alleviate around one quarter of the financial outlay.

The play-based, child-centred, developmentally focused and holistic traditions of England's ECEC is a hybrid which has emerged from the legacies of Owen and Wilderspin and the philosophies and practices of pioneering educators and theorists, such as Comenius, Pestalozzi, Froebel, Montessori, the McMillan sisters, Isaacs, Piaget, Vygotsky and Bruner (Elkind 2015; Gray and Macblain 2015). These 'traditions' are overlaid with the contemporary, outcomes-driven curriculum and accountability frameworks such as The *Statutory Framework for the Early Years Foundation Stage* (EYFS) for children from birth to five (Department for Education 2014) and the Ofsted Inspection Framework which reflect an ideology – the political priorities and anxieties – of their time and place. Despite the promise in the title of the document of providing 'early education' for children *from birth,* under the aegis of a single government department (Education), remnants of historical divisions in governance, aims and resourcing of education and care continue to influence the everyday experiences of babies and toddlers and those who work with them in ECEC settings. This is evident, for example, in maintained school or nursery settings (which are overseen by the Local Authority and subject to national curricula, pay and conditions), where the education and training provision for those preparing to teach is generally far more extensive than for those working in the non-maintained sector, including in full daycare settings. The question of who is looking after babies and young children from birth to two in England is challenging and requires a response which considers the contemporary national landscape of families; the range of policies influencing decisions and their historical trajectories; and the practices and practitioners seeking to respond to the national picture of childcare.

There is a fluctuating birth rate in England with many factors affecting this, including more births to new migrant families (Office for National Statistics 2015, s11), and increasing numbers of women entering the workplace and seeking childcare for their babies. In particular, there has been political encouragement to increase the numbers of very young children registered in ECEC through the back-to-work

policies of recent governments, and the introduction of an entitlement to 570 h per annum of free early education for 2-year-olds from the most economically disadvantaged households. Examples of such disadvantage are where the parent(s) is (are) in receipt of unemployment benefits, or where the child meets particular criteria, such as being in the care of the local council or having a statement of special educational needs. Statistics show that 39 % of lone mothers and 65 % of mothers in a couple, whose youngest child is under three, are in employment (Office of National Standards, 2013). This situation is not confined to England and will be recognisable in many other countries (UNESCO 2004; OECD 2007; Dalli et al. 2011). While ECEC provides a 'childcare' resource for working parents, it also forms the foundations for the 'global project' that seeks to manufacture a 'productive and competitive workforce in the long term' (Waters and Payler 2015, p.161). The link between economics and ECEC is as evident today as it was when the productivity of his mill workers was a motivating factor for Robert Owen to open an infant school; and the rise and decline of nursery schools in England can be correlated with industrialisation or with the need for women in the workforce during the World Wars.

But there is also variation in political interest in ECEC and its impact on the development of childcare markets. Holloway (1998) identifies localised childcare cultures and consequently a localised discourse of childcare, which she described as the 'moral geographies of mothering' (p. 29). She argued that the affordability of care in different regions and the physical, economic and social resources available to families in their search for quality care and education result in variance in geographical locations of care provisions. The 'marketization' of ECEC (Naumann 2011) more generally has resulted in variable quality (Gambaro et al. 2013). This may indicate 'socio-economic geographies of mothering', with some families feeling that they have little or no choice of provision, as the basic pragmatics of where a nursery is sited in relation to their workplace and its affordability have greater bearing on 'choice' than any other cultural or moral influence. Not only are mothers of babies and toddlers disadvantaged by a lack of universal free entitlements to ECEC for their children, despite arguments that it makes economic sense (Ben-Galim 2012), but families earning less than £12,000 a year – dubbed 'the working poor' (Shipler 2005) – are doubly disadvantaged (Save the Children/Daycare Trust 2011). Their earnings are among the lowest and their consequent inability to pay for costly childcare further hampers their opportunities to access better-paid jobs or to work longer hours to augment the household income. In this chapter, we will refer to 'mothers' as the central characters in the childcare story.

In this chapter, we will sometimes refer to historical and political events that have applied across the UK as a whole, but the research that has informed our thinking and writing has taken place in southeast England. Here, as elsewhere, Local Authorities oversee ECEC that offered by 'formal' providers. Our research occurred in a national context where, we would argue, despite the broad birth to five coverage of the EYFS, provision for children under two is conceptualised, resourced and evaluated differently from provision for children aged 2 years and up. While some of the differentiation may be merited on account of the specialised care that babies and toddlers demand, our research has led us to believe that this phase of ECEC still lacks a coherent and visible political strategy and is comparatively overlooked in

educational research, professional learning and development and policymaking in England.

Nationally, politically-driven initiatives focused on babies' and toddlers' development were prominent in the first decade of the twenty-first century. These include the *Sure Start* programme of integrated services for families provided through children's centres in economically deprived areas (Eisenstadt 2011); and the commissioning of non-statutory ECEC guidance for those working with children from birth to three by the Department for Education (DfES 2003). However, the historical conceptual and pragmatic divide between 'early education' for children, and 'childcare' for parents, and enduring traditionalist views that babies and toddlers should be at home in the care of their mothers, or with 'substitute mothers' (see Moss 2006) in childcare, mean that formal ECEC provision for under-2 year old children resides between competing discourses and conflicting aims. Pascal and Bertram noted this in their UK country report for the OECD some 15 years ago: *When we asked why a comprehensive early years strategy for children from birth on had not been designed, we were told that infants and toddlers were in the "don't go there zone."…* (Pascal and Bertram 2000, pp.34–35)

Out-of-home care is dependent on the notion that 'work pays' – a mantra often used by the current British government – and on expectations that the care of children while parents work will not consume entire salaries. Whatever kind of childcare service is available and accessible to working families, the net result is that babies and young children's lives now frequently revolve around the working lives of families, and particularly mothers. Writing about changes to the state of education, Stephen Ball (2008) argued that 'the ecology of education, what it looks like, when and where it happens, is being changed and, as a result, so too is the learner' (p. 3). Ball's claim might equally apply to the ecology of ECEC for babies which has also undergone changes that reflect political and economic priorities and a focus on the future 'worth' of children to society. An impact on babies, young children and their families, their experiences and well-being, and the structures within which they live and operate, might thus also be inevitable, re-constructing the ways in which babies and their care are understood in society and cared for (e.g., Page 2013)

The Value of Care and the 'Governance' of Motherhood

New welfare policies in the UK, creating a clear expectation that mothers will (re) join the workforce at the earliest possible opportunity, result in them paying other, predominantly young, women to care for their children if they use full daycare provision (Goouch and Powell 2013). Childcare is frequently viewed as a service industry (Holloway 1998), 'human service work' (Nolan and Nuttall 2013, p. 337), designed to support both national and family economic circumstances. Although drawing on a small sample, our projects have provided evidence that some mothers' expectations of their child's care is simple and set at a low base. For example some mothers talked about choosing 'the least worst option', adding: 'I just want to know

my child is safe…' (Goouch and Powell 2013) and hoping above all that providers will be caring (Waldegrave 2013). This concurs with emerging findings from the CARE project (Moser 2015) which has explored parents' views about ECEC in nine European countries (including England). The findings tentatively suggested that formal ECEC is a cultural 'given' in contemporary society with parents rating staff "being part of a stable team…as more important than [staff] having enough relevant work experience and having a high educational level" (p.4).

As families and mothers planning to work struggle with ideas, values and beliefs about whether to, for how long and where to leave their baby during working hours, they also find themselves surrounded by a proliferation of social networking sites and organisations offering recommendations and advice about out-of-home care. TV 'nanny' support programmes and bookshop shelves of childrearing manuals add to this bombardment of information, offering up-skilling doctrines for new mothers around the world, contributing to a new "pedagogy of care" that influences the way mothering identities are formed and re-frames the status of working mothers within political and social contexts. If, as Giroux claims, 'culture works as a form of public pedagogy' (Giroux 2004:502), then the contemporary culture surrounding working mothers needs to be better understood. Pugh claims that:

> Many parents currently feel torn by the dual messages coming out of government – return to work in order to earn your way out of poverty, on the one hand, but parenting is the most important role that you will play and your child's future depends on the quality of your relationship, on the other. (Pugh 2013, p.15)

What is clear is that many mothers in England frequently find themselves in the position of negotiating paid work and the care of babies. As institutions rather than homes form the context of many babies' day-to-day lives, it seems that families and motherhood in western societies are being re-inscribed with altered states, new meanings and transformed expectations.

Amongst recent socio-political debates a distinct, although perhaps mythical, image of care for babies endures (Penn 2011), which reflects historical traditions and relies on ideas about 'substitute mothers'. These images reinforce popular notions that babies in daycare simply need to be 'minded' by affectionate young women until the mother completes her working day. Despite contemporary policy documents espousing the rhetoric of evidence-informed practice, the value placed on 'infancy' is such that there is little investment in careful consideration of what that might *'mean'* in practice for out-of-home care. The idea of a practitioner employed to work with babies as reflecting aspects of a 'substitute mother' and offering warm continuity of care from home to out-of-home daycare might be a political/social aim but may not be achievable or desirable (Page 2011). How babies are 'thought of', how families around babies are constructed, and expectations of mothers' roles in contemporary society are aspects which enwrap contemporary dilemmas in establishing what constitutes, or could constitute, care for babies.

Nestled within this situation are babies aged from approximately 3–18 months who are in various daycare settings for up to 10 h a day and 50 h a week. To investigate this situation, we undertook six research and development projects specifically

focused on ECEC provision for children up to 2 years of age in daycare contexts in England[1].

The Projects

We began in 2009 with an exploratory, interpretive approach determined by our concern to discover what the 'offer' was for the care of babies, what the care of babies looked like in general practice, and who was employed to care. The research design for each project followed the same distinctive pattern in which we sought to offer professional development through the creation of dialogic spaces while concurrently, and transparently, seeking participants' help in developing research knowledge of their working practices. Our research began to uncover what appeared to be a hidden situation at the time. We found that those looking after the youngest children in full daycare settings were frequently the youngest, least experienced and least qualified members of staff in their settings. Most had entered the workplace directly from school or college, gaining their highest qualification (e.g., National Vocational Qualification at Level 3) since starting work. They talked of being neglected, of receiving little or no training of specific relevance to their work with babies, and of feelings of isolation. Project participants claimed few or no opportunities to influence policy or practice in their baby rooms (Goouch and Powell 2013).

Through the progression of our projects, we adopted a critical paradigm, taking a feminist perspective particularly in relation to inequalities in this apparently neglected corner of the field of ECEC practice. We identified in our projects that the women employed to care (in baby rooms in England) are themselves a disadvantaged and marginalised group. Additionally, the concept of care, narrowly defined through maternalistic discourses, has continued to be seen as inferior to 'education' and those who are employed to care are portrayed as poor 'substitutes' for mothers. Childcare itself is viewed as a service, as a 'commodity' to be bought and sold, along with the services of those working within the provision (Osgood 2010). Paradoxically, the care of babies is a commodity with high costs but attracts low political and public value and low status for those employed to care. In a market-driven society, with economically motivated childcare, it is very difficult to discover from public and policy discourses who cares about care for babies.

The ensuing situation is that the pay and conditions of work for practitioners working in baby rooms (as in the early years sector generally) are poor and opportunities for career progression equally so. Access to professional development is limited or non-existent and the well-being of those engaged in caring for babies is rarely considered as a factor of concern.

[1]The 6 projects were variously funded by: Esmée Fairbairn Foundation; Hampshire, Surrey and West Sussex Local Authorities; The Froebel Trust; and The Ragdoll Foundation.

The Performance of Care

The 6 year project period since 2009 provided opportunities for participants to 'story' their practice and tentatively debate issues, while at the same time offering a window on the complex nature of previously unexplored working practices. We found that tasks, or functional activities, were the predominant focus of participants' reflections on their working day with six tasks appearing to dominate descriptions of their work: 'handovers'; changing nappies; cleaning babies; feeding babies; laying babies to sleep; and tidying the room and managing resources. However, the routinisation of work and the functional, task-related descriptions of participants' working lives were somewhat conflicted by their descriptions of 'who' they thought they were (at work). During project activities designed to prompt self-reflection, the most frequently occurring vocabulary used by our participants related to qualities and characteristics such as 'approachable', 'happy', 'friendly' and 'caring'.

The mechanics of work in baby rooms dominated discussions during professional development sessions within the project. Most noticeable was the demonstrable inexperience of participants in considering their work beyond routine and functional responses. Habitual practices dominated both activities and commentary on work behaviours. For example, a common response to questions of why a particular activity happened in the baby room would be that 'we always do that', or 'we always do it like that',' that's the way the manager likes it', or 'that's the way I've been told'. A lack of 'self' was consistently evident in terms of positioning or opinion. That is, in their responses to exploratory questions about their practice, the participants appeared unused to situating their own views, or attempting to reason. Professional development activities that required a personal vision of care, creative responses, autonomous thought and a sense of voice created difficulties and sometimes discomfort. In spite of this, participants talked of their commitment to caring for 'the most precious thing in the world' in the lives of parents.

We also became aware that talking with babies was an infrequent occurrence, unless it had been planned into an activity. Babies were often 'swept up' to be fed or changed or moved without conversation. Baby- led conversations were few, and sustained periods of affectionate engagement or closeness with babies also seemed rare. Complex issues, which clearly influenced non-talk behaviours, began to emerge. For example, participants reported that some colleagues did not know what to say to babies, or felt reluctant to talk with babies in front of their peers. Additionally, in the busy-ness of a baby room environment, opportunities for quiet, affectionate and relaxed 'conversations' with babies were said to be few. Expectations were for practitioners to appear, and to be, busy, which excluded sitting calmly with babies for any extended period of time. Stillness with babies appeared not to be part of the job description for their practice in baby rooms. Participants talked of the requirement to, for example, 'jolly-up', to be lively with babies in their care, as evidence of their busy-ness. The value of stillness, of quiet times, of gentle companionship with babies seemed not to have been recognized or previously experienced. Through prompts and repeated references, occasional anecdotes relating to

apparently rare moments of closeness and/or stillness were offered. Reports of incidents of reflective and responsive behaviour were almost momentary and described as 'special moments', or in other ways that suggested their rarity; when verbalised, these practices seemed almost revolutionary. Baby rooms are often busy, and sometimes, very noisy environments. In one project participants were invited to create 'A River of Sound', documenting the sounds a baby was exposed to in a given time period in the baby room. Many of them reported the high levels of noise (often jarring sounds) and the lack of quietness. This prompted several to think about finding moments of stillness, and time for careful listening.

While participants were able to describe themselves in affective terms, during the course of the six projects we found participants to be unused to defining their own roles in other than the routine and functional aspects of their day. Thus, while affective engagement with babies may or may not have occurred, what was evident was that the affective side of their practice appeared not to be legitimised as a function of their work and they were unused to talking about it. Participants told us that: '[you've] got to look like you care, showing an interest', with the implicit suggestion being that care *looks like* 'being lively'.

The projects gathered evidence of a number of conceptions relating to the participants' knowledge and understanding about the care of babies and toddlers:

1. Work with children under two equates predominantly with addressing 6 functional tasks;
2. 'Care' is variously understood, but relates generally to the act of physical 'caregiving' (Tronto 2013);
3. 'Affect' (and terms associated with it, for example, love, intimacy) is a contentious issue;
4. The performance of care appears to be synonymous with liveliness;
5. Dissemination and mediation of the principles and language of policy and guidance is rare or limited in content and interpretation.

Additionally, the projects demonstrated in graphic ways exactly how isolated and neglected the participants in our studies felt, for example describing themselves as 'the lowest of the low' (see Goouch and Powell 2013):

> you could have days with just the 3 of you in there with all these babies and you'd just never see anybody else and it was much harder to get a bit of help if you were really busy or wanted to go to the toilet….. (Interview transcript)

While we are aware that the accounts offered to us may not be wholly representative of the experiences of others, as our attention was drawn to more and more examples we became confident that the tensions indicated were widespread and needed to be explored and addressed more fully. As we listened to our project participants it became evident that, to envision care in baby rooms, the needs of both sets of people who spend many hours there – the babies and the adults – need to be better understood.

The Needs of Babies and Toddlers in Daycare Contexts

Without entering complex debates about attachment, there exists a reliable body of research which clearly states the importance of people to children's growth, development and learning (e.g., Trevarthen et al. 2003; David et al. 2003). From our work with baby room practitioners, nursery managers and local authority advisory teachers, we have learned that the range of physical needs associated with the care of children under 2 years is evident, and generally well served. However, a range of affective needs that both underpin and should? inform the task-centred world of baby rooms remains overlooked. The environment, the events and the ethos of a baby room all contribute to the affective state of those spending their days within it. As well as the need to conceive, design and maintain a calm environment, a sensitivity towards the 'things and surroundings' (Trevarthen et al. 2003, p. 93) in daycare settings is also required. People matter to babies, from whom they learn. The quality of the relationship between practitioner and child as well as the context within which the relationship occurs, must be carefully judged:

> The large body of research on the socio-emotional development of infants give clear support to common wisdom…Infants require consistent and close adult attention, for rest, protections and nurturance, and to benefit from playful communication. (Trevarthen et al. 2003, p. 41)

Babies and toddlers are not made of one pattern or shape, and neither is their life experience in families, communities and cultures uniform. As Degotardi and Pearson (2014) have argued, understanding that 'infants' relationship worlds are complex, comprising multiple relationships that have both common and unique characteristics' (p. 123) must also be an element of a 'relationship-based pedagogy' (p.124) in which children can thrive. It may not be safe to assume that the care of babies will include the kind of close adult attention referred to above, or that the qualities of care referred to by Tronto (2013, pp. 34–35) as essential – attentiveness, responsibility, competence, responsiveness and solidarity– will automatically exist. Active thought needs to be given to the needs of practitioners who currently work in baby rooms and to the professional education and training of those who plan to work in baby rooms.

What We Know That Practitioners Need in Order to Care

Much attention has been given in England to the knowledge, skills, and the qualifications needed in order to work in a daycare setting for children from birth to 5 years. The Government–funded, independent review of qualifications and training, *Foundations for Quality*, recommended that the early years workforce should comprise: 'talented, sensitive people with the appropriate skills, knowledge and attitudes to support young children's learning and development through exploration and play, and to work with their families' (Nutbrown 2012, p.12). The principles of

the statutory framework, the *Early Years Foundation Stage* are that: children are unique; and they learn to be strong and independent through positive relationships and enabling environments, although learning may be at different times and at different rates (DfE 2014, p.6). Yet there appears to be a gulf between policy and practice. In particular, our projects have demonstrated that practitioners' autonomy and confidence in claiming relationship-based practice as the goal of their work is rare. Instead, close, micro-management of time and activity appears to be accepted practice with the predominant audit culture of our times at work even with the youngest and most vulnerable children. Contemporary notions of professionalization of the EC workforce in the UK appear to centre on 'normalised and normalising constructions of professionalism' (Osgood 2010, p.122). This is in contrast to a professionalism which is typified by practitioners who are responsive to those in their care, reflective about their roles and responsibilities, and respectful of children and families – 'a rich diversity of individuals thinking and acting professionally in their respective contexts' (Miller et al. 2012, p.161).

Our projects have shown that the need for engrossment in babies and toddlers, for close companionship, for calm and stillness as well as lively and playful engagement, for active listening and conversation, have not been part of the professional learning and development, or of the practice, of the participants. Instead, participants appeared to have developed a level of professional compliance to established routines and the demands and requirements of others, including parents, within which competence could be assessed. Their pedagogy was scripted by the routines of the day, rather than the children they encountered. Although affective care practices may have seeped through this way of working, and frequently did, the difficulty of documenting them (and indeed records do not require or permit an emotional response), appears to have made care invisible (Lofdahl and Folke-Fichtelius 2015). Clearly affect, as an approach to care, cannot simply be assumed, nor can knowledge about the impact of its lack be ignored. Additionally, if both the 'activity and disposition of care' are to be present in the practice of care (Tronto 1993, p.105) then it would seem fundamental that care is also an experience that is extended to practitioners in baby rooms, in order that they are motivated and inspired towards caring practices. In Tronto's consideration of care as practice she warns against 'over-idealising' care while maintaining the argument that 'care is difficult work … that sustains life' (Tronto: 117). Tronto argued that the needs of the 'care-giver' in this interpretation should not be ignored or 'sublimated' in powerless work practices as this will inevitably impact on the 'care-receiver' (p. 143). In Foucault's (1986) terms, care for oneself precedes and determines care for others (without abusing one's power or caring about oneself to the detriment of the other): Care is ethical practice which requires knowledge of the self and, essentially, opportunities to explore ontological beliefs and principles of conduct in the company of others (Fornet-Betancourt et al. 1984).

Solutions to these dilemmas in the care practices of baby room practitioners require a political will to determine both the aims and shape of the care of babies in society. As Penn (2011) argues, *who* is employed to care, as well as *what* they are employed to care about needs to be determined:

> To an extent it is true that women childcare workers have low expectations – women with poor academic qualifications are routed into childcare work because it is something they can do by virtue of being female and because they have low self-esteem and consider that many other avenues are shut to them, even though they know in advance they will not earn good money. These critiques are particularly pertinent to a private market.
>
> More generally, questions about the status and training of the workforce go back to the same starting point, what are services for, what are the rationales to justify them? If it is just warehousing childcare for the children of working mothers, training, pay and conditions may not matter too much. If staff are expected to work wonders in terms of realizing the education and social potential of young children it matters much more. (Penn 2011, p. 121)

These difficulties notwithstanding, from our perspective, no matter for whose purposes babies and very young children are 'warehoused', it behooves society to ensure that educated and motivated adults are employed in baby rooms and are supported to care in practice. While the evidence about the role of qualifications in enhancing outcomes for babies and toddlers in nurseries is scant, it is now well-accepted that (more highly qualified) teachers can make a positive difference to children's outcomes when they are aged 3–5 years (Mathers et al. 2011; Meade et al. 2012). But a lack of evidence should not be conflated with a lack of effect and it seems reasonable to hypothesise that there could be similar benefits for children under two when they encounter frequent, direct involvement of practitioners who have been educated to graduate level. Caring in practice involves both the 'quality' and the 'frequency' of interactions, and it seems that regular, attentive care supports the development of close bonds (or secure attachments) between babies, toddlers and their carers (Clasien De Schipper et al. 2008). Equally, practitioners' involvement in high quality, research-infused professional development makes a difference to children and those who work with them (BERA 2014).

Uncomfortable Learning Spaces

As we have documented in this chapter, our projects created spaces for learning that was at times uncomfortable. Within professional development sessions, participants have been required to seriously reflect on how they practiced and why particular practices existed. They have been asked for an opinion, to take part in debate, to respond to national consultations, to question each other's practice, to critically evaluate their own, and to voice their own theories about what care should look like in practice. In effect, they have been invited to develop discourses of care. Their voices were inexperienced and inarticulate at times, and mostly tentative. However, with practice their voice grew stronger and they learned to search for vocabulary that would represent feelings as well as actions.

Through an emerging understanding of the impact they had on the developing infant, and in recognizing that the merest facial expression may have an effect on a baby, participants' realisation that their own well-being mattered in baby room practice grew. While implicitly they recognized that they needed time away from the

babies, to 'chill-out', they had not been aware that this was both legitimate and also a factor in everybody's experience of baby room practice:

> 'I always go out on my lunch hour, I always leave the building, even on a really horrible day if I sit in my car for five minutes, go for a drive …I always make sure I get a proper break from everything…' (Interview transcript)

The physical and emotional toll taken on practitioners who work with babies and young children is being researched (e.g., Elfer 2012) but needs to also be acknowledged in the ways that such work is funded and managed. This would also influence the status in which work with babies and toddlers is held in society, by policy-makers and by politicians. In England we are currently far removed from any real or respectful acknowledgement of the value of the care for babies and young children (Nutbrown 2013) and, as Tronto (1993) claims:

> Currently, the tasks of care-giving fall disproportionately on those who have been excluded traditionally from politics. Low pay and prestige for their work makes it still more difficult for care-givers to become politically engaged. (p.172)

In conclusion, in these projects, as researchers, we have also found ourselves engaged in uncomfortable learning. While we have been aware of the range of research and literature surrounding the field of care, and care and education, and early years/childhood education and care, and familiar with the 'discourses' of the field, we had not been completely aware of the lack of practitioner discourse about baby room practice until we participated in these projects. In spite of Nutbrown's best efforts (Nutbrown 2012, 2013), the ways that we think about the care of babies in England has resulted in their daycare being almost entirely gifted to the commercial sector where the status of baby room practitioners remains lowly. We are reminded by Moss that early childhood education is 'first and foremost a political and ethical practice' (Moss 2016, p.8) and so the apparent 'voice-less-ness' of the participants in our projects, their inexperience in hearing their own tentative theorising, and their lack of confidence in their own knowledge and understanding has been uncomfortable for us to hear. What does resonate from our projects, however, is that attributing value to the care of babies and toddlers up to two in out-of-home daycare settings means also valuing those who care for them through care-full training, development and improved status. While White and Redder's (2015) case for 'attuned adults' (p. 1797) to be attendant on babies is significant, the nourishment and nurturance of all baby room practitioners to support such attunement needs urgent attention in England, and possibly elsewhere.

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Chapter 11
Influences on U.S. Higher Education Programs Educating the Infant-Toddler Workforce

Rachel Chazan-Cohen, Claire Vallotton, Tamesha Harewood, and Martha Buell

Abstract In this paper we introduce the Collaborative for Understanding the Pedagogy of Infant/toddler Development (CUPID), a multi-disciplinary group of more than 50 scholars across 28 U.S. colleges and universities who have joined together in a Scholarship of Teaching and Learning (SOTL) effort to understand how to better support the professional needs of the infant/toddler workforce. One of the goals of CUPID is to make visible key issues faced by institutions of higher education (IHEs) in the U.S. in addressing the training of the infant/toddler workforce. Challenges facing those in higher education include the U.S. policy context, and the federal and state structures for supporting and credentialing the infant/toddler workforce. This work is made more challenging by the historical context of the field, and by the changing views on the goals for early care and education including the call for increased educational qualifications for teachers.

Because of the growing recognition of the importance of the first 3 years as a distinct developmental period characterized by rapid brain development and the potential to promote long-term child well-being, many nations are increasingly concerned about the training and education of the infant/toddler workforce. There are many pathways to professionalization of the workforce, including pre-service and in-service credentialing and professional development activities (Institute of Medicine (IOM), National Research Council (NRC) (2015) Transforming the workforce for children birth through age 8: a unifying foundation. The National Academies Press, Washington, DC). In this chapter we focus on one pathway: obtaining a post-secondary bachelors degree. Specifically, we outline key issues

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faced by institutions of higher education (IHEs) in the U.S. in addressing the development of the infant/toddler workforce (In this chapter we define infants/toddlers as children from birth to 36 months, as is commonly done in the U.S. We refer to the individuals working with this age group as teachers, or as members of the workforce). In this chapter we describe the U.S. policy context, starting with an international perspective, then focusing on U.S. federal and state structures for credentialing the infant/toddler workforce, as well as national policies and programs that influence the approaches of IHEs to preparing this teaching workforce.

Introduction

The U.S., along with many other developed nations, struggles to define and support the early child care and education workforce. Like many countries, the U.S. is challenged to distinguish between "care" and "education" for young children, in concept, policy, and practice (OECD 2014a), which subsequently affects the preparation of the workforce serving infants and toddlers via higher education or pre and in-service training. An added challenge when addressing the needs of those that work with infants and toddlers is the diversity of service delivery modality. The infant/toddler workforce includes those who are Home Visitors, Early Interventionists[1], and Early Childhood Educators/Teachers. In fact, one might argue that there is no singular infant/toddler workforce.

As a consortium, CUPID members work collaboratively to systematically investigate the effects of our own college courses on the knowledge, attitudes, and skills of the adults whom we educate. Our undergraduate students primarily include individuals interested in working with young children, some in group care settings and others in home visiting or early intervention programs, although some students take our classes as electives outside of their major area of concentration. As a group, we have a special focus on the subset of our students who are interested in working with babies from birth to 36 months – our infants, toddlers, and twos.

As we have engaged in our work together, we have been struck by the diversity among our programs in IHEs, as well as our common struggles, which prompted our collaborative efforts. Though we are a self-selected group with consistent commitment to the training of the infant/toddler workforce, our programs are diverse in terms of the schools/departments/disciplines[2] in which they are housed within our institutions, and how we integrate infant/toddler content into our programs. In this

[1] Early Interventionist provide special education services for infants and toddlers, primarily in the home but also in other settings, including child care. See the Federal Funding for Infants and Toddlers section later in the document for a longer description of the U.S. Special Education program.

[2] In the U.S. Colleges usually grant baccalaureate 4-year degrees, and are comprised of departments that offer courses in the arts or sciences, with a few offering graduate degrees. Universities

chapter we address the nature of this variation by asking: What contextual factors, including state and federal policies, and institution and community-specific factors, influence how we prepare the infant/toddler workforce? We are interested in structural elements of our preparatory programs, as well as how infant/toddler content is included in our coursework.

Our exploratory work has focused on programs offered by nine publicly funded institutes of higher education, all of which house faculty who are members of CUPID, and which grant state-approved credentialing degrees[3]. These programs were selected to represent diversity in geographic locations, namely two western states, three southern, two mid-western, and two eastern states. We interviewed CUPID members associated with all nine of the programs to obtain the following information:

- Which College and Department oversee the early childhood program?
- What is the history of the program within the University?
- Does the program offer a certificate degree that includes infants and toddlers? Is there a specific infant/toddler degree? And is it a certificate program?
- Is there a "tiered" degree track—that is, are some early childhood degrees certificate programs and others not?
- Is infant/toddler content presented in infant/toddler specific courses or in other child development and teaching methods coursework, or both? If infant/toddler specific courses are offered, in which disciplines are faculty trained?
- Does the program require infant/toddler field experiences? If so, how are field placements chosen?

We first present information on the U.S. federal policy context in international perspective, followed by state policy contexts; then we present a summary of themes from the interviews which elucidate how these policy contexts, along with institutional specific forces, influence how IHEs prepare the infant/toddler workforce.

The U.S. Context in International Perspective

The U.S. is often critiqued for its weak supports of young children and families when compared to its peers among the developed nations of the world. Historical analyses of U.S. policies and programs to support families credit this meager support to the cultural value of independence of families from the state, including the value of privacy, the sovereignty of parents to make decisions about their children (e.g. Fagan 2001), and individual responsibility of families for their own and their children's welfare (Thornton and Young-DeMarco 2001). Values of independence

grant doctorate degrees and are comprised of Colleges, or sometimes, in the case of professional programs – Schools.

[3] Many of the programs also offer non-credentialing degrees.

and autonomy are reflected in the U.S. decision not to endorse the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, despite extensive involvement in drafting it (Rutkow and Lozman 2006). In this context, policies and programs affecting care for young children are designed less around needs of young children than perceived personal responsibilities of parents, most notably the need for care while parents work.

Considering early care and education as an educational service for children, the U.S. lags behind in funding early childhood education programs. Of the 34 member countries of the OECD (Organization for Economic Development and Cooperation), the U.S. ranks behind most others in resources for young children's education, focusing public funding primarily on low-income families. Therefore the vast majority of the money that supports early care and education is private, coming from a family's paycheck not from a government program. Because early care and education is primarily a privately funded service, the resources that flow within it are far more limited than those that flow to publicly funded programs like the educational system.

In a report on 45 developed and developing nations with a range of national wealth, the U.S. ranked 24th in an index of the overall strength of early childhood education, including availability, affordability, and quality (Watson 2012). The U.S. scored poorly in having a comprehensive strategy for early childhood education, a legal right to early education, and particularly poorly in having well-trained teachers. The U.S. scored well in effective subsidies for underprivileged families, low teacher/caregiver: child ratio (which adds cost to infant/toddler education and care), and well-defined health and safety standards (Watson 2012). Importantly, the U.S. is an outlier in the strong positive correlation between a nation's GPD and the overall provision of early childhood education (Watson 2012; OECD 2014a).

As reflected in the U.S.' moderate placement among developed nations, the expected qualifications of pre-primary[4] educators in the United States is generally low, is not regulated by the federal government or education agencies, and varies across states. Unlike many developed nations, the U.S. has no consistent national expectations of pre-service preparation for pre-primary teachers, although this is beginning to change in some states (OECD 2014b).

Currently, there are an estimated two million paid, and 2.7 million unpaid, workers caring for children under 5 years in the U.S. (National Survey of Early Care and Education [NSECE] Project Team 2013). Of these, approximately three million care for infants and toddlers (under 3 years); 430,000 are paid workers in center-based programs, and 2.5 million are paid and unpaid workers caring for children in home-based settings (NSECE Project Team 2013). Historically, infant/toddler care has been referred to as child care or babysitting and has not been included in educational programs. Rather, parents and families have paid for the care of their infants,

[4] U.S. primary education is supported by state and federal dollars for the provision of educational programming starting in kindergarten, when children are five-year-olds. However, in some cases educational funding provides a pre-kindergarten year for four-year-olds, often based on income or learning needs.

usually so they can work outside the home. However, the view of infant/toddler care is changing as government is valuing a greater focus on educational activities and professionalization of the workforce. The majority of states have defined learning guidelines specifically for infants and toddlers (45 states self reported having these in 2013, up from 31 in 2010; Mayoral 2013) and 28 states have specific certifications for infant/toddler care providers.

Because early care and education is paid for largely by families, rather than through public funding, the pay of pre-primary educators in general, and infant/toddler workers in particular, is considerably lower than that in the Pre-K-12 publicly funded system; and those with college level preparation rarely choose to work with this age group. Thus, the vast majority of those working with infants and toddlers do not have a college degree. According to the National Survey of Early Care and Education report (2013), 45 % of teachers of children aged 3–5 years hold a Bachelor's degree, while only 19 % of infant/toddler teachers hold this degree. However, an additional 17 % of infant and toddler educators have a 2-year Associate's degree[5], and 36 % have some college education but no degree (NSECE Project Team 2013).

The development of professionalism happens both inside and outside of IHE. While knowledge, skills, and practice can be developed through course work, they can also be developed and honed by workplace experiences, in-service training, and mentoring and coaching (Campell and Milbourne 2005; Cassidy et al. 1995; Nolan 2007). Unfortunately, the low levels of funding and regulation in the U.S. create a situation where much of infant/toddler care in centers and licensed family homes is mediocre to poor. This results in a predominance of poor quality practices being modeled, creating problems for relying on field field-based experience as a key driver of professionalism.

As described above, because of the reliance on private funding and a lack of public oversight and funding, only a very small proportion of the U.S. infant/toddler workforce are required to have educational or competency requirements of any kind. Thus, college coursework and degrees become a proxy for professional commitment. To advance the training of the infant/toddler workforce at the national level, in the context of the U.S.'s disparate policies for caring for infants and toddlers, more systematic research is needed on the relations between the education of the workforce, workforce competencies, and child outcomes (IOM/NRC 2015). Further, to understand current higher education pedagogy for this workforce in the U.S., particularly in contrast to other nations, one must consider the nature of both federal and state policies, federally and state funded programs, and non-requisite national and state standards built on current understandings of the needs of children, parents, and the workforce.

[5] An associate-degree is a two-year undergraduate academic degree awarded by community colleges, junior colleges, technical colleges, or colleges.

The U.S. Context: Federal Funding for Infants and Toddlers

Federal funding for programs that serve infants and toddlers is scattered across many different administrative departments that serve children and families. For instance the Department of Agriculture funds several food programs that support young children. They also fund a national network of Cooperative Extension programs at Land Grant Institutions[6] of Higher Education, which focus on agriculture, food production and preparation, and home economics. Many Cooperative Extension programs also support the professional development of child care providers, especially those who work in home/family child care. This funding stream reflects the long-held belief that work with infants and toddlers is done in the home and that support for it is part of services to families, rather than part of the work of the educational system.

The majority of funding for programs that serve infants, toddlers, and their families is divided across two major departments – the Department of Health and Social Services and the Department of Education. Within these two federal departments there are many different offices that administer programs to support infants, toddlers, and families. Most of the programs serve "at-risk" populations, including low-income children and those with disabilities. The following describes a few of the programs operating out of these federal agencies that create a market for infant/toddler specialization and thus influence the academic programs at IHEs.

The passage of the All Handicapped Children Act (EHA) in 1975, renamed the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) in 1990, ensured the rights of children age 5–18 to equal access to education. In 1986, IDEA Part C ensured the rights of infants and toddlers (aged under 3 years) to early intervention services intended to address delays, and reduce the impacts of delays and disabilities on children's development and participation in education. The Department of Education oversees this program and allots funding to states to provide early intervention services. As of 2011, more than 330,000 infants and toddlers nationwide were receiving services (Technical Assistance Coordination Center Data Accountability Report 2011). Although it is up to each state to determine specific eligibility criteria, and to determine which state agencies deliver services, this is one arena in which the needs of infants and toddlers are consistently addressed despite the nation's disparate systems for early education.

Far more complex than those stemming from the Department of Education is the array of federal programs provided through the Department of Health and Human Services (HHS). The largest federal programs include: (1) the Child Care and Development Fund (CCDF) – a federal funding source of child care subsidies for

[6] The Morrill Act of 1862 and 1890 gave states federal land that the states could then sell and raise money to fund IHEs that would focus on agriculture, science, and technology. These IHEs educated women in the science of home economics, including child development and care, nutrition, and family processes. Through Cooperative Extension programs, these institutions continue to produce translational science on child development and care, and play a variety of roles in educating the informal child care workforce.

low income families which also contains specific funding for increasing quality for infant/toddler care, (2) the Early Head Start program – a federal program that serves low-income pregnant women and families with infants and toddlers; and (3) the Maternal, Infant and Early Childhood Home Visiting Initiative (MIECHVI), a federal funding source which supports states in providing home visiting services to at-risk families.

An example of the influence of Federal policy on infant/toddler programming in IHE is Head Start, including Early Head Start. It is important to note that Head Start is the only program serving infants and toddlers where the funding goes directly from the federal government to the local community so the federal government can set consistent standards. All other funding goes through the states, which then determine standards and policies. This national level federal to local funding has allowed Head Start to increase its focus on educational activities to support children's school readiness skills. One place this is evident is in teacher qualifications. Early in the history of Head Start, it was common for programs to hire mothers as teachers. This was an avenue to professionalization of the parents as well as economic stability for families. In fact, the Child Development Associate (CDA)[7] credential emerged in 1972 from Head Start, with the goal of increasing the competency of Head Start teachers. The CDA soon became a foundation for professional development in Head Start and in the larger early childhood education community. However, the educational expectations for Head Start teachers have continued to rise, although interestingly, there have been no corresponding educational requirements instigated for Head Start home visitors or family support workers. In 2007 Congress called for 50 % of all Head Start teachers to have a bachelor's (BA) degree and for all Early Head Start teachers to have an infant/toddler specific CDA by 2013 (Public Law 110-134, December 12, 2007). According to the most recent national data, 71 % of Head Start teachers have BA degrees, but only 27 % of Early Head Start teachers have BAs (http://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/FR-2015-06-19/pdf/2015-14379.pdf). A recent descriptive study of Early Head Start found that 72 % of teachers had an Associates degree[8] or higher; of those with less than an Associates degree, the majority (~75 %) had a CDA (ACF 2015). So, Head Start programs are quickly moving toward the goals set for teacher qualifications.

Although federal to state funding streams have less ability to dictate requirements around workforce, the Child Care & Development Fund (CCDF) has increasingly provided support to states to increase the quality of infant/toddler care. Many

[7] CDA is a nation-wide credential based on accruing specific training and professional development experiences; these training and experiences do not otherwise accrue college credits toward an IHE degrees. The CDA was created in order to provide training for those working in early care and education without the cost and other co-requirements of higher education. Originally created to ensure that paraprofessionals in Head Start could move into teaching positions, the CDA now has different versions that cover content related to work in group care with infant and toddlers, preschoolers, and those working as home visitors.

[8] An Associates degree is an undergraduate academic degree awarded by colleges and universities upon completion of a course of study lasting two years.

states have used these resources to provide additional supports for both in-service and pre-service training.

It is within this complex mix of federally funded and private child care programs that states create their own systems to regulate the services offered to infants and toddlers and their families. A commonly used policy tool to establish some quality control is to regulate the qualifications and competencies required of the workforce. State requirements affect the providers of higher education programs aimed at preparing students to enter the workforce.

The U.S. State Context: Defining Credentials and Certifications Requirements

Standards for teacher preparation in early care and education are inconsistent and vary widely from state to state. To simplify a very complex system, there are two types of indicators of teacher qualifications that operate within states: one is a formal certification/licensure process, and the second is a credentialing system for early childhood workforce members who are not part of the formal educational system.

At the state level, Departments of Education or Public Instruction hold responsibility for ensuring the quality of elementary and secondary teachers' education through certification or licensure. To earn state teaching certification, teacher education candidates typically "provide evidence that they graduated from an approved teacher preparation program, earn a passing score on state-identified assessments, and meet state requirements related to moral character or professional fitness" (United States Child Care Bureau 2007, p. 2). Since the birth through age 5 range is generally seen as outside the realm of formal education[9], many states do not include infant/toddler expertise in these formal certification/license systems. However, the age range of state licensure categories vary across states, as well as within states by certification type, offering many options for teachers who desire to work with children birth to age eight. A recent report shows various configurations of State certification/license categories including Birth to Kindergarten (ages 0–5), Birth to Grade 3 (ages 0–9), Birth to Grade 2 (ages 0–8), Pre-Kindergarten to Grade 3 (ages 4–9), and other configurations (Bornfreund 2011); very few states have specific birth to age 3 certifications or licenses.

The credentialing for those working with children birth to age five is often overseen by state offices or departments of child care licensing. Child care licensing regulations vary from state to state, but in general focus on health and safety within the child care setting with child care itself seen as a work support for parents; thus, there are minimal educational requirements for staff, who are viewed primarily as caregivers rather than educators. Currently, 28 states have established infant/toddler

[9] With the recent increase in publicly funded pre-kindergarten, some states now see age 4 as the beginning of formal education.

credentials of some kind (Zero to Three 2016). These credentials, however, should not be confused with state certifications or licensures, which are only issued through state departments of education. Further, each state's infant/toddler credentials differ in the minimum coursework and experience required to work with children birth to three, and vary even in the terms used for credentials. The language is inconsistent and adds confusion to conversations about the professionalization of this workforce. For example, California offers a child development teacher permit, Arkansas and Utah offer endorsements, North Carolina offers a certificate, and other states use the term credential (United States Child Care Bureau 2007). With both inconsistent language and requirements, it is clear that in the U.S., expectations for training of the infant/toddler workforce are still emerging and evolving.

Among the nine states we studied, ages covered by certification/license varied (e.g., birth to age 5, birth to age 8, age 3–5, age 3–8). As noted above, many states have additional credentials for the infant/toddler workforce that are unrelated to higher-education degrees.

Variation Among Institutions of Higher Education Programs

With both federal and state policy contexts in mind, we now examine variation in the programmatic preparation of the infant/toddler workforce within nine publicly funded institutes of higher education, each in a different state distributed throughout the country. As noted in the introduction, we interviewed CUPID members associated with all nine of the programs about program oversight and characteristics, degrees offered, the incorporation of infant/toddler content, and faculty characteristics.

There is great variation among the nine programs we studied in terms of auspices, how infant/toddler content is embedded, who teaches infant/toddler content, and field experience requirement. Half of those programs surveyed are located in Colleges of Education, while others are in Colleges of Agriculture, Science or Social Science, or Health and Human Sciences[10]. All nine programs have courses specific to infants and toddlers; five programs have one infant/toddler specific class and four programs have two infant/toddler courses. Most infant/toddler specific courses are taught by faculty with training in a subfield of Psychology, Family Studies, or Human Development. All programs embed infant/toddler content into other courses, although the specifics of how this is done and in what classes varies. Finally, programs vary widely to the extent that they require field experience in infant/toddler settings; with only three requiring a semester-long practicum in an infant/toddler setting for all students.

[10] Note that those programs not housed within Education must coordinate with their colleges/schools of education, which oversee certification programs because State Departments of Education communicate only with Colleges or Departments of Education.

Themes: Influences on How IHE Educate the Infant/Toddler Workforce

Through thematic analysis across the nine interviews, we found that in planning their course of studies, IHEs respond not only to state-level policies regarding certification of the workforce, but also to broader influences; these include market factors and non-requisite standards put forth by professional organizations. Institution-specific factors, including history of early childhood in their department and the disciplinary history of faculty themselves, also impacted the nature of the programs offered within IHE. The rest of this chapter elaborates on key themes in our findings.

Higher Education Programs Respond to *State-Level Policies*

We saw little variation in the state government agency which oversees teacher education certifications relevant to working with children from birth to 3 years of age: All were housed in a Department of Education, one of which was named Department of Public Instruction. However, one state has a Department of Early Care under the Department of Education, which is a collaboration between the Departments of Education and Health. Child care licensing and endorsements are often housed in Departments of Health and/or Human Services, but these credentials are not linked with IHE and hold minimal requirements for workers' educational qualifications.

Age-Span of Certificates As noted above, there is great variation in the age range of state certifications, the most common two being birth through kindergarten and birth to age 8 (third grade). These age ranges have obvious implications for certification programs because they determine the age ranges covered in child development and teaching methods courses. Furthermore, when there is a separate birth to kindergarten or age 5 certification, unless Pre-kindergarten (age 3–5) is in the domain of public schools, students often choose to get a degree in elementary education (post age 5 and the beginning of formal public schooling), which will lead to higher paid employment. When there is a larger age range, for example the birth through third grade certification, which affords students the most flexibility of career options, there is a high likelihood that students graduate with less infant/toddler coursework and without specific infant/toddler field experience. While all programs offered some kind of infant/toddler field experience, only one birth through third grade certification program required experience with infants and toddlers; all of these required experience with elementary age children (older than age 5). Thus, one consequence of certificates covering a larger age range is that certified individuals are not actually qualified to teach the full age range, particularly infants and toddlers.

Requirements of Infant/Toddler Content States also varied greatly in whether they *require* a credential for the infant/toddler workforce. This has important implications for IHE programs. For instance, one program started to require a second infant/toddler specific course in response to changes at the state level in requirements for the state credential. While the credential does not require a BA-level degree, the university believes their BA-degree should make students eligible for the credential. Other states' credentials do not require specific infant/toddler classes, although they require some infant/toddler content in coursework. Programs in those states tend to incorporate infant/toddler content throughout the course of study, embedded within courses covering broad age spans. Some states are unclear or do not specify how infant/toddler content should be included; in those cases, it is up to the institution, the program, and the faculty to determine how infant/toddler content is included.

Tiered Degrees Prepare, But May Disadvantage, the Infant/Toddler Workforce All institutions represented in our interviews have a two-tiered system of degrees, one level that provides a state-certified credential, and another that provides a 4-year degree, but no state certification. The non-certified track often has more lenient admissions criteria and fewer requirements, including fewer hours of supervised field experience. The more intensive requirements of degrees that lead to certification are often focused on pre-school or elementary aged children, though they may technically include the infant/toddler age range. Since many states do not require a specific certification for infant/toddler teachers, some students interested in working in infants/toddler jobs choose the second-tier option because it leaves room for infant/toddler specific coursework and experience. The non-certification option is often the choice for professionals already working in the field who may not be able to afford to leave their current jobs in order to complete the many required field experiences of the degrees leading to certification. However, a non-certification degree results in students entering the workforce with fewer hours of supervised field experience and with reduced earning potential. Graduates of these programs often get lower paying positions and are constrained to working in programs that do not require state certification and thus cannot get more financially rewarding positions in the public school system. At the same time, these may also be the workers more qualified to work with infants and toddlers because in the non-state certified degree tracks the infant/toddler content is not eclipsed by a focus on older children.

National Standards One state requires the IHE to choose a national accrediting agency for the field and to meet the agency's standards (e.g., NCATE or CAPE/NAEYC/DEC). Thus, the only reason infant/toddler content is a required part of the university degree is because the faculty at the university chose an accrediting agency that includes infant/toddler standards. This is an example of IHE responding to national standards set by accrediting agencies in response to a state-level policy.

Higher Education Programs Respond to *Market Demands*

State and Federal funding agencies are increasingly calling for higher educational attainment for early childhood professionals as a requirement for funding. An example is the Congressionally mandated requirement (Public Law 110-134, December 12, 2007) that all Head Start teachers have a BA degree described earlier in this chapter. These market demands influence how IHE structure their programs. Interestingly, in one community, it is a local philanthropist who is calling for an increase in educational attainment for infant/toddler providers. The philanthropist is funding local early education settings that require BA degrees as a condition of employment, and is also funding a loan forgiveness program for graduates who work in the early childhood field for a prescribed length of time. These efforts have resulted in students disproportionately choosing to work with infants and toddlers, the IHE program requiring increased infant/toddler content, and the development of a group of infant/toddler specialists.

Given the large amount of state and federal resources now going into funding home-visiting programs, we were surprised by the lack of training programs focusing on home-visiting. The primary training for home-visiting in the nine programs we studied was embedded in special education programs which cover the infant/toddler age range and which would be eligible for certification. Only two programs were explicitly training the home-visiting workforce. This may in part be due to the fact that: (i) many national home-visiting programs provide extensive in-service training for their staff in their specific models; and (ii) there are no national or state requirements for certifications of home visitors. This trend may begin to change as home-visiting programs are expanded due to the Maternal Infant and Early Childhood Home Visiting Initiative (see federal policy context section above for more information).

Higher Education Programs Respond to the History of Early Childhood Within Their Institutions and Disciplines of Faculty

We saw variation in the departments and colleges in which early childhood programs are housed within the broader university. Half of those programs surveyed are located in Colleges of Education, while others are in Colleges of Agriculture, Science or Social Science, or Health and Human Sciences. However, State Departments of Education communicate only with Colleges or Departments of Education, not those in other disciplines. Thus, those programs not housed within Education must coordinate with their colleges/schools of education, which oversee certification programs.

Our interviews with faculty reflected the theme that early childhood is undergoing a transition in identity from the care discipline to more of an education and care discipline discussed earlier in the chapter. In the U.S., the discipline of child development, care, and early education were historically housed in departments of Home Economics, Family Studies, Child Study, or Human Development, which shared a focus on the applied science of human development and family studies; these were often housed within colleges of Agriculture, as they initially developed within the publicly funded land grant institutions which educated future farmers and their wives. While some early childhood programs remain in these departments, a shift to Education has been slowly taking place since the 1980s. Along with the drive toward a more educated and qualified workforce, university departments focused on home and family are transitioning to a focus on the preparation of particular workforces and degrees that meet the requirements for licensure.

Given the transdisciplinary nature of early childhood, there are many possible academic homes for the study of infants and toddlers and their care and education. It appears that the choices are often determined by university forces, including faculty's disciplinary views and institutional needs, rather than state or federal policy. These choices have significant ramifications for how infant/toddler content is taught. When located in Departments of Family Studies or Psychology, early childhood programs are often among the most applied programs, and the focus on child development in the family context fits well with the other surrounding disciplines. Infant/toddler classes are typically taught by faculty trained in Developmental Psychology or Human Development, rather than Education. When located under the auspices of Education, early childhood often aligns with special education with the joint focus on individualization and family engagement. Interdisciplinary faculty are often hired to teach infant/toddler content as it is relatively new that infants and toddlers are included under Education and therefore there are few qualified faculty trained specifically in Early Childhood Education; however, this is beginning to change with the proliferation of Early Childhood Education programs. It remains to be seen whether more uniformity in the placement of early education will emerge over time, and whether on a more national level, early childhood programs will continue to move to Colleges of Education, as we have seen happen in our small sample of IHE programs.

Many programs addressing the infant/toddler workforce are new and still being formulated. Thus, the faculty who are hired can make a tremendous difference in the shape of these programs. As noted above, with the short history of Early Childhood as a sub-discipline of Education, most faculty have been trained in an allied field, such as Family Studies, Psychology, or Human Development. From the stories of faculty at our nine institutions, the inclusion of faculty members with an infant/toddler focus can make a major difference in how infant/toddler content and training are addressed.

Higher Education Programs Are Shaped by the Difficulty in Finding High-Quality Settings for Field Experiences

Our discussion so far clearly indicates that the education levels of the current workforce is very inconsistent. Many of the faculty we spoke with saw this as contributing to their difficulties finding quality settings for infant/toddler internship experiences. They also struggled to identify qualified instructors to teach internship classes; those in higher education doing the instruction are typically not those with real field experience. This is a pipeline issue. For instance, one program that produces a high percentage of infant/toddler providers now has sufficient numbers of graduates working in the field to serve as placements for interns. Perhaps this pipeline issue will subside as increasing numbers of infant/toddler providers graduate from higher education, but at the moment it constitutes a serious issue for institutions of higher education, limiting the opportunities of students for infant/toddler specific field experiences, and exacerbating the issue of developing a prepared workforce. In fact, this issue is the reason that some institutions do not require any infant/toddler field experience, or require limited numbers of hours, thus resulting in the credentialing of infant/toddler teachers without sufficient field experience.

This difficulty in locating quality settings with well-trained teachers for field placements reflects broader pipeline issues and the increasing demand for trained infant/toddler professionals. Most of the IHE programs we studied are growing. There is great demand for graduates to enter the workforce. However, many individuals trained to work with infants/toddlers choose to work with other age groups because of the poor pay for infant/toddler teachers, reflective of the market issues raised above.

Higher education instructors also expressed concern about students' abilities to continue the good practices they have been taught in higher education once they get into the field. Both graduates and interns face discrepancies between the practices taught at university and those practiced and endorsed by the current workforce; the current workforce tending to be older, more experienced, and less educated. Interestingly, according to our informants, it appears that the nature of these conflicts/disagreements have changed over the last decade or so. The discrepancies used to be based on the type of learning advocated: play-based active learning advocated by recent graduates, and more teacher-directed learning advocated by the older workforce. Now the discrepancies are about the best way to guide and manage children's behavior and promote positive social and emotional development – an increasing focus in higher education content in birth to five programs, which has not made its way into the majority of the current workforce via in-service training.

Concluding Thoughts on Future Opportunities/Challenges for Higher Education Programs Preparing the Infant/Toddler Workforce

In conclusion, we are in a time of rapid change for the field of early education; a time characterized by increasing demands for an educated and well-trained workforce. This affords opportunities and challenges for programs training the infant/toddler workforce. At this time there is great flexibility in how infant/toddler content is addressed, including where certification programs are housed, what degrees are offered, coursework, and field placements. It is likely that there will be increasing uniformity over the next decades. Activist educators in higher education and the field have a role to play in defining what works best. Groups like CUPID and the findings that emerge from CUPID's research are intended to inform these efforts.

One challenge currently faced by programs is the lack of consistency between and within states. This is evident in the differing terminology used across states, including credential, certification, and endorsement. There is also lack of consistency across states in age ranges of certifications in early childhood. The pros and cons of including infant/toddlers with older children warrants serious consideration and discussion, including issues of maximum flexibility for the future workforce being balanced with producing a well-trained workforce qualified for all ages that they are certified to teach, and compensated commensurate with their education and skills.

The concern is that infants and toddlers can get lost. Many higher education programs were built around elementary and secondary education, where the states have consistent and longer-standing policies, and therefore, early education can be an afterthought. Even within early education programs – most of which were built upon preschool education (e.g., 3–5 years old) – infant/toddler care and education is an afterthought. Unless there are faculty members devoted to researching and teaching about infants and toddlers, as there are in CUPID programs, infant/toddler content can be sparse and infants and toddlers can be seen as less competent preschoolers, rather than as children going through a unique time in development that requires specialized competencies from those who work with them. These competencies, which are the basis for the transdisciplinary nature of infant/toddler work, include the need for individualization and the relational nature of the work, especially the imperative to work closely with families. As infant/toddler content finds its place in higher education – whether that is in education or human development/family studies – we see the need to highlight these specific competencies related to working with infants, toddlers, and their families, while also aligning them with the competencies needed to work with all young children.

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Chapter 12
Family Day Care: The Trilemma of Professionalisation, Sustainability and Fairness in Flanders, France and Germany

Michel Vandenbroeck and Valerie Bauters

Abstract Although they were probably the first form of day care for the youngest children, family day care (FDC) providers have long been mistrusted by governments and the leading bourgeoisie in Belgium, France and Germany (see for instance N.W.K., 1922 for Belgium). It is not until the 1980s that family day care provisions gained momentum in several countries (see for instance Mooney A, Statham J (ed), Family day care. International perspectives on policy, practice and quality. Jessica Kingsley Publishers, London, 2003) in a period of economic downturn, as a cheap way to deal with the increasing demand for child care for the under-threes. Under the veil of a "home as haven" ideology (Rapp G, Lloyd S, Fam Relat 38(4):426–430. http://www.jstor.org/stable/585748, p. 426, 1989) or under the political assertion of "what women naturally do" (Urban M, Dalli C. A profession speaking and thinking for itself. In: L Miller, C Dalli, M Urban (eds) Early childhood grows up. Towards a critical ecology of the profession. Springer, Dordrecht/Heidelberg/London/New York, p. 519, 2012), childminders were brought to the forefront of early child care policies, despite earlier criticisms of the "home away from home" thesis that childminders did not need qualifications as they were mothers (Mayall B, Petrie P. Minder, mother and child. Institute of Education, London, 1977). As a result, two to three decades later, in another period of economic austerity, many regions and countries are faced with high attrition rates with over 3000 childminders stopping work in Flanders in the last 5 years and the percentage of early child care services in family-based provision in Sweden diminishing from 30 to hardly 5 % (e.g., Kind en Gezin. Jaarverslag 2014. Kind en Gezin, Brussel Jaarverslag 2014. Kind en Gezin, Brussel, 2015 (Korpi BM. The politics of preschool. Intentions and decisions underlying the emergence and growth of Swedish preschool. Ministry of Education and Research, Stockholm, 2007) The politics of preschool. Intentions and decisions underlying the emergence and growth of Swedish preschool. Ministry of

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Education and Research, Stockholm). Questions of professionalisation, sustainability and fairness are also gaining increasing political attention (Layland J, Smith A. N Z J Educ Stud 50(1):71–86, 2015) as it becomes clearer that qualifications matter more for the educational quality of FDC than years of experience (Fukkink RG, Lont A. Early Child Res Q 22:294–311, 2007). As a result, countries face quantitative and qualitative challenges (see for instance the European Qualification Framework in Working Group on Early Childhood Education and Care. Proposal for key principles of a quality framework for early childhood education and care. European Commission, Brussels, 2014) and it is far from evident that a new generation of family day care providers will emerge to fill this gap. In this chapter, we discuss this trilemma of professionalisation, sustainability and fairness in general and focus also on these issues within three non-English speaking regions – Flanders, France and Germany – which are regions where these issues have hardly been documented in the English language literature. We look at how the issue of working conditions, both financially and socially (and thus the issue of fairness) increases the tensions in the discussions of professionalisation and sustainability. We discuss these tensions and document how they are shaped in policy and practice

A Historical Hindsight

Throughout history, FDC providers have been both valorised as well as demonised (Jones and Osgood 2007). Across a range of country contexts, FDC has been associated with conditions that were nothing short of calamitous: unhygienic and irresponsible practices were the rule rather than the exception. Within the Belgian context, a governmental report in 1920 stated that:

> In their [the nurses – visitors] reports, the pitiful way in which these tiny creatures are treated is repeatedly stressed, for these paid *wardresses* (sic) do not possess even the minimal knowhow required to perform their duty. In this way, the children, these tiny creatures are either victimised by their guardians' ignorance or by their negligence, albeit mostly not in a premeditated fashion but as the result of mere incompetence (Jaspar 1920 in NWK 1922, own translation).

The quote is eloquent in expressing the concern about the quality of care delivered by FDC providers, and specifically in relation to child mortality. At the same time, however, governmental reports such as the above did not take into account the pitiful conditions in which the FDC providers had to perform their job: poor housing, lack of sanitation and low wages. This decontextualisation functioned to position the individual providers as responsible for the lack of quality of their service and led to their public demonisation (Vandenbroeck et al. 2010).

Post World War II, while infant mortality decreased, and contingent with the introduction of psychology as the scientific foundation of care and education, the ever-growing importance given to the idea that mothers should stay at home to raise their own children was consolidated with the rise of attachment theory (see Bowlby 1965). By the 1950s and 1960s, the importance of maternal care had become fully

popularised, further disparaging mothers working outside the home as well as other (institutionalised) child care services (Burman 1994).

Although in the 1970s public child care services gradually expanded in most affluent countries, the subordinate role of the FDC provider relative to group-based public child care remained intact. In this context, public child care services merely functioned as a lever for the emancipation of highly educated women working outside the home, rather than to propagate care and educational environments for the well-being of children or to alleviate the situation of the (un)professional status of childminders. Indeed, as we argue next, it was not until the beginning of the 1980s that FDC providers gained recognition and positive attention from policy makers (Vandenbroeck 2009).

A Series of Unfortunate Events?

The 1980s brought a sudden end to the welfare state that had flourished during the 1960s and 1970s and therefore also to the expansion of child care services advocated by feminist movements on the European continent. The oil crisis, accompanied by substantial price increases, stock market crashes and bankruptcies, led to an economic crisis characterised by governmental budgetary constraints and high unemployment. One consequence was that low-skilled women were locked out of the labour market, even as employment for higher educated women in the growing tertiary sector continued to increase. As a result there was a growing need for new child care places in a period of budgetary constraints. In this context FDC providers thrived across much of the Western world (Mooney and Statham 2003). From being a highly distrusted, unregulated (Alberola 2009; Gelder 2003), little monitored and barely recognised workforce (Vandenbroeck 2009), in the 1980s, FDC providers became highly valued as serving a dual goal. Firstly, through the very low wages and precarious working conditions (e.g., no social security) of the FDC providers new child care places were secured without much impact on governmental budgets. Secondly, as FDC providers were primarily recruited among low educated women, unemployment statistics were substantially reduced. In the public perception, FDC providers were seen as substitute-mothers who did "what women naturally do" (Urban and Dalli 2012, p. 519) and wielded their maternal skills and experiences (Vandenbroeck 2009) to provide a "home away from home" (Mayall and Petrie 1977). The unprecedented growth of FDC in the 1980s and 1990s entailed a trend of deprofessionalisation or counter-professionalisation of the child care workforce, since a growing proportion of formal child care was delivered by providers who did not have to meet any qualification requirements; this deprofessionalisation was legitimated by a vague concept of female "love" and short training sessions (Peeters 2008, 2012).

Two to three decades later, the rise of globalisation coupled with a pervasive neoliberalism has bequeathed a definite trend towards privatisation of hitherto public services (Penn 2014) and a focus on individualism and personal responsibility. The

introduction of concepts such as autonomy and freedom of choice for parents into public policy discourse has been used to justify funding cuts in a number of public services, including in the field of early childhood education and care (Vandenbroeck 2009):

> […] just like France, Belgium has gone from policies promoting public day-care services to give all children an equal start in life to policies supporting more private and family forms of care. Also, as in France, this shift in policy has been presented as a way to promote 'free choice' for families (Morel 2007, p. 627–628).

These outgrowths of the neo-liberal turn are not only apparent in Flanders and France but in many other countries; in times of economic downturn, private and family forms of child care are promoted as a cheap answer to deal with the increasing demand for child care for the youngest children (Mooney and Statham 2003). However, the combination of counter-professionalisation and precarious working conditions raises on-going questions in present times: questions of sustainability, questions of fairness and questions of quality. These issues are particularly salient as they also question the role of the State.

The Downturn of Child Care as a Public Good

At the time of writing, the coincidence of the privatisation of services, the 'home-as-haven' ideology and the language of individual choice, has resulted in the downplaying of the importance of the State as the public provider of accessible and affordable child care. The language of choice has framed parents as responsible consumers; yet by simultaneously denying structural positions of disadvantage (Burman 1994) this language also effectively nullified choice. As a consequence, for many years, parents have been held responsible when 'choosing' child care of lower quality, denying that choice is always moulded by environmental constraints (Vandenbroeck and Lazzari 2014).

Meanwhile, in policy as well as in the academia there is a growing consensus that the quality of ECEC is a crucial precondition for an equal headstart for every child (Penn 2009; Urban 2008) and a growing concern about unequal quality. There is abundant evidence that both pre-service and in-service training are important levers for achieving benefits from ECEC provision (Urban et al. 2011; European Commission 2014). National and international politics have now acknowledged that ECEC of high quality benefits *all* young children. Consequently, the days when child care could be considered as just about taking care of children are now a distant memory, and thus FDC is expected to provide much more than custodial care (Vandenbroeck 2009). Rather, the early years are now considered particularly important from an educational perspective and not just from a labour market perspective (Sylva et al. 2004; Urban 2008; Vandenbroeck et al. 2010). In the context of growing income inequalities and increasing diversity, child care is considered to

be particularly beneficial for disadvantaged children, thus making the educational aspect of early childhood provision increasingly important. As a result, the "home-as-haven" ideology is increasingly countered with the question "whose home"? In this way, the quality of FDC has become a public as well as a political concern (Davies et al. 2012; Layland and Smith 2015). It has also become a focus for researchers (e.g., Layland 2015) with empirical studies severely challenging the 'home-as-haven' assumptions and showing that training and qualifications matter more to quality than years of experience (Fukkink and Lont 2007).

Within this context, tensions between the imperative to invest in the quantity versus the quality of ECEC provisions have increased. Quality of ECEC has become an increasingly important area of investment, as solving inequalities is now seen as less a matter of redistributing outcomes (e.g., through taxation), and more a matter of investing in equality of opportunities (through early education) (see Morabito and Vandenbroeck 2014).

This tension becomes particularly salient knowing that "high levels of systemic professionalism are more difficult to achieve when ECEC is predominantly private and market-oriented" (Urban et al. 2011, p. 46). In this way, the FDC profession has evolved from being the solution to the child care problem in the 1980s to being part of the professionalisation problem in the new millennium. The net result is that FDC providers are back to being the Cinderellas of child care, much as they were a century ago. Indeed, FDC providers are in the middle of a trilemma that straddles sustainability, professionalisation, and fairness. Over the last decades, expansion of ECEC has been through (in many countries often unregulated or de-regulated) FDC and through the privatisation of services brought about by neo-liberalism. This is in tension with the renewed attention to professionalism and fair working conditions, and thus to the sustainability of the ECEC system. Moreover, it appears that processes of professionalisation are not only reputed as essential preconditions for quality but are additionally eulogised as possible remedies for looming shortages in the field of ECEC (Vandenbroeck et al. 2013):

> A highly skilled workforce is the decisive factor for delivering early years quality and improving outcomes for young children. However, the current state of the sector presents a real barrier to achieving the high quality, high value workforce that is needed (Cooke and Lawton 2008, p. 16).

The Trilemma (Part I): Tensions Between Quality, Sustainability and Fairness

The rest of this chapter elaborates on these tensions between the needs for professionalisation, fair working conditions and sustainability. We argue that – considering the recent history – the attrition of FDC is probably inevitable; and that the time is over when FDC can be considered the cheaper surrogate of centre-based child care.

As we noted earlier, FDC experienced significant growth in the 1980s and 1990s in many countries, recruiting among low-educated and unemployed women. This cohort is now reaching the age of retirement, or will do so in the next decade. As a result, many countries in Europe and beyond are facing significant attrition of FDC providers and the extent to which new cohorts of FDC providers will compensate for this natural attrition is highly questionable. Nowadays, ECEC of a high quality is not only premised on the principles of accessibility, availability and affordability (see Vandenbroeck and Lazzari 2014) but is also valued in terms of sustainability and fairness and increased professionalism. However, the growing demand for quality in terms of enhanced professionalisation (Layland 2015) is largely at odds with childminders' everyday realities. In our current society, where the need for child care workers is vastly increasing (Cameron and Moss 2007), the goal of sustainable and social child care as well as any aspiration for professionalisation is challenged by a climate where investment in training is undermined by low pay and where gaining extra qualifications seems counterproductive in the face of very few job opportunities and limited job mobility (Cooke and Lawton 2008; Oberhuemer 2011; Urban et al. 2012).

This trend has reinforced the natural attrition of an already decreasing number of childminders (Cameron and Moss 2007) and poses additional difficulties in recruiting and retaining early years workers (Moss et al. 2006). Today, it is simply not possible anymore to recruit a workforce, claiming that this is 'what women naturally do', firstly because "the young women who traditionally made up the bulk of the caring workforce can find better paid employment elsewhere" (Ball and Vincent 2005, p. 562), and secondly because in most countries women are becoming increasingly higher educated than men (OECD 2012). In addition, attempts to attract more men in the ECEC sector have been only minimally successful. Despite several campaigns and some (limited) progress in the Nordic countries, not a single European country has met the benchmark of 10 % men in the ECEC workforce (Peeters et al. 2015). It is also quite clear that lowering the standards cannot compensate for the on-going attrition. In conclusion, it is far from evident that a new generation will fill the gap. In order to tackle this trilemma of professionalisation, sustainability as well as fairness, the childminding profession requires an upgrade.

Flanders, France and Germany in Focus

In Flanders, France, and Germany the argument "that the quality of early childhood services and the improvement of opportunities for children and families are associated with more highly trained staff" (Dalli et al. 2012, p. 3) was welcomed by policy makers vis-à-vis the FDC sector. In practice, however, attempts at professionalising the FDC sector were hampered by what Peeters (2008) called the *mother ersatz-model*.

There are also other factors that have hampered the professionalisation of this field. For example, the childminding job is often seen as a stopgap job or a temporary

escape from unemployment, a way of earning an income whilst one's own children are young (Everiss and Dalli 2003; Gelder 2003; Peeters 2008). Such a motivation for entering this workforce is hardly conducive to a desire to invest in further qualifications. Moreover, research conducted by Deglorie (2009) has demonstrated additional push factors such as social isolation, financial incapability and/or other career opportunities (Deglorie 2009), which propel temporary childminders out of the job. Additionally, the childminding profession has been characterised by low pay, low recognition, a lack of job mobility and precarious working conditions (Aballéa 2005; Heitkötter et al. 2010; Peeters 2008, 2012; Van der Mespel 2011).

Furthermore, tackling issues of steady attrition has not gained much support within the childminding workforce itself as the workforce is internally divided on the matter of professionalisation (i.e., training, qualification and recognition) (Aballéa 2005; Alberola 2009; Bouve and Sellenet 2011; Cresson et al. 2012; Everiss and Dalli 2003; Gelder 2003; Wiemert and Heeg 2012). While on the one hand there are advocates of childminding as a learned and skilled profession (Alberola 2009; Champlong 2011; Fagnani and Math 2012), on the other hand there are still proponents of the private *mother ersatz-model* (Aballéa 2005; Alberola 2009; Bouve and Sellenet 2011; Garrity and Grath 2011). The first favour the idea of a reliable, sustainable and qualified profession (Kerl-Wienecke et al. 2013), while the latter remain entrenched in the belief that professionalisation is redundant (Alberola 2009; Kerl-Wienecke et al. 2013) and eulogise the informal character of the job, claiming that love for children and professional status do not go well together (Garrity and Grath 2011).

Despite these difficulties, several countries in Europe have invested in pathways to the professionalisation of the FDC workforce. We focus on three of these: the Flemish Community of Belgium (Flanders), France and Germany. These three countries are particularly interesting as they are seldom documented in the English language literature and their cases show how difficult the way out of the trilemma may be. We do so informed by a documentary analysis of: governmental documents; grey literature; as well as research reports from the year 2000 and onwards. In practice, the selected literature was obtained via contact with four academic researchers in the field, who contributed references and nationwide research material. These researchers were selected by dint of their extensive knowledge, expertise and experience within the field of ECEC and their academic contributions to the early years sector. The remaining sections of this chapter are based on our analysis of this literature.

Theoretically, Flemish FDC providers have to complete 40 h of initial training (Kind en Gezin 2014); French FDC providers are expected to complete 120 h (Champlong 2011) and their German colleagues 160 h (Kerl-Wienecke et al. 2013) of training. However, in Flanders these requirements have only recently been implemented (1 April 2014); in France the practical implementation of the training is reported to be inadequate and ad hoc (Alberola 2009; Champlong 2011); and in Germany, training is only required when taking care of more than five children at the same time (Oberhuemer et al. 2010b). Thus, in practice, these requirements can barely be considered as a sustainable path to professionalisation in the early years.

Moreover, policies in Flanders, France and Germany have not considered possibilities for horizontal job mobility (for instance to other front-line caring professions) or for vertical job mobility (increase in rank, by becoming a social worker or an early childhood trainer for instance) and there are no specific degree requirements that contribute to further validation and recognition of the childminding sector (Alberola 2009; Heitkötter et al. 2010; Peeters 2012). In Germany the first steps towards job mobility have recently been taken with the development of the *Kompetenzprofil Kindertagespflege* (competence profile FDC). The competence profile has integrated the wide range of information – the needed knowledge, skills and attitudes – relevant to the childminding profession across the different states in Germany into a national directory of childminding competences. In this way FDC competencies can be included into the curricula of different professional vocational programmes which also have provision for recognition of previous on-the-job experience. The competence profile is also being recommended for use by FDC facilitators or service managers (Kerl-Wienecke et al. 2013) as a guideline for training and evaluating FDC providers. In Flanders, some job mobility within the FDC sector is likewise being promoted through the recognition which schools offering training for the centre-based role of *Begeleider in de Kinderopvang* (mentor in childcare centre) provide for the obligatory 40 h of training required by the Flemish government as a precondition to working in the childminding sector. Programmes offering the *Begeleider in de Kinderopvang* training now accept the certificate of 40 h *previously acquired competences* as a certificate of prior learning and exempt holders of the certificate from repeating that training as part of acquiring their qualification to work in childcare centres. In this way, both the competence profile in Germany, and the previously acquired competences in Flanders function as a stepping-off point to further training and vocational education, and thus job mobility.

Notwithstanding the fact that the recognition of prior learning opens up pathways to formal qualifications, the main focus on competences further shifts any responsibility for learning, professionalisation or job mobility onto the sole individual (Vandenbroeck et al. 2013). Thus, although these lists of competences might seem an attractive way to upskill the FDC workforce, in practice, the childminder who attains them is left with a list of required skillsets and procedures (Vandenbroeck et al. 2013) and in the unenviable position of "having achieved only a transition from the worker as substitute mother to the worker as a lower or higher grade technician" (Moss 2012, p. viii). In this context, Urban et al. (2011) also critically note that structural qualifying pathways should be effected at all levels of the competent ECEC system rather than shrugged off onto the individual as the sole precondition for professionalisation.

Clearly, professionalising the FDC sector is rather difficult when internally a part of the workforce is still succumbing to the simplification of the work as mothering (Ball and Vincent 2005). In the absence of a shared professional identity, externally implemented policies for professionalisation are insufficient, individualised and overall unsustainable. With this in mind, the answer to the question "who will do the care work in the future" (Cameron and Moss 2007, p. 51) is unlikely to be answered by the childminding workforce.

Furthermore, a split in administration of preschool education versus child care in Flanders, France and Germany (Oberhuemer et al. 2010a; Penn 2014) has stifled any political will to invest in FDC, reducing the childminding workforce to a single pawn in the larger political playing field.

The Logic of No Alternative?

By contrast with the existing traditional structures of child care services and the haphazard patchwork route into a childminding career, new hybrid forms of child care have been introduced in France and Germany (Bouve and Sellenet 2011; Stempinski 2006); these hybrid forms offer new possibilities and alternative routes to professionalisation.

In Aix-en-Provences (France), *les crèches satellite* (satellite nurseries) have been installed (see Bouve and Sellenet 2011) to unite centre-based care and FDC. In practice this means that two or three childminders spend a considerable amount of time in the *crèche* (nursery) where they exchange experiences, educational practices and receive individual as well as joint support from the *puéricultrice* (child nurse), while the children in their care interact and play within a larger group of peers. Besides the increased visibility of the FDC provision and any long deserved professional acknowledgment, this project offers childminders as well as public service providers the possibility to jointly reflect on long-established daily routines, to instigate collaboration, as well as a thorough analysis of practices. Similarly, in Germany, FDC services have been linked up to *Kindergarten* (nurseries). German research conducted by Stempinski (2006) showed that a beginning acquaintance between two divergent professions has been set up via shared spaces, materials and equipment (Stempinski 2006; Wiemert and Heeg 2012). Possibilities for dialogue were facilitated with the overall aim to create a common pedagogical understanding between centre-based care workers and FDC providers. This initiative has also facilitated children's transitions between different types of care (Stempinski 2006). In both examples, continuity of care is guaranteed (Bouve and Sellenet 2011; Wiemert and Heeg 2012). Such pluriprofessional teams (Alberola 2009) not only allow reflection, dialogue and discussion about the meaning of the work that early childhood teachers and childminders do, its required competences and professional status, but also enhance the development of a joint professional identity (Wiemert and Heeg 2012). Via a process of continuous professional development (see Eurofound 2015), peer-learning and the exchange of good practices (Urban et al. 2012), the co-construction of knowledge and shared understanding is promoted.

These examples not only evidence that co-operation is an effective, important and necessary way for the further professionalisation of the FDC workforce, they also broaden existing conceptualisations of professionalisation beyond the political imposition of individual training requirements and competence profiles and encourage the re-thinking of the existing dichotomy between FDC and centre-based care.

Also, in this way, matters of social isolation, insufficient training and low recognition (Bouve and Sellenet 2011) are tackled.

The Trilemma (Part II): Bringing Quality, Sustainability and Fairness Together

The OECD (2006) recommended that early years policies should strive for a systemic and integrated approach to ECEC to promote a universal approach to access and substantial public investment in services, alongside a participatory approach to quality improvement and appropriate training and working conditions for all staff in ECEC provisions (OECD 2006).

However, when it comes to the FDC workforce, it appears that the predominant 'home-as-haven' ideology and the discourse of 'choice', have acted to thwart public investment in this field and left it at the mercy of the dominant economic and political tendencies (Vandenbroeck et al. 2010). These forces positioned early childhood services as a private commodity rather than a public good (Moss 2007) and hampered processes of professionalisation as well as hindered the drive for fairness and sustainability in ECEC. In this way, they also undermined the ideal of children's overall entitlement to care (Lloyd 2012; Moss 2007). Moreover, the origins of childminding as surrogate mothering, the lack of a professional identity and the lack of policies for professionalisation, have acted to maintain the status quo of low pay and valorisation, poor working conditions and social isolation (Bouve and Sellenet 2011).

Within this context, emergent hybrid forms of child care services might offer an escape route out of the logic of no alternative and prompt a rethink of the artificial dichotomy between public child care services and FDC rather than vindicating more of the same (Cameron and Moss 2007). *Les crèches satellite* challenge clichéd simplifications of substitute-mothering and show how via co-operation – rather than individual responsibility – matters of social isolation and low valorisation can be tackled. These hybrid forms of child care function as sites of constant reconstruction (Urban and Dalli 2012) of professional identities through dialogue, reflection and discussion (Mouffe 2005). In the aspiration for sustainable child care, "many structural characteristics need to be considered simultaneously; with an understanding of how each structural characteristic has an impact on quality within each national system" (European Commission 2014, p. 30).

Recently, the European Commission argued that "long-term investment in reflective professionals, as well as in participatory practices […] creates a dynamic environment where participants learn from each other" (European Commission 2014, p. 49). It is these long-term investments that are necessary conditions to overcome the trilemma of sustainability, fairness and professionalism. Hybrid forms of child care services such as the linking of *Kindergarten* and FDC services in Germany or *les crèches satellite* in France function as prime examples of this long-term invest-

ment and encourage FDC providers and public child care services to share a common pedagogical understanding as joint reflective practitioners, unimpeded by budgetary savings in times of austerity and retrenchment: a perfect start for the much required upgrade of the childminding profession.

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Chapter 13
A Quality Framework for Early Childhood Practices in Services for Children Under Three Years of Age: Starting Regionally – Moving Globally

Dawn Tankersley and Mihaela Ionescu

Abstract In 2013, the International Step by Step Association (ISSA) surveyed its 40 member organizations on early childhood care and education services being offered in their countries to children under 3 years of age and their families. Results showed that children's and families' access to these services had decreased since the 1990s and that where they did exist, the quality in many locations was low. This prompted ISSA to develop a *Quality Framework for Early Childhood Practices in Services for Children Under Three Years of Age* -primarily for its members. The *Framework* not only presents the most current information on how to work with this age level, but also includes information on why and how different services should work more inter-sectorally. The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the *ISSA Quality Framework* and to describe some the challenges and lessons learned in the process of its development. It also describes the lessons learnt by three ISSA member organizations which piloted the *Framework* to explore how it could be used to support policies, governance and practices with under-3 year olds in different countries.

Introduction

The care of children under 3 years of age in the regions of Central/Eastern Europe, Central Asia, and the Commonwealth of Independent States had a different history from other parts of Europe. Until the early 1990s, the educational system in the Soviet Union and communist-bloc countries provided care and education for the vast majority of young children from birth through entrance into primary school in state-supported centres with trained, qualified staff. These centres were part of the public-good approach which put women into the workforce by guaranteeing their

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children's needs for food, cleanliness, and safety were well attended to. After the fall of the Communist Bloc in the early 1990s, many factors, such as economic crises, increased unemployment, and a sharp reduction in public investment for children's care and education, altered what had been a well-regulated and well-funded public service leading to the closure of many centres and crèches.

A recent report by the International Step by Step Association (ISSA 2013) on the status of services for children from birth to 3 years of age documents that although services for this age level are offered by law, there is very limited room in the crèches/daycare centers for younger children and then, usually only in urban areas. Barriers to providing early childhood services in crèches and daycare centers cited in the report include: a lack of awareness of the importance of this age group, lack of finances; and lack of coordination between sectors. Some of the common problems existing in services in the region for this age category and their families include: too many children cared for by a single adult; fragmentation of services between different ministries as well as between national and local authorities; and a lack of national, unified quality standards for services for this age level in many countries. As the importance of quality experiences for the optimal development of children in this age level becomes more documented, these challenges are requiring more urgency to overcome.

In response to this report, ISSA decided it was important to develop a *Quality Framework* advocating for quality practices in all services for children from birth to 3 years of age which could serve as a guide for defining what quality experiences 'look like' for this age group. ISSA is an international association that connects professionals and non-profit organizations working in the field of early childhood development. Established in the Netherlands in 1999, ISSA's original members were from the former Soviet Union and Eastern Bloc countries. Their mission was to bring child-centred and democratic principles into early childhood programs. ISSA's community today stretches across the globe with members from forty countries primarily in Europe and Central Asia. ISSA's overarching aim is to ensure equitable quality care and education for all children from birth to 10 years of age.

Building on their experience in framing principles of quality pedagogy for educators of 3–10 year olds, ISSA (2010) began the process to develop this *Framework* by reviewing other countries' and organizations' frameworks and the research that shows the best ways to support the development of children under 3 years of age. A team of international experts from the association and from other countries with expertise in various domains of early childhood (education, care, health, social protection, children's rights) was then convened to develop a set of principles that exemplify ISSA's vision, mission, beliefs and values around democratic procedures and quality practice and that promote an integrated and inter-sectoral approach to working with this age group and their families.

The *ISSA Quality Framework* consists of principles and examples of practice structured around nine Focus Areas that cover the broad range of experiences impacting children and families accessing early childhood services. The focus areas are: (1) Relationships; (2) Family and Community; (3) Inclusion, Diversity, and Values of Democracy; (4) Health, Well-being, and Nutrition; (5) Development and Learning;

(6) Observation, Documentation, Reflection, and Planning; (7) Enabling Environments; (8) Professional Development; and (9) Inter-sectoral Cooperation. For a more complete description of the *Framework* see the Appendix at the end of this chapter.

The *Framework* presents an invitation to professionals and decision makers at international, national, and local levels to engage in discussions around quality in early years' services, to connect policies and approaches around services for children under three, and to develop a shared vision of quality between these sectors and services.

The purpose of this chapter is to describe some of the issues and lessons learned in the development of the I*SSA Quality Framework* as well as through its piloting by three ISSA member organizations in Bulgaria, Lithuania and Slovenia with a view to better understand what are the challenges in providing higher quality, inter-sectoral services and how they may be addressed by using the *Framework*.

Challenges in Developing the *Framework*

Both in the development and review processes, several challenges and/or professional dilemmas concerning local and international articulations of quality? emerged – perhaps indicating that the document was indeed breaking new ground and that further reflection and work was needed in several areas.

- *The understanding of why and how to work inter-sectorally*

While acknowledging that care, education, health and social protection need to be better interconnected, traditionally organisations that work in the area of early childhood care and education (including many of ISSA's members) have had limited experience with the health and social services sectors, except to give referrals where warranted. Interfacing with programs that provide: health and nutrition services; parental support (both home visits and parenting groups); early care and learning in early childhood education and care services; and early intervention services will require forging new knowledge, practices and pathways.

According to Geinger et al. (2015), an inter-sectoral approach is especially crucial for the most vulnerable, some of whom are the hardest to reach, affected by multiple risk factors in contributing to social inclusion and cohesion. It also requires working with families in non-stigmatizing ways that involve and empower them (Wave Trust 2013).

- *Agreeing on a common terminology across different regions of the world*

Beyond terminological differences among sectors (such as the health, education and social welfare), there was also a challenge in agreeing upon the terms used by native and non-native English speakers from different regions of the world who work in early childhood education. Some of the terms used in the document are not commonly found in the early childhood sector in certain areas in the world such as: child agency; competent children, families and systems; competent systems; and

competences. A decision was made to use the terms that are referenced in other European early childhood education and care documents and thus the ISSA *Framework* aligns very closely with the proposal of the European Commission – the *European Quality Framework on Early Childhood Education and Care*. The ISSA *Framework* also incorporates some language that has gained prominence in countries such as New Zealand and Australia, such as 'intersubjectivity' and 'pedagogy of care' which may be used less by practitioners in Europe and North America. We incorporated them because we felt they best described what was occurring in quality practice for this age level – even though the language to express such practice was not commonly used in the region.

- *The balance between strengthening the home environment and respecting parental rights, seeing families as competent, and being respectful of the culture and context in which families live:*

Research provides evidence that parenting programs can have significant effects on children's and parents' development (Layzer et al. 2001; Lundahl et al. 2006; Bowman et al. 2010). On the other hand, we also need to see families as competent. Unfortunately, families from minority disadvantaged groups are not always viewed this way by those from majority advantaged groups. When working with these families there can be a focus on mitigating risk factors, rather than building on strengths that can provide protective factors around the child. The developers and reviewers cautioned that particular care should be taken when working with parents not to impose practices that may be culturally different or contextually inappropriate and to be aware that families should not be 'pedagogicalised' (Popkewitz 2003) nor 'instrumentalised' by those who work with them. While information on child development is important, families also need to be respected and valued as their children's first and most important teachers. Work in equal partnership with families requires reciprocal, responsive communication and an awareness of power dynamics that exist between 'experts' and families.

Several of the developers and reviewers pointed out that sensitivity is required in how programs work when sharing information across services that work with children under three and families unless the child's protection is at risk. While intersectoral work is seen as beneficial for families, sharing information can be a breach of confidentiality. Vandenbroeck et al. (2013) caution that information must always be used so that it does not become a form of control or policing over families (especially those from ethnic minority and/or poor families). According to this view, information should also never be shared without the explicit permission of the parent or legal guardian/. As the *Framework* is intended to be used across sectors and services working with a child and the family, confidentiality should be strongly considered by professionals working in those services.

- *The tension between delineating developmental domains and seeing children's development holistically*

In order to describe how development in young children is holistic, the ECD field has described the different developmental domains that must be addressed: physi-

cal, social-emotional, cognitive, language, and even spiritual. Several of the developers and reviewers in the process of writing the *Framework* pointed out that these domains are an artificial (theoretical) division created by child development specialists to deepen the understanding of child's development. It was suggested that for strengthening the child's holistic development and seeing the child as a whole person, the *Framework* should stress children's 'areas of experience' instead of developmental domains, as they are interconnected and all contribute to child holistic development. The Framework uses term 'areas of experience' to make the point that the focus of the document should be on what kinds of experiences adults are expected to offer children, not what children are expected to achieve. An important take away from this discussion is to be very cautious with the language commonly used to describe processes that identify major milestones in child development domains so as to not compromise our holistic vision of young children's development. The language we use may unintentionally mask points we are trying to convey, especially as we broaden the audience of the *Framework* beyond educators and care-givers to include the health and social welfare professionals.

Piloting the *Quality Framework*

The *Framework* was piloted by three ISSA member organizations: Step by Step Program Foundation – Bulgaria; Centre for Innovative Education in Lithuania; and the Developmental Research Centre for Pedagogical Initiatives Step by Step in Slovenia (Buzov 2016.; Sabaliauskiene 2016; Rezek 2016). The piloting took place during 2015, testing the usability of the document at local, regional and national levels and obtaining information on how the *Framework* can be a platform for promoting inter-sectoral dialogue and cooperation, and building a shared understanding of quality across professionals and services from different sectors. It focused on four levels of implementation: advocacy, policy, governance, and practice.

Piloting activities addressed both the macro level of the country's early childhood system and the micro level of specific services in different localities:

- *The macro level* was addressed by organizing policy roundtables that included representatives from various relevant government ministries, pre-service institutions addressing different professionals (educators, nurses, social workers, etc.), and local authorities representing different sectors (social workers, educators, nurses), and donors.
- *The micro level* of the early childhood services system was addressed by organizing workshops, sharing experiences and meetings with service providers in-country including educators, health assistants, managers of services, and health care providers, as well as parents and others who interface with them.

Each of the pilots was carried out under the unique conditions that prevailed in each of the pilot countries. The information in this section comes from the reports

the three member organizations wrote at the end of the piloting process where the participants' responses to particular questions were documented

Bulgaria

The Step by Step Program Foundation piloted the program in two municipalities. In Bulgaria, crèches are supervised by either the municipalities or by the Ministry of Health. (A crèche would be monitored by the Ministry of Education only if it were part of a preschool setting). The staff who work in the crèches are qualified as health assistants. The focus of services in the crèches, and the competences of the practitioners, have centred on the provision of care (cleanliness, feeding, and sleeping) and the safety of the children. The staff traditionally receive very little training in pedagogy such as how to read to very young children or play games with them. The training also does not address how to build partnerships with families or how to involve them more in the lives of the children and the crèche.

The strategy used by the Step by Step Program Foundation-Bulgaria for piloting the *Framework* began with creating a National Communications Framework in partnership with UNICEF and the National Agency for Child Protection. This Communications Framework specified the Bulgarian situation in care for children under three including the laws that govern the service, the structure of the crèche, and the qualifications of the staff working in them.

The Step by Step Foundation also worked with the faculty from the teacher preparation institutes in the municipalities. The faculty gave crèche staff, and their own students, workshops in the nine Focus Areas outlined in the *Framework* (see appendix). The students followed-up their studies by doing practicums and observations in those crèches.

Slovenia

The Developmental Research Centre for Pedagogical Initiatives –Step by Step (DRCPI- SbS) introduced the ISSA *Framework* to the staff in three preschools. Each of the 3 groups participating in the pilot were somewhat different with one being located within a children's hospital unit, the second being in a group that had large parental participation as well as a family centre under the auspices of the preschool, and the third included all of the preschool teachers working with children under three.

Like Lithuania, Slovenia has an integrated system of ECEC services under the supervision of the Ministry of Education in contrast to some of the other countries in the region where crèches are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Health or local governments. It is interesting to note that to date the Ministry of Education has been reluctant to explore possibilities for cooperation between the crèches and other sectors. However local governments, where the pilots have been implemented, as well as a representative from the National Education Institute of the Republic of Slovenia, attended the roundtables sponsored by DRCPI-SbS on the *Quality Framework* and acknowledged the positive outcomes that such inter-sectoral work could produce.

Lithuania

The Centre for Innovative Education (CIE) in Lithuania piloted the *Framework* in 16 preschools (two public and 14 private). Lithuania is a country that has already started many of the processes recommended in the ISSA *Framework* and has been working on policies that promote inter-sectoral cooperation and pre-service and in-service requirements for those who work with this age level and their families. Lithuanian policy makers are also very familiar with an adaptation by CIE of the ISSA Principles of Quality Pedagogy for programs serving 3 to 10 year olds, specifically for children under three years of age.

Lithuania has an integrated system of service for children under six years of age supervised by the Ministry of Education. The Lithuanian Government in 2009 introduced the *Model for Improvement of Conditions of Living and Education for Children from Birth to the Start of Compulsory Schooling*. Municipalities, taking into account the social, cultural and economic factors and resources, are obligated to improve pre-school age children's lives and educational (learning) conditions by providing quality services to all families with children from birth to the start of compulsory education. This includes the health care, educational programs for children and parents, social support, education assistance. An inter-institutional team consisting of professionals from different state and municipal institutions and bodies coordinates and provides comprehensive assistance to children and their parents on the municipal level.

Results of the Pilot

The pilot's methodology outlined guiding questions for the participants around each of the activities undertaken to include discussion questions at the roundtables and workshops, focus groups, and a small sample of individual interviews. Looking across these reports of the pilots in the three countries, the participants' responses to these guiding questions were summarized by how they could see the *Framework* working at the policy, governance and practice levels. The points below were either common in all three reports or provided a unique perspective on how to implement quality services for children under three and their families based on the context in a particular country.

Policy Level

The participants specifically addressed where the *Framework* could support improvements at the policy level to include:

- *Improving staff to child ratios*
  The interviews from Lithuania pointed out that their national policies for adult-child ratios for children over 1 year of age were out of compliance with international recommendations for adult to child ratios. (Recommended ratios of adult to toddlers between 1 and 2 years of age are 1:4. Lithuania's are 1:10. For children between 2 and 3 years of age, recommended ratios are 1:5/6. Lithuania's are 1:15/20.) The participants stated that the environment in care settings for chil-

dren under three cannot be improved without first reviewing current policies regarding these ratios and dialoguing about what is realistic within both a national and local context, including how compliance can be financed. Reviewing the *Framework* is the first step on a pathway for improving these ratios.

- *Increasing the qualifications of staff working with children under three*
  Many of the recommended practices within the *Framework's* Principles require a high level of understanding of child development and pedagogical practice. The participants in the pilot stated that the *Framework* could contribute to policies that require caregivers to have certain levels of education, qualifications specific to working with children under three, and on-going in-service professional development requirements. It can also be used by policy makers to look at the curriculum in teacher training institutions and the courses that should be required of those who work with this age group.

  The Bulgarian report specifically mentioned that the current level of qualifications for their service providers in crèches of having a vocational degree as medical assistants was not adequate to meet the recommended practices in the *Framework* and recommended more discussion on this to be convened at the policy level. In Lithuania, even though there are more stringent requirements that educators must have university degrees in early childhood practice for those who work with this age group, the participants also mentioned that more classes specifically targeted for birth to three should be provided by the universities and that on-going professional development should also be required. Currently no such specialization exists.

  Through increasing qualification levels and requiring on-going professional development specific to this age group, policy makers would also be increasing the prestige of practitioners and of the profession, which also needs to be a policy priority.

- *Increasing inter-sectoral cooperation*
  Although inter-sectoral cooperation was a new concept for the participants in the pilot in Bulgaria and Slovenia, they did speak to the possibilities of how the *Framework* could be used to promote better cooperation and communication between different sectors. By piloting the *Framework* in a preschool located within a hospital in Slovenia, it was also possible to see how the act of opening dialogue between health and education professionals increased the level of quality of service for young children and their families. For example, through adding a morning briefing for all of the staff working with children in the hospital, the preschool educator found she could more easily get permission from medical staff to have the children engage in certain activities without having to track them down later in the day when their availability was more uncertain. They also began to use carts where the educator had placed activities that could be used by different staff with the children.

  In Lithuania, where the national government has already started to promote the concept of inter-sectoral cooperation, it was mentioned that the discussion of how to actually 'do' it is more difficult at the municipal and local levels. This is

because there is a lack of understanding and support among the managers of different institutions and a lack of financing to fund it. The participants in the pilot in Lithuania made several important points, however, in how these difficulties could begin to be addressed:

- Involving the NGO sector that can bring more innovation to services working with this age level who may be more current on international trends;
- Introducing the *Framework* to the faculties of different universities that prepare future teachers, doctors and other health care providers, social workers, etc. to create courses that are inter-sectoral in nature;
- Improving the understanding of quality in services at the municipal level through training municipality specialists to use the *Framework* in planning and as promoters of inter-sectoral work;
- Where it is occurring, documenting examples of good practice of inter-sectoral work in municipalities to disseminate to other municipalities;
- Promoting the development of inter-sectoral learning communities that engage in the topic.

- *Creating more competent systems*
  The participants mentioned how the *Framework* brought up the need for policies for creating competent systems that can provide adequate wages including paid time for planning, dialoguing, and cooperating with families and the other organizations with which practitioners interface. As with decreasing adult-child ratios, quality of services cannot be achieved without providing financing to create more competent systems. As a note, the European Quality Framework on Early Childhood Education and Care (European Commission 2014) also strongly supports the creation of competent systems including supportive working conditions for staff.

- *Development of parenting support programs*
  The *Framework* can also be used as impetus for policy makers to provide more parenting support programs for families with children under three. In the pilot in Slovenia where parents were also involved in discussions about the *Framework*, most expressed appreciation about what practices with young children best support their development, and for recognizing the voice, rights, and responsibilities of parents in the work that is done with this age level.

Governance Level

Several points were made where the *Framework* could support quality practices for children under three and their families at the governance level.

- *Creating national and local frameworks that guide policy and practice*
  In Bulgaria, the Step by Step Foundation Bulgaria used the piloting of the *Framework* as an opportunity to work with UNICEF and the State Agency for

Child Protection to create a National Communication Framework around the current state of services provided to this age level and recommendations for where it needed to focus next, in essence creating a national governing document inspired by the *Framework*. The National Communication Framework was then used in two of the municipalities to create Municipal Communication Frameworks as the crèches are under the jurisdiction of the municipalities.

- *As a monitoring and evaluation tool at the national and municipal level*
  In Lithuania, where there are already national policies around improving services for children under three and about inter-sectoral cooperation, it was pointed out that the *Framework* could be used as an external assessment instrument at national, municipality and school levels, if it were supported with training.
- *As a support document for the European Framework on Early Childhood Education and Care*
  As the ISSA *Framework* outlines practices that support the European Framework's key principles and action statements. It could therefore be used by governments that wish to be in compliance with the European Framework.

Practice Level

As discussed under the policy level, increasing the qualifications/competences of staff who work with this age level is of paramount importance for improving quality.

- *Using the Framework in pre-service training*
  Many of the participants mentioned the possibility of having pre-service training institutions use the *ISSA Framework* to develop new courses at universities for those who will work with children under three and their families. In Lithuania one of the results of the pilot was having the Center for Innovative Education develop and teach a new university level course specific to this age group.

  In addition, courses can be developed as part of pre-service (and in-service training) on health, social welfare, etc. for educators as well as courses for those that work in other sectors on pedagogy, diversity training, and working with families and communities.
- *Using the Framework as an assessment/monitoring tool*
  Individual and group self-assessment and reflection on practice is a powerful and empowering method to sustain on-going quality improvement (Picchio et al. 2012; Urban et al. 2011). Group self-assessment requires observation of colleagues' practice and reflection on what examples of good practice are seen in those observations. The pilot in Slovenia actually used the recommended practices in the *Framework* as a tool for structuring peer observations and group reflection on practice in the same way they use the indicators in the *ISSA Principles of Quality Pedagogy* when working in professional learning communities to critically reflect on practice. (Professional learning communities are

where groups of educators come together to discuss practice based on specific criteria that they have selected as a definition of quality. They observe in each other's classrooms as well as review video tapes of each other's teaching. They create professional development plans together on what they can do to better meet the needs of the children and families in their classrooms).

The *Framework* can also be used by service managers to understand what level of support practitioners need in implementing one or more Focus Areas or Principles. Action plans for improving practices can be created both from self-assessment and outside assessment processes.

In addition, the *Framework* can be used as an assessment tool by outsiders as demonstrated in Bulgaria where part of the piloting process was getting faculty and students from pedagogical institutions to use the *Framework* to observe, assess and work with the health assistants in the crèches. This actually demonstrated a good inter-sectoral partnership working on quality services for children under three where both the students and the medical assistants learned from each other and communicated about quality based on the language in the ISSA *Framework*.

- *Using the Framework to introduce new concepts and terminology*
  Several participants commented that the *Framework's* introduction of new terminology being used among international experts acted as a professional development tool in itself. Dialogue about and reflection upon new terms being used in international documents is another way to engage in continuing professional development. More reading and discussions on certain topics are helpful to practitioners especially to reinforce for this age group the concepts of 'the centrality of relationships' in children's development and learning and the interconnection between care and learning (a pedagogy of care). By choosing this terminology, as an international policy document, the ISSA *Framework* is also contributing to the global discourse around quality across early childhood sectors.

Conclusion

The development of the document and in the feedback provided in the pilot phase documentation, the *ISSA Quality Framework* showed great potential to support a shared understanding of quality services for children under three and their families at the national, municipal and service levels. The pilot highlighted where the Framework could create a bottom-up/top-down approach to implementing changes that need to be made to better ensure that quality services are received for this age group. This included improving professionalization processes at the pre-service and in-service level as well as monitoring and evaluation processes in order to help all practitioners better understand what quality means.

The pilot also confirmed the need for better the communication and dialogue among different levels of governance around services for children under three and among the different sectors working with this age level. Many of the participants

stated that they could be learning more from practitioners in other sectors which would also improve the quality of services.

Overall, the pilot confirmed the meaningful contribution that an international policy document can advance and support national early childhood agendas in diverse country contexts.

In conclusion, the development and the potential use of the *ISSA Quality Framework* helps ISSA and its member organizations to meet their mission "to unite and support professionals and partners to deliver high quality services equitably and to challenge existing knowledge and practice and co-construct new approaches and models" (ISSA 2016). The *Framework* introduces new knowledge and approaches to working with children under three and their families from its members, partners, and the early childhood care and education profession, as well as from experiences from the field. It is hoped that the work of implementing higher quality programs will benefit all of the children and families both within the realm of its network and beyond.

Annex

Description of the Principles Presented in the *ISSA Quality Framework for Early Childhood Services for Children Under Three Years of Age*

- Relationships
  - Recognizing and valuing each child's uniqueness, competences, personal communication style, preferences and agency.
  - Engaging in responsive interactions that create a secure attachment.
  - Fostering through strategies that encourage dialogue.
  - Fostering relationships between and among children.
  - Supporting the child under three's routine and non-routine transitions.
- Family and Community
  - Strengthening relationships with and among families and communities.
  - Engaging in sensitive, respectful and reciprocal communication.
  - Working in partnerships with families.
  - Cooperating and collaborating partnerships with the community.
- Inclusion, Diversity and Values of Democracy
  - Including equal opportunities for every child and family to participate.
  - Understanding and appreciating the diversity that exists among children, families and communities
  - Fostering each child's sense of self, voice and agency.
  - Promoting inclusion through partnerships with families
- Health, Well-being and Nutrition

  - Promoting health.
  - Ensuring children's nutritional needs are met.
  - Using health care and nutritional routines as a source of pleasure, attachment and learning.
  - Safeguarding each child from abuse, neglect and harm.

- Development and Learning
  - Approaching children's development holistically.
  - Using play is a source and strategy for development, well-being and learning.
  - Scaffolding development and learning.

- Observation, Documentation, Reflection, and Planning
  - Using observations to provide important information about children's development, learning, interests, strengths and needs.
  - Documenting, reflecting upon and sharing with parents/families and others who are involved in the child's care and well-being.
  - Jointly reflecting on observations and the documentation of children's learning and socialisation experiences.
  - Planning by responding individual children's strengths and needs

- Enabling Environments
  - Promoting each child's safety and well-being.
  - Ensuring the environment is welcoming, accessible and comfortable and creates a sense of belonging.
  - Stimulating the child's play, exploration, autonomy and initiative.

- Professional Development
  - Increasing knowledge about child development and learning
  - Continually engaging in professional development activities.

- Inter-sectoral Cooperation
  - Collaborating and cooperating with other practitioners and services within and across sectors—whilst ensuring children's and families' privacy, confidentiality and dignity
  - Referring to early childhood intervention specialists for formal screening and assessment when needed

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Chapter 14
Provision for 'Under 3s' in Australian Early Childhood Education and Care Policy Commitments: A Metaphorical Canary in the Coal Mine?

Jennifer Sumsion

Abstract In this chapter, I make use of the concepts of events and order-words from philosophers Giles Deleuze and Felix Guattari to ask "What work does the construct or category of 'under 3s' perform?" Taking two key events within the Australian policy context [2007–2015] in which under 3s performed an order-word in contrasting ways, I contend that with respect to policy commitments to the provision of a national system of high quality early childhood education and care, the category under 3s may serve similar functions to a 'canary in the coal mine'. This idiomatic English language phrase refers to an advance warning of danger ahead. It originates from the days when underground miners carried caged canaries. If there were no noxious gases in the mine, the canary would survive yet another day. If noxious gases were present in the mine, the canary would perish before the levels of the gas reached those hazardous to humans. Employing this metaphor, I argue that in the current Australian context, 'under 3s' are at risk of being seen by the Australian Government as a category for whom policy commitments, particularly with respect to educator qualification requirements, are as expendable as the miners' canaries. Endangered policy commitments to under 3 could portend further dangers ahead for efforts to achieve systemic and sustainable high quality ECEC.

Introduction

Constructions of children aged under 3 years differ enormously across and within academic disciplines, professions, and research, policy and practice-related texts. Within early childhood education, for instance, 'under 3s' are variously constructed using signifiers such as needy, capable, vulnerable, resilient, unformed,

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sophisticated, knowable, measurable and mysterious (Cheeseman et al. 2015; Duhn 2015; White and Mika 2013). These constructions are often taken up in ways that, perhaps inadvertently, tend to perpetuate dichotomies and the revisiting of debates – for example, about the 'needs' of infants and toddlers, and whether they are best served by structures that prioritise education or care (Sims 2014). In this chapter, I endeavour to step outside dichotomies and arguably tired debates, to ask instead, "What work does the construct or category of 'under 3s' perform – and with what effects?" In themselves, these are not new questions. Indeed, variants have been asked in a range of national, political, policy and practice contexts and from different theoretical perspectives (see, for example, Cheeseman et al. 2015; Rutanen 2011; Salamon and Harrison 2015; White and Mika 2013). Using the concepts 'events' and 'order-words' from the writing of Gilles Deleuze and his colleague Félix Guattari, I consider these questions in relation to the Australian early childhood education and care (ECEC) policy landscape [2007–2015] at a time of significant political and policy change.

Within this period, I focus on two key events that were, and continue to be, of particular significance for under 3s. The first event was the decision by those charged with the development of Australia's first national early childhood curriculum framework, the Early Years Learning Framework (Australian Government Department of Education Employment and Workplace Relations 2009) not to differentiate between under 3s and preschool-aged children – but rather, with rare exceptions, to see the key principles, practices and learning outcomes as relevant to educators' work with all children in prior-to-school early childhood services (Sumsion et al. 2009). The second event was the Australian Government's Productivity Commission Report into Childcare and Early Childhood Learning (Australian Government Productivity Commission 2014), specifically its controversial recommendations concerning changes to educator qualification requirements. If adopted, the likely result would be fewer 2-year diploma or 4-year degree-qualified educators working with under 3s, with the default qualification for educators in infant and toddler rooms reverting to a 6-month certificate.[1] In reflecting contrasting constructions of under 3s, these events afford opportunities for insights into the work performed by this age category and effects of this categorical work.

The chapter begins with a broad brush sketch of key Australian ECEC policy changes [2007–2015] against a backdrop of considerable political turmoil. The theoretical concepts of 'events' and 'order-words' are then briefly explained. The remainder of the chapter elaborates on each of the two events referred to above: the decision not to single out under 3s in the Early Years Learning Framework (EYLF), and the Productivity Commission's recommendations concerning educator qualifi-

[1] The Productivity Commission recommended that the minimum qualification for working with under 3s be a Certificate III, and that Certificate III-qualified educators be supported by an educator with at least a diploma (a significant lowering of the current requirement that at least 50 % of educators have, or be working toward, a diploma, with the remaining 50 % required to hold or be working towards a Certificate III). The Productivity Commission also recommended that requirements concerning the number of early childhood teachers employed in centre-based services be changed, so that they no longer take into account infant-toddler enrolments but are calculated only on the number of children aged 3 years and over attending the centre.

cations. In doing so, it asks whether, in Australia, despite espoused bipartisan federal government commitment to high quality ECEC provision, the category of under 3s could be considered to function as a metaphorical 'canary in the coal mine'.

Originating from the days when underground miners carried caged canaries as a safety precaution, this idiomatic phrase refers to an advance warning of danger ahead. If there were no noxious gasses in the mine, the canary would live for another day. If noxious gases were present, the canary would die before the levels of the gas became hazardous to humans, allowing the miners to retreat and survive at the expense of the canary. Employing this metaphor, I contend that in the current Australian political context, policy commitments to high quality provision for under 3s are at risk of being perceived as similarly expendable as the miners' canaries. Moreover, endangered commitments to under 3s could herald further threats ahead for recent policy advances aimed at ensuring systemic high quality ECEC.

The Australian Political and Policy Context 2007–2015

Since 2007, policy changes in ECEC have occurred against a backdrop of churn in political leadership at the national level. At the time of writing, Australia had recently seen the appointment of its fifth Prime Minster in 5 years [2010–2015], a much remarked upon anomaly for what has been widely considered to be one of the world's most politically stable federated democracies. During those 5 years, ECEC was overseen by a succession of six Cabinet ('senior') Ministers, as part of their broader portfolio responsibilities. From 2009 to 2014, ECEC was the specific responsibility of a succession of three Assistant ('junior') Ministers and/or more lowly ranked Parliamentary Secretaries. Moreover, during that 5-year period, the 'sub' portfolio in which ECEC was embedded underwent six substantive changes in title. The ramifications of this disruption, churn, and loss of continuity for so-called high status portfolios (e.g., defence, trade, foreign affairs) have been the focus of considerable media attention and other critical scrutiny. Considerably less attention has been given to ramifications for ECEC.

To address this lacuna, analyses of various kinds are needed. A gender lens, for example, would highlight that even when ECEC was recognised as sufficiently important to warrant the appointment of a minister with specific responsibilities for ECEC, with only one exception those appointments were filled by 'junior' female politicians. This propensity suggests little has changed since Bown et al. (2010) concluded that within Australian federal politics, ECEC is generally seen as a relatively low status, 'soft' portfolio. A discourse analysis of portfolio titles would indicate a gradually declining status of ECEC. At what arguably might constitute a high point, under Australia's first female Prime Minister [Julia Gillard, 2010–2013], for the first time, early childhood was named in the overarching portfolio and thus notionally accorded equal status to school education. Its prominence, or lack thereof, in the title of the relevant sub portfolio subsequently waxed and waned. With the election of the Liberal-National Coalition (i.e., conservative) Government in 2013,

early childhood disappeared from all portfolio titles and, from 2015, has been absent from the role descriptors of any current Minister, Assistant Minister or Parliamentary Secretary.[2]

A broad brush policy analysis would reveal a somewhat more positive picture. Despite political churn and waning visibility of ECEC in ministerial portfolios, important national ECEC policy advances were achieved during the 6 years [2007–2013] of the Labor Government. Prompted in part by a poor rating in an international comparison of ECEC systems by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) (2006), advances included the establishment of a National Quality Framework that encompasses a National Law concerning ECEC; a National Quality Standard that for the most part strengthened qualification requirements and improved educator to child ratios; a national quality rating and assessment process across almost all ECEC services; and the EYLF (Sims et al. 2015). Whether these achievements will prove sustainable, however, is open to question (Logan et al. 2016).

The current chapter has a narrower policy focus. It is concerned with constructions of under 3s in ECEC policy during this period [2007–2015] of considerable political churn and policy change; effects of these constructions; and what they might portend for the provision of systemic high quality ECEC in Australia. Central to the analysis are the Deleuze-Guattarian concepts of 'events' and 'order-words'. Before proceeding, I explain these terms as I understand them.

Events and Order-Words

In everyday usage, events can be thought of as something that has happened or is about to happen, at a particular time and in a particular place (Deleuze and Guattari 1987). Thus they tend to have readily identifiable spatial, temporal and, often, empirical dimensions. Deleuze and Guattari refer to this everyday sense of events as the 'state of affairs'. The state of affairs in Australian early childhood policy [2007–2015] included the development of the EYLF (Australian Government Department of Education Employment and Workplace Relations 2009) and the Productivity Commission's Inquiry and Report into ECEC (Australian Government Productivity Commission 2014). Yet the EYLF and the Productivity Commission Report can also be thought of as events in the sense used by Deleuze and Guattari (1994).

To Deleuze and Guattari (1994), an event is continually in disequilibrium, ever unfolding, and always becoming. With neither a beginning nor end, it cannot be reduced to a particular point in time or place. Nor can its dimensions and effects be fully captured. Produced by confluences of multiple forces (Stagoll 2010), and with many fluid, heterogeneous and simultaneous components, events are "infinitely divisible" (Deleuze 2004, p. 10). They also have "a shadowy and secret part" (Deleuze and Guattari 1994, p. 156) that renders them even more elusive and ulti-

[2] These analyses are based on information available on the Parliament of Australia website: http://www.aph.gov.au/About_Parliament/Parliamentary_Departments/Parliamentary_Library/Parliamentary_Handbook/Current_Ministry_List

mately impenetrable. Events have no definite causal outcomes, but they do have effects – for instance, opening up new possibilities though disrupting established frames of reference and associated sets of rules. They can also close down possibilities.

The growing literature about the EYLF attests to its ambiguities, tensions, multiple and shifting possibilities, and potential and actual effects (see, for example, Grieshaber and Graham 2015; Millei and Sumsion 2011; Peers and Fleer 2014; Sumsion et al. 2009). An emerging literature around the Productivity Commission Report (e.g., Cheeseman et al. 2015) similarly points to many ambiguities, tensions, possibilities and effects. Much of this writing implicitly grapples with questions posed by Deleuze (2004): "What is going to happen? What has just happened?" (p. 73); "What are the conditions that an event makes possible?" (p. 76). In the current chapter, it is the last of these questions that is of particular interest, along with associated questions about effects of (i) the decision not to categorise children on the basis of age in the EYLF, and (ii) the recommendations of the Productivity Commission Report concerning educator qualification requirements that would disproportionately disadvantage under 3s.

In pursuing these questions, I employ the concept of 'order-words'. This concept stems from Deleuze and Guattari's view of language as a mechanism for ordering life rather than as a means of representing it: "Language is not life; it gives life orders" (1987, p. 84). For Deleuze and Guattari, all utterances are order-words in that they seek to mould, directly or subtly, the actions of those they address (Massumi 2002) – for example, by attempting to fix a particular meaning of a word or phrase (such as 'under 3s') from many possible meanings (Albrecht-Crane 2005). As Deleuze and Guattari (1987, p. 85) put it, "the hard part is to specify the status and scope of the order-word" and how an order-word both opens up possibilities and imposes constraints. Thus, the question primarily becomes:

> … not how to elude the order-word but how to elude the death sentence it envelopes, how to develop its power of escape, how to prevent escape from veering into the imaginary or falling into a black hole, how to maintain or draw out the revolutionary potential of the order-word. (p. 121)

Put less eloquently, the question is about how to make the most of opportunities afforded by order-words and how to resist their simultaneous tendency to expunge those opportunities ('the death sentence'). It is through this question, too, that I examine constructions of 'under 3s' as an order-word, in the two events that are the focus of this chapter.

Event #1: Under 3s and the Early Years Learning Framework (EYLF)

With rare exceptions, the generic term 'children' is used in the EYLF, rather than the age-based categories of infants, toddlers and preschool-age children. Hence, 'children' operates as a highly visible order-word, reflecting the intent of the consortium

charged with writing the EYLF that the EYLF be interpreted in ways relevant to all children, including under 3s. This decision was not taken lightly (Sumsion et al. 2009). On the contrary, it was a consequence of endeavouring, implicitly, to work with the kinds of questions and challenges concerning order-words identified by Deleuze and Guattari. For example: How could the EYLF be worded and positioned so that it avoided reinforcing the artificial boundaries of the under/over 3s binary (Rutanen 2011). How could it thwart tendencies for under 3s to be seen as "*known* objects" (White and Mika 2013, p. 97, original emphasis), and instead establish conditions that would generate new constructions of, and new possibilities for working with, all children including under 3s? How to avoid romanticising (and thus dooming to failure) those possibilities, especially in relation to under 3s? How to disrupt entrenched views of those professional and broader socio-political cultures that may be unresponsive to/ill-equipped for/sceptical about/hostile to/constructions of under 3s as capable, sophisticated, and actively engaged in their various communities? How to subtly build in elements of "revolutionary potential" (Deleuze and Guattari 1987, p. 121) in ways that would be sufficiently politically palatable to secure the necessary unanimous agreement of all nine governments (state, territory, federal) to the EYLF as Australia's national early childhood curriculum? And given the EYLF was to be embedded in the new National Quality Standard (Australian Children's Education and Care Quality Authority n.d.), how to establish conditions that would foster professional imagination, risk-taking, and experimentation, when the previous national quality assessment process was widely perceived by educators to do the opposite (Fenech et al. 2008)?

In response to these challenges and mindful that the EYLF would continue to unfold in ways far beyond the control of the writers of the actual curriculum document, the consortium made the decision to:

> …. deliberately weave in words that can cross borders and divides, resonate with diverse audiences, and be taken up differently within different discourses and narratives. Wherever possible, we used words that we thought would appear innocuous to political risk detectors, while speaking powerfully 'in code' to practitioners seeking legitimate ways to push boundaries of what might currently be considered possible. … [and to] leave open spaces for ongoing conversations, destabilisation, and new articulations and narratives. (Sumsion et al. 2009, p. 8)

This strategy, along with the decision not to differentiate by age category, leaving 'under 3s' to operate as a relatively invisible or silent order-word, has had mixed effects. Some educators have identified and embraced new possibilities. Writing from a Deleuze-Guattarian perspective, Giugni (2011) refers to "think[ing] through what I can learn from encountering the EYLF" and finding "opportunities to draw new lines around and through my practice" (p. 15) that in turn opened up "new fissure[s] of possibility" (p. 18). She describes how a two-and-a-half-year-old child "successfully intercepted" (p. 18) a spontaneous conversation about a social justice issue, taking it in a new direction that disrupted Giugni's thinking about her role as teacher and opened up new choices concerning curriculum and pedagogy. Conversely, other educators have expressed disappointment and frustration with what they perceive to be a lack of visibility of under 3s in the EYLF, leading to calls

for a separate curriculum for infants and toddlers (Davis et al. 2015). Yet others argue that such views underestimate infants' capabilities: "Some might say that infants do not participate in sustained shared conversations, but if we recognise that children speak multiple languages, then conversations take place in ways other than through words alone" (Salamon 2011, p. 7). Their arguments resonate with White and Mika's (2013) cautioning against literal interpretations of curriculum in relation to under 3s.

The appropriateness, or otherwise, of the decision not to make 'under 3s' a highly visible order-word in the EYLF remains contested. Considerable anecdotal evidence, however, suggests that a counterintuitive effect has been to intensify interest in under 3s evident, for instance, in a proliferation of practitioner-academic symposia and professional learning programs focusing on infants and toddlers. Conceivably, this interest may encompass seeds of what Deleuze and Guattari (1987, p. 121) call "revolutionary potential". At the very least, it reflects a groundswell of interest and, for some, a sense of optimism, not only in expanding possibilities in relation to under 3s, but for children, pedagogy and practice more broadly in ECEC settings.

The growing visibility of under 3s has taken place in what, until recently, by Australian standards, has been a substantial period in which the policy context for ECEC could be seen as relatively supportive and benign. Metaphorically, there had been few signs of noxious gases that might threaten the survival of the ECEC reforms achieved during the years 2007–2013. The release of the Productivity Commission's recommendations, therefore, shocked and dismayed much of the ECEC sector and other advocates for young children.

Event #2: The Productivity Commission's Recommendations

An independent research and advisory body of the Australian Government, the Productivity Commission, was established "to help governments make better policies, in the long term interest of the Australian community" (Australian Government Productivity Commission 2014, n.p.). Its Inquiry into Childcare and Early Childhood Learning was instigated by the Liberal-National Coalition Government 2 months after its election in 2013. In one of the incoming Coalition Government's earliest statements about ECEC, and in commissioning the Inquiry, the new Treasurer stated that:

> The Australian Government is committed to establishing a sustainable future for a more flexible, affordable and accessible child care and early childhood learning market that helps underpin the national economy and supports the community, especially parent's choices to participate in work and learning and children's growth, welfare, learning and development. (Australian Government Productivity Commission 2013, p. iii)

The emphasis on ECEC as an enabler of workforce participation to be provided through market-driven mechanisms underpinned the Terms of the Inquiry and the Coalition Government's broader discourse about ECEC. The former Labor

Government [2007–2013] had also taken a strongly economic view of ECEC, locating it under the Productivity Strand of the Council of Australian Government's National Reform Agenda (Sumsion et al. 2009) and emphasising its role in the development of human capital (Tayler 2011). Yet, as previously noted, Labor also oversaw substantial reforms exemplified in the National Quality Framework. In raising qualification requirements for educators, for example, Labor recognised the right of under 3s to more than custodial care in ECEC (Cheeseman et al. 2015). The Coalition Government [2013–] espoused an ongoing commitment to high quality ECEC. Yet its framing of the Productivity Commission's Terms of Inquiry implied that it saw some of the policy advances under Labor as excessive, no longer affordable and not condusive to improving Australia's economic competitiveness.

Amongst the Productivity Commission's most controversional draft recommendations released in July 2014 were the lowering of the overall qualfications profile requirements for educators in centre-based services, which would disproportionately affect educators working with under 3s; and that under 3s be excluded from calculations concerning number of university-qualified teachers required in a centre. Its sharp distinction between under 3s and children aged 3 years or over was thus in direct contrast to the decision not to differentiate on the basis of age group in the EYLF. Despite concerted lobbying by ECEC and pediatric advocates,[3] these recommendations were retained unchanged in the Productivity Commission's Final Report.[4]

Acknowledging strong disagreement with these recommendations from the ECEC sector, the Productivity Commission stated in its Final Report that it had:

> …. received and analysed a range of additional research and alternative views on existing research. It is accepted that children are learning and developing very rapidly in their early years; it is also accepted that the quality of children's environment and interactions is important for learning and developing outcomes. What is not supported by the research evidence, and what the Commission does not accept, is that either (or a combination) of these findings necessitates that children require a tertiary qualified educator from birth. This is certainly an option that some parents may wish for and choose, but it should not be a minimum requirement imposed by governments, at considerable cost, on all families and taxpayers, until evidence substantiating the benefits for the additional cost is available. (Australian Government Productivity Commission 2014, p. 18)

As is evident from this excerpt, the Productivity Commission steadfastly maintained that there is a lack of robust evidence that under 3s require more than minimally qualified educators. Moreover, it refuted submissions it received in response to its recommendations citing studies that suggested the contrary. In this way, it mobilised under 3s as a highly visible order-word to dramatically resposition infants and toddlers. Rather than "learning from birth", as predicated in the EYLF and the National Quality Framework, under 3s were now cast as "waiting to learn"; thus

[3] For submissions, comments and proceedings of public hearings concerning the draft recommendations see http://www.pc.gov.au/inquiries/completed/childcare#report

[4] The Report was submitted to the Australian Government in October 2014. The Government has stated its support for the recommendations but, at the time of writing, the necessary legislation, which would also require the approval of all states and territories, has not yet been passed.

reviving "historic divisions between education and care" that were beginning to crumble under the former Labor Government's reforms (Cheeseman et al. 2015, p. 38). In constructing under 3s as only marginally relevant to the educational enterprise, a key effect was to render expendable, in pursuit of cost-cutting, their relatively recently achieved rights to more than minimally qualified educators. In this sense, the expendability of policy commitments to under 3s resembles the metaphorical sacrificial canary in the coal mine referred to at the beginning of the chapter. It also raises questions about the sustainability of recent policy advances in ECEC more broadly.

Concluding Thoughts

This chapter has examined the question, "What work does the construct of under 3s perform and with what effects, within the context of Australian ECEC policy from 2007 to 2015?" Taking two events from this politically volatile period, the chapter has explored how constructions of under 3s have functioned as an order-word in strikingly different ways. In the EYLF, the order-word under 3s has operated in a relatively invisible or silent manner. Yet counterintuitively, one of its effects has been to intensify interest in under 3s and in doing so it has opened up new possibilities. In sharp contrast, in the Productivity Commission Report and recommendations, as a highly visible order-word, under 3s has, to date, functioned primarily in regressive and constraining ways.

I am not intending to argue that less visible or silent order-words hold more promise than highly visible order-words, or that the EYLF has been an irrefutably positive event for under 3s and the Productivity Commission Report irredeemably negative. Binaries are of little value and, in any case, according to Deleuze and Guattari (1987), in a constantly changing world, opening up can contain the potential for a later closing down, just as closing down can contain the potential for opening up new possibilities. What I am suggesting is that attention to order-words, how they function in different events and contexts, and the conditions they make possible, along their other effects could have potential to expand and enrich the repertoire of theoretical resources for nuanced policy studies of ECEC.

The focus of this chapter has been solely on the Australian context. It has highlighted the seemingly "tenuous commitment" of the current Australian Government to under 3s in ECEC (Cheeseman et al. 2015, p. 39), given recent recommendations to wind back qualification requirements that will disproportionately play out in infant and toddler classrooms. The inequities inherent in these recommendations reinforce Penn's (2011) contention that Australian ECEC policy rationales are not underpinned primarily by a concern for children's rights. They certainly raise questions about the robustness of supposedly bipartisan commitment to the provision of systemic high quality ECEC. Whether these adverse policy shifts in provisions for infants and toddlers will turn out to constitute forewarnings of even more pervasive

threats and dangers to ECEC provision as whole ('the canary in the coal mine' phenomenon) is, as yet, difficult to ascertain.

Tayler's (2011) caution about policy fragility, in Australia and elsewhere, suggests that this possibility could have broader resonance. Indeed, even in New Zealand, widely considered an international leader in many aspects of high quality ECEC, and where there has been an emphasis on children's rights, there are unsettling signs that a longstanding, robust commitment to quality may be under threat (Mitchell 2015). Targets concerning educator qualifications, for example, have been downgraded.[5] Moreover, a recent, contested report from New Zealand's Education Review Office (ER0) (2015), claiming no relationship between educators' qualifications and curriculum quality for under 3s, could conceivably foreshadow recommendations reminiscent of those of the Productivity Commission. As New Zealanders closely monitor the implications of the ERO Report,[6] the concept of under 3s as an(?) order-word may provide a fruitful tool. It may be similarly fruitful for those dealing with related policy events and challenges elsewhere.

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[5] From 2010, the target of 100 % teacher qualified staff in teacher-led services was reduced to 80 %. http://www.education.govt.nz/ministry-of-education/budgets/budget-2010/early-childhood-education-initiatives-and-savings/

[6] See commentaries in *The First Years Nga Tau Tautahi New Zealand Journal of Infant and Toddler Education*, 2015, Vol 17, Issue 2.

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Jonathan Delafield-Butt is a Senior Lecturer at the University of Strathclyde. He began research with his doctoral work in Developmental Neurobiology at the University of Edinburgh before extending basic principles of developmental biology into Developmental Psychology through postdoctoral work at the Universities of Edinburgh and Copenhagen. He has held scholarships at Harvard University and the Institute for Advanced Studies in the Humanities at the University of Edinburgh for science-philosophy bridgework examining basic psychobiological principles of development, for health and learning. Delafield-Butt trained pre-clinically in Psychoanalytic Psychotherapy at the Scottish Institute for Human Relations – the Scottish Tavistock Clinic. He is a member of the World Association for Infant Mental Health and the International Society for Autism Research. His work examines the origins of human experience and the embodied and emotional foundations of psychological development, with particular focus on infancy and autism. His current work examines agency in movement, its development in infancy and in social engagement, and its disruption in autism spectrum disorder, with applied aspects in early years care and education, and clinical and professional support for children and families.

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Andrew Gibbons is an early childhood teacher educator and Associate Professor at the School of Education, Auckland University of Technology. His research focuses on the construction and experience of the early childhood teaching profession drawing upon the philosophy of early childhood education and the philosophy of technology. His book *The Matrix Ate My Baby* (Sense Publishers) critiques the role of new media in early childhood education. In *Education, Ethics and Existence: Camus and the Human Condition* (Routledge, co-authored with Peter Roberts and Richard Heraud), he explores the contribution of Albert Camus for the critique of schooling. Andrew is Co-Editor of ELearning and Digital Media and Associate Editor of the *Encyclopaedia of Educational Philosophy and Theory* and of *Educational Philosophy and Theory.*

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Maritta Hännikäinen is Professor in Early Childhood Education in the Faculty of Education, University of Jyväskylä, Finland. Her research includes a focus on children's learning and development in early childhood settings, in particular from cultural-historical and activity theory perspectives. She has participated in several cross-European research projects regarding, among others, relational approaches in early childhood education, development of learners' communities, children's play, quality issues in early childhood education and children under three in day care centres. Her current projects focus on issues of emotional wellbeing of the younger children in day care groups, especially from the viewpoints of participation, social relationships and teachers' role in joint activities. Maritta has wide international networks, including being a long-time local coordinator for EECERA (European Early Childhood Education and Research Association), a member of the board of ICCP (International Council for Children's Play), and an editor of the Nordic Early Childhood Education Research (Nordisk Barnehageforskning) journal.

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Susanna Mayer is a developmental psychologist and researcher at the Institute of Cognitive Sciences and Technologies, National Research Council of Italy. She conducts research in the field of cognitive development and socialization processes in early childhood. In particular, she has studied interactions between young children during pretend play, their exploration of the physical properties of objects, and communication between children and adults in ECEC contexts. She has investigated the role and functions of the coordinators of early childhood education and care services in Italy. She has participated in several studies on the needs of migrant families with young children.

Suallyn Mitchelmore is a PhD candidate at The Institute of Early Childhood, Macquarie University Sydney. Her research focus is on dignity and the ethics of encounter. Suallyn has a particular interest in arts-informed approaches to qualita-

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Tullia Musatti is an Associate Researcher at the Institute of Cognitive Sciences and Technologies, National Research Council of Italy of which she was the Research Director until 2012. She coordinates the Human Development and Society Group and conducts research on young children's socialization and learning processes in the early years. Her main research topics are: peer interaction between young children; object exploration and pretend play; young children's daily life in early childhood education and care centres and at home; and parents' perspectives on young children's care and education. She is the author of several books and articles in the field of early childhood development and education. She has participated in numerous working committees and projects to re-organize social and educational services in collaboration with Italian public administrations.

Jools Page researches attachment-based relationships between adults and children under three years in group day care provision. Currently based at the University of Sheffield (UK), Jools has previously worked in both policy and practice roles with young children and their families. Her PhD life history study examining mothers' views on returning to work when their baby was under a year old has led her to explore complex issues of 'love' and 'care' in day care provision and her conceptualisation of 'Professional Love'. Jools is the lead author of the second edition of the popular Sage book: *Working with Babies and Children: From Birth to Three (2013)*, assistant editor for the Sage *Journal of Early Childhood Research* and a member of the *Love Research Network* which brings together international scholars who are interested in collaborative and contemporary representations of love. Jools is the Director of the part time distance learning MA in Early Childhood Education at the University of Sheffield, taught both in the UK and in Malta.

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Sacha Powell is Director of the Research Centre for Children, Families and Communities and Professor of Early Childhood Care and Education at Canterbury Christ Church University in England. Sacha has spent many years working as a researcher, being involved in numerous funded studies that have explored the intersections of policy and practice in education, particularly for young children. She is interested in children's rights, the ethics of care and the tensions that may occur between these theoretical perspectives. Latterly her work has focused on the provision of out-of-home care and education for children from birth to two years.

Niina Rutanen is an Associate Professor in Early Childhood Education in the Faculty of Education, University of Jyväskylä, Finland. She is a member of the board for the Ethics Committee for Youth and Childhood Studies in Finland, a vice-member of the board for the Finnish Society for Childhood Studies and a member of various scientific associations. She is a reviewer for various scientific journals and an editorial board member for the Journal of Early Childhood Education Research. Her main research interests focus on zero to three-year-old children in early childhood education from socio-cultural and comparative perspectives, and application of spatial approaches in research on early childhood institutions. Her research projects include collaboration with Centro de Investigação sobre Desenvolvimento e Educação Infantil, at the University of São Paulo, Brazil.

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Dawn Tankersley has worked as an early childhood education consultant and program specialist for Open Society Foundations/Institute (OSF/OSI) and the International Step by Step Association (ISSA) since 2000 as a trainer, program advisor, and materials developer in Central/Eastern Europe, Central Asia, and South America. She is the lead author on many of ISSA's materials pertaining to the *ISSA Principles of Quality Pedagogy* as well as ISSA's recent publication, *A Quality Framework for Early Childhood Practice in Services for Children Under Three Years of Age*.

Colwyn Trevarthen is Emeritus Professor of Child Psychology and Psychobiology at The University of Edinburgh. Following degrees in Botany and Zoology from the Universities of Auckland and Otago, he gained his doctorate at the California Institute of Technology with Roger Sperry, studying the visuo-motor functions of the cerebral hemispheres of monkeys. In 1967 he transferred his interest from neuropsychology to the study of infant development in Post-Doctoral research at the Harvard Center for Cognitive Studies with Jerome Bruner. Since taking up his post at the University of Edinburgh in 1971, he has directed studies in infant development and how young children move, communicate happiness, and maintain well-being in creative play and shared learning. He is interested in how we share emotions with the rhythms of dance and music and how the arts motivate learning of language and other cultural skills, and can help overcome developmental disorders or neglect. He has Honorary Doctorates from the University of Crete, the University of East London, and Queen Margaret University in Edinburgh. He is a Fellow of the Royal Society of Edinburgh, a Member of the Norwegian Academy of Sciences and Letters, and a Vice-President of the British Association for Early Childhood Education, and has received a Lifetime Achievement Award from the British Psychological Society. At the University of Edinburgh he is a member of the Perception Movement Action Research Consortium, and of the Institute for Music in Human and Social Development.

Claire Vallotton is Associate Professor of Human Development and Family Studies at Michigan State University in the United States. Her research centers on development of social-emotional and communication skills in infancy and toddlerhood, and the relationships and contexts that support this development. She integrates her research and teaching by studying the development of university students' competencies for working with infants and toddlers as they matriculate through their courses on child development and education. She leads the Collaborative for

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Michel Vandenbroeck is Professor and Head of the Department of Social Work and Social Pedagogy of Ghent University, Belgium. His research interests are in policy and practice of early childhood care and education and parent support. He has a special interest in issues of in- and exclusion in contexts of growing diversity. He has also worked as a consultant for several policy institutions, including the European Commission Directorate-General Education and Culture and Kind & Gezin (Child & Family), the governmental agency of child care in the Flemish Community of Belgium.

E. Jayne White has a long-standing interest in education, with particular emphasis on early years pedagogy, spanning over thirty years as a teacher and researcher. As Associate Director for the WMIER Visual Lab and Centre for Global Studies at University of Waikato, NZ, Jayne's work focuses on the complex processes and practices of meaning-making. At the heart of her practice lies a strong emphasis on dialogic pedagogy, and the ways in which teachers can best engage within complex learning relationships - with an emphasis in the earliest years for infant learners. Jayne has written extensively in the field, including her recent sole-authored book *Introducing dialogic pedagogy: Provocations for the early years* with Routledge, and a Springer publication with Eva Johansson titled *Educational research with our youngest: Voices of infants and* toddlers (2011) where an infant research agenda was first posed. She is Co-Editor of Springer's recently launched *Video Journal of Education*, Associate Editor of *International Journal of Early Childhood* and edits for a number of additional international journals.