

Policy and Pedagogy with Under-three Year Olds:  
Cross-disciplinary Insights and Innovations 1

E. Jayne White  
Carmen Dalli *Editors*

# Under-three Year Olds in Policy and Practice

 Springer

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

Volume 1

## **Series editors**

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Editors

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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 to 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<sup>1</sup> 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

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<sup>1</sup>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<sup>2</sup> 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.

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<sup>2</sup>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. Rutanen 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 responsiveness 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 Vandebroek 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. Vandebroek 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