HETEROTOPIA AND HAUNTINGS: TROUBLING THE SPACES AND ARTEFACTS OF EARLY YEARS' EDUCATION AND CARE IN ENGLAND

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HETEROTOPIA AND HAUNTINGS: TROUBLING THE SPACES AND ARTEFACTS OF EARLY YEARS' EDUCATION AND CARE IN ENGLAND

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Acknowledgements

Abstract

In 1966 Foucault broadcast a talk on French radio about 'heterotopia'. These, he claimed, were institutional spaces which could be identified as being part of society but at the same time outside of contemporary social and political norms in their structure, discourses and iconography. A key feature of these 'different spaces' is that they are 'haunted by fantasy'. This research takes the notion of early years' education and care spaces as heterotopia but expands the notion of haunting to include the ghostly presence of pedagogical theories which co-exist within the articulations and enactments of early years' practices in England. The intention is to engage with the complexity of regimes of educational and other truths to better understand and share alternative articulations and enactments. Gordon's (2008) proposition that social haunting can be identified by seeking out the absences, silences and hidden discourses of social practices is employed to trouble early years' education and care in terms of social justice as an important concept which is juxtaposed with other discourses which emphasise individual outcomes. Using participant observation within a broadly ethnomethodological approach the author records and analyses data collected in six early years' education and care settings between 2011 and 2015. In place of scientific preoccupations with research purity (Barron et al., 2017) leading to a 'best practice' model of an education and care environment, the author deconstructs the possible meanings of her encounters with early years' discourses and pedagogies. The data is analysed in relation to the indoor and outdoor spaces; the objects artefacts and materials awarded importance within settings and quality liaison reports designed to 'improve practice'. The research revealed enduring tensions for practitioners and children in the dichotomous conceptualisations of indoor and outdoor play; caring and educating, child and pupil and the terms teacher and professional. The specialist language(s) of early years education and care were revealed to constrain as much as enable creative pedagogies. Poststructuralist feminism, including the notions of heterotopia and social haunting, proved a useful lens through which to re-evaluate 'enabling environments' provided for (and with) young children. The thesis concludes by considering the complex relationship between theory, research and practice in order to present new possibilities for enacting and articulating early years pedagogy.

Key words: Pedagogy, early childhood, heterotopia, social haunting, methodology, spaces, feminist poststructuralism

Introduction

Involvement with the education of young children, and working with other early years'
educators, has made up many of the most privileged and joyous experiences of my adult
life. It has also generated personal discomforts and frustrations with the reification of
certain theories important to the enactment (s) of early years' pedagogy playing out in Pre-
school, Nursery and Reception classes. Prominent amongst the discourses selected as
worthy of troubling is that of 'child development' which underpins the Early Years
Foundation Stage (EYFS) and is the basis on which teachers and practitioners must make
judgements about children's 'progress' from birth to five years of age and on their
attainment at the end of their time in the reception class. Caught within the web of this
psychological paradigm are other notions of what may be of importance within settings
established to educate and care for children less than six years of age. For example,
learning through play, creating stimulating indoor and outdoor learning environments,
experiential learning, leadership and management, a child centred or child led curriculum,
managing behaviour and so forth. Whilst many of these instruments of teaching are not
exclusive to the early years, they have figured particularly strongly in the professional
language(s) of early years' educators.

The research began with three key aims It was always envisaged that the theorising and
following through of these research interests would generate new, more complex questions
about early years' pedagogical interactions, articulations and enactments. The aims are to:

1. Interrogate how educational discourses may affect the decisions made by teachers
   and practitioners when designing and delivering learning for young children so
   that these interactions can be better understood by research participants
   including the practitioners and myself.
2. Investigate implicit and explicit pedagogies evident in settings delivering EYFS and
   Key Stage 1 (KS1) curricula to children between 3 and 6 years in England and to
   analyse the differing discourses on which these 'acts of teaching' may be based so
   as to articulate, implement and evaluate alternative teaching strategies which
   could be used in our interactions with young children.
3. Interrogate how practitioners and children in non-maintained settings and in
   Nursery, Reception and KS1 classrooms in schools enact particular pedagogical

interactions in order to evaluate the possible effects of practitioner enquiry on curriculum design and delivery

The continuing support for a centrally imposed approach to early years' education, which has stemmed from the 1996 publication of the *Desirable Outcomes* (DfEE, 1996), poses dilemmas about the status and influence of Early Years' Teachers in schools and their newly professionalised counterparts in the non-maintained sector. It also raises complex questions about possible interpretations, enactments and subversions of 'external guidance' by those who must incorporate it into their teaching. The EYFS is strongly influenced by competing discourses rooted in developmental psychology (Piaget, 1962, Bruner et al., 1966, Vygotskiĭ and Cole, 1978) and child centred approaches to teaching (Chung and Walsh, 2000, Moyer, 2009, Hartley, 2009). The implementation of the EYFS was accompanied by a significant number of government documents, for example the *Practice Guidance for the Early Years' Foundation Stage, Learning, Playing and Interacting* (DCSF, 2009). The revised EYFS (DfE, 2012) is far less specific in terms of how areas of learning should be delivered (as opposed to what should be learnt). However *Development Matters* (Moylett and Stewart, 2012) maintains a powerful position as non-statutory guidance to which practitioners are referred in order to demonstrate 'outstanding' practice. This retains the Themes, Principles and Practice approach in which nurturing 'A Unique Child', 'Positive Relationships' and 'Enabling Environments' is said to lead unfailingly to the fourth theme of 'Learning and Development' (Moylett and Stewart, 2012:2). This framework approach is itself based on the *Birth to Three Matters* materials (Abbott et al., 2002) with which practitioners may or may not be familiar. Such policies and the notion of 'Good Level of Development' are designed to demonstrate to practitioners a specific model of 'good practice'. However there remains both a lack of consensus or clarity over assumptions about what constitutes the 'best' or 'most appropriate' pedagogy (Chung and Walsh, 2000, Hartley, 2009, Stephen and Plowman, 2008, Plowman et al., 2010)

The intention of the study has been to interrogate how educational discourses may affect the decisions made by teachers and practitioners when designing and delivering learning for young children. To start with the intent was to co-construct knowledge alongside Early Years' Professionals through participant action research (PAR) cycles (McNiff, 2010, Baumfield et al.,

2008, Carr, 2002). Three pre-schools settings and their feeder schools initially agreed to participate. Ethical and other considerations which diverted this approach from completion are discussed in the chapters which follow. What emerged from the research in the pre-school settings was an ethnography based on participant observation which began to interrogate the regimes of power (Foucault, 1995) evident within interactions between practitioners, researcher(s), children and early years' environments. This led to the possibility for further deconstruction of dominant discourses as they were represented in quality reports when my research identity shifted due to a change of job role from Workforce Development Consultant working primarily with nurseries, pre-school playgroups and out of school provision to Early Years' Teacher Consultant (EYTC) in schools.

The overarching aim of the study has been to articulate the complexities of work with young children since failure to recognize or acknowledge the complexities of lived experiences often leads to social injustices and the sort of hauntings explored in this thesis. The objectives articulated above have remained constant throughout the research process, although the methodological approach, the ways of making sense and articulating the experience of ethnographic research in Early Years' Education and Care (ECEC) settings has evolved as the research has progressed.

Previous research that I had undertaken with early years' practitioners highlighted a desire to work more closely with colleagues in school and a commitment to make sense of the EYFS as a coherent stage in children's education (Shaw, 2009). Subsequent work (The Buddying Project, 2009) enabled early years' educators to work together to explore their practices in relation to children's transitions through the EYFS (DCSF, 2009). This current study can be understood as a sequel, in the sense that funding for the previous projects had come to an end along with shifts in the political and fiscal priorities of the Coalition and then Conservative governments as well as changes in my professional identities and concerns. Within these constantly modifying landscapes of early years' pedagogy and practices the definitive aim has become to further understand the complexities of the EYFS with an underlying intention of activating change. The activation of change has been one of the preoccupations of the research, connected as it is with the complexities of power and regimes of truth (Foucault, 1995, Mac Naughton, 2005, Foucault and Hurley, 1984, Foucault, 1999, Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983). The drive to question and attempt to bring about change came from a discomfort with the reification of theories taken primarily from child development which seemed to narrow

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the possibilities for pedagogies which value reflexive practice and social justice dating back to the progressive schools' movement and interest in the pedagogies of Freire and Dewey (Freire, 1996, Oliveira-Formosinho, 2011, Dewey, 1997). It was highlighted by the evocation at conferences, training events and in EYFS documentation of theorists such as Piaget, Vygotskii and Bruner to represent universal and unquestionable truths about the role and identities of early years' practitioners/teachers and early years' children. There have been shifts in my own professional identity during the research. It could be said that the sudden ending of the Buddying Project was a catalyst which necessitated my return to the Workforce Development Team but inspired the desire to carry out doctoral research. As part of the course of working and researching, my career roles have changed from Workforce Development Consultant, to Early Years' Teacher Consultant and most recently to Senior Lecturer in Early Childhood Education and Care at a university. Each new role has brought me into contact with different practitioners, in different settings and different interpersonal contexts. The ethical and other implications of this are discussed within the methodology chapter. Changes in the political and professional landscapes of work with young children have woven themselves into these personal/professional shifts and influenced the directions, including the theoretical framing of the research. Perhaps most notably, Early Years' Professional Status (EYPS) has become Early Years' Teacher Status (EYTS) and the local authority quality liaison work with schools and other early years' settings has, in effect, been privatised. The former has led to the engagement of the research analysis with language, writing and terminology in ECEC (and in research more generally) (Derrida and Wolfreys, 1998, Payne, 1993a, Derrida, 2010, MacLure, 2003). This represents an understanding that the terms Early Years' Professional (EYP) and Early Years' Teacher (EYT) carry different connotations drawn from historical and social interpretations of 'professional identity' and 'teacher identity' as well as cultural constructions of childhood and 'pupilhood'. More than this, although it is not a primary focus of this research, the processes by which the status of EYP was awarded, the discourses and process around its purposes were arguably less constricted (more open to professional interpretation and reflection) than the standards imposed on the assessment of EYT candidates. The latter has meant an unavoidable (and unforeseen) haunting of the research by technologies of production (Althusser, 2008, Derrida, 2006b). What I mean is that the aims of the research express a desired to create 'different spaces', in which the exchanges between adults and young children can be (re)cognised

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(MacRae, 2011) as a process of meaning making which values equality, diversity and social justice and co-constructs knowledge. This position is continually disrupted (or haunted) by architypes of the adult as teacher, professional or technocrat, within a system which frames knowledge exchange as a financial transaction and early years' education and care as no more and no less than a tool of a market economy.

The research process has been characterised by (and structured around) a series of ruptures (Foucault, 1994b, Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983, Payne, 1993a), sometimes in thought and sometimes due to circumstance. There have been seismic shifts from the notion of participant action research as a possible methodology by which practitioner and child voices might be made visible within early years' research to a more critical stance on the prospects of responsible (or socially just) research into lived experiences of children and practitioners, their articulations and enactments of early years' pedagogy within early childhood education and care spaces. Changes in my own identity, in terms of different professional roles taken on within the early years' spaces visited, unavoidably affected the relationship between research and practice; researcher and practitioner; participant observer and adult and child 'research subjects'. These instabilities and their attendant ethical and methodological difficulties have become significant drivers of the research, discussed particularly within the methodology chapter but also present within the three analysis chapters.

The first part of the literature review considers historical and contemporary readings of developmental psychology as it relates to pedagogical practices of ECEC. There is a concern with ways in which this powerful scientific field might discipline (Foucault, 1995) the spaces in which ECEC occurs by dictating the terminologies used by and about the people, objects, materials and artefacts present within them. This is one, of many possible, starting points for an engagement with the complexity of lived experiences within the settings in which ethnographic research materials were gathered (Atkinson et al., 2001). Developmental psychology sits firmly within a modernist paradigm (Giddens and Pierson, 1998, Bryant and David, 2011) in which enlightened thought, or logical argument, propels humankind ever forwards towards unchallengeable solutions to problematics of the human condition. The anointed regimes of scientific power, scientific language and scientific ways of seeing and doing define the questions which can be asked as well as the range of 'solutions' available.

The second section of the literature review turns to post-structuralist theories in an effort to articulate alternative ways of seeing, expressing and enacting pedagogy with young children in early years' settings. The possible significance of technologies of power (Foucault, 1995); of the self (Foucault, 1994b); of the sign (Foucault, 1999, Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983, Derrida and Wolfreys, 1998) and of production (Althusser, 2008, Payne, 1997a) are acknowledged as significant to meaning making in early years settings. However, the notion of haunting is identified as a key post-structuralist metaphor (Foucault, 1994a, Gordon, 2008) to be drawn on, to trouble enactments, articulations and discourses of ECEC in the chapters which follow.

In attempting to trouble the taken for granted, in this case the dominant discourse of developmental psychology, one must necessarily turn in another direction, towards another vista and different horizons. For Foucault, haunting represents the entanglement of relationships, theories, assumptions, discourses, people and objects, from the past and the present, which inhabit and interact with one another in social or institutional spaces (Foucault, 1994a:178). There are some spaces which are particularly prone to this sort of haunting. They are places which are both a part of society but also apart from the societal norms of the world outside of their walls. They are real places in which an observer (or a researcher) can visit and interact with physical objects and people, but they are also utterly unreal since their articulations and enactments contain elements of a utopian society which isolates them and makes them appear to be 'society perfected or the reverse of society…' (Foucault, 1994a:178). It is these spaces which Foucault calls heterotopias; contested spaces, full of juxtapositions and tensions, which sometimes attempt to compensate for the shortcomings of the real world and at other times operate to hide the deviance of those who live, work and play within them. In treating early years' settings as heterotopic spaces, it is hoped that the tensions mentioned at the beginning of the introduction might be more clearly articulated and deconstructed to reveal other possible and actual ways of enacting early years' pedagogy.

It is in satisfying the desire to carry out research which not only commentates upon and critiques early years' practices but is also productive of other (possibly more socially just) ways of seeing and doing early years' pedagogy that Gordon's (2008) conceptualisation of social haunting has proved helpful. Gordon's work pays attention to the absences and

silences which signify 'a something to be done' (Gordon, 2008xvii) to rectify harms inflicted, losses felt or a nagging dissatisfaction with the way things are playing out in a particular socio-political context. In the milieu of ECEC in England, it is perhaps the privileging of testing and measurement; the prioritising of education over care; the choice of the term EYT over other possibilities, such as practitioner or pedagogue which signals these ghostly presences within early years' institutions (Moloney, 2010, Langford, 2010a). Certainly, there has been a movement of pre-school provision from community venues, such as churches, church and village halls, onto school sites which has emerged from the data as a phenomenon worthy of consideration in relation to what may be lost as well as what is taken for granted as a gain, and therefore also worthwhile troubling.

The methodology chapter looks more closely at the potentialities of heterotopia and hauntings as 'languages and experiential modalities' (Gordon, 2008xvi) applicable to research into ECEC. It deliberately selects specific spectres and ideologies to disturb (Derrida, 2006b, Payne, 1993b) and considers whether they provide alternative ways to think and speak about enactments and articulations of practice. The chapter incorporates discussions around the role of fiction and/or the fictive in constructing an unstable ontology which allows for a playful approach to language, literature and reality. Texts from literary works aimed at adults and children are employed as an art form which, like all art, can enhance understanding by challenging established reality, its conventions, structure, languages and images (Kearney, 2004:86). Discussed within the methodology are ethical identities and principles of heterotopic spaces as they might interpret (or be interpreted) in the light of observations and other artefacts of ethnographic research in early years' spaces. The methods chapter provides details of the six settings, their contexts and participation within the study. This includes details of observations undertaken, visits, ethnographic field notes and documents analysed.

The analysis and discussion of findings has been split into three separate chapters which mirror Foucault's (1994a) preoccupations with heterotopias as physical spaces, heterotopic objects, materials and artefacts and as discourse. In the first of the three chapters, tensions between the indoors and outside as symbolic spaces within the pedagogies of early childhood emerges as a significant theme. Hauntings by enlightenment political theorists, particularly Rousseau (2009) and Locke (2007) vie with ghosts considered to be pioneers of

early childhood education including Froebel (2003), Montessori, Rachel and Margaret McMillan and Isaacs (Giardiello, 2014). Extracts from participant observations and other field notes prompt discussion of the disciplining nature of modernist paradigms such as developmental psychology and of the power of terms such as 'an enabling environment' (Moylett and Stewart, 2012).

The chapter on objects, artefacts and materials deconstructs extracts from the fieldnotes in relation to the appearances and subject interactions with objects admitted to early years' spaces because they are awarded some level of pedagogical value. Surfacing within the chapter are issues around gender, taboos connected to sexuality and to politics, to the social construction of the young child and the image of the EYP or EYT. The intention is to trouble the emplacement of objects within the setting and the reflections (or sometimes shadows) they cast in relation to values, of equalities and inequalities, social justices and injustices which make up the enactments and interactions of early years' pedagogy. The contention is that the reflection thrown back to practitioners, and to children, when they engage in the daily life of a setting is not that of the universal child of developmental psychology but of a multi-faceted selfhood which includes the personal and the professional; life at home and life at nursery.

The final chapter of analysis and discussion, on discourse, turns its attention to Early Years' Quality Liaison (EYQL) reports. These are documents produced by a local authority and completed by me in the role of Early Years' Teacher Consultant (EYTC) following visits to Early Years Foundation Stage (Nursery and Reception) provision at schools participating in the research. Attention is paid to the language used in the reports as well as their structure. Consideration is given to their role as heterotopic objects of discipline and control but also to enactments and articulations witnessed which did not subsequently appear within the reports, possibly because they did not fit into any of their main headings of Leadership and Management; Outcomes for Children; Learning and Development or Safeguarding and Welfare. These absences from official discourse, which might also, on occasion, be expressed as resistances to dominant paradigms, add an additional layer of complexity to the concerns and absenteeism(s) selected for critique from within the reports themselves.

The themes, analysis and critique which emerge from the data will be revisited in the conclusion which forms the final section of the thesis. Longer extracts of data, from

observations, fieldnotes and EYQL reports have been included as appendices. Discussion of key themes from the literature is at the heart of the two chapters that follow.

Chapter 1: Literature Review. The dominant discourses of developmental psychology in early years' education and care

The purpose of the literature review is to examine both historical and contemporary discourses which, to greater or lesser degrees, influence the ways in which Early Childhood Education and Care (ECEC) is constructed by children and adults in settings delivering the Early Years' Foundation Stage (EYFS). It is the intention that the range of literature selected should reflect traditions and texts likely to be encountered, directly or indirectly, by professionals in the statutory sector (those working in maintained Nursery or Reception classes) and those represented in private or voluntary Pre-schools which also deliver the EYFS curriculum (DfE, 2012, Steiner et al., 1922, SteinerWaldorfEducation, 2009) but whose staff may have different qualifications and career pathways to their colleagues in schools. A central purpose is to trouble widely accepted tenets around child development and child centred learning to bring to the surface alternative interpretations and/or theories which may produce tensions between and within early years' pedagogical articulations and enactments, past and present.

It might be argued that academic critique, and the deconstruction of developmental psychology, in the study of policies relating to young children and their families is already a well-polished lens brought to the field by Burman (Burman, 2008a, Burman, 2008b)as well as Dahlberg, Moss and Pence (Dahlberg et al., 2007, Dahlberg et al., 1999, Moss and Pence, 1994, Moss, 2016). This is literature which has an acknowledged influence on the conception and methodological position taken in the fieldwork and analysis. There are several justifications for revisiting what might be seen, from the standpoint of early childhood university departments, as an already well articulated area, embedded in the delivery of undergraduate and post-graduate courses. The first is the constantly shifting, and far from straightforward, entanglement of discourses which continue to play out within official documentation relating to the Early Years' Foundation Stage in England (DfES, 2007, Montessori-Schools-Association, 2012, SteinerWaldorfEducation, 2009, Luff, 2014, DCSF, 2008, DfE, 2012, DfE, 2014, Ofsted, 2013a, Ofsted, 2014b, Ofsted, 2015). A second reason for treading in Burman's footsteps when scoping the literature review, is one of positioning. Burman comes from the well-informed, but nevertheless privileged position of clinical

psychology and psychotherapeutic practice (Burman, 2008b:3). The intention is to add to this (or maybe divert the gaze) towards Early Years' Practitioners/Teachers' conceptions of our encounters with development psychology and the tensions it may generate within the lived practices and or stories (Reed-Danahay, 2001, Gordon et al., 2001, Coffey, 1999, Geertz, 1973) of early years' care and education spaces. This necessitates a fresh engagement with notions of knowledge and truth , of ontology and epistemology (Mac Naughton, 2005, McNay, 1992, Ball, 2013, Foucault, 1999, Derrida, 2010) as they might be employed at a very local level to challenge or reconfigure articulations and enactments of practice (Jones et al., 2012, MacRae, 2011, Johnson, 2013, Langford, 2010b). These are paradigms which will be explored further in the second part of the literature review and within the methodology chapter.

The potential for post-structuralist engagement with complexities of power, language, production and the self (Faubion James, 1994, Foucault, 1977, Foucault, 1994b, McNay, 1992, Payne, 1997a, Payne, 1993b, Gordon, 2008) to destabilise narrow interpretations of interactions observed in early years' spaces is considered in some depth in the latter part of the literature review. The review has been split into two chapters. The first chapter discusses theoretical paradigms taken from development psychology and the strong influence they continue to wield over pedagogical discourses of early childhood education and care. The second chapter troubles these interpretations and the meanings which they impose on articulations and enactments of early years' practices in England.

The strands of influences on early years' pedagogical articulations stretch back in time to: the writings of Locke (2007), Pestalozzi (2012b) and Rousseau(2009) in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; the development of Kindergarten education by theorists including Froebel(2003), Steiner (Steiner et al., 1922)and Montessori (Montessori, 1949, Montessori, 1963, Montessori, 1969b); and the twentieth century scientific approaches to human development and learning pioneered by Piaget (1977), Vygotskii (Vygotskiï and Cole, 1978, Vygotskii, 2013, Wertsch, 1985) and Bruner(2006). Thick and thin tendrils of thought on early education reach across from Europe and North America to be reinterpreted in the light of British provision and experiences so that practitioners may cite Scandinavian practices as an ideal whilst continuing to draw on American approaches such as those behind High Scope (Weikart et al., 1978) and Head Start (Schneider et al., 2007). The research is

particularly interested in rigidities which appear to exist between competing conceptualizations of early childhood and how practitioners and children might negotiate competing social and educational theories within the pedagogies and practices of early years' organisations. The scope of the review, therefore, encompasses relevant texts from developmental psychology, sociology, and the political sciences alongside contemporary education and early years' papers. Current policy and curricular documentation will be deconstructed, in order to articulate the layers of political and pedagogical beliefs which underpin them. This can then inform the research questions to be explored with early years' practitioners in the context of the environments they create and inhabit with young children in Nursery and Reception classrooms and other ECEC settings.

The literature review begins by considering political and social policy in England, over the period during which the research was conceived and undertaken. This is the context within which the literature was read and interpreted and the dominant discourses played out whilst the data was collected. Policy is a part of the hauntings of practice, something which is always present but only occasionally acknowledged as an overt influence on the interactions between adults, children and institutional spaces (Phillips and Furlong, 2001). Issues of professional identity (Osgood, 2009, Osgood, 2013) and the unpredictable influences of government policy on early childhood discourses and pedagogy (Osgood and Sharpe, 2000) are considered. The age at which childhood is deemed to begin or end; the qualifications and status awarded to the identity of practitioner, professional or teacher; the pedagogies given admission or excluded from educational spaces all interplay between policies and practices (Jones et al., 2005, Jones et al., 2016). They are not consistent or stable within the countries which make up the United Kingdom let alone Europe or the rest of the world (Burman, 2008b, Urban and Dalli, 2011). In other words, policy plays an important role in what is taught to whom and when, where and how knowledge is exchanged. However, the effects of changes in political power and social policy are complex, unpredictable and subject to cultural belief systems from the past as well as the present (Cunningham, 1995, Cunningham, 1991, James and Prout, 1997).

Since 2008, the EYFS has framed early years' education in England as an age-related phase (birth-6 years) with funded education available to all children from the term following their third birthday. Funded places exist within private, voluntary and public-sector settings with

Nursery and Reception classes led by qualified teachers and continuing ambitions that settings outside the public sector have an Early Years Professional (EYP) or Early Years Teacher (EYT) leading practice. The dominant discourses within EYFS privilege a child-led, play-based pedagogy with 'all areas [of learning and development] delivered through planned purposeful play, with a balance of adult-led and child-initiated activities' (DfES, 2007:11). The revised EYFS (DfE, 2012) highlights communication and language, physical development, and personal, social and emotional development as prime areas of focus to ensure children's 'readiness' for future learning and development (Tickell, 2011). Further revisions in 2014 (DfE, 2014) placed additional emphasis on the learning and development requirements over the care standards. An 'early intervention' approach (Allen, 2011) has seen funding targeted at two year olds deemed to be 'at risk' and movement of pre-school provision from community venues onto school sites.

Assessment protocols dictate that children must be judged to have achieved nationally determined standards in the prime areas with the addition of literacy and numeracy by the end of EYFS to achieve a 'Good Level of Development' at age five (DfE, 2015). This is in effect a normative measurement which attempts to compare children across the country in terms of their performance(s) in each of the defined areas of the EYFS (Hopkin et al., 2009, Evans, 2015). Teachers must classify each child as emerging, expected or exceeding in each early learning goal, based on observation and some annotated products such as photographs of the child in the learning environment and samples of children's graphic recordings, writing and recording of mathematical activities, for example. However, they are also required to demonstrate 'characteristics of effective learning' defined by the Standards and Skills Agency (STA) as playing and exploring; active learning and creating and thinking critically (STA, 2013).

Enduring influences from developmental psychology

A major tension emerging from the series of statutory and non-statutory guidance available to early years' practitioners from 2008 to the present is that between our understanding of young children through the lens of the physical sciences and understandings about pedagogy as a socio-cultural activity which includes the discourses around teaching as well as the act of teaching (Alexander, 2004, Simon, 1992). The two positions are not mutually exclusive; both see learning as an important human attribute which can be fostered to

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benefit both the individual and society (or humanity). Nevertheless, they have their roots in different traditions and discrete ways of describing the worlds of children and of adults and so may lead to very distinct(ive) interpretations of pedagogical interactions within early childhood settings. Dahlberg et al argue for an alternative to the Western (specifically North American) paradigm of 'measurement and discussion of quality' (Dahlberg et al., 1999:14) which they see as a consequence of the privileged position awarded to developmental psychology within early childhood praxis in Britain.

Theories arising from developmental psychology undoubtedly continue to haunt early years' pedagogy and professional perceptions of human maturation linked to capacity to learn. Piaget, Vygotskii and Bruner all influence, to a greater or lesser extent, specific elements of the early years' curriculum. Piaget initiated experimental and observational techniques aimed at discovering how babies' perceptions of the physical world change and develop. This centring on links between intelligence, logic and physical reality position the findings very much into the field of the physical sciences both in terms of the methodologies used and the phenomena of children's learning investigated. Piaget focused on overarching explanations for children's seemingly changing capacities for intelligent action and ideas about the world as they grow older (Piaget, 1977).

Ages and Stages

Piaget's model of how children move through different stages of 'intelligent' thought in order to reach fully formed concepts in maturity is set out in *The Psychology of Intelligence* (2003). It sits firmly within the paradigm of cognitive development theory and therefore stresses biological explanations of intellectual development (Stainton-Rogers, 2001a:203). Probably the most widely disseminated aspect of the work, and therefore the theory most recognisable to early years' practitioners, is the classification of distinct, observable stages in the development of children's thought processes (Stainton-Rogers, 2001a:204). Piaget identifies these as sensory-motor thought in which all mental operations are linked directly to physical actions (Piaget, 2003:109); followed by pre-operational thought in which the child is able to use mental imagery to represent physical action to herself (Piaget, 2003:135); at around 7 or 8 years of age (the end of key stage 1 in England) this is replaced by concrete operations in which the individual is able to problem solve through mental manipulation of ideas independent of physical perceptions (Piaget, 2003:152); finally, in adolescence and

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beyond, humans attain the ability to carry out formal operations which are no longer tied to either personal experiences or physical reality thereby allowing for higher order mathematical and scientific thinking (Piaget, 2003:163) such as manipulation of imaginary numbers or an understanding of quantum physics.

The continuing influence of the first two stages on early years' pedagogical discourses is not difficult to identify. For example in Lewisham's advice to practitioners that 'During the Foundation Stage, children should have opportunities to investigate number, shape, space and measure through meaningful, practical experiences, both indoors and outdoors' (Cartwright et al., 2002:17). And in the 'characteristics of effective learning' identified in the non-statutory guidance for the current EYFS which states that 'The ways in which the child engages with other people and their environment- playing and exploring, active learning and creating and thinking critically- underpin learning and development across all areas and support the child to remain an effective and motivated learner(Moylett and Stewart, 2012:4). Embedded within this theoretical discourse are ideas about the nature of learning in childhood which have been highly influential within the field of early childhood education.

Social Psychology

In the introduction to Vygotskii's *Thought and Language* (1962), Bruner writes:

> The present volume, published posthumously in 1934, ties together one major phase of Vygotskii's work, and though its principal theme is the relation of thought and language, it is more deeply a presentation of a highly original and thoughtful theory of intellectual development. Vygotskii's conception of development is at the same time a theory of education.

The extent to which Vygotskii would have agreed with this analysis of his work cannot be known since Bruner's introduction was written thirty years after Vygotskii's death. The relationship between thought and language and /or communication and learning is significant to practitioners of early education because growing mastery of language is a tangible achievement for almost all children during the period we define as childhood. The young child is seen as learning by communicating and expressing their concepts and theories and by listening to those of others (Rinaldi et al., 2005:111). At the heart of Vygotskii's writings, sits the notion of thought and speech development as separate but

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interdependent. Thus, language can be described as a social, rather than a purely intellectual, phenomenon. 'Thought development is determined by language, i.e. by the linguistic tools of thought and by the sociocultural experience of the child (Vygotskii, 1962:51).

Vygotskii's response to previous theories is to investigate the 'complex interrelations' between teaching and [concept] development '…in certain definite areas of school instruction: reading and writing, grammar, arithmetic, natural science and social science' (Vygotskii, 1962:97). As previously suggested, it may be the application of Vygotskii's findings around communication development which are more often the focus for early years' educators since language development, alongside social development, may have primary importance in facilitating access to other curriculum areas within the social context of educational institutions.

Whilst the above theories are likely to have directly or indirectly influenced elements of enactments and discourses of early years' pedagogy, the concept most often named by early years' teachers and practitioners as directly attributable to Vygotskii is 'the zone of proximal development (ZPD)'. Vygotskii introduces this notion as 'The discrepancy between a child's actual mental age and the level he reaches in solving problems with assistance…' (Vygotskii, 1962:103) and the model is explained more fully in the collection of essays entitled *Mind in Society* (Vygotskiĭ and Cole, 1978:84-91). Morss (1996:13-14) points out that 'The notion of the zone of proximal development can [thus] be treated in a very conventional quantitative manner – as a measurable feature of a child's performance. The zone can also be treated as an attack on all such measurements.' The possibility of differing interpretations and implementations of the ZPD in early years' pedagogy is likely to manifest itself in tensions detectable within the EYFS, for instance in practitioners' willingness (or not) to reconcile child led and play based curriculum delivery with the need to apply Early Years' Foundation Stage Profile (EYFSP) data to judgements on children's individual performance and/or development.

Underlying Vygotskii's development of the ZPD theory is his attention to 'the uniquely human aspects of behaviour' (Vygotskiĭ and Cole, 1978:19) as opposed to that of primates as studied by Kohler (Thurnwald, 1922). Vygotskii is fascinated by the development of 'higher psychological processes' which allow problems to be solved mentally prior to any

physical action being taken. He draws attention to the exclusively human ability of representing the physical world to the self and others through the mediating effect of language. In other words, he identifies and demonstrates the power of symbolic representation mediating between thought and action when an object or tool is replaced by a sign.

> The tool's function is to serve as the conductor of human influence on the object of activity; it is *externally* oriented; it must lead to changes in objects. It is a means by which human external activity is aimed at mastering, and triumphing over nature. The sign, on the other hand changes nothing in the object of a psychological operation. It is a means of internal activity aimed at mastering oneself; the sign is *internally* oriented. These activities are so different from each other that the nature of the means they use cannot be the same in both cases' (Vygotskiǐ and Cole, 1978:55).

This has profound implications for pedagogical practices with young children. On the one hand, the relationship between tool and sign suggests the need for learning by doing; only through experience of manipulating objects can the child develop the higher psychological process of symbolic representation as proposed by Piaget. This casts the teacher/practitioner in the role of provider of a suitable environment and equipment for use by the child/learner. On the other hand, the affiliation between thought and action may advocate social interactionism as the means by which learning takes place. In this model communication between adults and children becomes pivotal to pedagogical practices. The adult must be available to intervene at critical moments and to provide specific 'adult focus' activities in addition to suitable learning environments. Most early years' settings will include elements of both these pedagogical methodologies, not least because elements of both are advocated by the EYFS. However, this does not elucidate the relative value placed on each approach by practitioners or our articulations of their significance to our pedagogical beliefs.

The domination of North American paradigms

Over many years of work within the field of child psychology in North America and Europe, Bruner has journeyed from experimentation with young children from the perspective of

cognitive psychology (Bruner, 1962) to advocating the need for a cultural psychology which stresses a constructivist approach to teaching and learning (Bruner, 1996). Although a relatively small proportion of the work refers specifically to early years' or pre-school education many of its precepts, such as the need to 'scaffold' young children's learning (Bruner et al., 1966, Bruner et al., 1976, Bruner, 1966), to explore 'theories of mind' with children and to use doing as the basis of knowing (Bruner, 1996) are embedded in current discourses encountered by practitioners.

In 1986 Bruner revives his earlier interest in Vygotskiian theory and throws a spotlight on the ZPD from which emerges Bruner's own interpretation of scaffolding as a pedagogical tool. As Morss (1996:11) points out

'Vygotskii's work had made relatively little impact on the West until the 1960s and required the disaffection with Piaget to make the real breakthrough. In child development, the 1980's were in many ways the Vygotskii years'.

 It was another decade before Vygotskii's ideas were well known amongst most early years' educators but it is likely that this has been echoed in early years' pedagogy with elements of Vygotskii's and Piaget's theories co-existing within practitioners' theoretical landscapes.

Bruner's interest and influence in the field of curricula design and associated pedagogies has its roots in an expressly North American preoccupation with scientific education spawned at the height of the space race in the 1960s. Implicit within the discourses initiated during a National Academy of Sciences conference attended by Bruner in 1959, is the supposition that the purpose of education in any modern democracy is dissemination of technical knowledge which will enable future [adult] citizens to further the political and economic interests of themselves and their nation through employment in science based industries (Bruner, 1960). Many of the tensions his writing elucidated in the 1960s endure in the meta-discourses of the British press and successive governments on education into the current century. For example, in addressing the question of what primary education is for, Alexander (2010) points to the aim proposed by the Department of Education in 1981 to help pupils to acquire knowledge and skills relevant to adult life and employment in a fast changing world. Whether as early years' practitioners we implicitly or explicitly agree or

disagree with the underlying pedagogical stance(s), it is highly unlikely that we are entirely immune from their influence in our daily interactions and/or praxis.

Bruner's explanations become increasingly complex as he seeks to draw together psycho-scientific analysis with psycho-cultural interpretations. Topics contained in later essays encompass meaning making, constructions of self, metacognition, the political nature of education, the narrative construal of reality and relationships between knowing and doing, to name but a few. Perhaps the paper most informative in view of contextualising the policy and praxis discourses in early years' education today is the one entitled *Folk Pedagogy*. Here Bruner explains that behaviourists have overlooked the extent to which human interactions are affected by 'everyday intuitive theories about how other minds work' (Bruner, 1996:45) but that this 'folk psychology' is a legitimate area for scientific investigation.

Having said this, there are weighty factors which remain outside the parameters of Bruner's enquiries, particularly with regard to the power play between discourses of science, political and professional discourses identified in work such as that of Dahlberg et al and other researchers within the field of early childhood (Dahlberg et al., 1999, Dahlberg et al., 2007, Moss and Pence, 1994, Moss and Bertelsmann, 2008, Rinaldi et al., 2005, Pascal et al., 1997, James and Prout, 1997)

Whilst ZPD has entered the specialised vocabulary of early years' practitioners, it is debatably, viewed through the lens of Bruner's interpretations of Vygotskii's writings. Its very reduction to an acronym gives it an aura of factual existence rather than theory worthy of further scrutiny. Bruner's work overall sits firmly within the paradigm of empiricism in that the epistemological stance is that knowledge can only be gained through experience, or in other words, through use of the senses. This can be said to exert influence over our interpretations of ways in which children learn and methodological approaches to the study of children's learning and development. In the case of the former, there is an implied separation between adult and child learning since children have less experience of the world and therefore need to be given sufficient opportunity to build knowledge by internalising practical activity before they can go on to perform complex mental operations without the aid of physical objects. In relation to the latter there is a supposition that results from laboratory observations and testing and larger scale psychological experiments can be directly related to classroom performance. Bruner himself struggles with the dilemma when

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he asks, 'Can't I use the laboratory to investigate how memory works under especially interesting conditions that one might not find in daily life?' (Bruner, 1996:169). Bruner frequently seeks a universal truth as an explanation for 'learning', which can be applied regardless of experiences and explanations of specific groups of people participating in the teaching/learning interactions referred to as pedagogy.

What clearly runs through these works on development is the notion of stages which lead on from one to another in a specific order. This view may continue to have an impact on the pedagogical articulations and judgements made by practitioners in their interactions with children in the study settings since it was widely disseminated through teacher education at least until the 1980s. It also survives with the age related development statements used in *Development Matters* and in practitioner judgements on children required for on entry data and nationally published Early Years' Foundation Stage Profile (EYFSP) data collected for all children before they transfer to year 1(STA, 2013)

Child development and a culture of measurement

Testing and observation of performance to make judgements about young children's progress is not new but what does appear to change over time, or possibly to coexist in differing pedagogical discourses, are the purposes attributed to the measurements reported. Piaget accepts the testing of intelligence as a legitimate pursuit within cognitive psychology, discussing Binet's formula for determining mental age (Piaget, 2003:169) and heralding the work of Inhelder as 'one of the first applications of a method which could be developed further for determining levels of intelligence in general' (Piaget, 2003:170). Intelligence testing within education has tended to be used to judge a child's potential for learning and therefore to inform decisions about differentiated curricular provision, the most transparent example being the eleven plus. EYFSP purports to measure '…the knowledge, skills and understanding that all young children should have gained by the end of the Reception year'(Moylett and Stewart, 2012) in each of the seven areas of learning, which in turn leads to a verdict on the number of children attaining 'a good level' of overall development. There is an assumption of a universal model of childhood in which biological

and social development are inseparable markers in the individual child's journey from the irrationality of immaturity to the rationality of adulthood (James and Prout, 1997).

A fundamental difficulty for practitioners attempting to make this sort of judgement on young children is the role played by language as a necessary tool for sharing in the internal lives of others. If a child cannot yet articulate what is in their mind how are we to interpret what they know or understand? For Vygotskii:

Progress in thought and progress in speech are not parallel. Their two growth curves cross and re-cross. They may straighten out and run side by side, even merge for a time, but they always diverge again. (Vygotskii, 1962:33).

This conceptualisation emerges as problematic if child development is seen [by practitioners, parents and researchers] as a universal truth informing pedagogical and child rearing practices, rather than theoretical propositions rooted within particular historical and social contexts (James and Prout, 1997, Stainton-Rogers, 2001b, Burman, 2008a, Burman, 2008b). A lack of opportunities for analysing differences between Piagetian and Vygotskiian approaches to the role of language may make it very difficult for practitioners either to question or justify pedagogical practices which emphasise holistic learning and development as is the premise in the application of more recent theoretical frames such as 'shared sustained thinking' (Sylva et al., 2010) which starts with the [Piagetian] belief that

From birth, we are all trying to make sense of the world. Babies and Children spend much of their time gathering information and creating ideas, opinions and coming to conclusions based on their own unique experiences (Clarke, 2007:4)

Bruner extends this notion into an endeavour to explicate how individuals come to appreciate other people as separate to themselves, with different thoughts, ideas and emotions. In *The Culture of Education* (1996) he addresses in some depth the topic of 'understanding and explaining other minds' (Bruner, 1996:100), with a complete chapter devoted to debating scientific explanations and their relevance. There is a nod towards significance within education in relation to teachers understanding the thinking of their pupils but also children understanding teachers' thinking (Bruner, 1996:101). Although almost an aside within the context of Bruner's writing, it has a substantial bearing on the debate over whether early years' classrooms should lend themselves to the needs of the

children entering them or whether their purpose is to prepare children to become pupils in the sense of school readiness (Brooker, 2008). Bruner's account is primarily from the perspective of the science of psychology not from that of classroom practice or pedagogy. Bruner does draw two conclusions pertinent to classroom praxis and possible research. Firstly, that understanding the mental operations of others relies not only on a theory of mind but is also linked to an understanding of culture and secondly that individual interactions with young children need to take place as if the child has a workable theory of mind and the nature of this may vary between cultures (Bruner, 1996:113). In the context of societies, such as ours, where the norm is to organise education of the young primarily outside of the home this poses the immediate conundrum of the age at which children should be constructed as pupils (Brooker, 2010, Kudriavtsev and Fattakhova, 2015, Walsh, 2011, Black et al., 2011) (and those working with them as teachers). Being a pupil presupposes patterns of behaviour linked to institutional rules, routines and expectations. There is often an emphasis on listening, on being still and on conforming, particularly at times or in places pre-ordained by adults. Equally the label 'teacher' bestows a certain status as a guardian of expertise able to dispense the right knowledge at the most appropriate time. In this way, the organisation of learning may have as much to do with our view of ourselves as early years' teachers or practitioners as it does with our interpretation(s) of children's thinking.

Theory of mind is a set of psychological hypotheses around the human (and primate) (Premack and Woodruff, 1978) capacity to recognise that others have consciousness separate from our own and, like us have intention when taking actions. In humans, this is shared and refined through language enabling interpersonal phenomena such as empathy and appreciation of world views other than one's own. Bruner is interested in ways in which 'theory of mind' develops into 'the transactional self', fundamentally social development, which culminates in the ability to communicate, empathise and work collaboratively with others through a shared view of the world (Bruner, 1986:59). His findings carried him away from previous understandings of the pre-lingual child as egocentric to more contemporary readings of babies and young children as innately sociable.

The young child seems not only to negotiate sense in his exchanges with others but to carry the problems raised by such ambiguities back into the privacy of his own monologues (Bruner, 1986:64).

Enmeshed in this notion, from the perspective of early years' practice, is when to intervene when a child is absorbed in 'private monologue' and how to interact with individual, rather than groups of children within an educational setting, particularly when this may include children as young as two years of age.

It could be argued that both Bruner and his contemporary, Soviet born American psychologist Bronfenbrenner are interventionists, taking an epistemological approach in which certain human characteristics are seen to be desirable and worthy of promotion, while others are classed as deviant and therefore damaging to the individual and to society and in need of correction or diversion. The motivation for examining and intervening in early experiences is primarily a concern with factors that contribute to 'problem behaviour' or other failures in later life (Brendtro, 2006). In this evolutionary model, the journey from childhood to adulthood is one of simplicity of thought to complexity and from irrational to logical behaviour (James and Prout, 1997). The social context in which research takes place is that of the United States in which children experience a pattern of education and social interactions, typical of the west more generally, moving from the nuclear family to pre-school education and care through primary and secondary education into the adult world of work (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). On the other hand Bronfenbrenner moves us away from purely laboratory tested conclusions about young children which have been criticised as inappropriate and misleading by researchers such as Donaldson et al (1983) . One proposition of this study is that practitioners themselves are ideally placed to add to the wider understanding of teaching and learning in early years' establishments but to do so they must have the opportunity to critically examine not only local and national practices but also the theoretical sources from which they spring.

Sutherland (1992:136) suggests that nursery teachers have been 'the best customers' of 'the Piagetian message' because, like Montessori and Froebel, Piaget's theories support practical activity as the most suitable pedagogy for work with 3 to 7 year olds. The subsequent twenty years have witnessed a radical shift in the landscape of early years' policy (and therefore official practice), in which it could be argued that Bruner is more influential than

Piaget, particularly in the light of Sure Start, the implementation of a Foundation Stage curriculum from birth to five and the collection of assessment data prior to children's transition into key stage 1. Not only does this tie learning to a specific curriculum in which the adult has a more active role in communicating knowledge, it also highlights the role of language in learning/knowing and sets up a distinction between the roles of child/parent and pupil/teacher.

One of the concerns of the ethnography is with exploring the many counter discourses to those of development psychology which already occur within the practice of early childhood pedagogy in Britain, but are being gradually submerged as the application of psychological discourses are imposed on practitioners working with younger and younger children. This is particularly evident in materials published to support current policies around two year olds (O'Sullivan and Chambers, 2014, Moullin et al., 2014) but also permeates statutory and non-statutory provision for all children subject to **the** EYFS and its related enactments. Espousing Bowlby's contentions surrounding the damaging long-term consequences of experiences of maternal deprivation during a suggested sensitive period in the first three years of life, which are, again, based on notions of stages of development**, i**n these documents**,** development psychology meets and/or entwines with attachment theory (Bowlby, 1952, Bowlby, 1955, Bowlby, 1997, Bretherton, 1992). The utilisation of key worker systems in pre-schools, nurseries and reception classes is a consequence, as out of home care and education for young children has expanded, of the direct application of developmental psychology and attachment theory to practice, emerging from the later work by researchers such as Belsky (see for, example, Belsky et al, 2007) regarding separation from the mother or main caregiver and possible mitigation provided the child experiences continuity of care**.**

Discourses of 'method' in early education

Developmental psychology exhibits one aspect of what it is to be a pupil or an educator in early years' Institutions. It shines a spotlight on individual psyches treading separate pathways but all heading in a single direction, towards psychological maturity and notions of certainty. It throws into shadow the social, cultural and political aspects of pedagogical interactions between participants, identified by Bronfenbrenner as parents, governors and **l**ocal and **n**ational **g**overnment representatives as well as the children and adults populating the setting daily (Bronfenbrenner, 1979).

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A plausible reaction is to adopt a pick and mix approach to educational theory in which interactions between practitioner and child are based not on coherent pedagogical conviction(s) about how knowledge and/or learning can be created but on external discourses around children's readiness or not to process subject matter. For example, arguably, Piaget's work is more likely to exert an influence over the teaching of 'problem solving, reasoning and numeracy' than other areas of the EYFS curriculum since the body of work from the late 1930s through to the 1970s draws attention to interpretations of how children come to understand and internalise specific intellectual concepts including number, mass and capacity, for example in *The child's conception of number (1941)* in which 'the reader finds the first articulated study of Piaget's well-known work on the child's notion of conservation of matter…' (Gruber and Voneche, 1978:298). In *The origins of intelligence in children* (1936) and *The construction of reality in the child* (1937), turning to Piaget is likely to suggest a curriculum rich in the exploration of concrete objects, bricks, jigsaws, play dough and containers for sand and water play with the focus on the child's manipulation of these materials. The prioritising of theories from Vygotskii or Bruner on the other hand, may throw up dilemmas around the need to scaffold learning (van Kuyk, 2011) or the use of role play as a useful background to concept development (Edwards, 2011). Either way, language, as a system of external signs, separate from, and yet connected to, thought remains problematic. Vygotskii (1962) contends that literacy is a more difficult symbolic system to decode than language because as Barron and Holmes (2005:22) explain : 'there are no gestures or contextual cues to draw upon and the creator of the literate text is not likely to be present to answer questions or to provide additional support'.   It is this selective combining of different theories within developmental psychology which might become apparent as hauntings of practice if discussed and troubled with practitioners as illustrated in the case study discussed later.

Alternative interpretations of effective early years' practice often relate to specific pedagogical methods of delivering early education, such as Montessori, Steiner or more recently in Britain, Reggio Emilia. Forerunners to this mode of providing early education include Froebel and McMillan. From Froebel we gain the term 'kindergarten' and a focus on specific toys, such as balls, blocks and malleable materials, as important objects for learning in early childhood (Froebel, 2003). Margaret and Rachel McMillan's legacies relate more

directly to the nurturing of deprived children through nursery provision but there is particular resonance for all children in the EYFS inclusion of 'health and self-care' as one of the two strands of physical development and the accentuating of learning out of doors (McMillan Legacy, 1999). A complex and enduring tension which has troubled me as a practitioner and as a researcher is the air brushing of the social and political contexts of these 'pioneers' of early years' pedagogy from the official policy documents discussed earlier in the chapter. They may hold the potential for public and professional debate around 'the notion of care as a public good that must be valued (as opposed to priced)' (Urban, 2015:297) but this is limited if discourse frames them merely as slightly different solutions to the problems already defined within development psychology and modernist western technologies of production (Foucault, 1999). Interesting and impactful research questions might be designed around the influence Montessori has on the relationship between the private and the public and the assumption that the purpose of universal childcare services is that women are enabled (or expected) to seek employment. Equally the McMillans might be investigated in relation to the complexities of universal versus targeted services playing out within current 'early intervention' programmes. The concept of early intervention as it relates to this study is discussed further in the next chapter. The complex relationships between professionalization, neo-liberal approaches to early childhood care and early years' education and the role of early years' research in a European and global context can be found within the work of Urban (Urban, 2008, Urban, 2012, Urban, 2015) and a growing body of research interested in critical approaches to early years' education and care. The literature review and the research which follows casts the historical contexts, philosophies and enduring influences of Montessori, Frobel, the McMillan sisters and their antecedents as worthy of theorising within the examination of contemporary pedagogical discourses and practices.

The Montessori Schools Association (2012)states that their approach shares the underlying principles of the EYFS. This is recognisable in aspects of practice such as promotion of independence within a clear structure of routines, the emphasis placed on environments in which children can select, gather and are expected to put away equipment and the favouring of natural materials such as wooden blocks and access to the outdoors (Montessori, 1949, Montessori, 1969a, Montessori, 1969b, Montessori and Costelloe, 1972).

On another level , Montessori's theory of sensitive periods during which a child's learning is accelerated by a particular fascination is comparable to work on schemas (Atherton and Nutbrown, 2013, Arnold, 2010, Mairs and Arnold, 2013) which draws on Piaget's work on the development of schemata through the process of assimilation and accommodation discussed earlier and could also be said to feed into the interest in the ZPD, particularly as Montessori recognises peers as well as adults as sources of teaching.

Steiner schools and kindergartens are the only significant organisations to have gained a partial exemption from delivery of EYFS. The objection with which they argued most strongly related to the learning and development requirements in the original EYFS (DfES, 2007). In Steiner pedagogy, education of the whole child is central and learning for children up to the age of seven must be integrated into daily living and therefore cannot be subject based (SteinerWaldorfEducation, 2009). Like Montessori, Steiner education focuses on offering children a play based, holistic learning experience within a structured schedule which includes play or activity time on arrival, ring time, snack time, outdoor time and story time (SteinerWaldorfEducation, 2013), most if not all of which are familiar activities in the majority of early childhood settings. The difference in emphasis is in Steiner's philosophical view of the child as a spiritual being whose close affinity to nature should be celebrated and nurtured (Steiner et al., 1922). This conjures echoes of Rousseau's 'natural child' who must be educated into retaining the good habits associated with the innocence of childhood and guarded against corruption by 'unnatural tendencies' or immorality of society (Rousseau, 2009).

There appears to be an enduring tension between Rousseau's Romantic child, full of innocence to be preserved for as long as possible (Rousseau, 2009) and the Evangelical Child filled with original sin to be removed by discipline and punishment (Hendrick, 1997:38). These two opposing attitudes may become entangled in our efforts to give stimulating environments to children and then manage their behaviour within them. A pedagogical example is the conflict between teaching strategies informed on the one hand by a 'blank page' or 'clay to be moulded' (Locke, 2007) view of early education as opposed to a number of other beliefs about what the child brings with them into the early years' setting or classroom. There may be many more layers and interweaving of discourses to be revealed in observing and reflecting with practitioners and children. Questions may also be posed in

relation to our own cultural heritages and their accompanying biases. Locke's text, springing from English Evangelicalism, contains advice such as 'When he can read English well, it will be seasonable to enter him in writing. And here the first thing should be taught him is to hold his pen right;' (Locke, 2007:123) which would be readily accepted in many British schools and nurseries today. In contrast the writings of Rousseau and Pestalozzi, steeped as they are in European political philosophy, may seem less accessible, even in translation, and therefore more difficult to identify when they enter modern pedagogical discourses.

Concluding Remarks

The dominance of psychological discourses and the power they have in shaping early childhood services in the west and globally have been (and continue to be) critiqued from within the field of early childhood studies (Dahlberg et al., 2007, Dahlberg et al., 1999, Moss and Pence, 1994, Moss, 2016, Burman, 2008a, Burman, 2008b). It has been important to discuss in some depth the origins of connections between developmental psychology and the socio-political contexts of early childhood education and care and to probe the hauntings of practice which it may generate (Foucault, 1994a, Gordon, 2008). This chapter has considered the various tensions which emanate from the theoretical frames and the language(s) of development psychology when they present themselves as universal truths which subsume other possible ways of articulating and enacting early years' pedagogy. It has troubled the notion of ages and stages as the basis around which the early years' foundation stage has been constructed; problematised the character of language within early years' education and care and questioned the North American interpretation of social psychology as it appears (or is absent from) the work of Vygotskii and his followers. The intention is not to challenge the validity of these theories but to explore their influences within regimes of truth which inhibit (or render ghostly) some tenets of early years' philosophies whilst promoting others as unquestionable. The chapter has raised cultures of measurement and discourses of method as powerful paradigms worthy of analytical disruption because of their tendency to oversimplify and constrain acts of creativity and social justice at the level of pedagogical practices within settings. The second part of the literature review will look to alternative articulations of the meaning of early childhood in western societies which have informed the methodological and analytical paradigms of the research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review. Post-modern and post-structural perspectives on early childhood education and care

If the 'mental function' focused developmental psychology of the early to mid-twentieth century is taken as one end of a spectrum then the emphasis on physical expression and learning through the senses which narrowly precedes it in the European kindergarten movement of Steiner, Montessori and Froebel (2003), perhaps inhabits the opposite. In selecting the term spectrum, I am thinking of its use in physics to convey the separation of light into colours as it passes through a prism (or in a rainbow or an oily puddle). Not all the spectrum is visible to the naked eye but what can be discerned is notable not for the polarity between violet and red but for the ways in which the colours merge into one another so that at any one time some may be vibrant whilst others are almost indistinguishable. In other words, early years' practitioners and children somehow manage to carry out every day interactions and acts of pedagogy which incorporate cultures of measurement, of individual attainment and development segregated into language, emotion, physicality, literacy, mathematics, creativity and understanding of a predefined external world alongside other notion of pedagogy which prioritise collectivism, holistic learning and social justice. All these 'ideals' or explanations of what Early Years' Education and Care (ECEC) is or should be coexist within deeply ingrained cultures of early childhood praxis suggesting that they may spring from (and possibly signify reactions against) even earlier conceptions of what childhood is or ought to be. Just as Dahlberg et al represent early childhood settings as social constructions, the roles of parent, child, early years' professional and/or early years' teacher might be viewed as compositions of the time, place and context in which they occur. It is these inherent tensions, the way in which they play out (and might be distinguishable from one another) in ECEC settings; the meanings which might be awarded to their articulations through the spaces, objects and enactments of early years' pedagogical practices, which is of interest to this research.

Historians of childhood have seen it as a relatively modern western concept, one applicable to children of the rich from the mid-eighteenth century but not impacting on the lives of poorer families until well into the nineteenth century (Aries, 1962, Cunningham, 1991, Cunningham, 1995). This is relevant to the current study of differing manifestations of early years' pedagogical moments because the meanings we infer from our interactions with

children are inevitably coloured by expectations around what it is to be an adult or a child, a teacher or a pupil, young or old. Hendrick (1997) identifies ten states of childhood appearing between 1800 and the 1990s, ranging from the natural and the Romantic child through the delinquent, schooled and studied child to the child of the welfare state. Perhaps the children of today could be described as the child of 'the digital age,' or, as Prensky puts it, 'digital natives' (2010, Prensky and Chen, 2012), pointing to the fact that childhood is different for each generation. Despite the constantly changing social depictions of childhood, historical constructions tend to linger, appearing and receding in different social and educational encounters like spectres and these spirits of bygone ages may be made visible through observable tensions between and within early years' pedagogical articulations and enactments.

This physical division of the space into 'areas of learning' has become the accepted norm in many western European ECEC settings. The idea behind this emplacement (what we imagine and desire to happen in these spaces) is that all areas of learning deemed important in the early years will be stimulated in a variety of contexts, as selected by the children. There is an imagining of the possibility of a series of interactions involving objects, adults and children leading to 'holistic learning and development'. In English, the term emplacement translates as location, but in French it can also mean stall or boutique. Maybe settings could be likened to a market place (or bazaars), in which incongruous objects can be put together in many ways, according to the tastes and creativity of stall holders and shoppers. I am of course speaking of markets in their ancient, physical sense, a collection of stalls, a meeting place between vendors and visitors, locals and strangers, not markets in today's globalised economic or Marxist (Bevir and Trentmann, 2004, Grantham and Mackinnon, 1994) sense. Bazaars are egalitarian, cross cultural spaces, exciting because they are both exotic and familiar. Consider Rod Zolkos' description of a market in Reading, Philadelphia:

'Essentially occupying the same ground as two mid-19th-century open air markets, today's Reading Terminal Market is a spectacular bazaar teeming with produce brought directly from the farm, fresh flowers, meats, eggs and cheeses, a variety of Amish baked goods and other specialties, crafts and a host of other products.' (Zolkos, 2005:T22)

A Bazaar is full of sights, sounds, smells and tastes to stimulate the senses and feed memory and imagination. On some occasions, given plenty of time, one might wander with no intention of making a purchase or, once familiar with the lay out, go straight to a specific stall to discover an object of requirement or desire. Bazaars are not without risks but neither are they without rules or conversely strictly controlled or protected. They are in fact spaces which achieve some sort of imperfect balance between functionality and fantasy; purpose and enjoyment; work and leisure; order and opportunity for transformations. Perhaps this is what we should be striving to maintain in the knowledge creation(s) and exchange(s) which take place within and outside the walls (and fences) of early years' settings.

Postmodernism and post-structuralism

The reinterpretation of childhood as a fluid, rather than a fixed, concept has opened the way to postmodern readings of early childhood and its associated institutions. Postmodernism has been described as a reaction against grand theories which emphasises the fragmentation of modern life and the impossibility of addressing anything wider than small scale local struggles (Hill et al., 1999). In early years' education this has meant a reaction against the dominance of psychology and a pointing towards the notion that there are many childhoods encompassing different experiences of parenting, learning, playing and developing as experienced in different cultural and temporal contexts (Burman, 2008a, Burman, 2008b).

Usher and Edwards (1994) point out that there are problems in attempting to discuss education from a postmodern perspective. The story told by development psychology, and its antecedents in earlier enlightenment texts discussed previously, creates the illusion of coherence. Each philosophical thought or scientific discovery represents a forward step in human progress towards an ultimate truth. Not only do postmodernism and post-structuralism 'question the very notion of systematic explanation' (Usher and Edwards, 1994:1) but education systems are a primary vehicle through which the modernist discourse is sustained and are therefore highly resistant to postmodern ways of thinking or seeing. Rikowski and McLaren (1999:1) postulate on post-modernism in education as a 'cul de sac' which adds little to struggles against social inequalities engendered by the rise of market mechanisms in educational institutions. On the other hand, Ball (2013) frames interest in

postmodern and post-structuralist philosophies as an important gateway to resisting capture within a single orthodoxy or intransigent positioning in educational research (Ball, 2013:2). This opens the possibility for new spaces in which to generate 'new possibilities for thought' (Ball, 2013:5). What Ball proposes is that engaging with Foucault provides an opportunity to trouble the shift from welfare to neo-liberalism (Ball, 2013:120) which is a tension pertinent to current agendas in the early years' as well as the wider education system. Specifically, by addressing complex relationships between subjectivity, neo-liberalism and ethics (Ball, 2013:119) which may be discernible within the discourses and enactments of early years' pedagogy in the study settings. I am suggesting that the consequences of the dominance of methodologies taken from the physical sciences as engendered through Enlightenment thinking (Usher and Edwards, 1994, Burman, 2008a) are that early years' research becomes stuck within a scientific paradigm which excludes many of the questions which practitioners may feel but are unable to articulate as important. This may be a case of early years' education and care being drawn into 'normal science' (Urban, 2015) or that it is too new a discipline to have yet gone beyond conventional ways of carrying out research drawn from related fields including education, psychology, sociology and anthropology. Engagement with post-structuralism provides an opportunity to go beyond these individual disciplines and embrace a multi-disciplinary approach to research into early childhood which is inclusive of methodological approaches from the arts (particularly literature) as well as philosophy and the sciences.

Particular attention is awarded to the notion of early years' spaces as heterotopias because this provides a useful framework for identifying and problematizing hauntings of pedagogical practices noted during the fieldwork (Foucault, 1994a). An awareness of heterotopic principles which emerge from the ethnography evokes a sensitivity to taken for granted routines, objects, materials and theoretical discourses which encompass many layers of historical meanings leading to a variety of possible interpretations, articulations and pedagogical enactments (Foucault, 1977, Rainbow, 1997, Geertz, 1973). The acknowledged complexity of a post-structural interpretation of pedagogical practices in early childhood education and care is expressed through the 'the language and the experiential modality' (Gordon, 2008:xvi) of hauntings of practice. Gordon's (2008) work is therefore discussed towards the end of the chapter.

Rationalism, humanism and claims to truth

In the section on *discourses of method in early education* in the previous chapter, some differences between the pedagogical positions of Rousseau, Locke and Pestalozzi were highlighted. What unites these Enlightenment philosophers is a belief in the emancipatory effect of education. This version of the story of progressive schooling stresses the benefits of social evolution. Superstition and belief are discarded to make room for rationality and scientific method. As 'simple' (usually white male) children are educated into logical, purposeful, free thinking adults so society as a whole modernises becoming liberal and civilized (James and Prout, 1997:10). Critical theorists, (Hill et al., 1999, Simon, 1992, Freire, 1996) postmodernists and poststructuralists site this humanist discourse as dominating western political structures and institutions, including public education systems which are the means by which its values are reproduced (Simon, 1992, Usher and Edwards, 1994).

In research, as in education this 'modernist project' leads to a positivist paradigm in which the correct types of knowledge are produced through the 'objective, experimental, inductive activities of science' which produces facts to be conveyed as true statements (Parker, 1997:9). Post-structural theorists such as Foucault (1966, Foucault, 1995, Foucault and Hurley, 1984, Foucault et al., 2006) can be said to be 'located within the postmodern because they question the rationalistic and humanistic grounds upon which modern society bases its conception of itself' (Usher and Edwards, 1994:83).

Although Foucault's post-structuralism centres around analyses of the emergence of prisons, mental institutions and hospitals, his theories are often linked with education and early childhood studies because of his interest in the way that regulatory practices are discernible within modern institutions including schools and early years' settings (MacNaughton and Patrick, 2009, Kirk, 1998, Jones et al., 2010, Francis and Mills, 2012, Ball, 2013).

Ethics and aesthetics

In the data analysis, Foucault is used as a window, or a frame, through which to consider how recordings of observed practice might be interpreted, or at the very least troubled, away from the glare of dominant discourses emanating from developmental psychology. This is no simple matter, since it requires a stepping outside of the identities created by and

for myself as insider researcher and as a 'trained' early years' teacher. Amongst the difficulties is finding ways in which to avoid the temptation to try only to 'apply' Foucault, when what is required in order to articulate and enact early years' pedagogy differently, is to be disrupted (and disconcerted) by Foucault (Ball, 2013:5). It is not so much creating new spaces for thought, as Ball puts it, but opening skylights in existing education and care spaces to allow for reconfigurations of patterns of deliberation. Skylights are a double metaphor. They let in light from the vast sky of possibilities outside the early years' sector, which represents new ideas, new possibilities for seeing the practices within the settings. It can then be left to those interacting within the newly lit space to discuss, question, use or discard that which has been illuminated. Consideration of possibilities for new ways of thinking, articulating and enacting practice can then shift between (and amongst), constructions of childhood, of professionalism and of research, although this has ethical implications which will be explored within the methodology chapter. The relevance of key post-structuralist texts, and some of the academic literature they have inspired, will now be considered , with particular attention paid to the idea of heterotopias as it appears within the chapter entitled 'Different Spaces' in Faubian's edition of *Essential Works of Foucault* (Faubion James, 1994).

Discipline and Power

In *Discipline and Punish: the Birth of the Prison* (Foucault, 1995), Foucault writes about changing perceptions of penal justice in Europe. The book considers the gradual decline of physical torture and capital punishment in favour of more 'enlightened' forms of state justice. Foucault is interested in the interplay between power and knowledge, as he is in all the works discussed in this section (Payne, 1997). It is his theorisation of discipline, the ways in which institutions exert power to produce populations which conform to the norms of social institutions, which is pertinent to the deconstruction of data collected from the study settings. Foucault identifies hierarchical observation; normalizing judgement and the examination as three 'technologies of power' which train individuals to take on roles within social institutions; for example, as units of production at work; pupils in school; Early Years' Professionals in day care settings or Early Years' Teachers in Nursery and Reception classes. Hierarchical observation (professional adults observing children); normalizing judgment (ongoing assessment against norms of development) and the examination (summative

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judgements usually shared at times of crisis or transition) are widely accepted tenets of early childhood education and care. It is not that practitioners (or academics) have not questioned or worried about the use of these tools within practice, but more that they are so entrenched that their right to be included in some form or another is almost impossible to resist. Separating them out is also problematic, they seem to be implied by one another, we observe to assess and examine in order to arrive at conclusions which can be passed on to the next phase of educating and training.

Training that is seen to correct behaviours is a part of pedagogy even for the very youngest children. Toddlers are 'potty trained' and weaning is a sort of training in the correct way to consume solid foods which guides the way to training in table manners and other socially acceptable ways of behaving. Children are disciplined into particular ways of using care and education spaces, to play in specific ways and to speak, to listen, to read and to write for pre-ordained purposes. Weaning and potty training may be seen by many to be outside the scope of early years' education, outside the scope of concern of a 'teacher' but it is a complaint from some nurseries and reception classes, that children come into the education space still drinking from a bottle or wearing a nappy. This tension between what it is to be a ready or unready for pupilhood, a carer for young children or a teacher of pupils is explicit within the American Head Start approach (Gilford, 2013) which states its purpose as identifying low income families and 'impoverished communities' in order to focus on preparing young children to be 'successful in kindergarten and beyond' (Gilford, 2013:Xll). Within the Head Start day health and cleanliness is strictly timetabled, for example health checks at 9am, hand washing at 9:15 and teeth cleaning following breakfast at 9:50. Recommended interactions with parents also emphasise care of the body including dental and medical checks, health insurance and benefits (Snyder, 2013:5, Simpson and Envy, 2015, Shonkoff and Phillips, 2000) This is part of the discourse of 'school readiness' and by implication of 'early intervention'. The problem with early intervention, which focuses on targeted services directed towards children identified as 'being at risk' or 'needier' than others, as opposed to promoting and funding universal services, is that it singles out and blames families for being poor within a wealthy society. The argument runs that the sole purpose of early education is to ensure school-readiness (whatever that might be) and if young children are ready for school then they will stay there for longer (Urban, 2015).

Education becomes not about learning, a human capacity which is life long, but about being at school and conforming to the requirements of a state funded and directed system obsessed with narrow, measurable outcomes. The possibility that poverty and disengagement are matters of structural inequality is banished as is the idea of difference as the basis for a strong society.

The term 'school readiness' juxtaposes paradigms of child development, it's milestones, stages and next steps, with the values of a market economy of early education. In the world of school-readiness, professionals (teachers/practitioners/nursery nurses/assistants/playworkers) are 'trained' to do the job of educating and caring for young people between birth and five years of age during periods of time that they are required to be supervised outside the home. Remuneration is provided for the time and 'expertise' provided in order that we, as professionals and working citizens can contribute to the economy by buying goods and services, thus they are constructed, to meet the needs of a capitalist free market economy (Woodhead, 1997, Steinberg and Kincheloe, 1997, Campbell-Barr, 2014). The awarding of a professional status (EYP or EYT) and the work which follows it is also observed, assessed and examined by university lecturers, Ofsted, senior colleagues and peers. Not only are human beings (child and adult) separated out in this way, but also individual schools and nurseries. Early years' establishments have always occupied a precarious position within the performative discourses of educational effectiveness (Perryman, 2006a) but have increasingly been drawn into the disciplinary mechanisms of Ofsted grading. This has been productive of tensions in early childhood education and care because it has tended to privilege teaching/learning over care/play. In 2007, the *Birth to Three Matters* Framework (Abbott et al., 2002) was amalgamated with the Foundation Stage for three to five year olds, which was described by QCA as an extension of the national curriculum under the 2002 education act (QCA, 2004). This effectively widened the powers of disciplinary mechanisms

The 'quality liaison reports' analysed in the final chapter of the thesis take their place within these regimes of power, since 'correct training' is a combination of forces which, when used together, separates a community into individual identities by analysing, differentiating, observing, judging and examining (Foucault, 1977:170). Each of the participating schools has a schedule of visits, each of which generates a unique report. The sequence of written

reports can be put together to create a version of a story with the setting as its central character. The reports have within their narrative, a fantasy (a utopian vision) of the perfect Ofsted visit, which will script a subsequent grading of good or outstanding. There are examples of 'minor procedures' of segmenting and disciplining in the EYTC reports for each of the three settings participating in the research between 2012 and 2015. It is these seemingly small incidents of every day practices which will be teased out from the field work and documentation to trouble and reinterpret their possible meanings and significances to counter discourses and the possibilities for alternative enactments of early years' pedagogy, drawing upon Foucault's perspectives.

Foucault's conceptualisation of regimes of power contained within competing claims to truth (Payne, 1997a) allows for the co-existence of different sources and types of discourse operating simultaneously within an institution or field of human interaction. In the early years, in addition to the educational discourses already described, the knowledge of the psychologist may be valued above that of the teacher whose knowledge is more legitimate (or more expert) than that of a parent and each fulfils their role in relation to the others. The power play within and around institutions may also lead to a ranking and differentiated regimes of control by the state. In this model, government takes greater control over the curriculum in compulsory education, particularly primary schools, but grants greater freedom to higher education as the role of universities is to educate the elite who have already internalised Enlightenment messages about science and rationality (Usher and Edwards, 1994). It might be argued that this is being challenged in an era of performance in university teaching and research (Mutton et al., 2016, Jeffrey and Troman, 2012) but this is not discussed further here as it is just outside of the focus of an ethnography carried out in early years' settings from the perspective of a practitioner-researcher rather than a university academic.

The pre-school remains at the bottom of the pecking order as a preparation for the 'real' task of becoming a pupil journeying through primary and secondary school to the worlds of post-compulsory education or training and thence into work (Webster-Stratton et al., 2008, Clark, 2017). Earlier manifestations of the EYFS used the term curriculum strictly in terms of 3 to five year olds with the aim of providing high quality integrated care and education for parents who wanted it (DfEE, 2000). In the foreword to the guidance Nick Tate, then Chief

Executive of the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority (QCA) stresses this as an educational stage with a distinct identity; describes the early learning goals as setting high expectations achievable for most children who have followed the curriculum and highlights the fact that the guidance was developed with practitioners and experts. Children from birth to three were considered in a separate framework (not curriculum).

This was undoubtedly a stepping stone towards more centralised influencing of practices. A shifting of power which had been dispersed between home, playgroups, nursery schools, social services nurseries and other types of organisation or informal arrangement towards government prompted uniformity. Foucault does not regard power as simply repressive but also as active and productive. It is rarely clear within complex human organisations where power is held or how it might be subverted to create new truths or ways of knowing. Changes in endorsed professional practices are worthy of examination by and with practitioners because they have become hidden within 'regimes of truth' (Foucault, 1995) within which our thinking about pedagogy and our pedagogical enactments have become fused with the dominant institutional discourses making it difficult to separate theory from fact (James and Prout, 1997:23). Perhaps all social action, whether well intentioned or malevolent, is a seduction which obscures access to other paths and blocks the way to alternative actions and articulations. It may be that what has been lacking (or at least hidden) is the advances in scholarly knowledge which recognise that 'domination and resistance are basic and intertwined facts of modernity' (Gordon, 2008:193). *Birth to Three Matters* (Abbott et al., 2002) and the *Early Years' Foundation Stage* from birth to five which followed (DCSF, 2008) signalled hopes that the push to ensure excellent care and education for young children would come from within the profession with the added benefit of extra recognition and higher qualification opportunities for practitioners (Nutbrown, 2006, Nutbrown, 2012). A clear pedagogical position was espoused which took the view that 'Babies and young children are powerful learners, reaching out into the world and making sense of their experiences with other people, objects and events' (DCSF, 2009:3). This statement is followed by a list of questions which have become (or perhaps always have been) grounds for consternation, contention and academic and political debate. They include: 'What does 'learning through play' actually mean, and what is the adult role in this? Should children's free play be unrestricted (within the bounds of safety), with the adult

simply observing, either to document learning or to plan further learning experiences? [and] Should play opportunities be structured, with learning intentions defined by adults? Is it 'play' if adults have designed the activities?' (DCSF, 2009:3). These are questions which remain unanswered, perhaps they are unanswerable, although this does not mean that practitioners and researchers should not continue to engage with them.

The pendulum of official political discourse has swung towards an ever more standards and skills orientated approach with a carving up of areas of learning into the prime, the specific and the wider areas of learning (DfE, 2014) (beyond which presumably no adult or child should dare to venture). Teaching and play is now presented as 'a balancing act' (Ofsted, 2015), implying that teaching and play may be juxtaposed but are not fully compatible with one another (Foucault, 1994a) and readiness for school has emerged as a significant preoccupation of government discourse (Ofsted, 2014a). The earlier documentation remains easily accessible on line and is part of the collective memory and reference base of early years' practitioners. Its desires, articulations and enactments have become a part of the hauntings of early years spaces (Foucault, 1994a, Gordon, 2008) and the objects, materials and artefacts explored by this research.

Ethics

Some discussion of Foucault's ideas around technologies of power has been undertaken in relation to the objectification of child and professional subjects through observation, normalising judgement and examination. Foucault identifies three further 'technologies' relevant to any consideration of professional identity and identification (Foucault, 2000b:225) they are: firstly, technologies of production which are central to Marxist readings and research (Derrida, 2006a, Payne, 1997b) and occasionally surface from the data in relation to commercialisation of early years' spaces and objects; secondly, technologies of sign systems which are important to the meanings awarded by children, practitioners and others to early years' spaces, their ritual routines and ritual objects. This technology is also pivotal within the explorations of language(s)/discourses of and about early years' pedagogy and practice; thirdly, there are technologies of the self which 'permit' (Foucault, 2000b:225) individual practitioners, children (and researchers) to accept,

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question and/or transform pedagogical articulations and enactments. It is part of the cognisant complexity and problematizing stance of the research that these four technologies rarely operate separately (Foucault, 2000b:225) and therefore form an element of the hauntings of data on which there will be further elaboration in the discussion of sociological imagination, fantasy and the fictive later in the literature review.

Technologies of the self is a paradigm which has been employed by feminist thinkers to investigate 'difference', in particular the notion of sexual difference (de-Lauretis, 1987, McNay, 1992). De Lauretis notes that 'the feminist writings and cultural practices of the 1960s and 1970s, the notion of gender as sexual difference was central to the critique of representation..' (de-Lauretis, 1987:1). By the 1980s, when my generation of practitioners were undergoing their undergraduate degrees and 'teacher training', the study of gender, and its representation in media, popular culture and national politics (there was after all the first and until recently the only female British prime minster resident in Downing Street), had moved in a direction that highlights gender as a representation. Gender came to be a construction which is shaped and perpetuated through all aspects of modern life. This includes cultural life, art, theatre, cinema and literature as well as state apparatus such as schools, courts, hospitals, prisons and nurseries as described by Althusser (2008). De Lauretis goes on to identify a post-structural paradox in which the deconstruction of gender by feminist and other radical thinkers is itself a part of the narrative of representation and/or misrepresentation. 'For gender, like the real, is not only the effect of representation but also its excess, what remains outside discourse as a potential trauma which can rupture or destabilize if not contained….' (de-Lauretis, 1987:3). If early childhood, early childhood education and care and early years' teachers are, like gender, the constructs of historical and political discourses then there is a requisite for research which seeks representations of pedagogical practices which lie outside the dominant discourses of early years' policy. Such research would need to remain sensitive to manifestation of atypical pedagogical practices or subversions of officially endorsed discourses, as tensions, traumas, ruptures possessing destabilising capabilities. This is the intention contained within the documentary analysis of quality liaison reports generated as part of the research activity.

Early years spaces as heterotopia

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The research troubles notions of what constitutes theory, what practice is and how the two speak to one another in the enactment of early years' care and education (McNay, 1992). McNay provides a comprehensive overview of post-structural feminist theory, particularly that which has drawn on Foucault. Significant to research into early years' pedagogy is concern over the deconstruction of unified subjectivity into fragmented subject positions as contrary to the notion of children and practitioners as active agents who can contribute to changing or transforming pedagogical interactions. Urban (2015: 299) claims that social class has become 'unmentionable in the mainstream discourse and unfashionable as a tool for analysing the workings of social privilege and exclusion'. A similar allegation might be levelled at feminist research in relation to early years' pedagogy and practice, despite (or maybe because) of its continued manifestation as a predominantly female domain. Recent discourses about gender in early years have tended to rank underachievement of boys (Hartley and Sutton, 2013) and the lack of male role models (Brownhill, 2014) as the issues most worthy of research. The image of the female early years' educator/carer remains problematic. Froebel promotes the mother as the first educator, a radical and enlightened position in early nineteenth century Europe but more problematical in post-modern societies in which the hierarchies between domestic and public; home and work; low skilled, low paid labour and professionalization; care and education are less well delineated, are juxtaposed and contested. The clash between Montessori's provision of early education as the means by which women might be freed up to work outside the home and the highly-feminised image of the 'directress' in Montessori nurseries is a pervasive haunting of early years' pedagogy and its attendant discourses.

 Treating early years' spaces as heterotopia presents an opportunity to deconstruct ways in which children and adults interact in and with the spaces and artefacts of early years' pedagogical practices (Jones et al., 2012). Foucault (1994a) represents heterotopic spaces as inhabited by crisis or deviation in social environments which are simultaneously real and unreal. In relation to early years provision in England this might suggest lines of inquiry relating to powerful discourses on the need for a graduate workforce (Hadfield et al., 2012, Nutbrown, 2012) and the characterisation of young children as needing early intervention which diverts away from the deviance of childhood to the more controllable (by adults) identities of 'pupilhood' (Field, 2010, Ofsted, 2014a, Clark, 2017, Webster-Stratton et al., 2008). Beyond direct critique of these specific policy agendas early years' academics have started to explore heterotopia as a theoretical paradigm for engaging with new possibilities for collaborative research with practitioners which acknowledges a complexity outside of the possibilities of traditional PAR (Johnson, 2013, MacRae, 2011, Barron et al., 2017).

In reading, describing and analysing (Foucault, 1994a:179) these interactions, it is hoped that lost or hidden meanings 'belonging' to the identities of early years' practitioner, early years' researcher, early years' advisors and young child in an early years' setting might emerge. Implications of suspending value judgements about concepts such as truth, freedom and rationality may lead to a relativist position which retreats from the possibility of a pedagogy which promotes social justice and anti-oppressive practices. On the other hand, acknowledging the possibility that there may be no clear cut answers or solutions to our professional questions; that professional life (like the rest of life) is a complex contradictory business haunted by inequalities and injustices of the past; facing up to it and moving beyond it to confront the qualities and fantasies (Foucault, 1994a:177) of early years pedagogical spaces and speak to the ghosts which haunt them (Gordon, 2008) may reveal new possibilities for articulating and enacting practice.

Ethics of the Self (McNay, 1992:83) is of particular interest to the process of problematizing Foucault's earlier works. McNay offers a critique of mothering theory, which she acknowledges as an attempt to formulate an alternative ethics to that of Enlightenment rationality, which gives greater credence to specificity or the 'other'. This seems to me to be of relevance to early years' education and care settings where many practitioners may hold simultaneous but unstable identities as teacher and mother. Both of these identities carry historical connotations of carer and of educator (Pestalozzi, 2012a) which situates work with young children as 'a kind of mixed, intermediate experience' (Foucault, 1994a:179) to which Foucault applies the term heterotopia. This casts the role of mother into the shadows of domesticity, of low paid or unpaid caring. On the other hand, within a market economy of early childhood education and care services, it is the mother (or some mothers) who hold the powerful identity of consumer (Soto, 2008). The idea of the mother (and mothering) is a haunting tension within work with young children whenever it rubs up against and refutes notions of professionalism as distance, objectivity and clinical expertise. It could be said to set up a friction between a personal relationship and a professional relationship between children and practitioners or to privilege teaching and the 'delivery of knowledge' over other possibilities for pedagogical enactment and ways of knowing.

McNay has argued that Foucault's ethics of the self presents to feminists the challenge and the opportunity to think through the differences within sexual difference (McNay,

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1992:116). It is more than likely that issues around gender will emerge from the ethnography to a greater or lesser extent. The newly professionalised early years' workforce is overwhelmingly female, with wages suppressed even for graduates, by its continued association with caring professions such as nursing and by a market economy where provision must be paid for by parents, prompting demands for affordability (McGillivray, 2008, Lloyd and Hallet, 2010, Osgood, 2009). There have also been, over recent years, professional and political 'concern' over the progress (achievement and measured outcomes) of boys in early years' education and care settings, particularly in regard to writing (Cigman, 2014). One response has been the promotion and popularity of super- hero play in Nurseries and Reception classes (Holland, 2003). During the period and within the geographic location in which this research took place, pirates as a topic for stimulating learning, seemed to be a common off shoot of this discursive practice. Pirates fall into the category of superhero-play (Holland, 2003, Jones et al., 2012) which forms part of the mythologies around young boys. As cultural icons, superheroes are reviled for their association with the supposedly male trait of violence but gain access to schools and settings because they are seen as inspiring boys to write (Jones et al., 2012). Not only does this universalise childhood, it also reinforces traditional gender roles. The boys can engage in a bit of action, since, unlike girls, they do not embody the natural passivity required to take on the tasks of learning to read and write by sitting still and learning in ways most acceptable to adults (or a state sponsored education system). The girls, if they show an interest in participation in this play, can be recompensed by their female versions, Batgirl, Superwoman and many more, as long as the body accentuating costumes are left unmentioned (McGill, 1998, Jones, 2002). This will be troubled further within the section on Avery Gordon's work on social hauntings and the role of the fictive in post-structuralist readings of social institutions (Gordon, 2008).

As previously stated, one of the underpinning intentions of the research has always been to explore the many counter discourses to those of development psychology, the premise being that resistances to the dominance of enactments based on developmental science already occur within the practice of early childhood pedagogy in Britain, but are being gradually submerged as the application of psychological discourses are imposed on practitioners working with younger and younger children. When the research began, its

focus was on people, particularly practitioners. It arose from a period of meeting and talking and the sharing of idealisms. At least that is how it seems looking back on the work and research carried out from within a local authority early years' department. National Strategies-funded projects, such as *Buddying* and *Making a Big Difference* (DfE, 2011) encouraged action research and case study dissemination. Practitioners involved with the projects attended and spoke at conferences as well as local and national meetings, promoting spaces which appeared to make room for small scale ethnographic studies, alongside larger national and international research into early childhood. Identity politics, or ethics of the self, form a part of this landscape but is too specific a lens through which to appreciate the complexity of pedagogical interactions and their enactments as discipline or resistance. The following sections attempt to summarise the notion of heterotopias set out in *Different Spaces* and the extent of their applicability to ethnographic study of early years' pedagogy.

The thesis takes Foucault's work on aesthetics, particularly the essay entitled *Different Spaces* (Faubion James, 1994, pp. 175-185) and attempts to apply his notion of heterotopic spaces to critical analysis of early years' pedagogical practices. Within the essay, Foucault identifies six principles of heterotopias. These will be explained as the chapter proceeds but in brief they are that heterotopias exist either to address a crisis or a deviation; heterotopias have an historical context within a society which continues to exist even when the heterotopia operates within accepted contemporary systems; they are able to juxtapose real and illusory 'emplacements' (of which more shortly) which are seemingly incompatible; often they are connected to discontinuities of time (temporal discontinuities); they always operate according to some system of opening and closing; finally, they have a purpose in relation to the real space of the institution, in this case early years' settings.

According to Johnson, Foucault's lecture and the resulting translations into English attempt to explain a set of features common to a range of discursive institutional spaces that render them incompatible with outside society being troubling, contradictory and transformative (Johnson, 2013:790). The heterotopic spaces of interest here are the learning environments of early years' care and education institutions. In the language of early years' pedagogy, these have come to be referred to as 'enabling environments'; a term which incorporates both inside (classroom, nursery, or pre-school) spaces and outside play areas and

judgements or measurement of their 'quality' in relation to early years' programmes (Harms et al., 2015). I will argue that, in seeking to 'professionalise' early years, one of the troublesome poltergeists we have let loose is connected to language more than to pedagogy. The language we have learned to speak is one of justification, of 'What is planned?' 'What is done, when and how?' 'Impact and verification', 'lessons learned and next steps' (DfE, 2011). In this context, 'enabling environment' is an 'entropic' term which, when used in the context of an early years' heterotopia, carries a very particular set of meanings with the power to either discipline or transform discourses and enactments within the setting.

Enabling Environments: Spaces Real and Imagined

Foucault separates heterotopia into two major types: crisis heterotopia and heterotopia of deviation. He speculates that crisis heterotopia were a feature of more 'primitive societies' and are now being replaced by heterotopias of deviation (Foucault, 1994a:179). Old people's homes, he suggests, fall between the two since, in our society, old age is a period of crisis, and idleness, a form of deviation from the norm of leisure activity. Early years' education settings are much like old people's homes in their provision of space for the crisis of being so young that you cannot be defined as a pupil. Here it is play that becomes the deviation from the norms of work and/or leisure activity.

Many people in Britain would agree that what they expect to see, when entering a setting intended for the youngest children, is a world in miniature; in other words, a heterotopia which complies with several of the principles (Foucault, 1994). It juxtaposes the traditional classroom of desks, seats and apparatus for learning with the worlds of the home (or a working doll's house), with reduced sized toilets, wash basins, relaxation areas and so forth. In line with Foucault's second principle of heterotopia, child 'care and education' has a history of existence which continues in a very different way from previous manifestations in the eighteenth and nineteenth (and to some extent the twentieth) centuries whilst retaining many of their theoretical foundations. As expressed by Foucault, 'this description of heterotopias is that, in the course of its history, a society can make a heterotopia that exists and has not ceased to exist operate in a very different way;' (Foucault, 1994a:180).

For his example he uses cemeteries, which over time have moved dead citizens from communal (and socially stratified) graves in the centre of cities, to individual plots on the outskirts (Foucault, 1994a:181). In relation to the early years, the movement is from the home, under the supervision of 'the mother', as discussed in relation to Froebel (1895) and Pestalozzi (2012), to the kindergarten (or nursery school/pre-school/playgroup/elementary school). The terms used for spaces designed to educate the youngest children continually shift while continuing to coexist within social contexts which are themselves unstable. This is important because the title 'kindergarten' speaks of a garden of childhood most associated with the romanticism of Rousseau. In England, the term pre-school has become the most widely used for provision which does not come directly under the auspices of a primary school, or school academy. Its language is one of something slightly spectral which becomes before school and therefore slots nicely into the discourse of school readiness. The domestic has become publicly funded and regulated; the mother has become the practitioner/professional/teacher via the role of 'nursery nurse', all titles and concepts which continue to linger within the occupation(s) of early years' educators and carers. The juxtapositions (and potential oppositions) are those of education and educator; care and carer; religion (church) and secular (school); voluntary, public and private sector (in ethos and funding); adult and child; work and play; pre-schooler and pupil. The children's house described by Montessori (2014), with its miniaturised furniture, use of the outside and scientific measurement of children's developmental progress continues to exist even if it operates within a very different cultural and linguistic paradigm.

The term 'enabling environment' implies far more than just the physical space in which any kind of human action or interaction takes place. Even so, within early years' discourse, it has drawn attention to (and highlighted tensions around) what type of spaces and objects are deemed 'suitable' for the various enactments of early years' education and care. Within the data, the power of the concept of an early years' environment to mediate human action operates at three distinct, but interactional levels. There is the level of practice, which enables (or disenables) the freedoms and autonomy of the children, the professional level which presents constraints and possibilities to practitioners and the political level which constructs the identities of children and adults within the sector. Duhn (2010:185) writes about the way in which neo-liberal politics and cultures of managerialism have framed the

professionalization of early years' practitioners in New Zealand. New Zealand has experienced a similar process of professionalization to that in England which has generated a useful body of research that can be drawn on by practitioners and researchers in Europe and internationally. Drawing on Cruikshank (1999), Duhn argues that by re-framing the term professionalism as an assemblage, rather than a monolithic term, it is possible to disrupt coherence and therefore open the way for multiple enactments by making power relations and meaning more visible. This fits well with Foucault's description of heterotopias as 'decoupage du temps' (Foucault, 1994a:181). Taking apart the different pictures of practice by deconstructing the stories told within the fieldnotes makes visible the power relations they may represent, thereby disrupting them and making space for alternative pedagogical articulations and enactments. I have taken these different descriptors of practice, profession and politics as phantoms, or qualities which hover around the 'emplacement' (Foucault, 1994: 176) of buildings, rooms and objects observable in the study settings.

Enabling Environments: Playing Outside

Foucault's third principle of heterotopia states that 'The heterotopia has the ability to juxtapose in a single real place several emplacements that are incompatible in themselves' (Foucault, 1994a:181). He goes on to discuss the garden as the oldest form of contradictory emplacement. The term 'enabling' implies a kind of freedom for children to follow their own interests, indulge in fantasy, which is a key element of heterotopic spaces (Johnson, 2013) and learn through the satisfaction of these desires. Childhood, gardens and the natural world are also juxtapositions ingrained within Western culture and often traced back to Rousseau's 'Romantic Child' (Rousseau, 2009, Cunningham, 1995). By the end of the fieldwork, all six of the study settings had a dedicated outside learning area, freely accessible only to the EYFS children and staff members. This is important because, even though outside play has been awarded importance for many years, the fenced in 'enabling outside environment' is a relatively recent 'norm' of practice in provision for the zero to five age range. In the fourth principle, heterotopia are described as being associated with 'decoupage du temps' or layers of time (Foucault, 1994a:181). Rousseau advocates the countryside (the natural world) as a place where children should learn about life through physical activity and risk taking and argues, 'Instead of keeping him mewed up in a stuffy room, take him out into a meadow every day; let him run about, let him struggle and fall

again and again' (Rousseau, 1921: 18). These notions of learning through experience and learning to take risks continue to survive within the early years' lexicon, particularly in relation to 'Forest Schools' (Knight, 2013b, Knight, 2013a) but layered over them is the idea of the domestic garden or kindergarten recognisable in the writing and practices of Montessori (Montessori, 2014) and McMillan (Giardiello, 2014) which has been further overlaid by the fenced in extension to the early years' unit to be found in nurseries sited on school premises and their Reception classrooms. The section below considers ways in which the symbolism and heterotopic qualities of gardens interweave with those of early years' pedagogy.

Early Years Education and Care: In the Garden

Margaret McMillan's descriptions of what should be provided for outside play at a nursery is recognisable both as an English style garden and as a utopian ideal of the outside learning environment in a twenty-first century early learning design. She gives very specific horticultural as well as pedagogical guidance. There should be trees for both aesthetic pleasure and shelter in rainy and warm weather. McMillan suggests lime trees, mulberry trees and planes as growing well even in 'the most crowded district of south-east London' (McMillan, 1919:44). Against a long south or west facing wall should be fruit bushes and trees as well as 'children's buildings' and there should be a greenhouse for growing plants in winter. There ought also to be terraces, herb and kitchen gardens. The apparatus which is 'is always very simple and often improvised' (McMillan, 1919:46) includes equipment for climbing and swinging set in sand or asphalt (in other words on a safe surface); sandpits where 'children should be trained to keep the sand in the pit' (McMillan, 1919:47); different sized steps (or maybe tree stumps nowadays); a 'rubbish heap' which contrasts with 'green plots and ordered walks' (and could be said to serve similar purposes to the mud kitchens currently in favour in EYFS settings); a shallow pond or other water play provision; a stretch of grass for toddlers; a wild flower garden and a tool shed (McMillan, 1919, pp. 48-49). Perhaps her prescriptions are attractive because they represent some lingering remnants of the kindergarten as an alternative philosophy to that of the pre-school. Somehow a pedagogy of 'messing about' (or unstructured play) is more acceptable, or at least easier to articulate outside than indoors. The study of trees and weather is science, important to the

global problem of climate change; growing food has a similar imperative in sustainability of food sources. All the areas of holistic learning and development from physical play to sensory development are present and inviting to children and adults; messing about with water and getting muddy being leisure preferences for many from sailing enthusiasts to 'iron man' participants. Perhaps it is easier to let go of a narrow conception of what constitutes learning in natural, or outdoor spaces than inside buildings designed with the sole purpose of education in mind.

Gardens are highly symbolic spaces, particularly in English cultural and social history (Quest-Ritson, 2001). They are at once status symbols of wealth and power over nature, great collections of strange and wonderful plants from all around the world. Foucault points out that 'Space itself, in the Western experience, has a history, and one cannot fail to take note of this inevitable interlocking of time with space.' This is certainly true of practices which take children into outdoor spaces, whether it is an actual garden, a natural environment such as a field or wood, or a purpose built outside area attached to the nursery room(s). Their history is populated by constructions of power relations; constructions of the conqueror over the conquered, constructions of gender, of race and of class.

During the medieval period, power and gardens moved into the spaces occupied by monastic orders. The garden as an amalgamation of science and religion (the first of the contradictory emplacements) began in earnest. Foucault (1994a:174) describes the Middle Ages as 'a hierarchized ensemble of places, drawing a distinction between 'sacred places and profane places'. Roman villas and their gardens were the privilege of the 'free citizens of Rome' (Musgrove, 2012) and as such could be said to combine the public with the private, religious ceremony with daily family life. Friends were invited in to eat and relax; flowers were taken out to public gatherings and religious festivities. Along with their sanctification of garden space the Roman Catholic Church in England laid claim to knowledge about the bodies as well as the souls of the wider population. Herbal lore had long been used by country women to treat ailments and for use in midwifery. However, the ability to read and to write, to consult classical texts from ancient Greece and to pass on records of new observations of treatments was not in the power of most of the general populace. These religious institutions were the schools, universities and scientific institutes of their day. The traditional healers (most of whom were female) were in mortal danger of

accusations of witchcraft, their knowledge was cast out as blasphemous, sacrilegious, wicked and all other terms for the profane (Arrowsmith, 2009). What begins to come to light is that gardens, like cemeteries (Foucault's example discussed earlier) and pre-schools, continue to exist in a recognisable form whilst altering their *operandi modus* within different cultures and points in time. Like pre-schools, they contain within the walls, hedges or fences the taken for granted oppositions 'between private space and public space, between the family space and social space, between cultural space and useful space, between the space of leisure activities and the space of work.' (Foucault, 1994a:177). The monastic gardens of the past played a vital role in the organisation of space and time for inhabitants and visitors. The pattern of their physical layout is revealed to us by ruins excavated and restored by archaeologists and opened to the public by organisations like the National Trust but also in fictional representations which bring their physical, lived existence back to life in the imaginations of author and reader. As an example of this, I will use Shrewsbury Abbey, partly because it is near to where I live and because it has been resurrected through the Ellis Peters' *Brother Cadfael* novels. Below is the representation of the Abbey which appears in the novel *The Raven in the Foregate* (Peters, 1986):
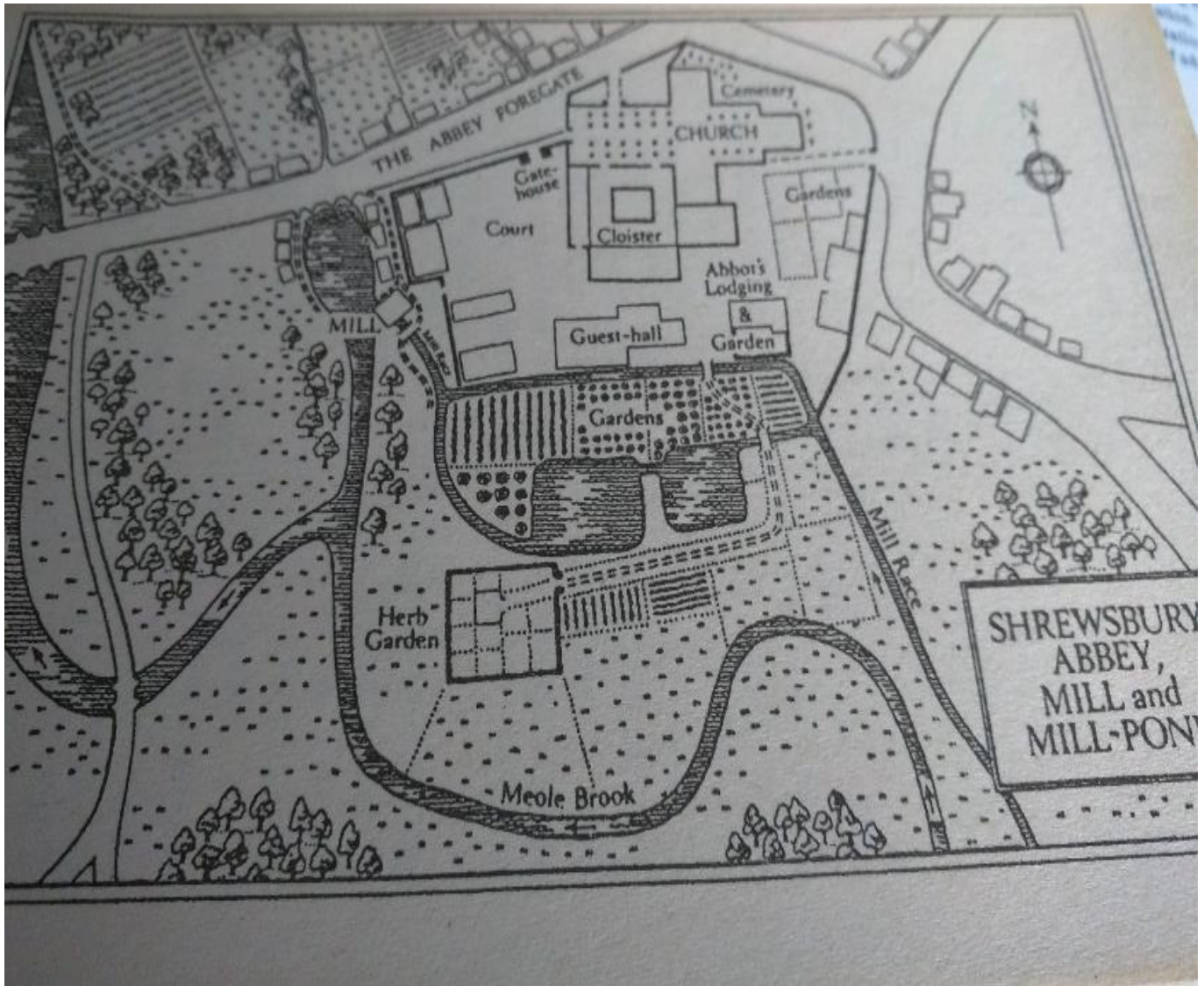
Figure 1: Map of Shrewsbury Abbey (Peters, 1986)

The emplacements of cemetery, church, cloister, gardens, herb garden and so forth are much as we would expect from our experience of other ruins and stories of monastic lives. All that remains in a physical sense is the Abbey Church and some ruins cut through by the main road into town and an herb garden, recreated for the pleasure (and spending power) of visitors. So, the past and present, reality and fiction comfortably coexist, as they do in the indoor and outdoor spaces of education and care settings, unquestioned and largely untroubled as though they never can or will be otherwise. It perhaps takes a little more effort to reimagine and to question the emplacements of time inherent in the monastic rituals of the abbey and the care and education routines of the pre-school. In her telling of how she recreated another historical garden in Shropshire, (Swift, 2008) turns to the Hours of the Divine Office, which she explains as being made up of a selection of prayers, psalms, hymns and readings recited at specific times of the day and night and changing with the seasons. This refers to the medieval, monastic conceptualisation or experience of time, as reimagined in Swift's historical research and restoration of the garden. She goes on to point out that these devotions were reproduced for middle and upper-class laypeople in *Books of Hours* '…. used in an intensely private manner by individuals, often women, in the privacy of their own chambers' (Swift, 2008:viii). Rather like child rearing and educating, participation by women is sanctified as long it withdraws into the privacy of the domestic sphere.

Montessori in Rome and the McMillan sisters in London placed high importance on the outside because they were working with children deprived of these facilities in their daily lives(Giardiello, 2014). Viewed from this perspective, outside play in early years' institutions could be the middle classes compensating for what they (and their children) took for granted but the modernising industrial society had no intention of surrendering to the urban poor. What I mean is that many of the deeply ingrained Victorian attitudes to and assumptions about children living in poverty and their right or otherwise to publicly funded education, (Cunningham, 1991) linger in the policy decisions and discourses on early years' education and care. I am further suggesting that this impacts on all children (apart from possibly the most privileged in society) due not only to the broad political climate of early interventionism and school readiness but also the impact on pedagogical decision making in settings and during interactions between children and adults. Furthermore, that nineteenth century regimes of power and control continue to haunt educational institutions at every

level. It might justifiably be argued that this situation, with its complex interlocking of rights, to health, education, play, equality and social justice as articulated by *The United Nations Convention on the Rights* of the Child' (UNICEF, 1989) remains a crucial factor in provision in the inner cities but other factors may be of equal or greater importance to research and to pedagogical articulation and enactment in other contexts experienced by a significant body of children and practitioners.

The convention of providing an enclosed outside space associated with early childhood education actively shapes the pedagogical discourses and enactments available to staff and children. To return to Foucault's ensemble of places of the Middle Ages, it is 'a protected place' both because it is physically fenced in but also because it is the domain of the younger children, the little ones, the novices not yet fully inaugurated into full pupil-hood. However, it is more than the simple protected space of the middle ages, the opposite of which would be an open and defenceless place. It is part of the web of emplacements of the twenty first century, made even more complex in the period between the publication of *Different Spaces* and now, due to software development, games consoles, virtual reality, avatars and virtual spaces (Stephen and Edwards, 2015, Palaiologou, 2016).

Perhaps it is the internet, which lurks in the background as another place perceived as open and defenceless, which adds to our containments of children in physical places. Virtual worlds, with their reliance on interactions between humans and machines, are perhaps another area in which heterotopic research might be employed. Virtual realities and virtual worlds, even virtual classrooms, is an area of increasing interest in disciplines such as anthropology (Boellstorff, 2010) and in Higher Education (Abrahamse et al., 2015). Virtual realities are a useful analogy for my interpretation of heterotopia because they have a similar capacity for a user to see, experience, enact and interact differently, they are both real and utterly unreal (Foucault, 1994a). Their potential as learning spaces which engage the human imagination is almost limitless but also threatening in relation to their strangeness in terms of previous human experience of physical space. Their use in early childhood education is constrained by many of the same dichotomies which discipline enactments within the physical spaces of early childhood education and care. The tensions between work and leisure, between physical action and mental operations, between those who seek to 'own' and control technologies for the accumulation of power and wealth

within regimes of production over and above those who might articulate the potentials of technology for social good.

  The early years' outdoor learning environment is a protected space within the bigger protected space of the school yard, which is itself within the protection of locked school doors and gates and protective policies and procedures excluding dangerous people both real and imagined but at the same time incarcerating the school and early years' communities. Foucault's fifth principle is that 'Heterotopias always presuppose a system of opening and closing that isolates them and makes them penetrable at the same time' (Foucault, 1994a:183). Foucault uses the example of guest rooms within the complex of Brazilian farms in which passing travellers were free to enter and stay for the night. These were not invited guests so the rooms did/do not open to the parts of the house in which the family lived (Foucault, 1994a:183). These rooms are themselves a haunting since they are invisible within research on Brazilian rural life, which is, like Early Years' Education and Care (ECEC) , a heterogeneous rather than homogenous affair (Bento and Eduardo, 2015). What I mean is that ECEC takes place within wider contexts of homes and schools in which expectations, hopes, dreams and fantasies vary considerably even in terms of locality within a single country. Actors from these outside places are not wholly excluded from the spaces in which early years' and pedagogy take place, rather they drift in out at certain times of day without necessarily penetrating the heterotopic enactments and interactions taking place between children, practitioners and objects or artefacts of early years' education and care. This emerges from the data and is explored within the analysis chapters. This has a bearing on methodological approaches to research, to what is researched and by whom, which is explored within the methodology chapter.

Haunted by Fantasy

The final trait of heterotopias envisaged by Foucault is that they have a function in relation to the remaining space (Foucault, 1994a). This function falls between the two extremes of being either a space of total illusion 'that denounces all real space' or a localized space that is so well arranged and organised as to make the 'disorganised, badly arranged and muddled' spaces outside appear to be an illusion(Foucault, 1994a:184). The first might be the home corners and role play areas of early years' institutions. The opposite pole could be said to be the spaces of compensation to which the analysis of observations and

documentation will remain alert. These are heterotopias created through the general organization of terrestrial space, the arrangement of furniture and other objects but also the routines of the day (and weekly, monthly, termly routines). Foucault uses the examples of the earliest English Puritan societies to be founded in America but also of South American Jesuit villages in which he says:

'The daily life of individuals was regulated not with the whistle but with the bell. Reveille was set for everybody at the same hour and work began for everybody at the same hour; meals were at noon and five o'clock: then one went to bed, and at midnight there was something called the conjugal wakeup, meaning that when the convent bell rang, everybody did his duty' (Foucault, 1994a:184)

In relation to the entangled emplacement of early years' and 'elementary school' education there is also a haunting of what Foucault describes at the beginning of *Different Spaces* as hierarchized medieval spaces of 'localization'. After all, this strict adherence to a daily routine is also reminiscent of the medieval monasteries and their gardens described earlier. What Foucault is referring to is medieval cosmology, according to which the earth is the motionless centre of a system of heavenly spheres which separate heaven from hell (Jokinen, 2012); as if the earth were a stone cast into a pond creating a series of circular ripples. Perhaps in early years' pedagogy, the child is the centre stone while in traditional education it is the teacher. Either way, the space becomes divided into celestial (or sacred) spaces, such as the natural and outdoor environment and terrestrial (or profane) places such as classrooms filled with chairs and tables for formal learning of defined subject areas. It could be conceived that the balance is reversed as soon as children enter Year One, where it is curriculum learning which is revered and the more terrestrial space of the playground which is less highly regulated. Regulation might be conceived both as the presence of certain types and numbers of adults but also what we as adults imagine should happen in these spaces. Early years' outside areas are imbued with notions of innocence and discovery where body and spirit can roam free. Playgrounds concentrate more on the physical and letting off steam.

'Good daily routines' are one of the supposedly unquestionable elements of 'high quality' in an early years' setting. Much of the literature is aimed at practitioners new to the profession. According to Shimmin and White (2006) if the basics of healthy routines are

established then the messy business of teaching, learning and caring will follow 'effortlessly'. Interestingly Shimmin and White place what they call 'garden play' alongside meal times and toileting so that in this instance care takes priority over the learning potentials of the outdoors, discussed earlier. The challenge presented by configuring the overlap between care and learning in this way is that it tends to problematise some children. The adult's view of what is 'good for the universal child' takes precedence over the thoughts, desires and the individual child's capacity to express these for themselves. The power to determine children's motivations and sensitivities and to manage their experiences sits squarely with the adult without regard for context or changing day to day interactions. 'Food and toileting can be sensitive issues for some children, while going outside needs careful management if children are to gain from all that the garden has to offer' (Shimmin and White, 2006).

There is a growing body of critical literature from academics within the early years' sector which challenges Eurocentric and child development focused readings of the universal child caught in an ages and stages trajectory of early years' practices. Moyles et al (2014) is a particularly useful collection of current critique of the Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFS) in England. However, what is not overtly addressed is the dominant methodological stance taken by research claimed as underpinning evidence based practice. The notion of quality and consistency is taken as an undisputable truth, in fact it is used as the title of the first section which includes chapters on playing, learning and development (Pound, 2014); observation and assessment (Luff, 2014) and qualifications put together with quality (Payler and Georgeson, 2014). My unease, or perhaps more a desire to somehow go beyond this position, stems partly from the implication that practitioners should be listened to within research but that experts and academics alone are the authors of the questions generated and subsequently theorised and written up. Also, noticeable by its absence, is any clear engagement with the political character of care, there is no chapter that directly problematizes the placement and content of 'the care standards' within the EYFS documentation and the possible effects of this on discourse, articulation and enactment of ECEC. Care becomes an accepted, but nevertheless troubling haunting of the texts.

The idea of haunting (by fantasy) and therefore the role of the fictive in social organisation drift in and out of the essay on *Different Spaces* (Foucault, 1994a). In order to develop this

further, and to account for hauntings which linger from theories of early childhood education and care (Pestalozzi, 2012b, Rousseau, 2009, Froebel, 2003) and their implementation over time (Montessori, 1969a, Montessori, 2014, Montessori and Costelloe, 1972, Giardiello, 2014, McMillan, 1919) the next section of the literature review explores Gordon's work on social haunting. There is also discussion relating to troubling of discourses around language and literacy in the early years, and the authoring of research (Jones et al., 2010, MacLure, 2003, Derrida, 2006a, Bennington and Derrida, 1993a, Derrida, 1995).

Haunting and the Sociological Imagination

'…the ghost is primarily a symptom of what is missing. It gives notice not only to itself but also to what it represents. What it represents is usually a loss, sometimes of life, sometimes of a path not taken. From a certain vantage point the ghost also simultaneously represents a future possibility, a hope' (Gordon, 2008:64)

Gordon (2008), like Foucault, is interested in the complexities of power which are inseparable from the intricacy of life and relationships in social institutions; in its history as a destructive, menacing, controlling and disciplining force but also its potential to bring about social reform, to resist systems of extreme violence, corruption or oppression in the hope of more socially just discourses and enactments. To convey complexity as a methodological position worthy of theorising, Gordon draws on stories both factual and fictional; from history, from contemporary international politics and from fictional accounts of real events. She challenges the traditional distinctions between fact and fiction; truth and fallacy; reality and fancy. One of the stories on which she draws is that of a female pupil of Freud and Yung who is absent from a photograph of the great men and their group at the Third Psychoanalytic Congress in 1911. (Gordon, 2008:32). Later she draws on Luisa Valenzuela's novel about the disappeared in Argentina in order to explore the role of the mothers of the disappeared in processes aimed at reconciliation and the rebuilding of the state (Gordon, 2008:xv). I am claiming motherhood, its power as a disputed concept within ECEC, as one of the hauntings worthy of investigation. There is a palpable tension between the reverence for the mother as the first educator (Froebel, 2003) and the graduate professional as the expert in the lives and education of young children. This feeds into other power regimes emanating from competing claims of expertise and knowledge from academics, advisors, politicians and the state. The Argentinian mothers are presented as the most powerless

under the dictatorship, they suffered perhaps one of the greatest losses imaginable by any parent and went on to claim power through peaceful protest. Regimes of power, who suffers and who thrives under them, are always worthy of investigation, even within the most local or mundane contexts. Finally, Gordon addresses the lingering impacts of slavery in the United States, through the mirror of Toni Morrison's feminist influenced novel *Beloved* (Gordon, 2008:137), which was inspired by a newspaper clipping about a slave mother arrested for murdering one of her children rather than have it returned to a life of slavery (Morrison, 2004:xi). Investigations of regimes of power and truth always necessitate an examination of the past as well as the present.

The Meddlesome Fictive

The notion of the meddlesome fictive, as it appears in *Ghostly Matters* (Gordon, 2008) can be read (and is presented) in several ways. There are methodological questions around narrative structuring, the constructions of reality in social research, analytical standpoint and historical provisionality of claims to knowledge and truth (Gordon, 2008:11) which will be further explored in the methodology chapter. There is also story-telling and story construction as part of the complexities of discourses of power and personhood, its discursive practices and enactments, its disciplining effects and counter discourses or resistances (Gordon, 2008:193). Also important to the study of early years' pedagogical practices is literary fiction as an alternative way of understanding ourselves and others, which does not rely on empirical evidence so much as the human capacity for imagination and for empathy (Pereira and Campos, 2014).

Story books sit at the very heart of early years' pedagogy. They are a means by which we teach children to read but are also highly prized artefacts in social and emotional development(Arnold and Pen Green Centre, 1999, Ostrosky et al., 2006, Arnold, 2010, Bakhurst et al., 2001), cuddling up with an adult or sitting in a group to 'share' a story. The choice of stories for inclusion in the formal learning curriculum is that of the adults in the setting but children also bring in favourite stories met through books, film, television, oral traditions and digital technology. Books are powerful cultural objects (as much as any other art form) which convey messages about childhood and adulthood, about gender and class, about power and powerlessness, about time and space. Reading or listening to a story, like looking in a mirror (Foucault, 1994a), urges each participant to look for herself (or himself)

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there where she/he is not, to find themselves and their experiences present, or otherwise missing from the text (de-Lauretis, 1987, pp. 70-83). Fiction, particularly western children's fiction, constantly meddles with pedagogical enactments in early years' education and care because it is present not only in the books selected for the book corner, but in the very fabric of meanings and their interpretation in the context of the heterotopic space.

Gordon places two novels at the heart of her writing because they have helped to change her way of thinking and better articulate ideas that were initially 'stammering and inchoate suspicions and disappointments' (Gordon, 2008). Reading Gordon has been a great support in enabling me to play with my own thinking and writing as a participant/practitioner/ researcher in early childhood. Like Avery Gordon, in my stumbling efforts to understand what might constitute reality and how this might be interpreted and articulated in relation to early years' pedagogy, I have continually tripped over fictional representations. One is Charles Dickens' satirising of an education system which allows only for 'facts'. The imagined school in the novel *Hard Times* (Dickens, 1854) takes Locke's blank slate (or empty) vessel construction of childhood to its extreme. The novel opens with the school board officer, Thomas Gradgrind, advocating:

'Teach these boys and girls nothing but Facts. Facts alone are wanted in life. Plant nothing else, and root out everything else. You can only form the minds of reasoning animals upon Facts.' [The listening children are described as] '…the inclined plane of little vessels then and there arranged in order, ready to have imperial gallons of facts poured into them until they were full to the brim' (Dickens, 1854:509).

 Gradgrind applies his theory of education not only to these working-class children but also to his own family, just as many of the texts exploited in early years' education and care are addressed to parents as well as practitioners. Contrasted with this world view is the chaotic but compassionate and creative world of the circus from which the main female character, Sissy Jupe, gains her moral authority (Young, 2013). As a practitioner, the representation speaks to my concerns about the disciplining of early years' practice into ever more 'formal' or 'traditional' modes of delivery; the imposition of a curriculum which prioritises literacy and numeracy and squeezes the time (and space) for play and creativity let alone innovative or experimental pedagogy. As a feminist the nagging disquiet is over the portrayal of Sissy as

the archetypal, impossibly innocent angel child (or female saviour) of much of Dickens'
fiction (Ingham, 1996).

A second haunting from fiction, this time in relation to social construction of the early years'
practitioner, is Ibsen's play *A Doll's House (Ibsen, 1879)*. Maria Montessori insisted that her
'Children's House' was not a doll's house, but neither was it a real house (Montessori, 2014).
Its confusion of domesticity, idealisms and social psychology can exist only as a heterotopia.
In Ibsen's play, Nora and her children are infantilised by the stifling organisation of their
conventional domestic arrangements. The play exposes the utopian façade in which they
are caught, as a dangerous fantasy which gradually unravels, leaving Nora with no option
but to leave. The themes of the play are not so far removed from issues which confront
practitioners and scholars in the relatively new academic field of early years' education and
care. Nora commits one of the most heinous sins against femininity when she leaves her
children to find/gain personal autonomy. She breaks the invisible threads which tie her to
the images of wife/mother projected onto her by her society. The discourses which
surround early years (or childcare/early education) continue to be set against historical
constructs of what it is to be a child, a teacher, a professional, a (nursery) nurse, a mother, a
father. These are challenged and reinforced, dismantled and reconstructed by the culture all
around us; not only film, books, newspapers and other media but also academic journal
articles, professional blogs, training courses, professional networks, even casual
conversations with colleagues and friends. This is the territory which must be entered to
consider early years' pedagogies from the vantage point of discursive practices of early
years' heterotopias.

A third haunting by fiction, and one which is somewhat connected to the topic of pirates
mentioned earlier, comes from nineteenth and twentieth century children's authors such as
J.M Barrie and Robert Louis Stevenson. Peter Pan is a particularly potent heterotopia in its
reflection of constructions of childhood as an opposite state of being to adulthood. Barrie is
widely thought to have created the novel partly in response to the death of his older
brother David when Barrie was only six (Birkin, 2003). Published initially as a play and then a
novel it has been transformed into pantomime and film, including a Disney version. In the
process, its morbid connection with the taboo subject of death in childhood is banished
from early years' institutions. For adults, the plight of the lost boys is a conundrum which

recalls the professed innocence and freedoms of childhood but also the personal and social tragedy of boys who never conform to the laws of nature to become men. Wendy, on the other hand, as the mother figure in Neverland, must return, must grow up to produce the next generation. She is also the celestial (the girl/angel of much of Dickens' work including Sissy Jupe) figure who ensures that her own brothers eventually return to domestic safety. It is only Peter who cannot be saved and, therefore, lives for eternity with fantasy pirates and the culturally suspect Indians.

The Disney film of Peter Pan delivers different cultural messages to those of the original play. The pirates take on the role of arch villains, when it was originally Mrs Darling who fulfilled this literary requirement (Birkin, 2003). Hunt and Frankenberg (1997) point out that Disney characters (in film, cartoon and theme park mode) all experience frightening but not completely destructive adventures when they are separated from the sanctity of the (American) family (Hunt and Frankenberg, 1997:119). In early years' education and care the fictive is always present, always meddling with pedagogical articulation and enactment. Every time an adult or a child picks up a story book, whenever role play takes place and when adults and children bring in and share their interests and experiences. These complexities and entanglements of the real with the fictive, the cultural image with pedagogical enactment, is what will be sought out in the analysis of the texts of observations and the texts of quality reports.

Technologies of Production

Bourdieu frames critical discourse analysis as the study of language as a locus of struggles for power and authority (Jaworski and Coupland, 1999:498). In other words, it is possible, and legitimate to pay attention to ways in which symbols and codes, including accents and dialects (Trudgill, 1975b), written texts and meanings attached to certain objects (Jones et al., 2012) manipulate power relations in locations such as nurseries, playgroups and classrooms. For Bourdieu every linguistic exchange is associated with capital and market economies (Bourdieu, 1999). In education systems, the currency is knowledge, in early years' it is also care, in either case those adults and/or children most competent in the use of the languages of education and/or care are the more powerful traders and often enter encounters with one another with more capital. What Bourdieu suggests is that this entire socio-cultural/socio-linguistic power structure is observable in every interaction, if attention

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is paid to what is said, by whom, in the context of what is valued as competence (Bourdieu, 1999:503).

In the relationship between early years' practitioner and early years' children the practitioner is paid to convey the value systems and knowledges approved by the state, as communicated in official documentation such as the EYFS (DfE, 2014). Perhaps in troubling the exchanges, between adults and children; children and their peers; adults, children and objects in early years' spaces, Althusser will give greater clarity than Bourdieu. Althusser, drawing on a post-modern reading of the collected works of Marx, points to ideology as the factor which prevents recognition of different possibilities for thinking and acting. This may be ideology directly connected to capitalism, but also to professional paradigms which shut out awareness of the philosophy, religion, history, politics, economics and legal frameworks produced by social interests and conditions which are independent of thought (Payne, 1997a:35). When practitioners in any setting think only in terms of developmental psychology and its normative measurements of stages of development, alternative hauntings of EYFS (and hauntings of other 'methods' of delivering early years' education and care) which may be of value, go unrecognised and become hauntings of practice. In this respect development psychology is as much an ideology as any other form of training, whether based on a 'method' such as Montessori or a curriculum framework. In any case, Bourdieu and Althusser are particularly helpful in disturbing ghosts entering settings through technologies of production.

Technologies of Power, Technologies of the Self and Incitement to Discourse

Foucault's works on technologies of power and technologies of the self, and their relevance to the present research have already been introduced. In the research, the discourses awarded significance begin as a sensitivity to tensions encountered in my working life as a teacher, a local authority early years' department employee and a sometime researcher. By a 'sometime' researcher I mean that research has always played a part in my professional life, whether reading and interpreting the research of others, researching to gain a qualification or as a part of early years' projects in which I have participated. The methodological approach taken does not directly frame these tensions as questions because there is a desire to remain open to as full a range of possible interpretations of data as possible. These tensions, which arise from competing discourses with which practitioners

have no choice but to engage and manage as best they can, have made themselves felt (although they are not stable in their manifestations within policy and practice) throughout my career. They existed before it began and presumably will continue to exist once I have retired. This only makes them more worthwhile investigating (and articulating) in a systematic way. Those which immediately present themselves are between care and education; mother and teacher; carer and professional; teaching and learning; playing and learning; child and pupil. There may be some which emerge as more complex or interesting than others or new tensions which arise out of the data collection process. These are issues which will be troubled further within the methodology and methods chapters. It is worth briefly considering some of Foucault's writing on discourse (Foucault, 1999). Using sex and sexuality, especially that of children, as an example Foucault proposes that the Enlightenment began an age of repression in which certain topics of conversation became unacceptable or vulgar to the bourgeois middle classes. What could be spoken, when, where and by whom to whom, became more strictly controlled (Foucault, 1999:514). It is this Enlightenment thinking which has informed much of the taken for granted routines and value systems of early years' education and care as practiced within the EYFS. This disciplining of what can and should be articulated and the ways in which issues of teaching and learning, care and welfare are spoken (or written about) in different social, political and historical contexts is particularly apparent in the deconstruction of the quality liaison reports in chapter 8.

Two examples given by Foucault of relationships in which some topics are disciplined into silence are between parents and children and between teachers and pupils (Foucault, 1999:515). These relationships sit squarely within the field of early years' education and care. When the sanctioned discussion of topics including sex (but also politics, education and science) moves from the private sphere, Foucault argues, into the realm of powerful institutions, they become discourse. They are formalised through research and policed through professional training. Far from being spoken and written about less, it becomes the imperative of power to invent a whole new language through which the discourses multiply 'through explicit articulation and endlessly accumulated detail'(Foucault, 1999:515). These are the regimes of power and of truth which discipline early years' pedagogical articulations, enactments and interactions. They are an important part of the complexity of every-day life

in early years' education and care settings to which the ethnography aims to pay attention. Children's sexuality may be spoken of only in the languages of psychiatry, psychology and child protection; their physical and cognitive growth only in the languages of developmental psychology, milestones, measurable outcomes and progress towards adulthood. Things are said in a different way: by different people; from different points of view; to obtain different results (Foucault, 1999:518). Alternative articulations, for example those exposed by Jones et al (2012) in their exploration of toys which are valued by children but ejected from early years' settings by adults or Barron et al's (2017) engagement with data from the 2-Curious project, leading to the possibility of other enactments by practitioners, parents, researchers and children themselves, continue to exist but become hauntings hidden from view, disguised or ignored because they have no acceptable language by which to express themselves and are silenced.

Technologies of the sign

Usher and Edwards frame postmodernism in relation to education as 'a state of mind' (1994:2) rather than a clear set of ideas or techniques. Postmodernism and post-structuralism stress the ethereal nature of representations of reality (and/or textuality) which are always filtered through the historical and social positioning of the speaker/writer, the language available to construct the reality and the meanings brought by the listener/reader.

Derrida plays with conventions of textuality within his writing, making it inherently difficult to comprehend, to write about or to apply directly to an established modernist construct such as early childhood care and education. His intention in writing is to disrupt anything which is taken for granted in metaphysics, philosophy and the representation of a single reality through text or discourse. It is much easier to pinpoint what he is against than what he is advocating. His post-structuralism runs counter to Saussure's contention that the sign (including the spoken and written word) refers directly to what is being signified whether this be an object, a concept or an observation of professional practice (Guillemette and Cossette, 2006). Technologies of the sign, alongside technologies of production, have not been as central to the research as technologies of power and of the self, although it might be argued that the four concepts are inseparable from one another.

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The value of Derrida's work to this study is that it has encouraged me to see differently. He presents the subject (the self) as self-constructed through the stories we tell about ourselves and others. 'What is presented is therefore not an 'authentic' self in the Enlightenment sense but, literally, a fictional self- one that is capable of many meanings' (Usher and Edwards, 1994:147). This allows for a decentring of notions of the expert be that the researcher, the teacher or a text. It permits encounters with practice to be evaluated in terms of the stories told by all the participants including practitioners, children, parents and researchers. This will be discussed further in the methodology chapter. Derrida also opens up the possibility of 'a deconstructive reading' of the spaces, objects, articulations and documents which make up the discourses of early years' settings. This approach to languages of social situations attends to 'the deconstructive processes always occurring in texts and already there waiting to be read' (Payne, 1993a:121). MacLure (2003) provides a useful overview of how this post-structuralist approach to discourse in education constructs new avenues for research which pays attention to the gaps which always exist between what is said (or not said), written or ignored; how writing itself, including the writing of the research, is worthy of scrutiny (and word play) as part of an ethnography which seeks to widen the repertoire of early years' pedagogical insights and possibilities.

Concluding Remarks

The literature review has attempted to identify key ideas which will influence the study's methodological stance and approaches to data analysis. The first section discussed the enduring influences of development psychology on early years' pedagogy and practices, both prior to and since the introduction of a statutory Early Years' Foundation Stage framework. The second chapter then goes on to explore post-structuralist framings of relevant concepts, including childhood, the self, power, truth, space, time and language. These are the post-structuralist, philosophical and academic expressions of the tensions I have experienced within my working life in early years' education and care. They therefore inform the ways in which the research has been approached, the methodological decisions and turns and the method(s) of data analysis selected. Attention has been paid to Foucault's writing about heterotopias as real spaces haunted by fantasy and competing power discourses (Foucault, 1994a). The theme of the haunting of practice by a complex interweaving of theories, sometimes articulated and at other times silent or seemingly

missing from interpretations of the enactments of practice, has been developed through consideration of Gordon's (2008) text. Her presentation of social hauntings and the meddlesome fictive will be carried forward and drawn upon within the methodology and the analysis to trouble themes emerging from the reading of early years' settings as heterotopic spaces.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Where does a piece of research begin? With a question to be answered or a problem to be solved? With a desire for change or enlightenment? Or maybe with a 'niggle', a germ of an idea that things are not as they might appear, are complex but worthy of investigation. This research began when a practitioner led project on young children's transitions ended. Within the methodological positioning which has emerged, this might be classified as a rupture in the sense of an event experienced as a sort of violence which signalled the ending of something valued and the beginning of new possibilities for conceptualising (Foucault, 1980, Foucault, 2000a) work undertaken in the field of Early Years' Education and Care (ECEC). The violence was a sudden withdrawal of funding, following a change of government, meaning that there was no longer time, physical space or salary for a facilitator to continue a project which had enabled schools and settings to come together to engage with academics and practice discourses on transition. The project, known as *Buddying*, is not the focus of the research, although several of the participating settings consented to becoming research subjects. Buddying is something from the collective past of researcher and participants which is entirely absent from the final written research but is one of the many hauntings (Gordon, 2008) of the research process. Let us say then, that the Buddying Project is one possible starting place in so much as one must begin somewhere and that place is not secure but neither is it random (Bennington and Derrida, 1993b).

The aims of the study set out at the start of the research process are reproduced in the introduction. They remain relatively unchanged. They are a focal point to which the different sections of the thesis will constantly return. The aim is to investigate, interrogate and trouble ECEC pedagogies; their enactments, discourses and theoretical hauntings. Therefore, the methodology chapter is concerned with the ontological and epistemological, as well as ethical, implications of: Interrogating how educational discourses may affect the decisions made by teachers and practitioners when designing and delivering learning for young children so that these interactions can be better understood by research participants including the practitioners and myself; investigating implicit and explicit pedagogies evident in settings delivering EYFS and Key Stage 1 (KS1) curricula to children between 3 and 6 years in England and analysing the differing discourses on which these 'acts of teaching' may be based so as to articulate, implement and evaluate alternative teaching strategies which could be used in our

interactions with young children and interrogating how practitioners and children in non-maintained settings and in Nursery, Reception and KS1 classrooms in schools enact particular pedagogical interactions in order to evaluate the possible effects of practitioner enquiry on curriculum design and delivery

The methodological insights into how the aims might be realised in the doing and the writing up of the research have shifted in the light of my own reading, understandings and theoretical positioning. When the study was proposed my thinking and experience framed it within a socio-cultural perspective (Tharp and Gallimore, 1991). Here knowledge is understood to be co-produced through the planned/unplanned interactions between adults, children and the environment (Stephen, 2010). The intention was to employ an interpretive discourse (O'Hanlon, 2003) and by pursuing Participant Action Research (PAR) (Carr, 2002, McNiff, 2010) to create opportunities to interrogate existing practices as well as consider alternatives. This would have meant an undetermined number of research cycles in which I effectively mentored practitioner-researchers in posing and investigating research questions of interest to them. On reflection, this approach had a number of ethical as well as practical challenges. It appears as over reliant on the work of others with unclear benefits for them in terms of actual return such as achieving higher qualifications, funding or even recognition. There were also unresolved dilemmas around my role within the participating settings. Teachers and practitioners were often grateful for the extra pair of hands but it is unclear whether it could be said to be working for and with participants, including children (Clark and Moss, 2001) within an 'ontology of emergence' (Lee, 2001, Horton, 2001, Gallacher and Gallagher, 2008). I could participate in, even enjoy, interactions with children whilst bearing none of the responsibilities of working for the organisations, planning learning, interacting with parents or any of a plethora of other daily duties which fall to practitioners. It now seems to me that I was an outsider, a volunteer, more than a participant researcher. This became problematic because while it was my desire that the research, and any knowledge generated should demonstrate joint ownership of the project (with practitioners and maybe children claiming their stake) this outcome was never (perhaps could never) be realised. I could not escape being cast as the expert, demanding rather than facilitating questions and the methods by which they might be addressed. This initial phase of the research is discussed further in the methods section. In a way, it is an additional haunting which will be absent from the final analysis in that the PAR has not been

carried forward as a research method within this thesis. It is incomplete but has undeniably influenced the methodological decisions, the reflective turns, taken along the way. Gazing inwards is not always a sufficient (or efficient) method of solving problems connected to the enactments of research. The collection of ethnographic field notes necessitates interactions between subjects and researcher, researcher and objects in 'haunted spaces' (Foucault, 1994a). The methodology, therefore, turns to Foucault's notion of a reflected (rather than an inward) gaze as a useful and complex metaphor for self-examination.

The methodology chapter considers the role of fiction and/or the fictive in constructing an unstable ontology which could be said to operate within the heterotopias which we designate as places of ECEC. After all, what is a heterotopia if not a living breathing fiction in an utterly real space? In his third principle of heterotopias, Foucault uses theatres and cinemas to illustrate the heterotopic ability 'to juxtapose in a single real place several emplacements that are incompatible in themselves' (Foucault, 1994a:181). Children, with the support and active encouragement of practitioners, like nothing better than to turn the corner of the room into a vets', a doctor's surgery, a miniature home or place of worship. Chairs become trains, open spaces are turned into jungles, race tracks and 'super hero worlds'. Even as adults our panorama of ideas, knowledge and creative thinking is not constrained by physical reality. The novels and poems we may read; the films, plays and television programmes we watch, colour our ideas about ourselves, others and the environments in which we operate. Gordon (2008) depicts this in the section of *Ghostly Matters* which turns to the novel *Beloved* (Morrison, 1998) to examine the continuing social legacy of slavery in the United States. To add a further layer of complexity to the fictive natures of early years' settings, practitioners frequently use stories and poems, books and pictures as an integral part of teaching young children. Fiction and the fictive are themselves emergent concepts within the data collection and analysis because fiction and the fictive are part of the theoretical frame presented by Gordon (2008), Foucault (1994a) and Derrida (Bennington and Derrida, 1993b). A personal interest in fictional narrative as a part of human knowledge and understanding has been a persistent haunting whose nagging could not be ignored. Even on a first reading of Foucault's chapter on heterotopia (Foucault, 1994a) another story, that of *The Red Tent* as a space of female epistemes passed down through the generations of story tellers depicted in Diamant's (2002) novel, sprang to mind.

Foucault (1994a:179) speaks of crisis heterotopias in primitive societies as forbidden, privileged or sacred places reserved for individuals in crisis, including menstruating women and women in labour. The red tent of the title is precisely this heterotopia but, more than this, it is the place in which the women pass down their knowledge, skills and stories, which will never be written down or turned into the official version of history or in this case religion. The narrating voice is given to Dinah who is the daughter of Jacob, and sister of Joseph, in the *Bible*. She features very briefly in the Old Testament, as a rape victim to be avenged. The words of the seemingly powerless are made audible, all be it fictitious words from an imagined mouth. It is this ability of story making to tap into lost or silenced moments that I hope to exploit to find a methodological space which is more enabling to the uncovering of hidden or suppressed perspectives on socially just pedagogy within early years' teaching and learning. Fiction is not so much a theme of the research as a thread running through the chapters, an element of the complexity and an aspect of the 'decoupage du temps' (Foucault, 1994a) to be deconstructed. Making appearances in the literature review and again in later chapters, because they seem to add a deeper dimension to possible understandings of observed practices, are the literary works *Hard Times* (Dickens, 1854), *Peter Pan* (Rose, 1984, Birkin, 2003) and *A Doll's House* (Ibsen, 1879).

The second section of the methodology considers the notion of ethical identities in relation to social justice and early years' pedagogy. The assumption of a unified subject, either adult or child, is problematized, particularly the idea that the self is a unitary entity formed at an early age and carried with us into adulthood, cutting across divisions of race, class or ethnicity. Possibilities for reframing interpretations of the lived experiences of children and practitioners draws on critiques of dominant discourses on identity, image, sexuality and gender politics from feminist writers including Lois McNay (McNay, 1992) and Teresa de Lauretis (de-Lauretis, 1984, de-Lauretis, 1987) as well as existing critical ecologies from within the sector such as the work of Erica Burman (2008a, Burman, 2008b), Peter Moss (Moss and Pence, 1994, Moss, 2016, Dahlberg et al., 2007), Mathias Urban(Urban, 2008, Urban, 2015, Urban, 2012), Maggie MacLure, Rachel Holmes, Ian Barron, Liz Jones and Christina McRae (Jones et al., 2012, MacLure, 2003, Jones et al., 2010, Barron and Holmes, 2005, Jones, 2016). A pre-existing interest in the operation of language in social and literary contexts has led to an acknowledged supposition that subjectivity is constructed through

language and is therefore an open ended, contradictory and culturally specific amalgam of different subject positions. Language is an inescapable phenomena with a parasitic quality in its ability to attach itself to spaces and objects, sounds, signs and silences whilst continuing to convey and confuse meaning (MacLure, 2003, Payne, 1993a). This recurring theme is picked up within the data analysis, manifesting itself through the repeated significance of temporal space and pedagogical objects when making sense of the participant observations. The analysis attempts to remain sensitive to the unstable relational identities of practitioners and children which are taken to be in a continual state of flux between roles such as cared for and carer, teacher and pupil, player and playmate, expert and novice. The labels child or adult are not treated as innate or natural qualities of the body but rather the effect of historically specific power relations. Viewing what can be observed in early years' settings from this perspective provides a useful analytical framework to explain how pedagogical articulations and enactments may be impoverished and controlled within culturally determined images of what it is to be an Early Years' Professional/Teacher/Carer or a young child in an early years' education and care setting.

During a series of lectures in the United States in the 1980s, Foucault spoke about 'technologies of the self' as practices and techniques through which individuals actively fashion their own identities (Foucault, 1993). Drawing on this theory, the data analysis will seek to trouble incidents in which children and practitioners appear to assert themselves against systematic forms of knowledge which rest on universal truth claims. The aim will be to approach practitioner (and childhood) identities as an historically and culturally specific construction rather than innate phenomena. Foucault's (1994a) notion of heterotopic spaces has been helpful in illuminating ontological and epistemological questions about the organisation, daily routines and taken for granted objects and interactions encountered through the ethnography of participant observation and documentary analysis. One of the challenges of viewing practice, and collecting and analysing data through the prism of heterotopias is their self-proclaimed illusionary qualities (Foucault, 1994a). It is much easier to notice and describe heterotopic principles at work within early years' settings than it is to discern or articulate how this might translate into new possibilities for enactments of practice. Haunting emerged as a useful paradigmatic metaphor through which to express this methodological predicament. It was in this context that the methodology turns to Avery

Gordon's (2008) *Ghostly Matters: Haunting and the Sociological Imagination.* This points to an approach to sociological research which acknowledges the capacity of fiction to articulate truths about human actions and relationships as powerfully, and sometimes more effectively than descriptions of facts, or questions which seek a single, unassailable solution to a definable problem. It is the combining of these two theoretical frames which has created the methodological scaffolding underpinning the analysis and enabled me to sustain a commitment to confronting complexity within and throughout the research process.

The penultimate section of the methodology chapter focuses in on the theory of heterotopias as described in *Different Spaces* (Foucault, 1994a) and explores the possibility of 'heterotopology' as a methodological stance from which daily life in early years' institutions might be investigated. The chapter ends with a return to Gordon's proposition that hauntings and the sociological imagination matter in social research if we are to move beyond a 'restrictive commitment to an empiricist epistemology and its supporting ontology of the visible and the concrete' as Radway expresses it in the Foreword to *Ghostly Matters* (Gordon, 2008:viii). This final section plays with writing style in an attempt to find a space of expression somewhere between literary, professional and academic storytelling. Haunting in this context is not an analogy, it does not stand for something more real than itself. It is the theories we have come across, which have influenced us in the past, which still have a bearing on our pedagogical decision making. It is also the observations we made and lost because we thought they were insignificant or not worthy of recording or sharing with others. Often it is the question that we failed to ask or could not put into words.

Running through all the sections of this chapter (and the chapter on methods which follows) is uneasiness with my own presence within the research process. This is an ethical theme widely debated in relation to ethnographic methodologies which trace their roots back to nineteenth and early twentieth century anthropology (Coffey, 1999, Gordon et al., 2001, James, 2001, Lather, 2001, MacDonald, 2001). This aspect of the rationale(s) behind the data collection will be contemplated in more depth within the discussion of methods. If the researcher happens also to be an early years' educator, the chosen position has implications not only for her approach to research but also her pedagogical practice(s) with young children. It affects whether she views the relationship between 'teacher' and 'pupil' as one in which the adult educator stands outside the situated learning as holder or as bestower of

knowledge. From this epistemological perspective, the knowledge to be traded (both in research and in classroom practices) exists independently of the time and place in which it may be presented to children. I am not suggesting that the connections between my (or any other practitioner-researcher's) methodology and pedagogical stance is either straight forward or necessarily fixed. Rather that there is an issue of 'Emplacement' to be explored, a relationship of proximity between the elements of early years' pedagogy and those of early years' research (Foucault, 1994a:176) This matters because the modernist commitment to Enlightenment theories could be argued to have an association with the culture of testing and measurement which currently overwhelms pedagogical discourses and decision making in relation to the Early Years' Foundation Stage in England (Dahlberg et al., 2007:87). By which I mean positivist approaches based on methods borrowed from the physical sciences to the exclusion of other ways of seeing and investigating classroom life.

Identifying and indeed maintaining this position is no simple matter. In the first place, there is an immediate tension between my identities as a teacher consultant (EYTC) and as participant researcher (PR). In the former, to earn a living and to carry on my professional life, I operate within a modernist arena. I am required to offer solutions to problems presented as simple matters of truth. Data shows that girls do better than boys during their Reception year in a particular school; a child is not demonstrating the necessary attributes associated with 'school readiness' and so forth. In the identity I have created as a practitioner researcher, the physical locations of pedagogical enactment are unchanged but have become haunted spaces in which alternative interpretations of happenings tug at my shirt sleeves, vying to be noticed as possible channels to more just, more free and possibly more gentle, pedagogical articulations and enactments. The remainder of this chapter continues to explore these issues of positioning, truth telling and ethical tribulations.

Destabilising Positioning within the Research

First and foremost, there is the question of position. The location of the body (Foucault, 2000b) in time and space and the viewpoint that may or may not afford need to be considered. The landscape inhabited by the researcher is the source of the questions generated, in this case the field of early years' education in the twenty first century, in England. As the research progressed it became clear that there were two interrelated areas of interest from which research questions were arising. The first, related to the practices of

early years carried out by others, stemmed from the initial interest in Practitioner Action Research (PAR). This developed into questions about how children and adults ascribe meaning to objects with which they interact and the spaces in which these interactions take place. The second set of questions generated correlate with the research process and my own presence and identities within it. Retrospectively it is unsurprising that language(s) and literacy, in their broadest sense, have become a preoccupation of the engagements with research questions relating to professional enactments and articulations. The place of stories and story-telling has always been important in my life as a teacher and my identity outside of education. The questions in this latter category are to do with the new languages (of the post-graduate researcher, the university, post-modernism and early years' care and education as an academic subject area) which have necessitated a re-examination of my own assumptions around what it means to be an early years' practitioner/teacher. These are questions about the different languages and intentions of academic research and other types of work in early years' education and care and how the two might be brought closer together. Also, about how matters of equality and social justice, power and resistance, thread through my own and others' motivations in carrying out work with young children in educational and other settings. These are questions which come about through a struggle to re-evaluate, or at the very least better articulate, professional enactments, situations and processes which have caused my concern and discomfort but seemed at the time to be unchallengeable. The research questions have been framed from what might be constructed as a critical stance, since there is a desire to trouble and go beyond traditional research questions which smack of Enlightenment theory according to which if the 'correct' questions are posed and followed through using accepted methods of human reasoning then a solution will be found and actions required will be obvious and unchallengeable (Dahlberg et al., 2007:19). These are the principles on which positivist scientific research are based. The researcher stands apart from the research subject(s). She is on the outside looking in, or maybe hovers above as a biologist examining organisms through a microscope.

If there is a quest within the methodological stance, it has been to seek out a position from which those actors commonly regarded as the subjects of the research can be acknowledged as participants, whose autonomous enactments of every day social action play an active role in shaping the knowledge generated. At the outset, this was to be

through participant action research, through which early years' graduate practitioners would pose their own questions and address them through action research cycles. An example of the starting of this process can be seen in appendix 4. The methods to be developed and employed were to be similar to those described by Baumfield et al (2008). In this research model, teachers become 'research engaged' by working alongside academics to formulate teaching which is founded on 'planning, doing and reviewing' research questions which provide 'an evidence base that is not only relevant to the individual but which is shared' (Baumfield et al., 2008:2). However, the approach threw up ethical and methodological issues which demand consideration within this chapter. Prominent amongst them (a continuous haunting of ethics and methodology) is the unstable relationship between identities and identification as and of researcher/subject/ practitioner and as learner/educator. At different times and in different (physical) spaces, I might see myself as predominantly playing the role of participant or non-participant researcher, of participating early years' teacher or practitioner or of post-graduate student/researcher. These shifting positions have complex power implications (Ball, 2013, Foucault, 2000b, Foucault, 1980) which have become a part of the research. The participant observations in the three pre-schools that took part in the Buddying Project were foregrounded by the roles of participant observer and external researcher. The research in schools, of which the deconstruction of reports is the final product, combines the identities of researcher and the professional role of Early Years' Teacher Consultant (EYTC). The reports were written within the disciplining arena (Foucault, 1980, Foucault, 1995) of a local authority department which became a semi-privatised company before data collection was complete. The technologies of production (Rabinow, 1997, Althusser, 2008) added an additional layer of complexity to the possibility of practitioners as co-researchers since the roles of consultant and that of the school as a customer of advice and guidance mediated the meetings and turned the focus away from voluntary managed Pre-schools to governor run settings and Reception classes. The final element of the research, the writing up, has taken place from the vantage point of Senior Lecturer in Early Childhood Education and Care at a university (a heterotopic space different from that of an early years' setting). This has engendered contemplation on the writing (the writtenness) of research (MacLure, 2003) in relation to the field notes (Emerson et al., 2001), the reports and the final production of the thesis. There has been a loss (Gordon, 2008) of direct involvement by practitioners so that their voices appear in a

fictional, not a temporal, form (Derrida and Wolfreys, 1998). The research speaks through deconstruction of events recorded by a single researcher, not the practitioners (or the children) themselves. The participating practitioners appear under pseudonyms, they have invited (or at the very least consented to) the presence, annotations and interpretations of the researcher on their behalf.

Method and the Meddlesome Fictive

Post-enlightenment or modernist positioning is productive of questions which solve problems of method. How should I deliver this morsel of knowledge to demonstrate a specific outcome? What must I do in order that all children perform the act of counting as far as an arbitrary number such as 20? No space is left for ambiguities, and yet work with young children is filled with uncertainties and unexpected events and responses. To ask only questions which have a definitive answer reduces acts of teaching to technocratic formulae or a process of implementing successive government agendas. What is banished, or made ghostly, is teaching as an act of the imagination which recognises pedagogical spaces as heterotopias (Foucault, 1994a), a concept which will be explored more fully as the chapter progresses. Research is fraught with conflicts and tensions, including those between children as passive or active participants, the interpretations of teaching young children as care or education, the strained relationship between play and instruction, between teaching and learning, between expert and professional, the innate and the socially constructed, the domestic and the public spheres as discussed in the literature review chapters.

A tension, unlike a physical object, cannot be handled, tested or stored in a vacuum for re-examination at a later date. Its effects on the world around us are unstable and unpredictable. Even so we can agree that these tensions exist, they make themselves felt within educational discourses and enactments. They are spoken and written about both inside and outside of early years' institutions. It is to better unpack and describe these rigidities within early years' pedagogical practices that I have turned to the later works of philosopher Michael Foucault. Adopting an analytical approach to ethnographic data, which draws on Foucault's 'modern ethics of the self' (McNay, 1992, Rabinow, 1997) and his concept of a systematic describing [of early years' spaces and my own interactions within them] as heterotopias (Foucault, 1994a:179) is integral to the methodological underpinnings of the research.

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Foucault describes heterotopias as connected with 'decoupages du temps'. Robert Hurley (Foucault, 1994a) translates this as temporal discontinuities. Decoupage is also a craft technique that entails pasting cut-outs (typically paper) to an object and then covering them with several coats of varnish or lacquer. (Wiki, 2016). A methodology which turns towards 'heterotopology' would acknowledge the coexistence of ideas pasted together from the distant and more recent pasts, within early years' practices. It would seek to peer beneath the layers of varnish to identify individual pictures and trouble ways in which they have been stuck together with other incongruous beliefs and enactments.

Another element of the fictive is the story of the research itself. To an extent this is the use of autobiography to widen and deepen possible interpretations of the data collected from the field. It is also a means of specifying my own growing awareness of the impossibility of 'insider' research that fails to accept the generative nature of ethnography, particularly an ethnography which tries to combine researcher and professional identities. The chronology of the research is characterised by reflexive (or reflective) turns. A terminology borrowed from social-anthropology which entails turning the gaze of the research in on itself in order to emphasise and trouble unavoidable power disparities between researcher and researched (Vankatesh, 2013).

The Heterotopic Mirror: Ontology and Reflexivity in Early Years' Research

Foucault seems to envisage the heterotopia as a sort of mediating space between a utopia, which is utterly unreal since it exists only in the consciousness of the person imagining what it might be like, and reality in a more general sense. For research purposes, many different places might be regarded as (or turned into) heterotopic spaces (Johnson, 2013). Foucault mentions a train and the different emplacements of people and places which might be studied during the period of time it takes to experience a particular journey (Foucault, 1994a:178). Thus, a heterotopia is both real, in the sense of a physical space to be studied and 'utterly unreal' because, although it may reflect the society in which it exists, it operates by its own rules of who and what may enter the space, of what is acceptable or unacceptable and of what can and should be 'done' within its socio-historical parameters. Foucault ponders on a mirror as the ultimate heterotopia since it is a real object which reflects the space in which it is placed, removing the viewer's gaze from the surrounding space but enabling them to look at themselves 'there where I am absent' (Foucult,

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1994:179). For research which hopes to make the familiar strange (Ybema et al., 2009) this is extremely useful. Not only does it acknowledge that the researcher occupies some of the space within the research but also that research subjects see and can be seen from perspectives other than those of the researcher. In Foucault's words, the mirror:

 'makes this place I occupy at the moment I look at myself in the glass both utterly real, connected with the entire space surrounding it, and utterly unreal – since, to be perceived, it is obliged to go by way of the virtual point which is over there' (Foucault, 1994a:174)

This has implications for the handling of participant observations and for the textual analysis of quality liaison reports (Fairclough, 2003, Prior, 2003). What is seen, heard and said in the context of an observation exists only in the moment. Its recording, retelling and interpretation reflect those moments but continue through various forms of representation including formal and informal observations of staff and/or children; the research field notes which can be found in appendix 6 and quality liaison reports which are deconstructed in appendices 7 to 11. The reports are themselves heterotopic objects which allow a very specific, contextual recording to be re-interpreted and re-evaluated in relation to theory as well as to pedagogical practices. As the author of the reports 'I come back to myself and reconstitute myself there where I am' (Foucault, 1994a:179) (or where I was) when I constructed the record of events to be given to the participating schools and settings.

Ontology of Emergence

In this chapter, there is a concern with how conflicting theories might co-exist in practice and how better articulation of this might open ways to a wider choice of enactments of early years' pedagogy. The methodology attempts to turn consistently to the aims of the study, rather than framing and then focusing on immutable research questions. Within the aims reside a personal commitment to social justice within early years' education to the extent that the research will concern itself with questions of equality, diversity inclusion and wellbeing rather than with narrow definitions of attainment. There is also an intention towards amplifying the voices of adult and child participants; to negotiating issues of power and seeming disempowerment and to addressing them at a local level. Methods used involve interrogating educational discourses and seeking out implicit and explicit pedagogies

through ethnographic observations and recordings. The intention has been to trouble assumptions which lurk within the ethnography and other documentary products of the research. This 'ontology of emergence' (Lee, 2001, Horton, 2001, Gallacher and Gallagher, 2008) seeks to co-construct with social actors that which might be asked about the 'realities' of our everyday practices in work with young children. In the context of a heterotopological methodology, this will mean selecting incidents recorded in the ethnographic notes and then deconstructing and reinterpreting them in the light of the six principles of heterotopias. The intention is to draw out new, forgotten or ignored questions and interpretations. The questions generated can then be considered in relation to the operation of power systems and their possible effects on children and adults in individual settings. In so doing, it is hoped, not so much that unfamiliar questions will be identified and addressed, as that different ways of seeing might lead to more satisfying pedagogical enactments. The methods used have proved productive in drawing to light technologies of power, the self, the sign and of production (Foucault, 1995, Mac Naughton, 2005, Foucault, 1994a, Rabinow, 1997, McNay, 1992) operating in early years' heterotopic spaces (Foucault, 1994a) and thereby opening the way to new possibilities and new knowledge about and for practitioners and children. However, to fully realise the potential for new ways of seeing and doing early years' pedagogy, the research findings would need to be represented to and further explored by practitioners themselves. A perceived limitation of an ontology of emergence might be that the outcomes are never predictable and are outside the sphere of influence of the researcher, as soon as they are committed to words on paper (Derrida and Wolfreys, 1998, MacLure, 2003, Jones et al., 2010). Operating within this post-structuralist arena is a constant struggle to break free from the regimes of truth (Ball, 2013) inherent within the modernist contexts of care and education in which practitioners and researchers operate. The rationale for such a struggle can only be the possibility of different, more socially just (Gordon, 2008), ways of enacting early years' pedagogy .

It has already been intimated that the research procedure holds important struggles (or sometimes plays with) ethical dilemmas associated with my own multi-faceted function and responsibilities as ethnographer/teacher/consultant and so forth. The very real tensions produced by associating ethnography with work are explored by Wellin and Fine (2001) and will continue to be surveyed within the section on ethnography in the methods chapter.

From the perspective of the methodology, the autobiography of the research is another element of the role of the fictive. In my professional life (or lives), I have moved from Workforce Development Consultant and Project Manager to the role of Teacher Consultant and latterly University Lecturer. As a researcher, the EYTC role threw up new dilemmas, both methodical and ethical. I no longer needed to create the opportunities to observe and partake in professional discussion with EYPs, teachers and heads; these activities were now part of my professional role. This constituted a change in power dynamics, putting greater obligation on schools to permit me to visit and observe their practices. I still sought permission to use the visits as data and there was little hesitation from staff in granting this but rarely, if ever, did they seek any clarification on what it was I was researching or writing about. Furthermore, the advice I am obliged to give is often pragmatic in relation to what HMI or Ofsted might expect to see or have answered and does not always sit comfortably with my own pedagogical beliefs or academic positioning.

The research proposal conceptualised knowledge (in early years' settings) as a product of the interaction between practitioners and children. However, if early years' institutions are to be seen as heterotopias, this is only a part of the epistemological position, since the spaces in which this knowledge is co-constructed is not an empty, but a haunted space (Foucault, 1994a). In deconstructing Marxist theory, Derrida refers to the spirit and the spectres of Marxism. The spirit, in some ways, is a utopia. It is something which can be imagined but can never exist in reality. The spirit of early years' education is the pedagogical values and beliefs which we as practitioners hold about what our practice should be and what that practice might yield for ourselves and for the children we teach. Spectres, for Derrida, are far more threatening apparitions. They are what we most fear in a theory or a discourse, or maybe something which terrorises others outside of our heterotopias. For example the work of Dewey (1997) may well be respected by teachers and academics, many would agree that early years' education is founded on experiential learning (Piaget, 2003, Isaacs, 1929, Froebel, 1909) and yet the progressive schools movement was demonised by the press and by politicians. It survives in the public imagination as a threat to the notion of 'good schools' and therefore to an ordered society (Darling, 1994, Cohen, 2002). Whilst a nod of recognition is awarded to the meta-discourse stories told by media and by governments about the need for 'early intervention' to save children's futures from

criminality, unemployment, poverty, failure against the measurement of Pisa tests and other (in my view largely imagined) horrors, this is not the focus of the research. The lens to be employed views the heterotopic characteristics of early years' institutions as neither intrinsically good (nor liberating), bad (nor subjugating). It does not hold with Derrida's view that: 'One must, magically, chase a spectre, exorcise the possible return of a power held to be baleful in itself and whose demonic threat continues to haunt the century.' (2006b:120) in relation to early years' spaces and the pedagogical interactions which occur within them. Rather, I follow Gordon's (2008) declaration that we should turn to face the ghosts of past ways of thinking and understanding [teaching and learning with young children] in order to shake them by the hand and converse with them about how and why we might (or might not) do things differently. I understand this as different to Derrida's stance to the extent that Derrida's notion of haunting is a meditation on questions of globalisation and ideology in a post Marxist world (Derrida, 2006b:xi). It is a metaphor for 'the death of communism and the fate of Marxism' (Derrida, 2006b), since such things can only be spoken (or written) about through metaphor. According to Magnus and Cullenberg in their introduction to *Spectres of Marx* (Derrida, 2006bxii) it explores the effects that 'the global crises engendered by the collapse of communism has had on avant garde scholars…..' Gordon's (2008) ghosts, generated by the sociological imagination, are more democratic and maybe more optimistic. They speak of and to ordinary women, or at least to the stories of women who could be our mothers or our sisters or you or me. Knowledge is here held to be a shared enterprise which involves listening to one another and taking on ethical identities to engage with the complexities of what we take for granted as 'best or worst practices' within our own individual settings, or in my case the settings in which I have been invited as a guest consultant and/or a guest researcher.

Knowledge and Power

Epistemologically ideas of social hauntings demonstrate a complex relationship between knowledge and power. It casts all knowledge, and all productions of knowledge as essentially political and never neutral. This is problematic in early years' education, where much thought and effort is put into presenting everything as apolitical thus generating further hauntings or 'revenants' worthy of investigation (Derrida, 2006b:180). The revenant for Derrida is connected to memory, but collective rather than individual memory (Lawlor,

2002). Perhaps in this way it is similar to the rememory in *Beloved* (Morrison, 2004). In the novel, slavery is represented as something more than a revenant. It is a physical presence which can evoke an emotional response long after the actual violence and injustices of slavery seem to be over, even in those who did not experience it first-hand. 'Places, places are still there. If a house burns down, it's gone, but the place – the picture of it – stays, and not just in my rememory, but out there, in the world' (Morrison, 2004:43) says Seth to her daughter. Perhaps when practitioners speak in the language of disciplining children and their learning, or value facts over fiction, what is conjured is the physical presence of Gradgrind's Victorian school room (Dickens, 1854) with its corporal punishment and humiliation of the other.

The languages we learn when we train for and take on a professional identity instigate forgetfulness, that the words we use (or exclude) ever had another meaning. So what do we mean when we identify ourselves as an early years' professional or teacher (or for that matter as an early years' advisor or consultant)? What do we hope to convey to those we are talking to about our professional lives and beliefs? These are questions which grasp towards the epistemological as well as the ontological complexity of early years' settings taken as heterotopias. Professional status assumes a shared, and agreed upon, body of knowledge but, of course, the practitioner (or academic) embodying every available theory relating to early years' education and care is a utopian (or possibly dystopian) figure, as unreal as the universal child mentioned earlier. Theoretical knowledge drawn from science and philosophy (psychology, sociology, neuroscience, religion and other fields of human thought) is tangled together with practical or lived knowledges about how to manage children, staff, environments and curricular documentation. The reflected knowledge is not unified as we might perceive an image in a full-length piece of flat surface glass. It is more akin to peering into a looking glass which has smashed or requires silvering. The danger of such an epistemological stance is that it becomes relativist, leading only to dead ends, inarticulacy or inaction. On the other hand, studying the fragments opens up the potential for different assemblages more akin to widening the repertoire of pedagogical responsiveness to 'real children' by 'actual practitioners' in 'local institutions'. Jones et al (2016) draw on Massumi (2011) in order to apply a methodology through which to 'foster and inflect, rather than try to master' (Jones, 2016:30). The authors go on to declare this as

an ethical enterprise, since it associates research in the field with desire for change and allows for an ethics of emergence. Such a position transforms the two questions posed earlier in the paragraph to a concern with who lays claim to professional knowledge(s) and how this does (or does not) author practice. I use the term 'author' in this instance to communicate links between thinking about, discussing and acting on pedagogical ideas and imaginings within settings.

Dilemmas of the Self: Practitioners and Researchers in Early Childhood Spaces

From a research perspective, the participating practitioners provided a range of professional expertise and contrasting work places in which to gather rich and varied ethnographic information. Three were teachers in Reception classes. One had a degree in art and had recently gained Early Years' Professional Status (EYPS). Her colleague was a qualified and experienced teacher. One was in the final year of her Early Childhood Degree. Another had completed the Foundation Degree but decided to stop at that point. Two of her staff were undertaking EYPS and finally a younger participant newly appointed to one of the pre-schools was embarking on a part time degree. The settings themselves, in addition to the Reception classes, included a pre-school established as part of the Buddying Project, a long established 'pre-school playgroup' and a governor run nursery on the site of a faith school. Even so, with the withdrawal of the project funding, there was little incentive to commit to learning about and carrying out practitioner research, or maybe other more immediately productive tasks demanding attention. A certain amount of participation relied on the relationships already built up and the teachers, in particular, quickly withdrew from the level of commitment previously given. There was no longer funding to support the time and facilities (which included the project development role) which enabled teachers and practitioners to meet in spaces of professional equality and dialectic exchange. Already, at this early stage of data collection, the envisaged 'voice of participants' was becoming elusive. They were happy for the stories to be created and told, but had placed the narrator role firmly with the pen in my hand. I became helper, unofficial advisor and an oddity to be drawn into the action of ECEC life or left to observe for my own purposes according to what

seemed most useful or appropriate at any one time. The events described recount significant ruptures in the perceived and actual role(s) and identities of the researcher within the research. What might be said to linger in relation to methodological principles of PAR (Carr, 2002) is incitement to share (as and with) practitioners, research generated reflections on canons of early childhood education and care practices which might be challenged and/or done differently (Barron et al., 2017). This provokes a requisite to address the instabilities and methodological dilemmas which surround the roles of author and researcher in academic work. I have elected to consider these issues under the sub-headings of reflexive turns and ruptures; the complicit researcher and unstable positioning.

Reflexive Turns and Ruptures

The reflexive, or reflective, turn is well established in ethnography and anthropology as a mechanism for illuminating the inevitability of some measure of partiality in the collection, interpretation and analysis of data in the social sciences. According to Venkatesh (2013) twenty-first century sociology has seen a resurgence of methodological reflexivity within research, which draws on the ethnographer turning the research gaze in upon herself in order to 'generate insights, establish patterns and bring the voice of [her] research subjects to light' (Venkatesh, 2013:4). This is one of the pathways which has been taken by this research as the financial and political landscapes, and my own professional roles within them, have shifted.

A major criticism of the 'reflexive turn' within traditional research methodologies is that it fails to redress the power imbalances between researcher and subject(s). It is always the researcher who wins out in the final selection, analysis and writing up of the enquiries (Venkatesh, 2013, Pollner and Emerson, 2001, MacDonald, 2001, Pollner, 2012). Even within the scope of PAR, in which reflexivity is built into the action research cycles (McNiff, 2010, Baumfield et al., 2008, Carr, 2002, Koshy, 2011, Kemmis and McTaggart, 2005) the academic researcher has the greatest access to the knowledge resources of a university and often takes on the prestigious tasks of reporting, writing and conference presentation (Barron et al., 2017, Jones et al., 2010). The response of ethno-methodologists has been to acknowledge, and address within their methodology and methods, the impossibilities of standing outside of social research; of operating outside (or predicting the effects) of regimes of power or of recording a reality outside of the textuality of what is said and what

is written as part of the enactments of research (McNay, 1992, Ball, 2013, Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1983, Lawlor, 2002, Derrida and Wolfreys, 1998, MacLure, 2003).

Struggling with the problematics of these ontological and epistemological tensions has been an important aspect of the research process. Attention is paid to the messiness of research (Cook, 1998) and the complexity of life in early years' settings (Cook, 2004, Cook, 2009) in order to acknowledge complexity, the coexistence of competing truths, as a theoretical pathway worthy of consideration by research into early childhood (Gordon, 2008, Foucault, 1980). The reflexivity, or messiness, has been reconceptualised as ruptures (Fleming and O'Carroll, 2012), events which are unpredictable (even violent), rather than planned and controlled by the researcher, but are, nevertheless, generative of choices made and data recorded. Some of the internal ruptures of import to this thesis have included the ending of the Buddying Project, from which the PhD research was conceived; the move from the Workforce Development Team to the Early Years' Teacher Consultant role part way through the field-work and the switch to Early Years' Lecturer whilst the data was being analysed and written up. These personal ruptures are entangled with, and inseparable from, ruptures relating to early years policies, funding regimes, changes in the political landscape and operational changes specific to the settings in which the research was taking place. Further justification for the switch from PAR to an alternative interpretation of research inclusive of practitioners and young children will be elucidated in the next section on the complicity of the researcher in the research process.

The Complicit Researcher

Feminist theorists have drawn on Foucault and other post-structuralist philosophers in order to trouble the ontological construction of gender (de-Lauretis, 1984, de-Lauretis, 1987, Butler, 1990, McNay, 1992, Jones, 2011, Irigaray et al., 1993, Irigaray, 2007). These writers pose gender not merely as a social construction, but as a (or many) representation(s) of what it might mean to be female, male or an alternate gender to that which we have historically designated as female or male. De Lauretis (1987:3) points out that 'the construction of gender is also effected by its deconstruction'. In other words, by critiquing, querying and reinterpreting notions of gender, feminist writers are complicit in regulating the terms in which gender is (re)presented and ignoring what lies outside of (feminist and non-feminist) discourses as a 'potential trauma' which might further destabilise orthodox

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thinking. In relation to research, this points to the impossibility of a researcher who is outside of the research process. The products of research, whether that be new theories, new representations of a social phenomenon or new ways of doing or seeing always involves selectiveness, on the part of those carrying out the research, and a residue of possibilities left unexplored. It is these feminist conjectures on identity politics and technologies of the self (Foucault, 1993, McNay, 1992, Foucault, 1994a, Irigaray et al., 1993, Irigaray, 2007) which have informed my interest in the dichotomies of early childhood education and care and my own role within their constructions and maintenance.

This problematization of false dichotomies permits a useful blurring between the roles awarded to research participants as subjects of research, the oppositions and tensions between those bodies imagined to be actively researching and those seen as the passive objects of research. It could be argued that the ethnographer and those subjects with whom she is interacting are both categories of the Other (Irigaray et al., 1993, Jones, 2011, Irigaray, 2007, de-Lauretis, 1984, de-Lauretis, 1987), since they fall outside the traditional lines drawn by scientific method, which demands that the researcher stays at an objective distance. In an occupation, such as early years', which is conceived as highly feminised it could be argued that both researcher and subject are 'Other' in relation to the masculine regimes and discourses of education. To take this a step further both the Subject and the Other are always masculine, since society remains patriarchal and language is a technology of this patriarchy. This complexity of gendered 'otherness', I will argue, is intensive in the field of early childhood education and care since most of the workforce identifies as female, but our professional identity is other than, and subject to the patriarchal structures of, education (Ball, 2013, Dahlberg et al., 2007, Moss, 2016, Jones, 2016, Jones and Barron, 2007), whilst still retaining many historical discourses relating to healthcare (McMillan Legacy, 1999, Giardiello, 2014, Feiner and barker, 2004, Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1994, Burman, 2008b). For a full account of this argument in relation feminist theory see Butler (1990). Butler draws particularly on the work of Irigaray (Irigaray et al., 1993, Jones, 2011, Irigaray, 2007) to consider social justice in terms of a feminism of difference as opposed to one of equality (Foucault and Hurley, 1984). This positioning provokes a shift of gaze from a reified social issue, such as gender or teaching, caring, working or playing to the traumas which might rupture or destabilize (de-Lauretis, 1984, de-Lauretis, 1987, Jones, 2016) these

discourses of early childhood and have the potential to reveal new possibilities, new languages, for enacting pedagogy with young children. It is these traumas which are expressed, within the writing of the research, as social hauntings (Derrida, 2006a, Gordon, 2008) of early years' practice

Unstable Positioning

Following Dahlberg, Moss, Pence and Burman the methodology begins from a stance of troubling dominant discourses such as 'quality' (Dahlberg et al., 2007, Dahlberg et al., 1999, Moss and Pence, 1994, Moss, 2016, Jones, 2016) and development (Burman, 2008a, Burman, 2008b). Beyond this, and connected to it, is the desire to challenge any prospect of a linear trajectory towards 'evidence based practice' which instructs on the best way to carry out early years education or care (Barron et al., 2017). One fundamental hope is to retain the location of practitioners as experts in their field and children as skilful and active agents in their own lives and learning (Rinaldi et al., 2005, Clark and Moss, 2001, Pascal, 1993, Geertz, 1973). However, this is a challenge not only within the context of research which leads to an academic qualification but also in respect to the influences from ethnomethodology (Pollner, 2012, Garfinkel, 1986, Watson, 1992) which has spoken to my belief that academic study should aim to change the ontological and epistemological understandings of the student/researcher before it can claim to add anything to the wider field. The absence of direct interviews or recorded conversations with practitioners or children might be considered a loss or an absence but my defence of this is that these methods still ultimately rely on the partiality of the researcher's interpretations, analyses, discernments and edits. Perhaps the best that can be expected is that the research reflects ongoing struggles to resist the oversimplifications of neo-liberal agendas (Duhn, 2010) by better representing the messiness, instabilities uncertainties and joyful chaos of work with young children (Barron et al., 2017, Cook, 2009). Undoubtedly, the hues of the research design are coloured by my particular interests in language and literature (Morrissey, 2011, Gordon, 2008); critical pedagogy (Neumann, 2011, Simon, 1992, Dewey, 1997, Freire, 1996) and philosophical influences on early childhood (Froebel, 1909, Froebel, 2003, Rousseau, 2009, Pestalozzi, 2012a, Pestalozzi, 2012b, Locke, 2007). Even so, this has led to the emergence of unanticipated themes which have piqued my interest, because they appeared to be of importance in the observations and conversations contained within the fieldwork,

such as the continuing influence of religion; the complexities of indoor and outside play and learning spaces and the multifaceted power of pedagogical documentation.

The tensions and/or anomalies between observation in practice and observation in research are explored within the discussion of methods. For approximately two years, I dropped in and out of the research field(s) rather like a phantom myself, sometimes an insider as participant researcher or occasionally as workforce advisor/trainer and other times withdrawing completely to read, write and assume other tasks connected to my new 'post graduate student' identity. Whilst this struggle of insider outsider identities is common to many experiences of ethnographic research (Coffey, 1999, Emerson et al., 2001, Lather, 2001, Skeggs, 2001) it is particularly important to my chosen methodological approach of heterotopias and hauntings to stress its productive nature. The lived experience of my presences and absences within the settings has shaped the methods, methodology and data just as much as the practitioners and children. At the end of this period, I again changed my job within the Local Authority, this time by choice, to assume the role of Early Years' Teacher Consultant.

Dialogues at the university (and in my own emerging thinking and writing) centred on theoretical possibilities and the need to take a clear and defendable position. Matters of ontology and epistemology which (on the rare occasions I attempted to discuss them) seemed incomprehensible, irrelevant or too remote to be given time by colleagues and fellow practitioners. I have had to learn the academic language of the university and have often faltered when I have fallen back into the positivist terminologies of early years' practice and this is a further haunting of the research process. Likewise, in trying to convey the paradigmatic phraseology of my thesis to work colleagues, I have sensed a gulf of incomprehension. How this might be avoided in research which attempts to be inclusive of the lived experiences and understandings of practitioners and children is a methodological and ethical issue with which I have had to grapple as part of the data collection and will remain relevant within the analysis.

The final aspect of the fictive to be addressed is that of literary fiction and the contribution it might make to our understandings of early years' education and care settings, what goes on in them and what could potentially be created by practitioners and children within them. In the introduction to *Ghostly Matters* (2008), Gordon objects to the distinction made by

scholars between the subjects and objects of knowledge, between fact and fiction and knowing and not knowing. Her argument is that regimes of power operate through the tenuousness of these distinctions and through our inability to articulate their power. For Gordon, the novels of Morrison and Valenzuela inspire her to explore the legacies of the slave trade and the disappearances during the Argentinian 'dirty war' of the 1970s and early 1980s. Perhaps the power of written fiction is that it is a purely internalised experience during which we come the closest we ever can to 'the other' in the sense of entering into a character's experience of gender, time, place and emotion. The nearest we can ever come to regaining the view-points of childhood, since it seems to me ethically and professionally questionable to attempt to 'become' a child during research with children.

Ethical Identities

Despite efforts to raise the prominence and professional standing of early years' practitioners we appear to remain trapped within discourses of standards, measurable outcomes and child development (Burman, 2008a, Burman, 2008b, Dahlberg et al., 2007, Nutbrown, 2012, Nutbrown et al., 2008). The study of discourse includes concern with words used; the context in which they are uttered and by whom. It also encompasses deeds, interactions, thoughts, feelings, objects and places in which social enactments occur (Gee, 1999:44). The lens used for viewing discourses within the ethnography (Cameron et al., 1999, Fairclough, 1999, Lillis and McKinney, 2003) of this thesis, draws primarily on Foucault and Gordon in thinking about what may be missing, unspoken, or unspeakable in the excerpts of pedagogical practice recorded. I am not suggesting that we cast out the notion of standards as an ethical imperative, mathematics as a useful language of expression or psychology as an academic area of study concerned with the human condition. These are all paradigms on which studies of early years' pedagogy might draw. The extent to which they may be useful is dependent on the questions posed and the claims made in relation to ontological and epistemological findings which might (or might not) be generated. However, if we turn always and only to modes of explanation based on the modernist principles of physical science, look solely in one direction and expect to find a true and universal picture of complex social situations, then we exclude a host of professional, ethical and pedagogical possibilities. James and Prout (1997) point out that three predominant themes in studying the lives of children have been 'rationality', naturalness' and 'universality', and that this has influenced '…not only

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sociological approaches to child study but the socio-political context of childhood itself' (James and Prout, 1997:10). Measurement is a comparative not an absolute. When we measure attainment/development/progress, or set a standard it is always against what we consider to be a norm, so that everything greater than the standard set exceeds our expectations and anything less fails to meet our ideal. The universal child (and the universal pupil or practitioner for that matter) is a utopian child, out of time, out of context and essentially unreal.

As this research has unfolded it has/I have struggled with the improbability of finding methodologies which are 'empowering and responsive' with the capacity to provide reliability and rigour, in the sense of attention to detail, beyond that claimed by traditional positivist paradigms (Pascal, 1993:73). That is an ethical mode of expressing the richness, diversity, complexity and tensions which can be observed in every early years' institution. This is not to say that studies using empirical data to answer questions about methods of teaching young children are not of interest to researchers and practitioners. Rather it suggests that these methodologies do not in themselves open the way to better understandings of how teachers and children might exercise power and control over curriculum design and delivery. How they (we) might be alerted to the strangeness of our well established routines of thought and action in order to identify alternatives (Gordon et al., 2001) and allow ourselves to complicate that which we take for granted in order to continually generate novel questions and interpretations (Lather, 2001, Spencer, 2001). This is important to the methodological positioning, and thus to the way in which the data will be analysed. Like Jones et al (2016) whilst I am challenging, critiquing or deconstructing many of the assumptions on which notions of 'good early years' pedagogy' are founded, I wish to go beyond this in order to identify a methodological space which allows the 'possibility for an ethics for re-affirmation' (Jones et al, 2016: 4). Jones et al are suggesting that getting beyond terms such as 'quality' or 'enabling environments' requires a willingness and an ability for research, and therefore researchers, to make ontological and epistemological shifts in their ways of seeing practice and writing up research. Their claim is that, by shifting the ground on which knowledge claims are made, there is a hope and a possibility of changing thinking and practice in early years' education and care settings (Jones et al., 2016:2). My work in the professional field has always been about identifying local solutions within the specific described and lived contexts of

individual groups of practitioners. For example, at the macro-level (Bronfenbrenner, 1979), the Buddying project was defined by the discourses of early years' transition, leadership and management and sharing of Foundation Stage data between nurseries and their feeder schools.

Heterotopia

The idea of early years' education settings as heterotopic and worthy of description as such, will be continually returned to as a methodological tool for analysis. The ethnographic story telling will be scrutinised for signs of any or all the heterotopic traits described by Foucault (1994). The hope will be to add to existing knowledge by establishing a new conceptual tool for the study of early years' pedagogy which leans towards identity, ontology and epistemology as processes of becoming rather than being (Jones, 2016) in interactions between researcher, practitioner and child. Becoming is taken to signify the web of moment to moment existence, enactment and meaning-making in which all human beings are caught. The observations (taken from the field notes and the Early Years' Quality Liaison (EYQL) reports) are acknowledged as purposefully selected moments from practice deemed worthy of further recordings and analytical reflections. There is a reaching towards creative and life affirming elements of early years' pedagogy which it is hoped may reveal themselves through 'a constant unveiling of reality' (Freire, 1996:62). It is a methodology which attempts to deconstruct regimes of truth contained in technologies of power, the self, the sign and production in order to uncover alternative articulations and enactments which may be present but silenced (Gordon, 2008) in the interactions between children, adults, spaces, objects and reports on practice.

Hauntings

The notion of haunting implies a certain restlessness of spirit. It may be a desire to understand how we got to where we are in order to influence the future. What, you may ask, have spooks to do with the lived experiences of real adults and children in early years' institutions? Ghosts are trouble makers (Garfinkel, 1986), they confront us with a strange vision of what is (or was once) familiar and point us in the direction of a cultural ethnography suited to making the familiar strange in our own work places (as opposed to

anthropological research in remote locations which must make the strange familiar) (Gordon et al., 2001). Of course, it would be unethical, both professionally and academically, to go into early years' settings with the intention of causing trouble or disrupting the activities of children and practitioners. However, it is possible to trouble accepted explanations for how and why certain activities take place at particular times or in a set way or take place at all? An example could be snack time, sitting together at a table or on the floor or children helping themselves to a snack as the business of 'learning' and 'play' continues around them. Then there is physical play at a set time in a designated place such as a hall, play area or garden or as free flow between indoor and outdoor environments. There is the matter of what is encouraged or prohibited by different adults and by the children themselves and the possible discourses behind these approvals or disapprovals. These are the sort of pedagogical decisions and enactments which play out on a daily basis in early years' settings, which are documented in professional record keeping and guidance documents and now in the ethnographic notes recording the field work undertaken in six representative settings in this research. They are worthy of academic scrutiny not because they are inherently good or bad, right or wrong, threatening or benign, but because they are the threads which weave together to pattern the freedoms and restrictions of life in ECEC spaces (MacLure, 2003).

Hauntings occur in the between places where research meets professional epitomes of knowledge; where writing meets speaking, or reading meets enacting; where theory meets practice. Entering these haunted spaces can be thrilling, exciting, enthralling and simultaneously bothering, provoking, threatening, bewildering. The ghosts that inhabit them are best evoked through story telling which allows for the illusion of chronology whilst suspending the need to distinguish between reality and metaphor or the factuality of past, present and future (Derrida, 2006b). This is important because it challenges the inexorable certainties of the language of developmental psychology (Dahlberg et al., 2007) whilst retaining the possibility of the emergence of more socially just ways of seeing and doing early years' education and care which is inclusive in its attention to the languages of children, of practitioners and of research. Perhaps it goes beyond the 'revenants' (Lawlor, 2002, Derrida, 2006b) and the 're-memories' (Gordon, 2008) in order to challenge

ontological and epistemological truth telling (Jones et al., 2016) in order to shape a diversity which is more socially and pedagogically just.

Concluding Remarks

Drawing on critiques of traditional research methodologies in the study of early childhood (Burman, 2008a, Burman, 2008b, Dahlberg et al., 2007, Moss, 2016, Jones, 2016, MacRae, 2011, Barron et al., 2017) this chapter has considered a range of factors which might inspire research into pedagogical enactments and discourses in the field of early childhood. The chapter has engaged with the complexities of subjectivity in relation to the positioning of the ethnographer, practitioners and children within social research.

The post-structuralist notion of thinking in terms of 'traumas' (de-Lauretis, 1984, de-Lauretis, 1987, Butler, 1990) which generate ruptures in orthodox ways of thinking and seeing has been highlighted. Thinking in these terms may countenance a methodology which takes the research beyond the idea of reflexive turns in an attempt to acknowledge the messiness of research (Cook, 1998, Cook, 2009, Jones et al., 2010) and theorise the complexities of lived practices with young children (Geertz, 1973, Pollner, 2012, James, 2001). A 'heterotopic' approach (MacRae, 2011, Johnson, 2013, Barron et al., 2017) has been presented as a theoretical frame through which to seek out and illuminate incidents in which children and practitioners appear to assert themselves against systematic forms of knowledge which rest on universal truth claims. The metaphor of social haunting (Gordon, 2008, Derrida, 2006b) has been discussed, in relation to its potential to articulate novel ways of interpreting observed incidents. It is hoped that this may be productive of new possibilities for pedagogical enactments and a different kind of engagement between practice and research.

Finally, there has been an attempted to trouble the way in which fiction and the fictive continually interfere with 'reality' in early years' settings. The creators of these fictions may be practitioners, children or participant researchers. Undoubtedly interactions between these intersecting roles create new stories and hopefully new possibilities for practice. The concept of ethical identities which prioritise becoming over being has been presented. Tentative connections have been drawn between ethical identities, social hauntings and heterotopic traits identifiable within early years' settings and the products of early years'

research. Tensions within and between the discourses and enactments of early years'
practices have been recognised and, to a degree, accepted as part of the rich fabric of life in
early years' institutions.

The methods chapter will continue with the story of the research, focusing in on the
particulars of when, how and why data were amassed. The meanings and methods attached
to observation in the contexts of research and professional practice are also scrutinised. The
similarities and differences, the perceived benefits and drawbacks of each are questioned.

Chapter 4: Methods

The previous chapter related the methodological story of the research with emphasis on tensions exposed and experienced. This methods chapter retells the tale from the perspective of what was done when, how it was done and what this might mean for the purposes of analysis. The 'contexts' section sets the scene by describing the participating settings, their geography and recent histories. This leads into a detailed account of the data gathered, producing a tableau against which the contributions of ethnography and ethnographic observation can be discussed in the next two sections. The conclusion opens the door to ways in which the data collected might be analysed to re-address the aims of the research and cast up new ways of defining, portraying and re-interpreting early years' pedagogical practices at a local level.

The study does not use traditional ethnographic methods, in the sense of extended immersion in an unfamiliar field of social action, although it does draw on British social anthropology and 'a rich tradition of urban sociology, heavily dependent on the detailed investigation of local social settings and cultures' (Atkinson et al., 2001:9). Instead it takes elements of contemporary interpretations of ethnography as they have been applied to practices of care, education and childhood (Gordon et al., 2001, James, 2001, Prior, 2003) in order to trouble my own professional assumptions about work with young children assembled over a thirty-year career as a 'professional' in early years education and care in a relatively broad sense. I began my career as a nursery and primary school teacher, made a move to Further Education and Training when my own daughter was young and worked for a Local Authority before and during the research process. The ethnographic data is collected through a series of visits to settings to carry out observations and later complete reports which record selective elements of the encounters with children, practitioners, spaces and objects in Early Years' Foundation Stage (EYFS) settings. Once the fieldwork had been completed the data was viewed through a lens of postmodern/post-structural, critical ethnography (Lather, 1988, Lather, 2001). The emersion (and the struggle to conceptualise and relate it from above the water as well as below) comes not so much in a specific local setting, as in the unstable discourses and enactments of a life in education.

This is not to say that I have any monopoly over power/knowledge regimes (Foucault, 1980) operating in the schools I frequent. The teachers and other social actors remain competent

cultural problem solvers (Watson, 1992). During my first meeting with a head teacher new to a school with which I worked, I was quizzed on my professional credentials. Only after establishing my background as a Nursery and Reception teacher and Deputy Head in a rural school did she welcome me and grant access to the classroom teacher, commenting that advisors from a neighbouring authority do not have teaching experience. I hope that by recasting such hauntings of fieldwork, I might view and contemplate the many roles into which I may be cast by myself or others. Human encounters will be treated as apparitions who speak of the influences I may (or may not) have as helper, expert, authority figure, fellow professional, ally, inquisitor and researcher. The ways in which physical and authorial presences, what I say/write, do/suggest may have as yet unimagined bearing on the research process and outcomes which in turn are worthy of problematizing (James, 2001). I am becoming a creator of ghosts as well as a listener and a conductor. My absent presence lurks in the reports I write and send out to be read, acted upon or ignored. It is in each of these texts (the ethnographic story-telling and the socio-cultural tales contained within professional publications) that I must confront the reality of ghosts. 'The 'reality –testing' that we might want to perform in the face of hauntings must first of all admit those hauntings as real.' (Gordon, 2008:53). The field notes, the participant observations and the observations and discussions on which the reports are based took place in real settings with real objects and people.

Contexts

The schools were selected partly on their differences from one another (two Primary Schools and one First School, one with a governor run Nursery on site, one with a private Nursery and Heath Primary School with provision for two Reception classes but no Nursery/Pre-school). Permission for the research to take place was gained initially from senior leaders, the pro-forma can be found in appendix 3, but was also checked with each member of staff involved with each of the visits to be used in the analysis. The forms used to gain consent for research to take place can be found in appendix 3. The reports were shared with teachers/practitioners and relevant senior leaders as part of the quality liaison process. It was made clear to staff that changes would be made to reports on request (since they are supposed to represent an agreed record of what was discussed) and that they had the power to prevent any or all visits from being used as part of the research. Underlying

the final selection of the three schools as research participants was an ongoing reciprocal relationship and a willingness on the part of the schools' staff to engage with the quality liaison system as well as the research.

Setting 1: Dahlia's Pre-School

The first setting, to be called Dahlia's, is located approximately three miles outside a major town in a district describing itself as an 'urban parish'. The area has become a dormitory since the withdrawal of a major employer and was granted Parish status in 2005 (Turner et al, 2007). The pre-school playgroup was established thirty years ago, and continues to operate as a voluntary managed early education centre for children aged two to five years. However, most children transfer to the maintained Nursery provision by the local school at age 3. The population is predominantly white British but children accessing the services come from a mixture of ethnic and cultural heritages. The locality served by the nursery has been identified as falling into the 10-20% most deprived wards in England in terms of income (Coran, 2007). This is reflected in 2008 research in which almost half of families accessing the nursery provision reported incomes of £20 000 or less per year and 36% said that their family income was below £10 000 per year (Shaw, 2008). The updated 2010 indices, significant at the time that the data collection took place, show the ward as falling into the 10-20% most deprived in England in the categories education, housing and child deprivation. In comparison to other areas of the county, the ward is identified with the most deprived areas in relation to crime and child poverty and the second most deprived in relation to all other markers of multiple deprivation except for environment and deprivation affecting older people (Staffordshire Observatory, 2010). In 2008, the nursery began a process of transformation from a traditional pre-school playgroup to a community service providing breakfast club, wrap around and out of school care, play and stay and adult education. In 2011, it moved all the provision from a local church to a purpose-built annex on the site of the local school. Although the services operated from the school site, they continued to run on a voluntary managed community model independent of school governance. Latterly they have become governor-run and became part of an academy when the school converted in 2015. They have not participated in later stages of the research for several reasons. The most obvious was that the practitioner most engaged with the project moved to a new post in a non-participating school. This was not a setting (or school) for

which I subsequently had responsibility as a teacher consultant and the links with other staff were too tenuous to sustain the time and personal relationships required to be accepted in the capacity of ethnographer.

Up to eight staff, volunteers, and committee members and up to twenty-five children attended the pre-school during the observations but only the manager seemed to fully engage with the activities as research. It was the manager who contributed to conference presentations during the Buddying Project and kept links with Woodlands once that project was complete. She was a gate keeper in relation to access to the setting. The other staff requested and participated in the sense that they requested and attended training (the content of which can be found in appendix 5) and welcomed me in as an additional helper, but they showed no interest in reading or contributing to what was written. This may have been because the manager was the most highly qualified member of staff at the time, with recent experience of higher education. Outside of the pre-school she linked with the nursery provision at Woodlands and had a close professional relationship with the leader. Both these practitioners were funded by the Local Authority to attend an early childhood conference and speak about their involvement with the research.

Setting 2: St Egbert's RC Primary School and Nursery

St Egbert's Primary School and Nursery is located within the most rural part of the county and has borders with three neighbouring authorities, one of which is a unitary authority with high levels of deprivation. The town in which it is located has a predominately white British community and is characterised by pockets of high deprivation. The Pre-school provision was established as a voluntary managed Catholic Pre-school in a temporary classroom on the grounds of a Catholic Primary School. It has subsequently converted to governor run status and moved into a classroom within the school. The school and nursery have experienced a time of change over the past few years with the Head Teacher leaving and an Executive Head appointed over three Catholic Primary Schools some distance apart from one another. The School and Nursery have been in special measures and this has affected the number of pupils on roll. The Deputy Head who teaches YR, Y1 and Y2 in a single class and the Nursery Manager, are aiming to provide a more coherent Foundation Stage Curriculum for Nursery and Reception children. They have, therefore, worked closely together on measures to improve the learning environments and plan children's early

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learning. The six visits took place in the Summer and Autumn terms of 2011. My ethnographic scripts relating to this setting have a wider scope and a less structured flavour because I was granted more time to observe and interact with children outside the constraints of formal planning and pre-ordained curriculum outcomes; or maybe the hauntings of the spaces, a corridor and nursery room within a Catholic primary school, were different from those of a voluntary managed pre-school held in a non-denominational community church. Sometimes the observations at St Egbert's take place in the Nursery indoor and outdoor areas, at others with smaller groups of Nursery and Reception children in a shared corridor area with various members of school staff drifting past and occasionally commenting on the activities taking place and once, at break-time, with older children entering and leaving the field of action. A plan of the space can be found in figure 7 on page 98.

Having taken up a teacher consultant post in another district, I had no contact with this setting once the first phase of the research was complete, but the data collected continues to contribute to the overall analysis being undertaken. The hauntings which manifest themselves through the ethnography throw up tensions common to the settings in both phases. The observations have proved particularly rich in relation to objects, artefacts and materials discussed in the second analysis chapter. Photographs and a plan of the space can be found in figures 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7. The photographs, in which children's faces have been erased to maintain their anonymity, are themselves haunting images. Perhaps the ghostly things of which they speak pertain to an extreme caution or risk aversion in ECEC, which overrides personhood. Tensions between education, research and care; between identity, image and personhood are themes which run throughout the analyses chapters but the manifestation of care articulated as safeguarding and welfare is explicitly explored in Chapter 7.

St Egberts nursery and reception shared area in the school corridor.

Figure 2: table, chairs, storage and bulbs

Figure 3: Hungry Caterpillar display

Figure 4: Environmental trays

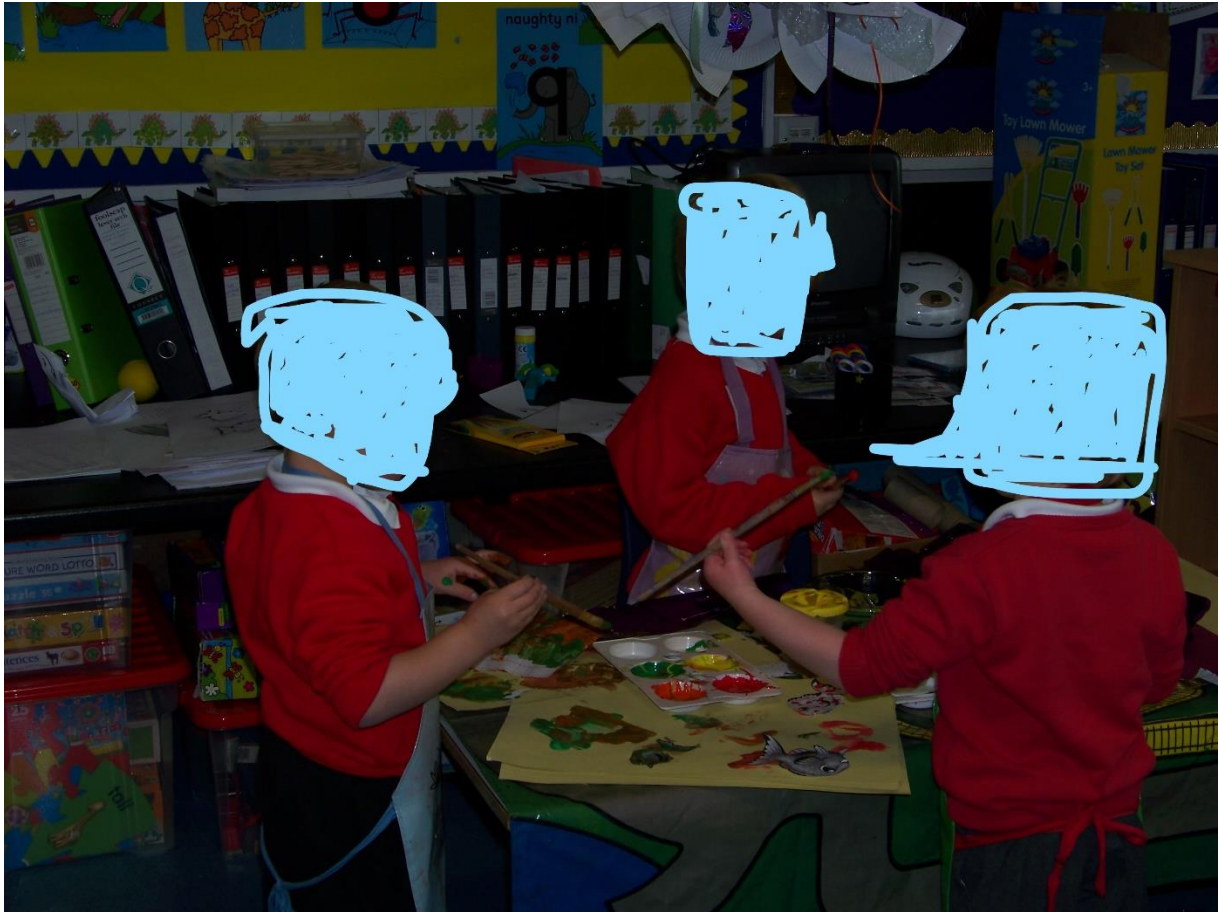Figure 5: Junk modelling in the PSRN space

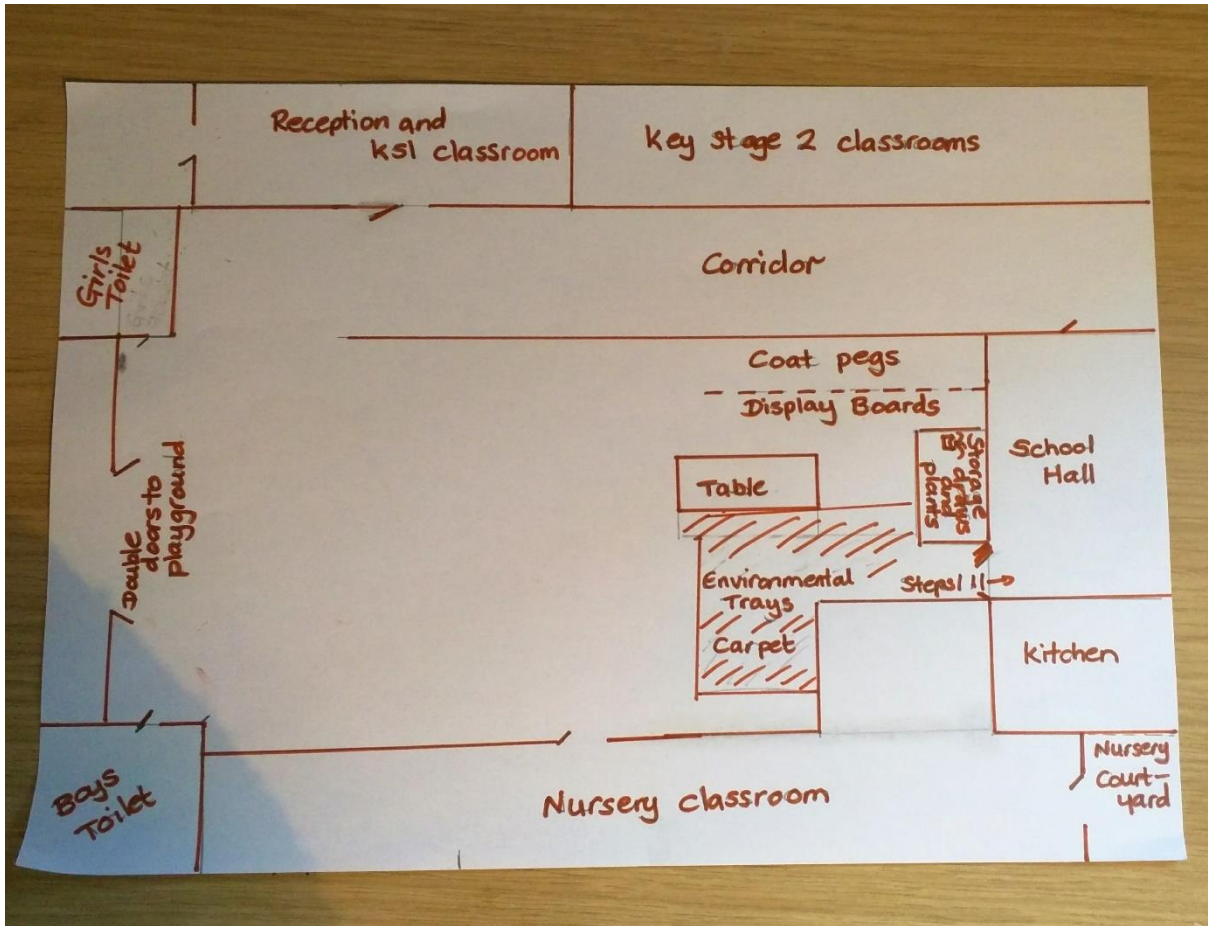Figure 6: Painting fish in the nursery classroom at St Egbert's

Figure 7: Sketch of EYFS space(s) at St Egbert's

Each of the six plans (one for each of the study settings) reveals a different layout of similar cultural spaces (indoor and outdoor learning areas); play and other objects, furniture and artefacts of Early Years' Education and Care (ECEC) and a surrounding space, outside but connected to the early years' heterotopia (school classrooms, playgrounds, church grounds, towns, villages or countryside). Like the plan of Shrewsbury Abbey (Peters, 1986) in the literature review, they represent individual emplacements with meanings that are historical and constantly renegotiated through pedagogical discourses and enactments. Their juxtapositions and relationships to the remaining space (Foucault, 1994a) are patterned by ECEC cultural norms and expectations but are, at the same time, unique to the cultural contexts of their social and physical geographies. This notion of emplacement in relation to heterotopia will be further explored within the analysis chapter on spaces.

Setting 3: Woodlands Pre-School

Woodlands Pre-school rents a Methodist Chapel in a rural location between two market towns in two different counties. There was no group pre-school provision in the village prior to 2010, although there is a primary school consisting of approximately 100 pupils aged 4 to 11 years. Almost 50% of pupils live outside the immediate locality (Ofsted, 2011). Parents and the school leadership team lobbied for a Nursery on the School site and a compromise was reached when two parents, one of whom was a local childminder, agreed to set up the pre-school by renting the Methodist Chapel in the first instance. The pre-school is run by a voluntary management committee but maintains strong links with the primary school by promoting the wearing of school sweatshirts, taking the children to the school for lunch as well as accessing the school hall for PE and by sharing enquiries from prospective parents. Figure 8 shows the layout of the Methodist chapel, all of which was used by the pre-school each weekday morning. Unsurprisingly, the area is not classified as deprived in terms of national indices of multiple deprivation but, like many rural areas, it lacks services, particularly in terms of housing and services for children, young people and the elderly (Staffordshire Observatory, 2010). Three staff were involved in the research at various points over a twelve-month period. The two most highly qualified members of staff were involved in all five visits, which took place in October and November 2011 and March, May and June 2012. The pre-school had been set up with financial and other input from the Buddying Project so the staff members were familiar with the background and aims of the

research. They also held professional qualifications equivalent to those of colleagues in schools and, as such, were active within similar discourses of early years' pedagogy, which made their professional enactments and articulations of interest to the research design. We also met at professional events and conferences outside of the allocated research activity. One member of staff left after Christmas and was replaced by a level 3 qualified practitioner who began her early years' undergraduate degree the following September. Between four and fifteen children were present during the observations. Photographs and drawings showing the layout of equipment can be found in figures 8-12.
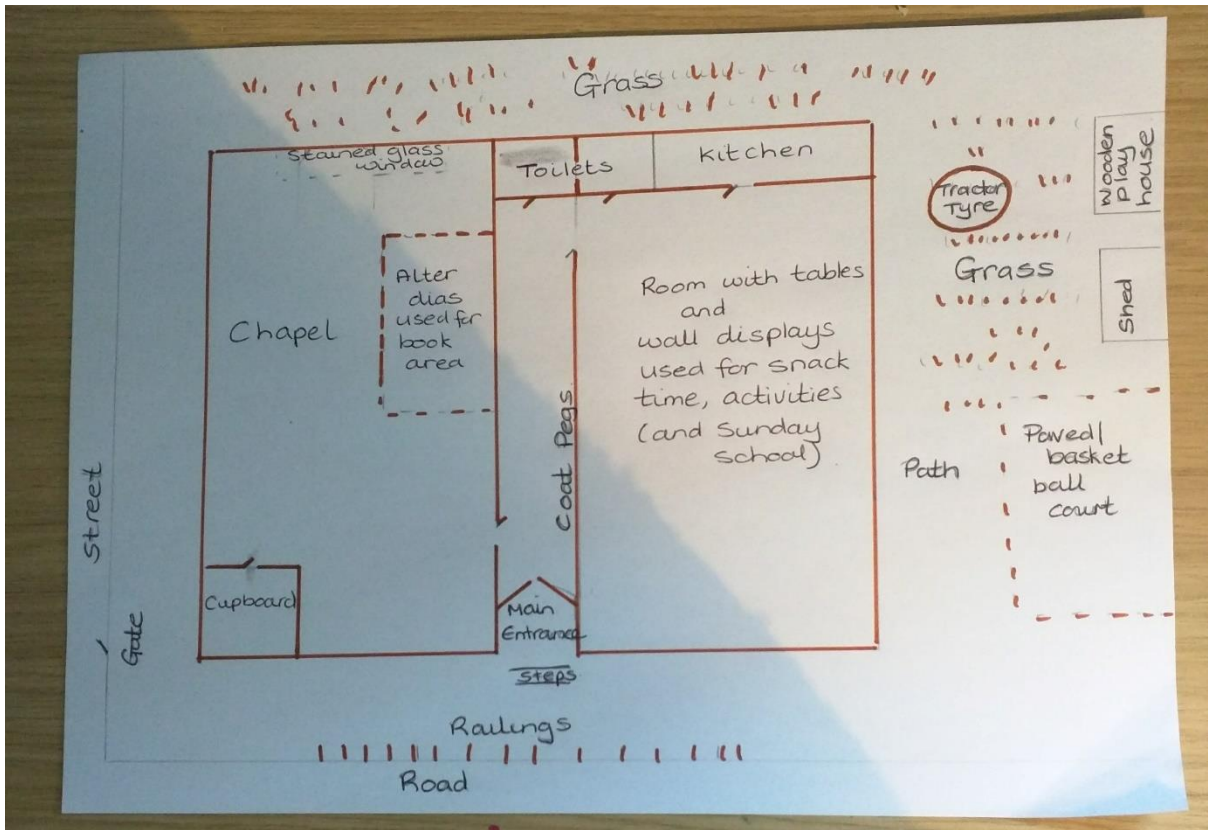
Figure 8: Plan of Woodlands Methodist Chapel

Figure 9: In front of the altar/book area at Woodlands

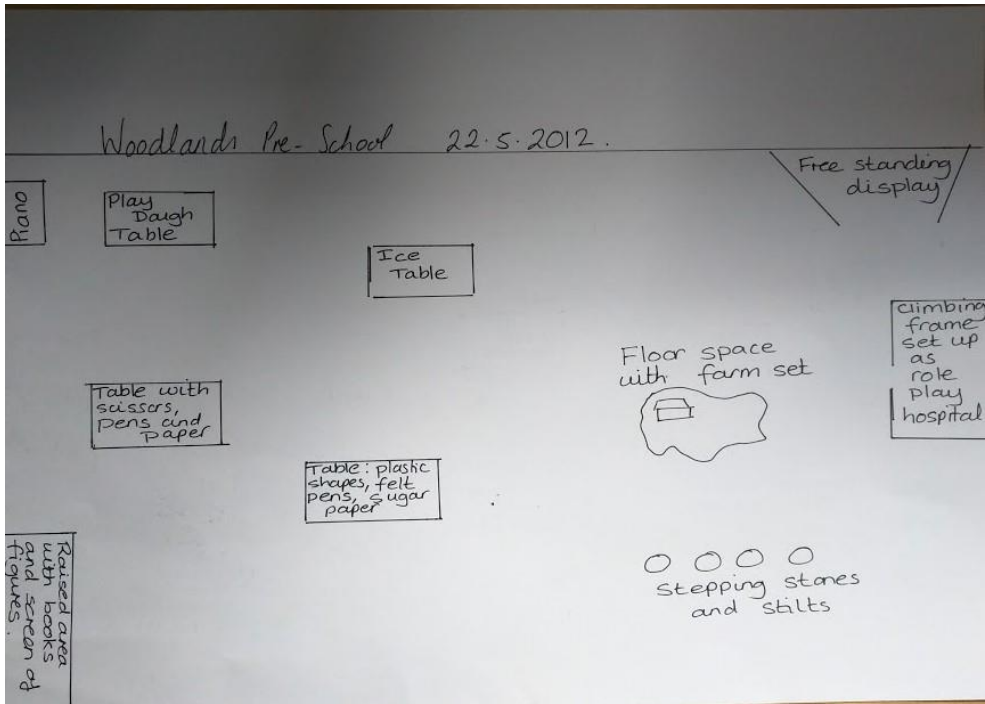Figure 10: Climbing frame/home corner at Woodlands

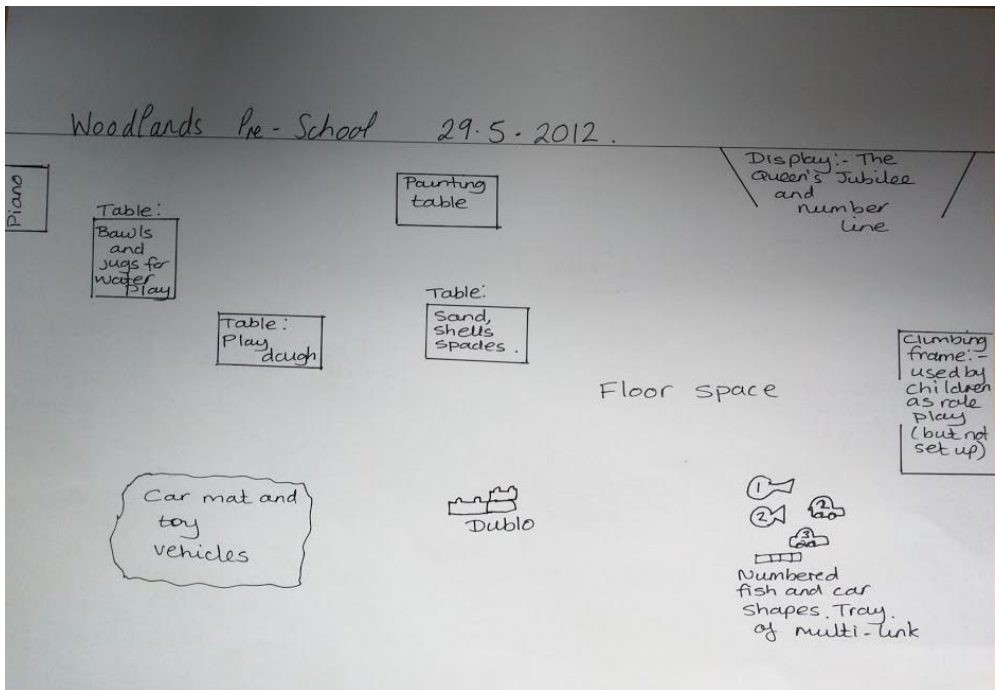Figure 11: Objects, artefacts and materials Woodlands Pre-school 22.5.2012

Figure 12: Objects, artefacts and materials Woodlands Pre-school 29.5.2012

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Early Years' Quality Liaison Settings

In 2012, I took up a post as an Early Years' Teacher Consultant (EYTC), which significantly altered my positioning in relation to schools and practitioners (Coffey, 1999). Not only did my new role entail more time spent in schools and very little in private or voluntary managed pre-school settings, it also came with a formal remit to support and to challenge practice. This is framed within a structure of 'quality liaison' visits and reports which not only reflect but also construct the conversations recorded and the advice given (MacLure, 2003). The change in function from 'Workforce Development Consultant' to EYTC was a rupture which shifted my positioning in relation to schools and settings both in terms of research and professional interactions. Data became abundant, since my visits necessarily included time spent in classrooms, discussion with staff and leaders and scrutiny of records, the caveat being that it was now collected within the confines of time and activity dictated by quality liaison protocols. Here lies a loss as well as an opportunity. A regretful farewell to negotiated participant observation. A crossing over to a land where I don the garb of early years' expert armed with the answers as to what to do in order to meet standards set by the invisible others of power and influence. I continually summon them from new and existing documents, from Ofsted, The Quality and Curriculum Authority (QCA), The Standards and Testing Agency (STA) and other guidance. To maintain an ethical (as well as practicable) divide between conventional professional and acceptable research practices I take a set of notes which will translate into the 'formal' report and hurriedly write up ethnographic observations/reflections as soon as possible after leaving the premises. The contrast between the roles of researcher and professional practitioner were significantly amplified. The stated aim of an EYTC was to support and challenge Head Teachers and Foundation Stage leaders and teachers against supposedly agreed professional standards and attitudes. I was drawn (back) into a language and culture of 'quality' (Jones et al., 2016). This is a language of how things *should* be done, how they might be made better in the shortest possible time scale with redress to 'advised' changes in the environment, routines or teaching methods

This is particularly evident within the observation section of the quality liaison reports. The report invites the EYTC to record which 'rooms' were visited. There is then a separate box

for an observation, prior to the main body of the report. This can be found in the exemplar report in appendix 2. The empty space cries out to be filled with words, however brief the visit to the classroom and whoever happened to be teaching there at the time. What is called for is a succinct and apparently factual statement on the environment, the people and the activities. No time or space is available for articulation of ethical, ontological or epistemological concerns, however conscious I may have been of their presence at the time.

Each visit I make to a school is recorded on a School Visit Report. The report begins with information such as the name of the school and members of staff visited, the date and amount of time spent on site. The report format has been amended over the years. The final (in terms of the period of the research) pro-forma includes space to comment on priorities identified by the school, progress since the previous visit, observation undertaken in the various classrooms, summary of discussion under the suggested headings 'Outcomes for Children'; 'Safeguarding and Welfare'; 'Learning and Development' and 'Business'. The report concludes with space for up to three agreed action points and level of support to be offered. An example of a report pro-forma can be found in appendix 2. This key document, which tends to dominate the working lives of myself and fellow Early Years' Teacher Consultants (EYTC) does not offer ¨neutral, transparent reflections¨ of what we see, say and do in schools and settings. They ¨actively construct¨ the early years' team and the organisation(s) to which we belong (Atkinson and Coffey, 2011:77). The contents of the reports may be of some interest in terms of what is included and what might, intentionally or unintentionally, be left out. In the appendices, the reports have been deconstructed so that similar content from visits to each school are placed together under the reports' headings, as detailed above (see appendices 7 to 11). However, of at least equal claim for attention, is the language in which the reports are expressed. Key words and phrases specific to enactments of early years' pedagogy create a version of reality specific to schools and other settings formulated to care for and educate young children. (Atkinson and Coffey, 2011). This section of the analysis is likely to highlight official discourses filtered through government policies and guidance from Ofsted and/or other professional bodies. However, attention will also be paid to how the documents are used by practitioners and advisors to trouble how the writing and reading of them may be connected to pedagogical actions (Prior, 2011). The change of role from participant observer to EYTC altered my relationship

with the adult and child participants since I became an 'official' rather than an invited guest in the school settings. There was far less time to participate in the ordinary (every day) life of the setting, and thus to be accepted as a heterotopic insider. However, it did provide an additional dimension to the research and shaped the structure of the analysis into the three separate chapters on spaces, objects, artefacts and materials and reports.

Setting 4: Ashton First School

Ashton First School is a village First School, providing for children aged 3 to 9. Cohort size varies considerably from year to year so that the ethnography refers to a class of 24 reception (YR) children in the first year, followed by a cohort of only seven taught with the previous Reception class, now Year 1 and a third cohort with a larger intake of YR taught alongside the seven Y1 children from the previous year's intake. A governor-run nursery was established in September 2013, replacing a private provider which previously operated on the school site. There have been several changes of staff in the YR class. The research therefore includes two nursery practitioners, one of whom is working towards Early Years' Teacher Status (EYT); two experienced supply teachers job sharing in YR; a newly appointed permanent YR/Y1 teacher, an executive Head Teacher based at the feeder Middle School in the nearest town and a newly appointed Deputy Head Teacher. An Ofsted visit in 2014 awarded Early Years the grade 'Good' but the rest of the school 'Requires Improvement'. The YR and Y1 class share a space which includes two large classrooms, one of which has a raised stage like zone and an additional small room leading from it and a wide corridor area ending in a dead end with windows and a door to one side. There are two outside play/learning vicinities, accessed from the corridor and the second classroom. The nursery is at the opposite end of the school building but can be reached via the outside leading from the corridor area. Figure 13 on page 118 illustrates the layout of EYFS areas within the school building.

This provides potential for the Nursery and older age groups to share the outdoor environment. The school received half termly visits from September 2013 to May 2015 which have been combined with ethnographic reflections recorded immediately following the visits. Ethnographic descriptions cover two nursery visits, three visits to the YR class in 2013 to 2014 and three to the mixed YR/Y1 class in 2014 to 2015. Also, four meetings with staff, governors and the Head and/or Deputy Head. One member of staff had come from

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Woodlands pre-school and so was familiar with the research, although the reframing of the method of data collection had to be discussed. Consent was also gained from the Head Teacher, Deputy and all members of the early years' team to use the visits, as recorded in the reports and ethnographic notes, as research data. The pro-forma for written consent is included in appendix 3.
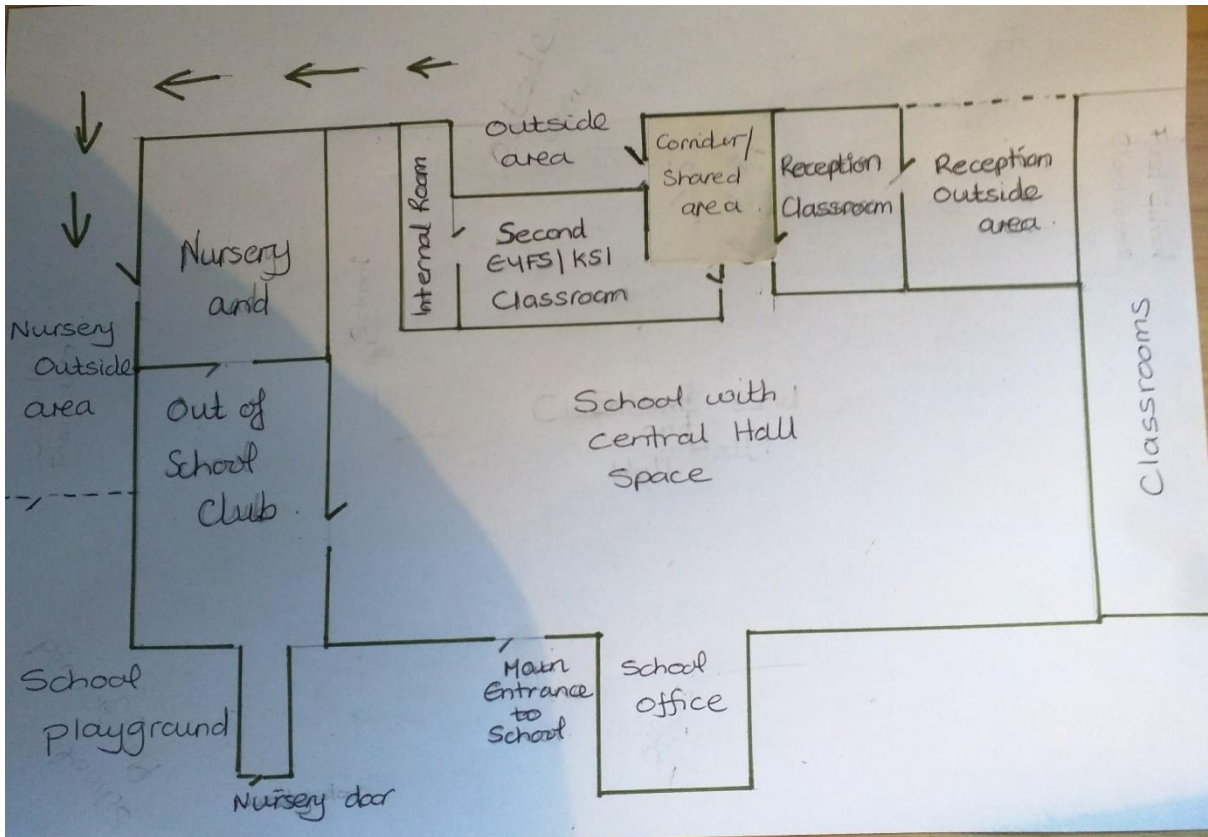
Figure 13: Sketch showing EYFS spaces at Ashton Primary School

Setting 5: Heath Primary School

Heath Primary School is located on the edge of a large rural village around six miles from a city in a neighbouring Local Authority area. A series of Ofsted reports from 2004 to 2014 highlight either different or changing characteristics of the school. For example, in 2004 it was stated that 40% of the children come/came from outside the area and draws attention to a 'large number of pupils with moderate learning difficulties' whereas later reports stress low numbers of pupils with English as an additional language, special needs or claiming pupil premium. The school currently has a cohort of sixty pupils in YR housed in a double classroom area which forms three sides of a square with an additional small room in the middle. There are also two outside spaces leading from the room, one a small enclosed courtyard, the other a large grassed and garden area with a covered wooden seating structure. Figure 14 shows the layout.
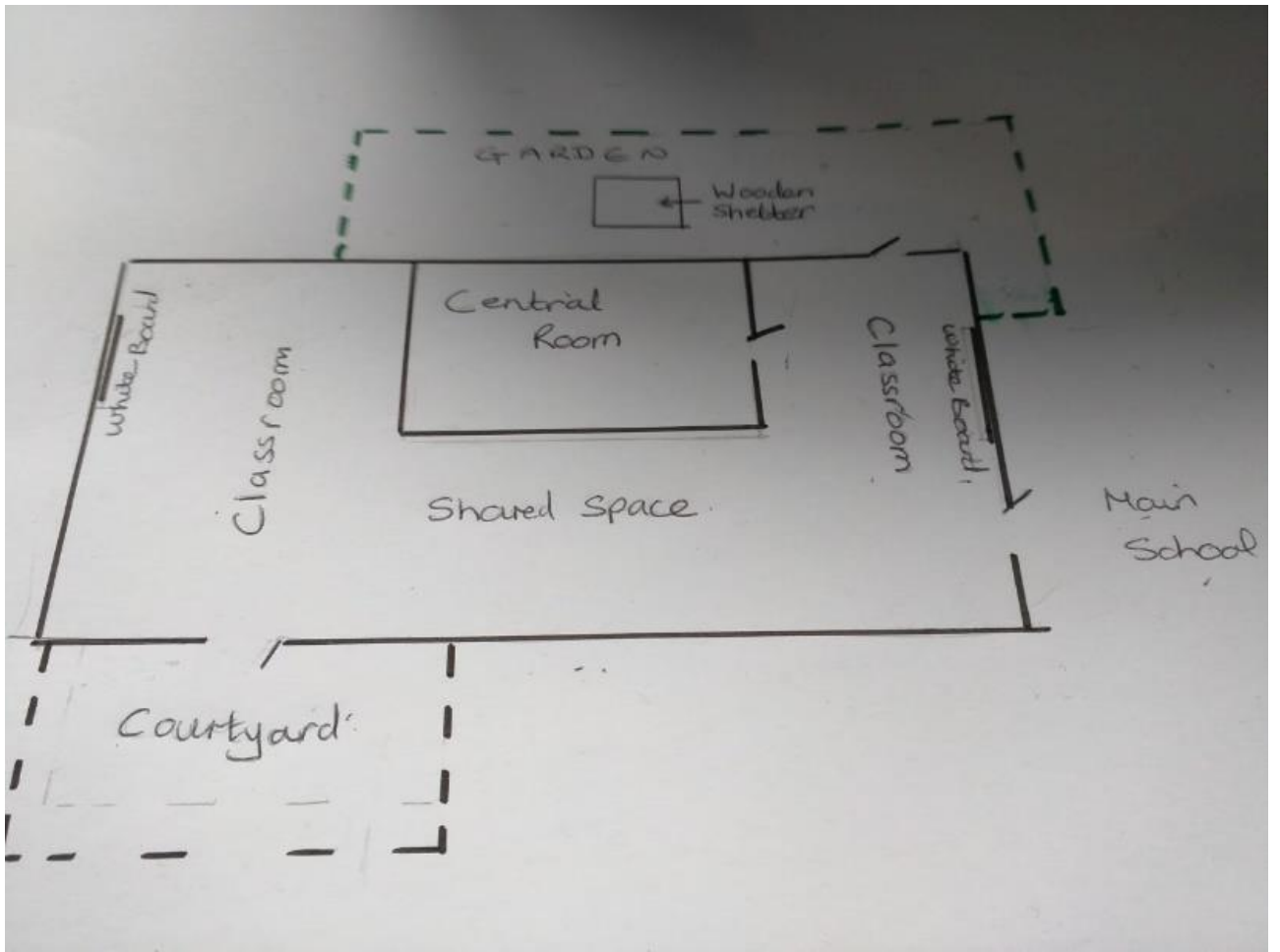
Figure 14: Layout of two form entry Reception classrooms at Heath Primary School

There are two teachers, one of whom previously taught in Key Stage 2 and two teaching assistants. The school was judged by Ofsted to Require Improvement in 2012 and again in 2014. Following the 2014 report the Head Teacher left to pursue a career at a local university and the Deputy Head took on the role of Acting Head Teacher. A private nursery provider operates on the school site but was not directly involved in the research. I visited the original Head Teacher and staff for eight half day visits and one member of staff with the Acting Head on one occasion, specifically looking at end of Foundation Stage data. Heath School, in common with the other two primary schools from which data were collected and analyzed, was in the same local authority district as the pre-schools in the earlier phase of research discussed above.

Setting 6: The Fields Primary School

Based on the 2014 Ofsted report, the final setting, (The Fields Primary School) is a smaller than average primary school on the outskirts of city located in a neighbouring unitary authority. There is a single YR class in a traditional classroom with its own cloakroom/toileting. The classroom leads out onto a dedicated outside learning zone separated from the school playground by a fence and containing a large fixed climbing frame/physical play structure.

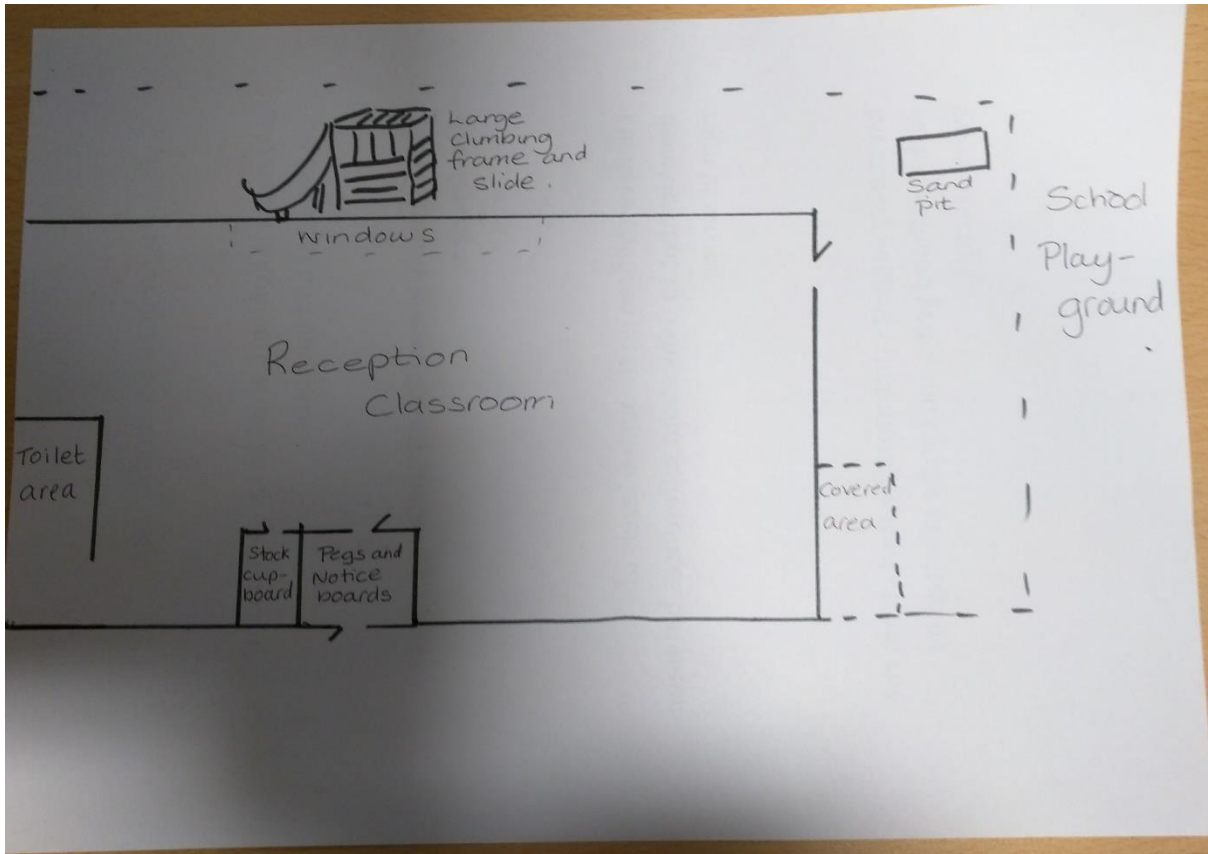Figure 15: Reception classroom at Field Primary School

The school was placed into special measures (given an inadequate grade) in 2014 having previously been 'good'. There have been three Head Teachers and two different YR teachers during the research. Continuity has been provided by the presence of an experienced Teaching Assistant. The school has now been rated good. There is no Nursery provision on the school site and historically little contact with feeder Pre-school settings. The Head Teacher has expressed the desire to focus on this as an area for development by the current YR staff. I visited the school on ten occasions, three in the academic year 2012-2013 and seven the following academic year. The Fields Primary School threw up several ethical issues not encountered in the other two schools in which the roles of EYQL and researcher were combined. The changes of head teachers early in the research meant that it was difficult to confirm continued consent from senior leaders once the original male Head Teacher and the interim Head had moved on. Explicit consent was negotiated and confirmed with the permanent Head Teacher appointed in 2013. Only data collected after this date has been included in the analysis. There were also changes in the teaching staff, so care has been taken only to include incidents from field notes and reports where permission was explicitly gained from the teacher and other staff. This has meant that there is only one extract of data from The Fields in chapter 5 on spaces and the report extract is taken from a visit which took place late in 2014 when staffing in the Reception class was more stable and consent for the observations to be used in the research had been confirmed with the new teacher and other staff/students.

Data Collection

It was important to the research paradigm and the ethical positioning of the research that participation by settings was not only voluntary but also gave practitioners the capacity to shape what was asked and how questions of mutual interest were researched. This has meant different settings seemingly commit differing amounts of time or involvement, although it could be argued that their involvement was equally intense during the periods that research was carried out. In other words, each setting accepted my identity as participant observer or researcher on their own terms and this forms part of the methodological and paradigmatic reflections which emerge from the research. It seeks an alternative to the 'scientific' constraints and ways of seeing which emanate from 'test conditions' and 'control groups' in a quest to recognise and celebrate differences in lived

experiences and ways that difference may be articulated in order to uncover new questions about practice as well as alternative pedagogical enactments. The school based settings, subject to my dual identity as EYTC and PhD researcher were selected because they received a substantial number of support visits and a positive relationship had been built with the settings. All three have agreed to stay in touch with the research and expressed an interest in reading extracts prior to publication.

Data collection in the two voluntary managed pre-schools and governor run Catholic pre-schools took place between the end of September and November 2012. Mostly the documentation is my own ethnographic observations and notes on dialogue with children and adults. There are also a few photographs of children engaged in activities; training plans and associated products used to structure the sessions with practitioners. The settings were visited on sixteen separate occasions. An overview of the dates, purpose and resulting documentation can be seen in table 1. Consent was gained from practitioners for the use of photographs before the research began and again when photographs were taken, which was the case at St Egbert's and Woodlands pre-schools only. Both settings had permission from parents for the taking and use of photographs connected with pre-school activities but in the research individual children's faces have been obscured to maintain anonymity.

As a rural children's centre hub in a deprived area of town, Dahlias had received support through the Buddying project and some other Local Authority community development initiatives. There was already an established relationship between myself, the setting manager and key members of staff prior to their agreement to participate in this research. The record of participant observation during a morning at the pre-school is the first of my ethnographic entries. I had put forward the idea of an autumn walk because the hall where the pre-school was held was being used by the congregation for part of the morning. My notes therefore cover events during the walk and on return to the church hall.

For the second visit, Dahlias requested training rather than direct involvement in research cycles because they were about to move from the church hall where they had been located throughout their participation in the Buddying project into a purpose-built unit on a school site. This had been funded through rural children's centre funding. They remained as a voluntary organisation rather than nursery provision managed by school governors. Although there are a few observations taken from general field notes in relation to the new

environment, the training sessions do not form part of the research and are not used in the final analysis or discussion. The content of the training sessions can be found in appendix 5. At this point, Dahlias withdrew from the research due to the pressures of a changing committee membership and organisational identity as the pre-school established itself on the new premises. The manager did, however, remain involved through attendance at meetings with Woodlands and permission was obtained to use the data collected from Dahlias going forward.

St Egbert's had embarked on the Buddying project immediately prior to withdrawal of the funding. They had created an action plan designed to facilitate more joined up working between the governor run pre-school and the KS1 class, which, due to low numbers in the school, included Reception (EYFS), Year1 and Year 2 pupils (KS1). The Nursery practitioner was keen to have me work alongside her and the staff, often seeking advice on how they might do things differently. The teacher in Class 1 specifically sought my opinion on the environment in terms of creating a shared outside space and setting up an area where Nursery and Reception children could develop problem solving, reasoning and numeracy (PRSN) skills (now renamed mathematics in the Early Years Foundation Stage (DfE, 2014) She was also particularly supportive of the idea that I would be an additional qualified member of staff who could 'supervise' or work with the children whilst carrying out my observations.

St Egbert's was visited on seven separate occasions. The first visit notes describe the dialogue between myself, the teacher and nursery manager/leader negotiating the setting up of the project. The subsequent six visits are half day participant observations. One in the Reception/KS1 classroom, one in the newly created PSRN learning area, which includes a plan of equipment, and four in the nursery class. One of the nursery class visits is an observation of a single child which staff had asked me to carry out to support them with observation and assessment requirements.

Woodlands had been set up as part of the Buddying Project and this is the setting in which I had the closest professional relationship with the team of three staff, one of whom had Early Years' Professional Status, one was a qualified teacher with experience of YR and the third was newly appointed and just embarking on a Foundation Degree. There are five recorded visits which include products from meetings about action research and discussions

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with staff during and following participant observation. The four participant observations are always in the morning as this is as sessional pre-school but include occasions on which I walked with the staff and children the quarter of a mile to school where they had dinner before being collected by parents.

Data collection in the schools took place between October 2013 and November 2015. There was a total of twenty-seven visits carried out as part of my role as an EYTC. There was a broad agenda for visits, consisting of an observation of practice and professional discussion guided by the headings 'Outcomes for Children'; 'Leadership and Management'; 'Safeguarding and Welfare'; 'Learning and Development' and 'Business'. Settings received one 'quality liaison visit' (QL) per year and several support visits dependent on need. Need was determined by the setting's most recent Ofsted grade and negotiation between the teacher consultant and school leaders and staff. The annual QL visit consisted of a brief observation, often just a visit to the learning environment and specific discussion and updates covering all the agenda headings. Support visits were more flexible, allowing for longer participant observation (considering interactions with staff and children). The data analysis is taken from my 'informal notes' taken during and immediately after the visit and the official report sent to the school and retained by the Local Authority.

Observation

In May 2012 at Woodlands Pre-School, my notes comment that I drew attention to a moment at which the children were engaged in various activities and all adults in the room were 'watching and noting'. The topic of observation in early years' settings could be an area for research in its own right. It may well form part of the discussion, an element of the 'troubling of ethnography' in the data analysis chapter. There is space here only to outline some of the debates around observation in research and observation in early years' pedagogical practices. It could be argued that, like playing and learning, observation is an instinctive characteristic of human society. Children and adults alike tend to observe from the side-lines before entering an unfamiliar social situation. I often find myself observing young children when out and about in my daily life. Not for any other purpose than that they draw my attention and I am interested in the mini-dramas created between them and

the adult world. Novelists and journalists observe before they write and some of us would count 'people watching', from the comfort of a convenient café, as a leisure activity.

Ulich and Myer (1999: 25) point out that:

'Systematic child observation has a long tradition in early childhood education, and it has been used for diverse educational goals. Cross-cultural comparisons show that its importance varies across different countries and educational settings.'

In Britain and North America this tradition of child observation has firm roots, and is arguably dominated by the legacy of Hendrick's 'child study child' (Hendrick, 1997). In EYEC the purpose of most observation is to ensure that the child is developing 'normally' measured against stages of cognitive development or stages of play (Piaget, 1962, Sutherland, 1992). In Britain, this has translated into End of Early Years Foundation Stage (EYFSP) measurements. In the first instance, this took the form of awarding scale points between 1 and 9 for each of the six areas of learning (DfES, 2007). In 2012, against a background of concern about the complexity and the 'numbering' of children's attainment, this was translated into the three categories emerging, expected or exceeding (DfE, 2012). In many ways, these three terms fall into the category of Jones' (2016) 'weasel words' which appear to contain a very particular professional connotation and yet over which there is no consensus regarding meaning. Emerging from where into what? Meeting or exceeding whose expectation?

A second justification given for observations of practice relates to the perceived 'quality' of teaching and learning. Students (or trainees) are observed in order that feedback will support them to reach the 'national' standards against which they will be judged on a summative basis at the end of their programme of study. Practitioners are observed by senior managers and outside agencies such as Ofsted and teacher consultants. Monitoring and evaluation are seen as vital tools for leading or managing social and pedagogical practices, including areas such as children's behavior, which is seen as 'critical to improving teaching and learning' (Krasch and Carter, 2009:476). These regimes of power, in the sense used by Foucault, discipline the actions of practitioners as much as the behaviors of children. They set up inflexible dichotomies between the identities of teacher and pupil and

therefore between the enactments of teaching and learning. Individuals who struggle against these simplifications of social interaction and seek different expressions of pedagogy may be seen as deviant, breakers of the heterotopic rules and therefore subject to discipline from others within the setting as well as the official bodies outside.

Whilst little harm is done by the act of observing children or observing practice it is generative of ethical dilemmas around judgements or conclusions drawn from the observations. These include: the extent to which they use a very narrow, specific lens through which to determine successful or less than adequate learning and teaching; the limiting of social and pedagogical practices to measurable outcomes; the possible effects on pupil and teacher identities; the tendency for the observer, and subsequent users of the observation to view it as 'true', 'factual' and/or indisputable; that it is possible for the observer to be unbiased in what she sees and records. Similar objections might be levelled at observation within social research, particularly in relation to the necessity or otherwise for a detached observer (Pollner and Emerson, 2001). However, in research there is a requirement for individual researchers to have regard to methodology and to justify their methodological stance and methods of data collection. Academic work usually requires ethical approval and publication is peer reviewed. The issues, although present and relevant in practice, are rarely spoken about in professional meetings or dialogues.

The purpose of observation as a method in this study is not to highlight the practices of individual practitioners, particularly not within the terminologies of good or bad practice, best or better practice or quality improvement. Instead, its scope is the identification of heterotopic traits within moments of practice which might be questioned, played with, troubled and generally messed with, sufficiently to draw new or unexpected meanings and conclusions. Gordon (2008:1) opens with the assertion 'that life is complicated may seem a banal expression of the obvious, but it is nonetheless a profound theoretical statement.' Contained within this declaration sits my own disquiet over the tendency for research into early childhood education, or at least that research to which we as practitioners have the most access, to reduce the complexity of work with young children to solvable problems of a practical nature. The tendency to continually ask what is 'the best', or 'the correct' way to teach young children, whilst ignoring the complexities of the power and personhood of

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children and adults, the meddlesome fictive in our descriptions of teaching and learning, the impositions of the 'barely visible' into our observations and 'with our own affective involvement in these matters and in the knowledge, we create about them.' (Gordon 2008:193). What I have taken from Gordon (2008), and used to inform my methodology could be labelled the hauntings of history and the hauntings of absence. The former refers to the tenacity of apparently forgotten or discarded theories to constantly re-emerge in the practices of pre-school and early schooling. Sometimes incongruously and at other times productive of fresh ways of interpreting and informing teaching and/or learning. Incongruities might also be articulated as oddities, strangeness, absurdities, inconsistencies, incompatibilities. Those moments when tensions between teaching and learning; work and play; Rousseau and Locke; child and pupil; professional and practitioner or fellow human being; can be felt as a disharmony or discordance. Perhaps this occurs when juxtapositions become or are experienced as fixed binaries, when the identity of professional is out of kilter with the many other co-existent identities mentioned. I think that these experiences of incompatibility, of competing theories and discourses might be productive of new ways of seeing and knowing about pedagogy with young children but are often left untroubled and hence become regimes of power which constrain and discipline. This is what I have taken Gordon (2008) to mean when she says that the ghosts of social practice should be sought out and engaged in conversation.

The latter relates directly to the demands and intricacies of observing practice without becoming drawn into modernist notions of 'quality'. If the purpose of observation was merely to record, from the point of view of the observer, what happened to particular people in a certain place at a definable time, then the work of the ethnographer and of the educational expert would be unproblematic. In the context of this research, observation is denoted as a very particular type of truth telling. The observer goes in with all sorts of expectations about what ought to be happening, what they might uncover, what might be missing from some imagined ideal and how the findings of the observation might be recreated in sharing it with others. In any case, what is routinely ignored or maybe just overlooked is that 'domination and resistance are basic and intertwined facts of modernity' (Gordon, 2008:193). It is these two aspects of social haunting which will be interrogated in the interpretation of ethnographic and documentary data.

Reflection on the Ethnographic Approach

This research has always been about storytelling, although this was not always clear (to me) when it was first conceived. In the aims of the project, the stories of practitioners and children experiencing life in their early years' settings are hidden behind the necessary academic language of interrogating, investigating and evaluating. These terms are important, not only because they bear the authority of academia, but also because they indicate an outcome. A reason for telling the stories which will add to understandings of the interactions and articulations, or the acts of teaching and their attendant discourses (Alexander, 2004) which constitute early years' pedagogy.

The move away from PAR to 'participant observation', described in the methodology chapter, is a more direct form of storytelling. It draws on methods developed in the field of British social anthropology (Atkinson et al., 2001) with all its consequent dilemmas about the power of the researcher as author and the (im)possibilities of combining the roles of social participant/practitioner and social scientist. Nevertheless, however partial or fragmentary the selected incidents; however much the retelling removes them from their nativity in a physical reality; within this authoring of observed practice lies the greatest potential for the uncovering of hauntings and speaking with ghosts (Gordon, 2008). The word nativity evokes the earliest form of story-telling, that of religious faiths. It is not intended to refer only to Christian allegory but to all creation stories as starting points for the human desire to explain and mythologise culture. I am arguing for the use of literary devices as an integral element of carrying out and reporting on research into early years' education and care. It is literary story telling which opens the way to empathy with people and places outside of our direct experience. In literature, time can be messed with, slowed down, speeded up or suspended, providing an intellectual space in which to consider our own experiences (and those of others) from different perspectives. *The Red Tent* (Diamant, 2002) introduced in the methodology chapter, retells a bible story from a female perspective and at the same time speaks to us of contemporary experiences of family dynamics, leaving the comforts and traditions of a familiar home-land, of difficult 'issues' such as rape and revenge. In the bible story Dinah (the narrator) is defined by the briefest

possible telling of her story, reduced to 'a footnote…. between the well-known history of my father, Jacob, and the celebrated chronicle of Joseph, my brother' (Diamant, 2002: Prologue). In retelling stories from practice there lies the possibility not only of reinterpretation but also of new enactments in the future. In the bible telling Dinah is 'ghosted', she flits across the action transparent and barely noticed by most readers. In Diamant's version, she is resurrected with a history, a personality, the capacity to live in and manipulate the world in which she resides. Ethnography as a tool of social research admits to a passageway through which 'ghosted' interpretations, the previously unnoticed or unremarked upon, can be drawn into the research spotlight in order to 'make meanings [always] in relationship with others, in processes of co-construction, processes that involve dialogue, reflection, contestation and interpretation' (Moss, 2016: 11).

Research in the physical sciences can either describe or explain phenomena in nature. The purpose of the ethnography is to describe the social landscapes of pedagogical spectacles in settings which have been identified as heterotopias of early childhood education in a particular geographic location in contemporary English society. There is no suggestion that the remarks made are anything other than partial, and to the extent that the records made reflect what was of interest to me at those times and in those specific settings they could be said to suffer (or benefit) from subjectivity. Their purpose within the methodology is performative in their capacity as accounts and as entrances to consideration of alternative interpretations or enactments. What has become apparent to me through the process of ethnographic endeavours is that observation is as much about what is not seen, what appears to be absent, missing, hidden, spectral, an echo or a desire, as that which is clearly seen and heard. To ignore this aspect of observation, whether it is for the purpose of assessment of children, evaluation of practice or for academic research, is to treat theory more as an answer than a question. It is to make social reality a catalogue of stable, immovable facts rather than dynamic, constantly shifting human interactions and possibilities. These matters are expanded upon further under the heading 'Observation'.

I was not an ethnographer when I set out. I may have had many of the (early 21st century) ethnographer's yearnings for more representative truth telling; better depiction of voices from the field of early childhood education; more sincerity within the researching of pedagogy and a feeling of disquiet with the dominant discourses around methods for

addressing pedagogical questions in the study of early childhood (MacLure, 2003, Jones et al., 2010). I was, however, firmly bound by my own immersion within the practices and articulations of teaching on the one hand and scientific research on the other. I was particularly constrained by the notions that a researcher must (and could) maintain a distance from the research, that the writing up of research, in which the researcher could only make a spectral appearance in the 'third person' voice, would (and again could) be a purely factual and disinterested account of the facts. A sterile relating of steps taken to identify and answer a question of universal interest to all involved. In many ways, the ethnographic approaches represent a becoming – my teacher-self becoming an ethnographic self (Reed-Danahay, 2001). Becoming is again used in the sense of a process (of identity politics) engaged in which does not have a distinguishable beginning or end but is ongoing as discussed in the methodology. The point is that becoming has no finished state and this perhaps distinguishes the methodological use of the word from notions of becoming which are concerned with inadequacy and the need for either compensation or moral panic over deviation (Foucault, 1994a, Cohen, 2002, James and Prout, 1997). There is, however, a conscious reaching outward towards research methods outside of those traditionally associated with early years' education, outside my own experiences of teaching and advising on teaching. This was part of the struggle to go beyond my own ontological and epistemological assumptions and ways of seeing the world of early years' education and care spaces. It is what led to the inclusion of documentary analysis of my own reports as method within the research project. Moves from the world (and world views) of workforce development to those of EYTC represent a rupture or maybe a moment of reflexive turn, in the process of data collection affecting both the methodology and the methods. The reports which had to be written following quality liaison visits to schools and early years' settings on school sites, do not merely represent the world of the quality liaison process. They are also 'involved in making that world. In part, they constitute that world' (Prior, 2003: 51)

 In her ethnographic study of how school girls created a counter culture through the passing of notes during lessons, Hey (2002) demonstrates ways in which discourse translates into actions in terms of restraint and imperative. The content of the notes conveys how the girls set up, share and negotiate values around friendship, rewarding attributes such as reliability and condemning specific characteristics such as bossiness. Although Hey went into the

school with the intention of studying girls' behaviour, the actual data, both the group of girls eventually taken as the subjects of the research and the notes as a source of discourse, emerged from Hey's immersion in the cultural environment. There is no doubt that early years' settings are inhabited by competing discourses, not least those between caring and professionalism. The notes we pass are in the form of observations of children and other professional documents which have varying degrees of openness in relation to public gaze. Only by gaining the trust of other practitioners, listening to their exchanges and concerns and analysing the written and verbal discourses which inform and constrain their pedagogical interactions can we hope to come to a deeper understanding of what might constitute desirable pedagogies in the early years' settings of today. The analysis of reports, taken alongside the methods already discussed, will therefore seek to expose particularly tricky (and contested) concepts and assumptions contained within (or sometimes missing from) the report texts. Themes emerging from the participant observations can then be compared, contrasted and troubled with the intention of unmasking novel interpretations, extracting hauntings which dictate and shape practices as much as our (teacher/child/parent/researcher) situated practices (Hepburn and Wiggins, 2007).

When Harold Garfinkel studied hospital records in 1967, he found that staff completing the paperwork deliberately missed out certain information which they considered to be too time consuming in relation to their relevance to the routine work of the clinic. Garfinkel suggested that the documents had a dual purpose, as administrative records and as hints or justifications of what had happened in the clinical encounter between medic and patient. Records originally designed for one set of purposes were routinely used with very different intentions in mind. Reflexivity in this context implies that written and other texts do not only represent some aspect of the institution but that they also have an active role in shaping it. (Garfinkel, 1984, Prior, 2003). With this in mind, the EYQL reports have not been used in their entirety (an example of a blank report form can be find in appendix 2) but have been combined with field notes and used to draw theoretical focus to particular phrases used; to meanings which might be drawn from the way in which they are put together as well as what they say; to trouble the tensions and challenge the juxtapositions implied by headings within the reports (Prior, 2003). Garfinkel's findings have been helpful in drawing attention to the ways in which disciplining regimes form within and outside the schools visited,

influenced the things I felt able to record and those I found necessary to omit. In terms of the research there a several vital factors which make this possible as an academic method for seeing differently. The first is a recasting of the reports as research data rather than factual records so that ontological and epistemological assumptions on which they were based can be theorised and hence critiqued. The second is the time and distance between writing them from the perspective of an EYTC and returning to them with the adopted identity of critical researcher. Finally taking them apart, or deconstructing them, so as to look at individual sections and isolate individual words or phrases throws new light on possible meanings which could be attributed to what has been left out and what might represent justifications for the encounters between EYTC, practitioners and children.

Gordon's work (2008) on social hauntings is centred around missing documentation, the ways in which some social actors are silenced or written out of the history of a place but never quite disappear, are always waiting to be rediscovered and impact on the present. A woman missing from a photograph; the mothers of the missing in Argentina; a slave mother who kills her child rather than allow her to be returned to slavery. There is certainly no lack of documenting of current practice in early years' education. Observations, assessments and learning journeys trace children's activities from the time they enter their first group setting to the time they move into key stage 1. Ofsted reports, surveys and guidance regulate practices in all types of setting; monitoring reports and observations by leaders, managers, teacher educators and advisors such as myself are a frequent feature of early years' practice. Even so, their meanings, purposes and the parts they play in constructing what happens in early years' settings are no simpler or straightforward than what can be observed. They are, in fact, part of the ethnography, haunted by theories past and present and contributing to the hauntings of the schools and settings they enter.

Concluding Remarks

Key points from the methodology and methods chapters have informed the framing of the three analyses chapters which follow. In all three chapters an ontological stance is taken which destabilises positioning by questioning the relationships between adults, children objects and spaces. I have attempted to maintain an openness to 'the meddlesome fictive' (Gordon, 2008) which allows for an ontology which admits meanings produced by fantasy

and literature as well as physical spaces and objects. The data is troubled in order to draw out ways in which knowledge, power and regimes of truth might discipline enactments within the spaces identified as heterotopic. There is a recognition of the instability of identity which allows for meaning making by active subjects (children, practitioners and researcher(s)), while remaining sensitive to the power of 'image' generated through discourse.

The methods chapter has highlighted ways in which each of the study settings is unique. Each has its own story to tell but sometimes their heterotopic qualities cross or rub up against one another. Sometimes new spaces are created and shared, as with the corridor area at St Egbert's and the dining hall at Woodlands Primary School. At other times, they are artificially separated or isolated, as has emerged through the attention paid to outside spaces.

The voices of the practitioner and child participants are not represented directly, either through PAR as originally conceived or through interviews, questions or life stories. However, it is hoped that by 'fictionalising' their real-life encounters, by seeking out the ghosts of past and present discourses contained within them, alternative articulations and possibilities for early years' pedagogical practice might be given body. To this end, the data analysis chapters will present extracts from the ethnographic notes to seek out and trouble:

- Heterotopic traits
- 'Weasel' words and terminologies
- Hauntings by hidden, ignored or forgotten theories and possibilities
- Missing or silenced perspectives

The selected reports from EYTC visits will be treated in the same way to identify and describe common themes of articulation and enactment.

Chapter 5: Spaces

This is the first of three chapters of analysis and discussion of the field work, through the exploratory lenses of heterotopias (Foucault, 1994a) and social hauntings (Gordon, 2008). As the data amassed and its parameters were viewed for the purposes of analysis it became evident that the physical spaces in which early years' pedagogy takes place might be regarded as actively orchestrating proceedings alongside the human actors, or subjects, within them. For this reason, the structuring of the analysis and discussions of data revolves around a chapter within the collection of Foucault's work concerned with aesthetics, which is entitled 'Different Spaces' (Foucault, 1994a).

 Subsequent chapters will focus on heterotopic qualities of objects, materials and artefacts and on the language and discourses of early years' education and care. This chapter begins by troubling the historical legacies of the physical and social spaces from which early childhood services are 'delivered'. The very notion of a delivery of something by practitioners to children, parents and the wider society pulls in competing tensions between social rights to education and care and neo-liberal market economies of welfare, as well as a tension between Locke's blank slate model of knowledge (Locke, 2007, Locke, 2015) and Rousseau's construction of the natural child which draws on Enlightenment Romanticism (Rousseau, 2009, Kant, 1996). The first part of the chapter draws from the data possible meanings produced by the relationships between churches, schools and early years' establishments. This is followed by a troubling of the 'special statuses' awarded to playing and learning out of doors. The intention throughout is to delve into the complexity (or intensity) of early years' spaces and expose them as 'more macrocosmic or more microcosmic than every day [learning] spaces' (Johnson, 2013:798). In other words, to trouble their modernist construction by drawing on the post-modern thinking of Foucault (Foucault, 1994a, Foucault, 1977, Rabinow, 1997) and Gordon (2008).

In all the study settings, including Dahlia's once it moved to the school site, the outside is used as a private space. Members of the pre-school are forbidden from sharing it with outsiders even if it is a shared space at other times. In schools, there is an added separation (usually a fence) between the EYFS outdoor space and that used by older school children. To probe the possible meanings of this, we return to Foucault's description of structuralism as the rationalisation of elements distributed across time so that they appear to be implied by

one another (Foucault, 1994a:175). There are two distinct histories here, passing backwards and forwards through the gate between the EYFS and the school playground. Standing in the fenced area looking outwards (in the sense that we must reach beyond our own cultural inheritance to explore their significances) are European legacies of early years' pedagogical assumptions from France, Germany, Italy, Switzerland and the USSR. They are represented by the hauntings (of interest to this research) of Rousseau, Froebel, Montessori, Pestalozzi and Piaget and Vygotskii. Looking back at them from an Anglo-American past are Locke, Bruner and the McMillan sisters as well as the architects of the English elementary school system represented in fiction by Dickens (Dickens, 1854) as discussed in the literature review. In the spirit of Gordon's (2008) hauntings by absence, the first section draws primarily on an instance when a pre-school was expelled from their usual indoor space. It highlights the way in which the inside and outside are separated spaces but continue to be haunted by one another both when they are being used by children and practitioners (also researchers and other observers) and when they are not.

Indoor Spaces

Churches: Secular Pre-schools and Religious Congregations

'First morning with children at Dahlias: I had suggested a walk with children as the church wanted to use the hall that morning'. (Fieldnotes, Dahlias Pre-school, 30.9.2010)

The pre-school is run and staffed mostly by women, some of them volunteers, but others with degrees or foundation degrees in early child education and care. This is not a church pre-school; it merely makes use of the building known to be a church. Exchanges of power are complex, interwoven with competing notions of community, childhood, parenting, ethics and social justice. Power-politics bubble just beneath the surface of the relationship between church and pre-school. In the day-to-day operations of working with children and families, there is an (arguably) straightforward, financial relationship, since the pre-school pays a weekly rent and expects autonomous use of the spaces during the contracted hours. In honour of Christian festivals such as Harvest, Christmas and Easter, the vicar acts as host. Families of the children become very special and honoured guests. Perhaps they will be persuaded to come back and join the congregation as well as continuing to support the pre-school.

Graduation is also hosted by the vicar in the church. As an invited guest, this transition ritual, in which three year olds are dressed in imitation mortar boards and handed rolls of paper, in honour of completing pre-school and moving into the nursery class, seems strange. It is haunted by images of the American school system represented in teen movies, rather than British traditions. There is an interesting meeting of church and early childhood heterotopias, each seemingly disciplining the other.

Maybe this judgement is based on discomfort with the apparently early disciplining of children (or perhaps it is us adults who are being disciplined) into anticipations of educational success based entirely on some sort of final diploma, a piece of paper which announces individual fitness for the consumerist society. This ceremony could be said to be a part of a technology of production (Foucault, 1994b, Althusser, 2008, Payne, 1997a). In relation to heterotopias, it speaks of a crisis (Foucault, 1994a:179), in that very young children who have been historically hidden within the domestic sphere are now more visibly a part of the public domain of work and school but do not fit into the category of pupil. The children must leave the heterotopic space of 'playgroup' to enter that of the nursery classroom. This might be said to be a step closer to the 'normality' of pupilhood since there is a 'qualified teacher' (QTS) and teaching assistant(s) and the 'difference' (Payne, 1993a, Derrida, 2010) in openings and closings (Foucault, 1994a:183) and special illusions that this might imply. There will be different rules for the terms on which parents, vicars, teachers and head teachers penetrate this new space. There is also a haunted space between the North American term 'graduation' and the more European notion of transition (Brooker, 2008). A transition contains an element of instability, an opportunity to be responsive to the children's reactions to the change and to talk about and adopt different pedagogical enactments. It awards to children and practitioners, children and parents, the possibility of contesting (questioning and maybe even altering) the new space should it prove unsatisfactory. The power is also distributed since a transition is usually seen as a community motivated change, there are transition networks and transition initiatives (Transition-Network, 2013). In the early years, there is a recognition that the transition is experienced by the child, the parent and the practitioners (Brooker, 2010). A graduation, on the other hand, implies an ending which signifies a step up to the next stage. A straight

projection from infancy towards the completed state of adulthood, which casts the child as an unfinished product.

The vicar's contact with the pre-school is predominantly at these special occasions and at meetings between the pre-school leaders, management committee and the church council. It is members of the church council who are most frequently using the church building at the same time as the staff and children of the pre-school. The openings and closings operate, not according to a single set of rules belonging to the building, but by a less tangible system of gatekeeping by the inhabitants of the separate heterotopias of church and pre-school. There is one powerfully symbolic exclusion which the church places on the pre-school's use of space, the garden. The symbolic significance of gardens to early years' education and care has been discussed in the literature review and will be developed in the analysis of out-door 'enabling environments'. It is enough to note here that, in this instance, members of the church closely guard their control over the garden as a place of peace, tranquillity and contemplation unsuited to the unruliness of a group of young children. Playing out here is a tension around the construction of the young child common to both church and early years' pedagogy. In the New Testament children are portrayed as innocent (but also meek and passive, able to teach adults about humanity but prone to be abused by them). 'Verily I say unto you, whosoever shall not receive the kingdom of God as a little child, he shall not enter therein' (Mark 10:15, King James Version). From alternative hauntings of Christian teaching, relatable to the philosophy of Lock and the non-conformists is framed the sinful child too of course to be disciplined into goodness, leading to an ambivalent relationship between early child institutions and the church.

There are three more considerations involving unstable power regimes, hierarchies of power in flux, involving the adults, the children and the church. These are matters of what and who is excluded, banished or hidden by and within the heterotopic operation of early years' education and care. Firstly, there is the intentional separation of children from certain adults, from outsiders. The garden is out of bounds to the children (and presumably practitioners) while the pre-school is operating but the ordinary church members, who, after all, are also members of the same community as the children, are barred from interaction with them. The heterotopia of the pre-school is closed to them, their expertise, their knowledge and methods of transferring it, are other than the official pedagogies of the

pre-school. They lack the necessary paperwork for admittance, in terms of qualifications and criminal records checks. Perhaps they have also committed the crime of retirement from paid work. As Foucault (Foucault, 1994a:179) points out '…..old age is a crisis and also a deviation, seeing that in our society, where leisure activity is the rule, idleness forms a kind of deviation.' There is then a separation of the very young from their elders which contains a grain of fear of the other (Foucault and Hurley, 1984, Derrida, 2006b). Some of the church users are not only older than the norm but are also male and are invading the space to use the lavatories. The issue of sexuality, unavoidable in the outside world (Foucault and Hurley, 1984, McNay, 1992) but almost entirely taboo in relation to education and care, also haunts the encounters between church and pre-school. This is a time of transference of power from religion to state. The pre-school, like many similar organisations, is in the process of moving from its location in the church to a 'more convenient', 'more fitting' 'more ideologically sound' premises within the grounds of the local primary school. The balance between education and care will be tipped towards the former, legitimising the need for a professionalised work-force and transferring influence from Vicar to Head Teacher, from kindergarten/nursery/playgroup to school. The outcomes of these conversions are not clear cut, what is lost or gained; just or unjust; progress or the opposite of progress; the same hauntings and different hauntings; what is spoken of and what is excluded from dialogue; will emerge from within the new regimes of power to be negotiated in the new space (Gordon, 2008). As already suggested the transition/graduation of the entire pre-school from church space to school space is representative of a shift in the powers and discourses influencing the heterotopia; from entanglement with religion, local community, child-care, playing and parenting to additional emphasis on educating, training (Foucault, 1977), school community and teaching. The relationship between early childhood education and religion is complex and multifaceted, tied in with tensions between church and state but also influenced by values and belief systems of parents, practitioners and institutions. St Egbert's is a Catholic School in which a proportion, but not, all children come from practising Catholic families. There are certain times of the day (and the year) when Catholic doctrine asserts itself, prayers are said at the end of each session and the religious story of Christmas is told in November in preparation for events at St Egbert's School in collaboration with St Egbert's Church. There also many occasions discussed further on in the data analysis when St Egbert's operates according the same heterotopic principles as the other pre-schools. The

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extract below appears to juxtapose the religious and secular curricular. The full extract can be found on pages 244-245 of the appendices.

'Jackie also commented to K that the children were very interested in dinosaurs and that they should do a topic after Christmas. Children sit down for singing and the Christmas story.' (Fieldnotes, St Egbert's Nursery Class 24.11.2011)

Perhaps religion is one of those hauntings by absence (or unarticulated presences) with which the research is seeking to engage. An unavoidable feature of emergent data (and to some extent of any ethnographic system of data collection) is that the knowledge created may be unexpected, unplanned and unplannable. In this respect, it is akin to Derrida's (Bennington and Derrida, 1993b:20) unstable starting points discussed at the beginning of the methodology chapter. Religion, as a haunting of early years' pedagogical practices, was not looked for during the participant observations. It was not something I had previously thought of as interesting in respect of early years' research but it is present anyway. This means that there may well have been many instances in which articulations and enactments linked to religion and religious beliefs occurred during the period of the research but went unnoticed and unrecorded. It also means that this may be a rich avenue for future research projects with practitioners and settings.

All three pre-schools in the study are surrounded by religious iconography, since two are held in churches and the other is part of a Roman Catholic primary school. Only in the latter is religion an integral part of the curriculum as illustrated in the extract above. The morning at St Egbert's always ends with a Catholic prayer. Bible stories are woven into the fabric of the day and there is no need for the story of Jesus' birth to be part of a topic, a festival amongst other festivals, even though not all the children or the practitioners necessarily identify as Christian and it is many weeks until Christmas.

Ashton (Ashton, 2000) discusses three common objections to the inclusion of religion in early years' education: science is about facts and religion is just opinion; religion is a personal matter, unlike science which is factual and schools are not the place to preach religion because it is impossible to determine whether it is true. Religion, alongside sexuality and politics, is a subject encased in social taboos. The possible exclusions from learning include not only religious teaching but also spirituality in a broader sense, what some might

call philosophy (Edwards et al., 2012, Dahlberg et al., 2007, Cannella, 1997), shared sustained thinking (Sylva et al., 2010) or knowledge and understanding of the world (DfE, 2012). It is wont to banish the beauty of mathematics (Winston, 2010); the playfulness of language (Crystal, 1998) and wonder in the natural world (Garrett et al., 2005).

Churches and Schools: Hauntings from Early Years' and Primary Education

Woodlands provides a particularly dense opportunity to trouble the relationships between early education and church and the tensions between individual and institutional cultural value systems. Woodlands has close links to the primary school but operates from a Methodist church. The manager has a degree in fine art and the post graduate Early Years' Professional Status. Towards the end of the field work she decided to train as a church minister. Some of the ways in which these complexities play out at Woodlands are discussed below.

'Four children are attending today with all three practitioners. ……… Aside A1 comments to me that they had parents' evening last night and parents asked if children were writing yet. 'It's crazy when they are only 3' she says' (Fieldnotes, Woodlands Pre-school 3/11/2011)

The aside indicates a tension, a haunting of values associated with learning through play (Ofsted, 2015) juxtaposed with other discourses of school readiness (Ofsted, 2014a). It is this tension which has fed into the Ofsted documents cited. These documents reinforce the idea that these very different discourses of pedagogical enactment with young children are compatible and that they should be easy to observe, in every context and awarded a grade (Perryman, 2006b). They are a part of the regimes of power reinforced not only by outside bodies such as Ofsted but also inside settings by parents and practitioners (Foucault, 1995). Anna (A1) has been instrumental in setting up the pre-school. She is the leader and part of the community of parents running the group. Although she is discomforted by the pressure on young children being forced into reading and writing, she is complicit in the idea of holding 'parents' evening' which conjures the images of measurable progress and teacher-hood, parenthood and pupilhood as separate entities associated with formal education. There is also a hint of the Methodist view of the child, embodying original sin as the antithesis to Rousseau's Romantic child, which is discussed in the literature review, and the values of the Church of England Primary School where the children eat their lunches and

hope to attend the Reception class from the beginning of the year in which they will become five. Unlike Dahlia's feeder school there is no nursery class and there may be competition for places at this village school. These competing discourses of market and welfare economies, education as a social good, the early years as a protected life-phase and early years' education as a caring profession feed adult anxieties which infiltrate (and haunt) the spaces in which the pre-school operates. The daily walk is like a gentle sigh, or maybe a rupture (Payne, 1993a, Derrida and Wolfreys, 1998) between the disciplining heterotopias of pre-school and that of the primary school. The significance of the Methodist chapel is a presence which is more difficult to define. Interactions between members of the church hierarchy and congregation are more distant than at Dahlia's. On the surface the relationship is a financial one linking it to secular norms of production, although it is rented to the pre-school for less than the market rate since the church council wish the building to be used by the community rather than left empty. This alternative set of values, which could be said to sit outside of the dominant discourses of state education, is transmitted through juxtaposing of church objects with early years' equipment, for example the use of the altar area as a quiet space. This is a phenomenon which is explored further in the next chapter. Perhaps this unarticulated possibility of many different ways of seeing and doing early years' education rises to the surface as a benign haunting of the daily walk between the chapel and the school. Children and adults walk together, in pairs and sometimes holding hands for safety because there are roads to be crossed. Below is an example from field notes on 22nd May 2012. This was the only occasion on which the walk was recorded, although I participated in it on several occasions. Perhaps I was myself drawn into the heterotopic notion that early years' education and care took place primarily during the routines of arriving and leaving the spaces allocated for this purpose. On reflection and through analysis of the fieldnotes the walk (and other walks taken by early years' children and practitioners) takes on new connotations. The field notes for the rest of the morning can be found in appendix 6 on page 249

'Eight of the ten children were staying for lunch and were picked up from the school today. The children walked in pairs with Anna at the front of the line, Alice in the middle and me at the back. It has been wet so children put on wellington boots and are encouraged to walk through puddles. They talked to one another about splashing and other noises rain makes.

Part way to the school we had to stop because the dust cart was blocking the pavement. Tom talked to me about the size of the truck and how fast it might be able to go and the mechanism for lifting the bins. Other adults and children talked about which day of the week their bins are emptied and the different places that we live.' (Fieldnotes, Woodlands pre-school, 22.5.2012)

The conversations are unplanned, unstructured and adults and children make comments about what they see, ask questions and answer one another. Sometimes there is a dust cart and bin men working; the weather is hot or cold or windy or wet; there are trees and bushes and pavements and dogs and sometimes a person who is known or just likes to say hello. None of this is judged, assessed or recorded but even so there is ten minutes or more of complex knowledge sharing on every one of these walks.

'Anna comments that she doesn't like to interfere in the play because with so few children everything would become adult led but also she says that she feels guilty not joining the children. She then joins all four at the Duplo.' (Fieldnotes, Woodlands pre-school, 3.11.2011)

Four children constitute a relatively large family by modern Western standards, but it is too few for the heterotopic functioning of the pre-school in the Methodist chapel. The adults are not kept busy and so are faced with the challenge of when, if at all, to intervene (or join) in the play. Haunting the first anxiety are meetings in which the word 'sustainability' is a dominant theme. The concept of sustainability for voluntary run pre-schools is a construct at the political level, which impacts directly at the level of practice, drawing it into the corporate world of finance and managerial accountability. The children become units of profit and loss, regardless of whether the intention is to return any surplus to the operation of the institution. The underlying binaries of power evoked include paid work versus volunteering; social good versus business and individual versus collective leadership. At the level of practice, there is also the thorny issue of class size in compulsory education, far lower in the private sector than publicly-funded primary schools or academies.

At Woodlands, the tension between educational equality and social/intellectual development is stretched almost to breaking point. The participant research observation of 3rd November 2011 is full of pedagogical incidents and interactions, many of which will be explored in the chapter on 'objects, artefacts and materials'. However, Alice, the

practitioner who holds both QTS and EYPS twice talks about how quiet it is with only four children and dwells on the parents evening discussed earlier. Gordon (2008:139) might characterise this as one of those ghosts which is always waiting, that enters 'all fleshy and real, with wants, and a fierce hunger' which forces a reckoning between the playful child, hungry for knowledge and the enslaved pupil forced to write for purposes that are themselves haunted by adults' need to teach the skill but not the complexity of written communication

Children in publicly supported institutions need to be educated (and cared for) in small groups if they are to have rights and outcomes equal to those of their peers in the private system. They need trained adults to step in at just the right moment if they are to meet their 'full potential' (another powerful term from within educational and care discourses). Equally, they need plenty of other children in order to form freely selected friendship groups, particularly within the Montessori method, which is based on children working alone in order to solve intellectual problems but interacting with others, including slightly older children, for the development of civilising interpersonal skills (O'Donnell, 2013). This is endorsed by development psychology's notion of Zone of Proximal Development (ZDP) (Vygotskii, 1933, Bruner, 2006) in which an adult or more expert peer is required in order to progress children's thinking.

Several, yet un-encountered, hauntings fuel the latter concerns over the role of the adult in children's learning and play. In the camp of child development, Piaget, Montessori and Isaacs all advocate (or at least are generally interpreted as advocating), providing the equipment and then standing back with the general aim being 'to encourage them to find out as much as possible for themselves, turning to us for help or information really beyond their own reach' (Isaacs, 1929 p 74). Just a tent away, Vygotskii and Bruner have moved in to 'scaffold learning'. The adult (or a more knowledgeable other) is required to facilitate learning since new knowledge is constructed as just out of reach within the zone of proximal development. The child is no longer the expert in their own learning since someone else must intervene and demonstrate that any subject can be taught to children at any stage of development if the formula for discovery and structure is exact (Bruner, 1997). This is the tension which Alice, and many well qualified early years' pedagogues, experience in the

haunted heterotopias we call pre-school, playgroup, nursery, kindergarten or early years' unit.

Classrooms and Corridors

'Cath [the Key Stage One Teacher] and Jackie [the Nursery Manager who is working towards EYPS] commented that there were a couple of parents, both teachers, who were demanding that their children demonstrate basic/technical skills in reading, writing and arithmetic. The practitioners seemed troubled by tensions between this and dominant early years' discourses around free choice and learning through play. They talked about observable effects on children's self-esteem and demonstrations of independent learning'. (Field notes St Egbert's, 5.5.2011)

The layout, and challenges presented by the indoor and outdoor spaces allocated to the nursery at St Egbert's are discussed within the methodology chapter, the section on outside environments towards the end of this chapter and as part of the second analysis chapter on objects, artefacts and materials. The efforts to create communal learning spaces which can be shared by the Nursery and Reception groups shines a spotlight on a labyrinth of juxtapositions; didactic teaching methods and child initiated approaches; 'work' and 'play', what is expected of the outside and what of the inside; adult judgements and child performances; success and failure; prime, specific and wider areas (DfE, 2014); learning and development. This makes for a highly heterotopic space. It is a space which attempts to compensate for the fact that there are too few pupils, and therefore insufficient funds, for staffing a discrete early years' department as might be the case in other schools in areas designated as deprived (DCSF, 2009). It must stand in for the lack of a fenced and well-equipped outside 'learning area' or 'enabling environment' (Cartwright et al., 2002). It must compensate (but also discipline) the governor-run nursery for falling outside of the pedagogical structures of the rest of the school and the Reception class pupils for having to share the space and expectations belonging to Key Stage 1. It continues to operate as a corridor and a cloakroom but in a very different way once pictures and early years' artefacts adorn the walls and floor space (Foucault, 1994a). It juxtaposes the emplacements of storage space, school corridor, entrance, early years' mathematics, outside play and creative area (Foucault, 1994a). The space operates according to principles of 'decoupage du temps' (Foucault, 1994a:181) where, at certain times of the day, older children can

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revisit the play activities of their own remembered time in Nursery and Reception. It also takes on the curious characteristics mentioned by Foucault in his fifth principle, as an area which gives the illusion of being open to everyone in the school whilst retaining the special emplacements of early years' pedagogy. At break time, older children are accepted into the space and can explore and interact with the equipment in a very similar way to the younger children. Once 'playtime' is over they, like the adults, are excluded from this playful and explorative learning and from the fantasy worlds which accompany their enactments and interactions. The adults passing through are absolutely the chance but uninvited guests of Foucault's Brazilian farms described in the literature review (Foucault, 1994a) They bring with them other (outsider) discourses of what it is to be a pupil in a primary school but cause barely a ripple in the ensemble of relations playing out between the children and objects discussed in the next chapter.

Perhaps the space, which forms a sort of passage way between Nursery and Reception, is also a haunted place in the sense used by Gordon (2008). A space in which the hauntings of theory take on a more corporal form, can be more easily identified in participant observation and more importantly can be extracted and named 'as an ensemble of social relations that create inequalities' (Gordon, 2008:4). Maybe, by observing in this space, the situated interpretive codes of early years and primary school education and care, the kinds of subject, both adult and child, and the possible and impossible enactments of early years' pedagogy might be articulated, troubled and changed. One Reception-aged child, Joseph, haunts the first participant observation in the newly created early years' cloakroom/corridor/learning space. He features as children drift in and out at break time, in the observation of the children sent out to use the area and at times in between this when he should officially have been in the classroom but has entered the space on the way to the toilets or the coat pegs (or for reasons of his own making).

'Joseph spends 5-10 minutes telling me and himself about the contents of the trays; 'The frogs are similar. Some have red eyes.' He shows me that the caterpillar is stretchy. I say 'I hope it doesn't pull apart' Joseph says 'No it is stretchy'. (Fieldnotes, St Egbert's RC Primary School 26.5.2011)

Joseph is a magnet for adult concern. He is particularly good at using language to express non-conformity, which leads to professional questioning of his behaviour since he is not

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always interested in completing tasks set at the times designated. While he has an abundance of curiosity and his own explanations for the contents of the environmental trays, efforts to get him to read and write in a more formal teaching scenario are exhausting and usually short lived, even tokenistic. He also fails the school readiness test. At five years' old, Joseph has already read and decoded the notes which tell him that learning in school is about passivity and obedience, about completing tasks to satisfy adults or avoiding them if possible. That independent learning, exploration and intellectual stimulation are located behind him in the haunted space of a different pedagogy, gradually receding out of reach.

Floors and Carpets

'Cath commented that they may move the tables to enable children to use equipment on the floor, which they like' (Fieldnotes St Egbert's, 26.5.2011)

The routine use of floor space, mats or carpets by children and adults as areas for 'play and learning' is a heterotopic feature of early years' education and care spaces. It is an indoor space in which practitioners elect to place tables and chairs; put down rugs and carpets; or leave bare as walkways; an overspill space for paint, sand, water and other forms of 'messy play' or as unallocated spaces of possibility. In the extract from field notes the teacher at St Egbert's chronicles the floor as somewhere that children like (and should therefore be facilitated) to work. Even so, a substantial, child-sized table and chairs are placed in the space. One of the tensions for the teacher is that she has Reception and the remainder of Key Stage One in her class and has come from teaching in Key Stage Two. She frames the Reception children in her classroom as 'in need' of something different from the older children. The table and chairs emphasise the dichotomy between work and play, perhaps. Just as I was when I worked in this space, she is anxious about responses from other adults, particularly when she is not present to justify and explain. The size of the table and accompanying chairs also discipline behaviour. They are a place to sit 'nicely' (they are hard, not comfortable, chairs so children must sit upright while adults must perch uncomfortably or stand and bend over). Once a child is sitting 'well' they can hold their pencil correctly and handle other tools safely. These are the pre-occupations of a school-based early childhood heterotopia. At home, or at a childminder's house, a child may well stand on a chair to help with washing up or play with water in the sink, or kneel at the table to stir a cake mixture, paint and draw. The former is haunted by Locke, when he gives a detailed account of the

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stages, physical skills and advice to be sought in order to perfect the skill of writing. It is presented as a time-consuming process, to be taken a stage at a time if, like any learning, it is to be done 'well' (Locke, 2007).

When the four children join me in the PSRN area for the first time they take the equipment onto the floor, creating a space between me, as the adult/teacher/observer/visitor and themselves as the child learners/occupiers/owners/inhabitants of the space. This is not a carpeted area, perhaps this is one reason that it is good for collaborative and practical activities such as the junk modelling. Most of the Nursery classroom is carpeted, but there is a designated 'carpet area', distinguishable from the rest of the space by the adult sized comfy chair. It is near to the book display (but separate from the 'book corner', which has child sized seats) and there is sufficient space available for everyone to sit together facing the 'full sized' seat. The extract below demonstrates how these three and four year olds have taken on board the multi-faceted functions of 'The Carpet'.

The nursery assistant says, 'Could you sit on the carpet for Mandy for just a few minutes?' She is by the books. The boys take this as a signal to get books and take them in front of the white board. The boys get a book each but Alison joins them wanting to share a book and Gail also joins this sub group. The children are all involved and are praised by Kate for 'good sitting'. She is some way away cleaning up'. (Fieldnotes, St Egberts, 23.6.2012)

Mandy depicts 'the carpet' as an area of containment. It is a safe place for the children to be still while she is not with them. Since most of the room is carpeted, the children could have taken their books to the far side or into the reading corner and still technically been on the carpet but none of them do. Mandy praises the children, not for reading, but for sitting down.

Woodlands is the only setting which does not have a single designated 'carpet' space. They sometimes have a story or singing all together which usually takes place on the raised area with the books. Otherwise, they may sit together for short periods on the hall floor as in this instance from one of the May visits.

'Alice calls all children over to a sitting area where it is conveyed that they will go outside next. They are asked what they need to do next and Zac volunteers 'Tidy up.' Each child finds a different place to tidy. ....The group look at hatching butterflies, two children at a

time - from sitting, which promotes conversation with A3 but also controls the going outside to play'. (Fieldnotes, Woodlands, 24.5.12)

'The carpet' has become a symbolic space in ECEC, a significant part of the time/space continuum in the regulatory operation of the heterotopia. The Montessori classroom provides small individual pieces of carpet or rugs and 'a large part of the floor must be free for the children to spread their rugs and work upon them' (Montessori, 2014:14). In the children's house, tables and chairs denote the whole routine of meal time, setting the table, sharing out food, clearing and cleaning down afterwards. All of this is the responsibility of the children because this part of the day is for the learning (and enjoyment) of good manners. The rugs are for the feeding of the mind, an activity which, as already discussed, is achieved through individual use of the didactic materials. The rugs create a space of concentration, of problem solving and of the 'work of the child'. The carpet in the study settings is more of a collective, central space, perhaps a little like the market square discussed in the second chapter of the literature review, once it is empty of stalls. It often features in the tidying up routine which punctuates the day (like a bell or a whistle and often signalled by music, the raising of hands or some other symbolic gesture). It is also where everyone gathers once tidying is complete (and its quality confirmed). This may be for a pleasant collective activity such as a story but is also a place where crimes such as surreptitious poking and pinching may go unnoticed or be disciplined when found out, maybe stories, at least in a large group, are not pleasant for everyone. It can be a heterotopic space in its own right in the sense of juxtaposing 'in a single real space several emplacements that are incompatible in themselves.' (Foucault, 1994a:181). Foucault uses the example of cinema, which is just a rectangular room with a screen onto which are projected three dimensional images of people, animal and objects which are not there at all. This is exactly what the carpet becomes when the whiteboard is switched on for audio visual presentation of learning materials or for a story time with a picture book, puppets or other visual aids.

It is in the Reception classrooms that 'The Carpet' takes on its full heterotopic significance. At Field Primary School the outside space and the carpet run through the reports as two strands of strife, dystopian mirror images of one another. The former is cluttered and used too infrequently, the latter empty (of objects) and occupied too much. The carpet space or

'The Carpet' dominates the room. It is the first thing to be seen when the room is entered, being located almost in the centre with tables, chairs and other areas of learning around the walls behind and to the sides. The wall in front incorporates the white board, teacher's desk, computer and a phonics display (a 'phonics wall' to which a different letter or combination of letters is added on a paper brick at regular intervals). It also governs the routines of the day. A report from May 2014 notes that

'Within the current timetabling children sit down for a language input at the beginning of the morning, phonics at the end of the morning and a maths focus in the afternoon'. (EYQL report, Field Primary School 8.5.2014)

The Carpet is also used for snack time. The emphasis here (and in many other reception classrooms) has shifted from a ritual of domesticity to one connected with 'healthy choices'. Everyone sits and is offered a piece of fruit. The choices are almost always apple, banana or pear. There is a disciplining of snack time as a group, social, domestic, unspecific learning opportunity to an individual, medical or health orientated, specific learning space as in the extract from a visit to Field Primary School, below:

'After about half an hour children are asked to tidy up. Some of the writing group have wanted to go outside but there is not time as they all must have snack before it is play-time with the rest of the school. While the children sit on the carpet and eat fruit, Philippa reads a story. She is an engaging storyteller and this does make snack time far calmer than last time I was in. It is a shame that children keep getting up to put apple cores and banana skins in the bin and then to go to the toilet and wash hands, supervised by the TA. This means that hardly anyone hears the whole of the story'. (Observation 7.7.2014)

Several concerns resonate in these notes. Firstly, there is the eating on the floor, without plates, perhaps there is some merit in sitting at a table and conversing over food as Montessori would advocate. On the other hand, eating on the go might be regarded as part of the social milieu of the teeming bazaar, as well as of modern life outside of the heterotopia. Then there is the 'incompleteness' of the story as an experience of the listeners. Is it sufficient to see and hear that the teacher can read or does this distract from other, more substantial cultural purposes for story-telling, and learning through fiction? There is a resonance with the previous description of the instance at St Egbert's. The carpet

as a teaching space is very much the province of the teacher, the student is an observer and the TA does other tasks. There is an implied ranking of power and hierarchy which may or may not be articulated at other times. This is the time when the teacher alone is (supposedly) in control of learning, she seats herself on her teaching throne and looks down upon her subjects at her feet. The TA carries out more menial tasks while the student may well feel expected to adopt a policing role, looking out for and intervening in any undesirable behaviours such as looking in the wrong direction or seeming not to be listening. The objects partaking in the enactment embody the same edgy combination of fantasy and didacticism as those in the pre-school observations. At snack time 'The Carpet' again becomes a holding area. The task of the TA is now to supervise toileting and the performance of the routines of 'good sitting' and 'good hygiene' are again prioritised over the book. However, this carpet also takes on the role of a border check point. It must be passed through to separate defined emplacements of subject learning, outside play, activity times, self-care and break times. It is haunted not only by conventions of early years' education and care at the levels of practice and professionalism, but also by those of the school and the education system at a political level. Perhaps what is disturbed in my notions of early years' pedagogy (the ideal which I thought I would be able to recognise through my visits to settings both as an advisor and a researcher) is not what was seen but what was missing or banished. If chairs are made small, then the message given is that chairs are for sitting and sitting constructs vision in a very particular way. If you never stand on a chair then you cannot see the world from above, the way a map or plan depicts temporal spaces. If you do not sit on the floor, under a table or under a chair you do not experience the world from below or what the underside of these objects might be like. The sky cannot be contemplated without lying on your back and gazing upwards. This is an observation about the possible differences between what might be classified as 'education' and what might be called 'training'. Studying the stars and geographical investigation are fields of enquiry (and of socio-economic import) inseparable from language skills and mathematical competence. I am reaching towards a notion of holistic learning not only in terms of an early years' curriculum which attempts to plan experiences before they happen and measure/quantify them afterwards but for ECEC as an integral part of life-long learning which is not fully predictable, is sometimes dangerous, experimental and often exciting to all participants. The question is whether early years' pedagogy best serves society (including children, early

years' practitioners and parents) by focusing on literacy and numeracy in the hope that children will discover other areas of human experience either later or elsewhere. Early years institutions could be accused of operating heterotopias of pure illusion, places which denounce all real space (Foucault, 1994a:184). As his example of a heterotopia of illusion denouncing all real space Foucault suggest 'those famous brothels of which we are now deprived' (Foucault, 1994a:184). One cannot help thinking that the fantasy or illusion, the desire being satisfied within such a brothel would favour the male clientele whilst oppressing the women whose work it was to uphold the illusory qualities and keep the real world at bay. It would be easy to reject out of hand any similarities between brothels and early years' settings if a devotion to the illusion of Rousseau's romanticised universal childhood remains untroubled. The parallels exist in the intricate power relationships between human actors. In the brothel, the currency of exchange is bodies and in the pre-school, it is knowledge. The brothel workers must dress in a way which demonstrates their identity as purely sexual while the clients presumably behave in ways which conceal their identity as customers of a service. In the pre-school practitioners, through their dress and through what they say and do, present a supposedly acceptable version of professionalism and the children are expected to behave as pupils all-be-it the pre-school version of a pupil. In both types of space there is a likelihood of unpleasant interventions if anyone steps out of the parameters of their role within the heterotopia. Outside of the space the sex workers (and clients) may be mothers/fathers, carers, breadwinners and take ownership of many other identities, they may even be parents dropping their child at pre-school. The complexity within the field of early years' education and care might be said to centre around two extremes of illusory space. A space in which all the tensions, violence and injustices of the real world can be excluded; or a space whose sole purpose is to prepare children for the more important (and possibly more real) world of school followed by that of work. This is explored further in the next chapter on the objects, artefacts and materials of ECEC under the heading 'role play areas'.

The final section of this chapter considers the outside learning environment as a real space around which constructs of early childhood have erected an entire edifice of illusions and hauntings.

Outdoor Spaces

There are undoubtedly many strong pedagogical arguments for locating learning outside for some (or even much) of the time. These are not specific to early years' education and care, although they are seen to be of academic interest within the sector. There is the question of environmental science as an important part of any curriculum concerned with issues such as global warming (Wilson, 1993). In the early years, this has translated into academic and professional discourses around Forest Schools, risk taking and practices in Scandinavian countries (O'Brien, 2009; Waite, Bolling and Bentsen, 2015). There is also the national concern for physical fitness in childhood and throughout individual life histories (Timmons et al, 2012). This links to similar concerns around mental health visible in the development of Child and Mental Health Services (CAMHS) (McDougall, Worrall-Davies and Hewson, 2008; Ronzoni and Dogra, 2012). The articulations and enactments witnessed in the research do not overtly refer to these contemporary homilies. There is, however, an unspoken assumption that outside activity is an indisputably good, maybe even a necessary, component of early child education and care. The migration of early years settings away from community venues and into purpose built spaces within and away from schools means that outside play and learning has not ceased to exist but may operate in different ways from, even the recent, past (Foucault, 1994a:180).

Out and About in Public Spaces

'Staff took carrier bags and children enjoyed collecting items -and particularly enjoyed putting them into the carrier bag. Child L. experimented with picking up and throwing stones. Seemed to know that she should throw away from the path and other people.' (Observation at Dahlia's 30.9.2010)

The walk itself opens the way to consideration of discourses and enactments relating to spaces outside (but at the same time still part) of the nursery, kindergarten or school rooms.

This is no ordinary walk to which we are now returning. Unlike the lunch time walks at Woodlands there is no intent to travel from one place to another for a specific purpose. It is

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also not tolerable that it should simply be a pleasant way to fill the period during which the hall is in use. There must be 'learning potential', an imperative which pervades Early Years' Foundation Stage (EYFS) documentation. In the revised statutory framework (DfE, 2014), learning and development is positioned before the care standards. Learning and development is paramount and then children should be kept safe and healthy. The purpose of teaching and learning in the Foundation Stage, according to the introduction to the statutory framework, is incontrovertibly so that children will be ready for school, will be presented (from outside of themselves) with an attribute which has been labelled 'school readiness'. It is not about the moment in which the learning takes place but about 'good future progress through school and life' (DfE, 2014). Practitioners must constantly seek 'quality and consistency', 'good progress' and this must be 'planned around the needs and interests of each individual child' and simultaneously 'assessed and reviewed regularly' (DfE, 2014:5) These requirements co-exist with notions of allowing each child freedom to explore space and objects in ways first articulated by Rousseau and Froebel; to rehearse the activities of the adult world (outside of formal education) as described by Montessori and the holistic development of body and mind, with the focus on the health and wellbeing of the young child, as forged by the McMillans' open air nursery schools (Giardiello, 2014). It seems to me that underlying many of the tensions generated by these contestations of pedagogical theory is the hostility which Foucault identifies between 'the devoted descendants of time and the fierce inhabitants of space' (Foucault, 1994a:173) which is discussed in the literature review. The walk can only be legitimate if it can be demonstrated to contribute directly to children's learning and development and their future pupil-hood. It is, in fact, a compensation for the time which should have been spent on Early Years' Foundation Stage activities in the heterotopic space of the church/pre-school. Like these habitual activities, the route taken must have the capacity, not only to be explained, but also to be measured and recorded as another emplacement of the EYFS learning space. The trappings and emplacements of pre-school are carried with us along the footpath, across the recreation fields and back again. Interweaving amongst the line of children, practitioners and parents, all of whom do in fact accept this as a legitimate pre-school activity, are Rousseau hand in hand with his natural but invented child Emile; Froebel carrying his 'gifts'; Montessori and her scientific method; even Susan Isaacs (1929) with a few of her active children learning about the world through real experiences. Ways in which these theorists

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continue to haunt early years' discourses and enactments will be discussed further in the next chapter.

Enabling Environments Outside: Disciplining and Privatising Spaces

Tensions around arrangement and implementation of outdoor activities are a feature of the fieldwork in each one of the study settings. All the study settings, including Dahlia's once it moved to the school site, use the outside area as private space. Members of the pre-school are forbidden from sharing it with outsiders even if it is a shared space at other times. In schools, there is an added separation (usually a fence) between the EYFS outdoor space and that used by older children in the school. Sometimes the outside areas contrive to be simultaneously too large and too small. Ashton Street First School has access to outside play areas from the Reception classroom, the corridor between the two Foundation Stage/Year One rooms and from the Nursery. The extract below refers to the area accessed from Reception which has a paved area leading to a gate onto the main playground, a slightly sloping grassed area, some flower beds and shed.

'Alice expressed concern about staffing and safety of the outside area when unsupervised. LS suggested that the area between the gate and covered area could be prohibited in the morning. It may also be necessary to cone off the top area so that children can have free flow access to the covered area only at identified times of the day'
(EYQL Report, Ashton Street First School 12.9.2014)

Appearing in this extract is the obvious tension between safety and risk; between awarding freedom and maintaining control by seeing or knowing where children are at all times in the teaching day. This is a tension which dates to Rousseau and his advocating of learning about pain and courage through play experiences chosen by the child himself (Rousseau, 2009:21). However, Rousseau is writing about a single tutor with one (male) pupil. Creeping into the extract is a contemporary construction around what should happen in the Reception class as opposed to Year One. There are not, as the field notes (in appendix 6) indicate, 'a reduced number' of children. There is a cohort of seven children deemed to be in the final year of the EYFS and a group of over twenty who have become Year One pupils at some point during the months of July and August. The amount of outside space available to the four and five year olds must be reduced, particularly in the morning, since the five and six year olds in

Year 1 need the adults to be inside 'teaching'. There is a disciplining of space in relation to time and the emplacement of people and objects. The elements which are difficult to resist, that it would be like an act of desecration to question or to change are the rhythms of the school (to which the Nursery on the same site does not strictly adhere). The day, as in almost all primary schools runs approximately as follows:

Arrival at 9am. Some form of registration and storage of personal belongings
Task completion until 12:00 with a fifteen minute 'play' time during which fruit should be consumed.
Lunch time, which may or may not contain another play period, depending on the speed with which children consume their food.
Afternoon activities, which are more relaxed in the sense of provision of objects and permission to move around the space, but must still be used to demonstrate coverage of the 'wider areas of learning' (DfE, 2014)
Finally, the rituals of home time, which usually include some combination of tidying up, gathering on the carpet, listening to a story, singing a song, distribution of letters and/or collection of personal belongings before children are released to parents, carers or after school care in the nursery.

There is a palpable resemblance to Foucault's heterotopias of compensation (Foucault, 1994a:184). The compensation is again for too few 'Early Years Foundation Stage' children to support staffing levels. The contestations are multiple but always centre around the idea that the 'correct' sort of learning (or quality experiences) cannot occur anywhere except in spaces that somehow mirror those of schools; the sweeping assumptions that children will not learn to socialise, will not learn to read or to speak, will not absorb values acceptable to western society and above all will not be ready for school. This impacts not only on the children and families singled out as needing 'early intervention' but on the interaction and interventions between all the children and adults in attendance. I am not arguing that the differences in children's material circumstances should be ignored but that a collegiate response which places trust in the informed intentions of practitioners and the celebration of difference both within and between pre-schools is a healthier professional and societal approach. It is also one which recognises children's capacity to actively participate in and shape their early experiences. There is a tension between a pedagogy founded on these

values and the sense of prioritising the Key Stage One curriculum and its associated pedagogies. The children in Year One have used up their Foundation Stage entitlement and must now buckle down to the discipline of pupilhood. The children and the staff are therefore restrained by heterotopian disciplining created through the general organization of terrestrial space. Foucault uses the examples of the earliest English Puritan societies to be founded in America but also of South American Jesuit villages described in *Different Spaces* (Foucault, 1994)

In relation to the entangled emplacement of early years' and 'elementary school' education there is also a haunting of what Foucault describes at the beginning of *Different Spaces* as hierarchized medieval spaces of 'localization'. The routines are again reminiscent of the monastic lives discussed earlier. It could be conceived that the balance is reversed as soon as children enter Year One, where it is curriculum learning which is revered and the more terrestrial space of the playground which is less highly regulated. Regulation might be conceived both as the presence of certain types and numbers of adults but also what we as adults imagine should happen in these spaces. Early years' outside areas are imbued with notions of innocence and discovery where body and spirit can roam free. Playgrounds concentrate more on the physical and letting off steam. In the mornings of the extract, Year One and the teacher spend their time in the room filled with tables, chairs and the carpet, while the Reception children and Teaching Assistant are in a sort of limbo (an alternative term for purgatory) of a space set up in line with the canons of early years' care and education but with outside space closed to them.

Concluding Remarks

The focus of this chapter has been on the insides and the outsides of the buildings in which early years' care and education practices take place. Different intentions for going outside (or sometimes for not staying inside) and possible influences and their consequential enactments of early years' pedagogy have been discussed, particularly in relation to the walks from Dahlia's and Woodlands pre-schools. The way in which the spaces themselves, always haunted by theories and discourses from outside as well as inside early years' pedagogy, that is the haunting of religion and of school and their enduring power structures

(Foucault, 1977, Foucault, 1994a, Gordon, 2008) have also been considered. Differing potential meanings of particularly heterotopic early years spaces, outside learning areas, classrooms and corridors, floors and carpets, have also been discussed. The next chapter will approach the objects, artefacts and materials with which practitioners fill these spaces.

Chapter 6: Objects, Artefacts and Materials

This chapter deconstructs the fieldnotes in relation to the appearances and subject interactions with objects admitted to early years' spaces because they are awarded some level of pedagogical value. Deconstruction is the process of revisiting the fieldnotes and probing them for previously unnoticed or poorly articulated interpretations in the light of the theoretical and methodological frame of the research. They are heterotopic artefacts as well as everyday objects and materials because their meanings (and rights to be emplaced within the space) are taken for granted (Foucault, 1994a, Foucault, 1999, Johnson, 2013) but become far less clear cut once exposed to research questions generated through an engagement with social haunting (Gordon, 2008). What emerges particularly strongly from the participant observations and the reports is a tension between imaginary or fantasy play and interpretations of learning implicit within the western, mono-cultural paradigm of developmental psychology troubled by early years' academics such as Burman (Burman, 2008a, Burman, 2008b). There is a strong influence from Montessori and her conscious disregard of fantasy play in favour of playful activity which she regarded as based in natural science or the biological and psychological nature of young children. (Giardiello, 2014, Lillard, 2013, Montessori, 1963). Freud, particularly feminist and other radical critiques of his work, is also a haunting because of the connection he makes between fantasy and sexuality (McNay, 1992). Sexuality is one of the greatest taboos of early years' heterotopias in England, as is radical politics (or indeed any open discussion of politics). The intention in uncovering this tension and these hauntings is not to exorcize the ghosts, not to find a single solution to the complex questions they pose, but to engage in dialogue with them. This is a way of 'conceptualizing the complicated workings of race, class and gender' (Gordon, 2008:4) which unavoidably slip into early years' (and all other) institutions from the world outside. It is the emplacement of objects within the setting which casts the reflections (or sometimes shadows) of values, of equalities and inequalities, social justices and injustices which make up the enactments and interactions of early years' pedagogy. The reflection thrown back to practitioners, and to children, when they engage in the daily life of a setting is not that of the universal child of development psychology but of a multi-faceted selfhood which includes the personal and the professional; life at home and life at nursery. The treatment of the data aims to challenge the 'universalised professional' and 'the

universalised child' whenever they appear and to search out other possible reifications of early years' pedagogy. The testing and unpacking of emplacements, their assumed juxtapositions, contradictions and meanings is the task of what follows. This begins with a return to the walk at Dahlias.

The Walk

'Staff took carrier bags and children enjoyed collecting items -and particularly enjoyed putting them into the carrier bag'. (Field notes, Dahlia's, 30.9.2010)

In line with Foucault's fifth principle of heterotopias (Foucault 1994:183), the pre-school operates according to a system of opening and closing, in this case one in which the mixing of certain individuals is not permitted. The children and practitioners must be out of the usual space because members of the congregation are in it. When the children are in the space the congregation (and all other church users) are excluded. There was, in fact, some tension over users of other parts of the building occasionally entering the space whilst it was occupied by the pre-school, to go to the toilets. Implicit within the encounter (or in this case non-encounter) between pre-school insiders (staff, children and parents) and church insiders (clergy and pre-dominantly elderly parishioners) lurk several hierarchies of power in relation to church, adults and young children. They can be visited only briefly (and by no means adequately) in this section. Each independently forms a legitimate area of research, since the church is a heterotopia in its own right. The most obvious regimes of power, knowledge and truth (Foucault, 1995) are those between the institution we call the church and that of the pre-school. Both claim a degree of moral authority within society (which is discussed in previous chapters).

Perhaps there is a trace of adults associating very young children with nature, a fear of the impurity of man-made toys bringing the evils of the outside world into the purity, and sanctity, of the pre-school space. This is a haunting that has survived directly from Rousseau (2009) , is the idea of commercial toys as an unnecessary evil, when natural objects are readily available for collection in carrier bags, which may strike a chord with practitioners. 'Let us have no corals or rattles; a small branch of a tree with its leaves and fruit…. will amuse him as well as these splendid trifles…' says Rousseau (2009:16). This contrasts with

the equally fundamental role of outside space for Montessori and her follower, Isaacs. For Montessori, the environment 'ought to be a real house; a set of rooms with a garden of which the children are the masters.' (Montessori, 2014:12). What Montessori appears to have in mind is that children at nursery should divide their time between domestic activities, setting the table, serving food to one another, cleaning and tidying. Around these routines of the day is fitted exploration, experimentation or 'work' (expressed in childhood as play) with the didactic materials. These are the elements of 'doing' exploited by the USA and Britain in their adoption of Montessori pre-school education. The text, originally published in English in 1914, with its subtitle, *The Basics of her System, How it Works and Why it Works,* is addressed primarily to mothers and nursery teachers (or nursery nurses/carers). It is an off the shelf method with the scientific research, the design of the materials and the observations of children used to develop them, already completed by 'external experts'. Erased, apart from some hints within the preface, is the political context of its creation. Montessori's original children's houses had been set up as part of a modernisation of inner city slums in Rome. The project was essentially socialist and feminist, with Montessori's intention being that a range of services would free mothers from domestic duties so that they could work outside the home with rights and benefits equal to those of male workers (Giardiello, 2014:82). These hauntings by absence will be troubled further in the next chapter, since they whisper of discourses of and between professionalism and politics. The significance of the children's house at the level of practice revolves around rigidities between philosophical and biological episteme. Montessori is located firmly on the scientific side of the pedagogical garden gate. In the preface to her text *Pedagogical Anthropology* (1913) she writes:

In contrast to general anthropology which starting from a basis of positive data founded on observation, mounts towards philosophical problems regarding *the origin of man*, pedagogic anthropology, starting from an analogous basis of observation and research, must rise to philosophical conceptions regarding *the future destiny of man* from a biological point of view. (Montessori, 1913vii)

There is a suggestion that young children belong in a domestic space, but a professionalised domestic sphere, which facilitates their physical and psychological development which will strengthen the future human race in its inevitable march towards science and technology. In

a heterotopic sense, they are, at the same time, inside the home and in the public domain. For Montessori, the outside space is an extension of the indoor learning environment in which she suggests the inclusion of shelters for playing or sleeping outside and that tables should be taken out for work and meals (Montessori, 2014). This is the model which particularly seems to haunt (and discipline) the organisation of early years' spaces on school sites. On the return from the walk:

'A few adults sit down on the blankets with groups of children. Most, including some students, stand at the edge watching and chatting. A little girl mimics brushing her hair with a fir cone'. (Field notes, Dahlia's, 30.9.2010)

There is a stirring amongst the ghosts, who do not quite agree over the significance of this occurrence. Piaget stands with the practitioners clearly articulating his theory on play and imitation during the pre-operational stage of development (Piaget, 1999). This is the stage within Piaget's model of cognitive development in which children start to use symbolic representation. They are able to use objects to represent other objects and their imagination begins to mature, although they are not able to solve problems requiring logic (Huitt and Hummel, 2003). In the Development Matters Document (Moylett and Stewart, 2012) this appears in the 16-26 month age band in which it is stated that children are: 'Gradually able to engage in pretend play with toys…'(Moylett and Stewart, 2012:10). Montessori, and her companion Isaacs, are somewhat disapproving, advocating the provision of actual (or imitation, child-sized) hair brushes and proper rehearsal of the grooming process. John Dewey makes his first appearance of the morning, speaking quietly of 'the organic connection between education and personal experience' (Dewey, 1997: 25). By this he means that learning should not be confined to experiences within a formal setting, such as school, or nursery, but should draw on all the child's home and other life events. In the next extract to be examined children at St Egbert's resist comments and disruptions by adults passing through the shared area where they are exploring environmental materials contained in large plastic trays. They draw on a shared experience of the children's television programme *In the Night Garden* (Campbell and Kirby, 2007) in order to produce a shared representation of the *Night Garden* by arranging environmental objects on the tables in the corridor area between Nursery and Reception.

The Night Garden

'The stones are manually reweighed by the children (boys leading but girls also joining in). They are talking about whose dad is the strongest and how many rocks he could carry……………, when children became interested in dropping the stones, listening to the noise they make, this is quickly stopped by a KS2 class teacher who says she is worried the plastic tray will split. Children start to take the contents out of the trays and lay them out on the top of the square table…………………………… At some point, which I miss, it is agreed between the children that they are making a 'Night Garden'. I try to ask about this and the television programme (of which I am only vaguely aware) but everyone is immersed in creating the scene and I am ignored'. (Fieldnotes St Egbert's 26.5.2012).

Foucault's third principle of heterotopias states that 'the heterotopia has the ability to juxtapose in a single real place several emplacements that are incompatible in themselves' (Foucault, 1994a:181). The efforts to create communal learning spaces which can be shared by the Nursery and Reception groups at St Egbert's shines a spotlight on a labyrinth of juxtapositions; didactic teaching methods and child initiated approaches; 'work' and 'play', what is expected of the outside and what of the inside; adult judgements and child performances; success and failure; prime, specific and wider areas (DfE, 2014); learning and development.

This space contains sunflower seeds which children have planted in pots, mirroring perfectly Montessori's entreaty that 'above all, each child should have a little flower-pot, in which he may sow the seed of some indoor plant, to tend and cultivate it as it grows' (Montessori, 2014:14) . Herein lurks a hidden tension between children's curiosity about the world, their construction as natural scientists, and desires for a moral education which fosters a caring approach towards others, both animals and people. Children and adults always go outside together at Woodlands because the garden area can be accessed only from the front of the building, with its steep stone steps, heavy door and proximity to the main road. Two children, a boy and a girl, are brushing a hard-surfaced area (created I think for youth club basketball practice).

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Adult 1 to G1 'Do you do brushing at home?' No answer. B2 'I can do it' finds a worm 'A worm!' Adult 2:' I think we'll leave the worm to wiggle away.' G1 'Another worm. I've broken it' to B2 'I've stood on the wiggly worm.' (Fieldnotes, Woodlands, 9.11.2011)

Between them the two adults set up a discourse of care and domesticity. Maria Montessori's voice stating that 'There is no limit to the equipment of the 'Children's Houses' because the children themselves do everything. They sweep the rooms…..' (Montessori, 2014:14)echoes eerily in the question asked by adult 1. For adult 2 the worms are perhaps viewed as uninvited guests in the heterotopic outside of the pre-school. The children engage, very briefly, with much more philosophical matters; with life, death and the human capacity to inflict pain or death on other living creatures. Early years' outdoor learning environments are crammed with similar tensions and intentions.

The Early Years' Teacher Consultant (EYTC) reports promote a vision of the outside area as an extension of the inside learning environment. The concepts repeatedly evoked are 'learning challenges'; 'free flow access'; 'a balance of adult led and child initiated activities'. In essence, as one report belonging to HeathPrimary School states

'….a well organised space which is carefully planned to inspire and challenge young children's learning and development' (EYQL Report, Heaths Primary School, 4.6.2014).

This masks a whole host of tensions around whether outside play (or outside learning) should be: planned or unplanned; sheltered from the elements or an opportunity to experience rain, snow, wind and sunshine; open access or controlled using picture cards, coloured bands or bibs; used all the time or only some of the time; contain special activities, such as mud kitchens or replicate classroom role play, quiet, maths and mark making areas. An overarching tension, which also haunts the indoor spaces, is a dichotomy (real or perceived) between physical and intellectual activity.

After the initial uneasiness about the qualities of the new space at St Egbert's, the children begin a process of adoption (a sort of cultural moving in), during which it becomes inhabited by the fantasies of early years' pedagogical practices, which in their turn invite in the ghosts and hauntings hitherto contained within the nursery and reception classrooms. The observations below are taken from a longer extract which can be found in appendix 6 on page 240. They illustrate how the corridor space is shared and utilised by all age groups at

break time (again reminiscent of the teeming bazaar evoked in earlier chapters). In the period (when the older children are in lessons elsewhere) which leads up to the creation of the *Night Garden* the interactions between children and objects generative of early years' heterotopic values and practices.

'At break time a complex social interaction takes place in the PSRN area with children of all ages coming and going firstly using the environment trays, comparing the weight of rocks and how many big ones they could pick up. An older girl counts out loud the frogs in the (artificial) grass tray. One younger child imitates………. Teachers send out 2 children from each class (YR arrive first). We sit around for some time and the children discuss what is on the table but don't touch anything. …………
The children move to the floor to link the elephants. This is achieved quite quickly in terms of the elephants running out and a short amount of time is spent discussing who has the longest chain of elephants………. The throwing and making a mess came to a natural end after about 15 minutes and one by one children (led by Joseph I think) went back to exploring the environmental trays.' (Fieldnotes, St Egbert's Primary School, 26.5.11)

These are the type of hauntings which Gordon (2008) explores, always waiting, ready to cause real harm or to facilitate reparation and new possibilities. It is unclear whether the area was used for EYFS activities between visits, but is perhaps significant that the Nursery became the site of the remainder of the research visits at St Egbert's. The extracts which follow chart the further colonisation of the space by Nursery. It is the cultural values and enactment of Nursery which come to dominate the use of space when I visit, leaving the Reception children, such as Joseph, banished to the differently structured landscape of the Key Stage One classroom. It remains a contested space. A space in which the disciplining discourses of school meets those of early years (Young, 2007), but one in which, for the time being the pedagogical discourses and enactments of the Nursery dominate. One end of the area remains a cloakroom and the place must be travelled through to reach the Key Stage One toilets and the playground. It is a land locked country with borders to the Nursery, the school and the playground. It once belonged to the rules and regulations, the value systems and occupations of the school but it has now been claimed by the cultural objects of ECEC. Older children and adults from other classes understand this but continue, on occasions, to attempt to impose their expectations upon it. It is certainly not a utopian space since the Reception children are strictly limited to the times at which they may stay and for Nursery it becomes a 'different place' in the same way as the outside area. The Nursery children,

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however, do have some power to shape the activities which take place here. It gradually becomes a space of possibilities, for activities which could, but for many possible reasons, do not take place within the Nursery room. It evolves from the Nursery as a space in which creativity, in the sense of making things, takes place. The *Night Garden* is shaped from the children's shared cultural experience of a television programme. Junk modelling, the very name of which associates it with rubbish rather than art or education, becomes popular. The title 'junk modelling' could be said to devalue the activity, to denigrate it to the bottom of the list of construction activities (hence it cannot take place in the construction area) and thus to discipline notions of what matters in early years' settings and what does not. At a surface level, these are both legitimate activities within the discourses of early years. The Night Garden provides a link with home and follows the interests of the children (DCSF, 2009). Junk modelling, which follows in the next section, employs 'non-directive' learning materials which are recognised as an incitement to creative thought and problem solving (Tawil, 2016), which are taken directly from psychology and articulated within both the *Characteristics of Effective Learning* and the *Early Learning Goals* (DfE, 2014). A difficulty, and a key contention, between play-based and more formal pedagogies, is that, if it were to be a pre-planned activity, it would cease to be child led. It is also difficult to see its value, or to frame learning objectives and outcomes around it, until it has already happened. In terms of the research, it is part of the construction which leads to the blurring between theory and practice evident in the field notes. The extracts which follow further trouble tensions generated by meanings given, by children and adults, to the spaces, objects and rituals of pre-school.

Kris: Pirates, Fireman and Fish

'Kris tells me that he made the Lego building with the animals but 'the boys messed it up'. Other boys go out to play but Kris says he isn't going out – he doesn't feel well. We discuss the cloudy sky and play with the post box, reading plastic letters and writing a reply to bear'. (Fieldnotes, St Egbert's, 23.6.2011)

The extract exudes tensions around gender, around reasons for staying in when you could be outside and between participant research and practitioner interpretations of what

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should be prioritised at pre-school. Kris (on this occasion) positions himself as 'other' than the boys in the group. It is they who messed up the Lego and he doesn't want to go outside when they do. Even so it is not quite acceptable not to go out once the door is open and the others have exited through it, unless you are unwell (or when the sky is cloudy and threatens rain). There is also a tension between constructions of the purposes of pre-school (after all its title intimates something that comes before school-learning and classroom teaching). On the one hand, there is emotional readiness, knowing what to say and do; how to blend in with the crowd. On the other, the accumulation of skills and knowledge for the learning and development section of the EYFS, communication and language; physical development; personal, social and emotional development; literacy, mathematics, understanding the world and expressive arts and design (DfE, 2014:7). Beneath the weft and warp of these continuing socio-political themes around gender identity (McNay, 1992) and early years' social policy and pedagogy (Alexander, 2004, Cambridge Primary and Alexander, 2010) is a growing conflict between an elevation of outside play and moral panics (Cohen, 2002, Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994) around the teaching of language and literacy to young children. This in turn highlights tensions between the various constructions of the early years' practitioner/teacher/pedagogue/carer. These themes are troubled further in the discussion around Andrew and Tom.

This outdoor area is far from the utopian space(s) envisaged by Montessori and her followers. However, it seems to have a function for the children and, at the most literal, uncomplicated, level it serves to meet some of the conditions for 'motor education' (Montessori, 2014: 19). The school is working towards a more contemporary outdoor utopianism by spending money on a new outside area to be accessible from both the Nursery and Reception classrooms. In the meantime, looking back at the field notes, some elements of the *Problem-Solving Reasoning and Numeracy* (PSRN) area set up for the children create a sort of compensatory space in which the outdoors is brought inside. This further reinforces the elements of protection and of the opening and closing of spaces already explored. The PSRN area is a space in which learning about the natural world can take place with safety and control over what is handled or explored until this curricular endorsed activity can be transplanted into the new, adult designed, outside environment. Kris has at least asserted his individual choice to stay inside. He is likely to thrive within a

system which grants the children an element of control over when they are inside the classroom and when they utilise the space and objects in the restructured outside area.

'10am arrival. Cath out so worked with Nursery. Three boys immediately shoot me with stickle bricks. I know from previous experience and their helmets (mainly fire helmets but also a police helmet used as a fire hat) that I am being squirted with water………Later Kris asks if we can make something. I ask what we will use and junk modelling is agreed on…………………………. Children decided quickly that they would make a pirate ship'.
(Fieldnotes, St Egberts, 6.6.12)

As in the first extract, fantasy is an integral element of the pedagogical enactments in which the children are active participants and the adults' facilitators. Shooting with stickle bricks, which might well be problematic in another context, is accepted because the stickle brick models are not guns but fire hoses; one of the children has a father in the fire service. This chimes nicely with discourses of role play rehearsing life experiences, as well as parents' inclusion in their children's learning and topics such as 'people who help us' within the *Understanding the World* section of the EYFS. This seems to me to be a more contemporary haunting, possibly from Bronfenbrenner's ecological systems theory (Bronfenbrenner, 1979). Each child is at the centre of the micro-system, in this case the Nursery. They are supported or 'nurtured' to conceptualise and accept the mesosystems; home, school, the Catholic Church and the local community. Parents, the wider school community, the parish priest and other 'people who help us' are drawn in to support this socialisation story. At the same time, the children are protected from the exosystems and macrosystems until they have been 'made ready' to participate in them, although the world of work, which is part of the exosystem, creeps in through the topic. The child leading the play (Kris) is doubly advantaged within the heterotopic practices of early years' education in that his father's job earns him kudos with the other boys in the group as well as endorsement by adults as a fitting theme for boys' fantasy play. Perhaps this is one of the things which lend him the capacity to stay and write when the other boys are going outside to be 'active boys'. It is worth mentioning that this Nursery cohort consists of eight boys and only two girls. Perhaps this has influenced the selection (by staff) of 'pirates' as a learning theme for this term. The illusion is that this is safe, or at the very least innocuous, violence and any harmful effects will be outweighed by the good of boys learning to write. Social and cultural challenges lie in

wait for children and practitioners, just out of sight behind the book corner, the role play area and all the other constructions of learning and development. They are universalised, sanitised (and very male) pirates who open the way to the creative and playful process of building the pirate ship while retaining sufficient power from the worlds experienced by the boys when they are outside of the heterotopia, to keep them interested. Maybe they are the descendants of Barry's Captain Hook (Rose, 1984, Birkin, 2003) discussed in the literature review. Captain Hook represents an icon of western children's literature who, like all the best fictional characters, long ago broke free of his original meanings or purposes within a play written for children. He is continually re-discovered and reinterpreted by new generations of children and adults. He is at the same time a baddy to be fought and an action hero to be emulated. The point in the context of considerations of imagery, cultural meanings and their operation within early years' discourses is that Hook is simultaneously real and unreal, a specific fictional pirate and all pirates imagined within early years' settings, present and absent from the pirate play under consideration. Perhaps Hook might be considered as a pedagogical object of equal worth (or equally worthy of consideration, reflection and research) as Froebel's pedagogical gifts and the other pedagogical objects investigated in this chapter.

It is possibly Froebel who leads the ghostly matters (Gordon, 2008) attached to the objects with which we fill our early years' spaces. For Froebel, the provision of play things is not just a question of supporting the child to comprehend the external world but also to release an instinctive knowledge of the self, of a spiritual life which complements the child's physical being. As Harris expresses it in his preface, Froebel desires the child to contrast the single curved surface of the ball or sphere with the corners, edges and faces of the cube to appreciate oppositions which is '...very clearly another step in the consciousness of the child's self; for he is self as subject known as opposed to himself as object known' (Froebel, 2003vii). In true Enlightenment tradition, Froebel is in search of the unified subject and all the binary oppositions that this may generate between good and evil, boy and girl, child and adult and so forth. 'Hence early in the life of the child appears an activity in harmony with feeling and perception, indicating a slumbering apprehension and comprehension of itself by the child as well as an already germinating individual capacity' (Froebel, 2003). It is this mystic and religious constituent to Froebel's work which is largely cleansed from modern

interpretations. Froebel sets out his stall in the first essay *The Two Views* in which he explores principles of triads; God as life, love and light and each gift to be studied in three-fold aspect as forms of life, beauty and knowledge. The child 'to be treated as an earthly being in accordance with what he is, what he has and what he will become;' (:12). For Froebel, what he the child 'is' is a product of nature, with natural gifts (what he has) and the capacity to become 'complete' in the image of God through independent thought and action. The word 'begabung' in German, like the word 'gift' in English can mean a present, an object given or a talent, an innate gift with which one is born. In German, it can also mean a vocation. Even so, Froebel's philosophy saturates EYFS documentation, including the slimmed down 2014 statutory framework in which the first paragraph of the introduction encompasses the child 'fulfilling their potential'; security, safety and happiness as important in their own right; good parenting and the right sorts of learning enabling children to make the most of their 'abilities and talents' (DfE, 2014:5).

Building is important to Froebel and to Montessori but their interpretations of what should be offered to children for building is very different. Froebel associates building with free play, particularly children's play at home rather than at the kindergarten. Froebel's child initially enjoys building small houses and furniture but also building and then taking apart towers and staircases (Froebel, 1909:176). Having observed her child's enjoyment of this activity, the mother must now step in with 'the fourth gift' of large cubes. With her child, she builds a 'fireplace' where she is cooking the dinner for the family (for when the father returns from work). When the food is ready the child must dismantle the fireplace and convert it into a table and chairs using up all of the blocks, so that the family can sit and eat together (Froebel, 2003). For the Montessori child, the educational play materials are primarily (or possibly entirely) a feature of the space of the Nursery. After all, the Nursery itself is a 'children's house'. Building materials are provided as colour coded sets of equipment, designed to be used by one child at a time and then returned to its designated shelf. There is also an echo of Piaget's solitary young scientist (Huitt and Hummel, 2003) The materials must be collected and taken to the work space, the task completed and then the objects placed back into order and returned ready for the next child to select (Feez, 2010, Lillard, 2013). Fantasy play is not a feature and any complex issues relating to weaponry or 'social reality' outside of the heterotopia, are circumnavigated.

As with any philosophical work translated into method, followers have given precedence to some elements while whitewashing over others. Montessori selects the geometric play objects (the five gifts) and imitation of domestic tasks by the child but excludes the imaginative play such as the ball becoming a kitten or a squirrel (Froebel, 1909:50) or the singing games described in chapter XIV *Movement Plays*. Traces of Froebel also appear within theories drawn from developmental psychology, thus achieving the haunting quality of being present where he is not. Froebel speaks of the child being 'sufficiently developed to see the ball as a thing separate from himself' (Froebel, 1909:36) anticipating Piaget's work on children's conception of objects and space (Piaget and Inhelder, 1956). The chapter on the fourth play of the child (Froebel, 1909:166) gives a nod towards scaffolding (Bruner et al., 1976, Vygotskii, 1962) in the idea that the previous three 'gifts' will form the basis on which the fourth will be used. Bronfenbrenner (1979) is pre-empted in Froebel's placing of the child's learning at the centre of the family (Froebel, 1909) before it extends out to the kindergarten and eventually into the adult world. There is even a faint echo of Maslow's hierarchy of needs (Maslow, 1943), since Maslow formalises the need for outward comfort, physical and emotional safety and mastery before 'self-actualisation' or personal fulfilment can be achieved and Froebel constructs the child as seeking personal or spiritual completion through play:

'Therefore the first voluntary employments of the child, if its bodily needs are satisfied and it feels well and strong, are observation of its surroundings, spontaneous reception of the outside world, and play, which is independent outward expression of inward action and life' (Froebel, 1909:29).

One of the activities provided, which the children are encouraged to do as part of a topic and future display is painting pictures of fish. Kris is insistent that I help. He instructs me to put on an apron and says that I can help by painting a fish. He keeps bringing me back onto task 'I thought you were helping!' Field notes, St Egberts, 23.6.2011

Perhaps this encounter is only possible because I am not one of the regular nursery practitioners. I have no responsibility to match my observation against the criteria for areas of learning and development. I am free to record it, enjoy it and reflect upon it as I see fit. Maybe Kris is aware of my status as an outsider, neither a practitioner nor a child, but decides to temporarily award me the identity of co-learner. However, it does draw attention

to the tenet that it is not the fact of observation or assessment or recording these observations and assessments which makes learning (or anything else) real. The theme of intentional/unintentional or coherent/incoherent representations of meaning (MacRae, 2011) when observing children is extended in the analysis of Hannah's play with dough in the next extract.

Hannah the Potter

The extract below is taken from observation notes made at Woodlands in November 2011. The notes from the rest of the observation can be found in appendix 6.

'Two children are at the 'malleable area table' with Alice (A2). Hannah, whose dad is a potter, engages in conversation with Alice about making pots - Dad is a potter. All three adults gather at the table where salt dough is being made. Tom comments about the size of different completed salt dough masses. Alice asks a direct question about why they need flour today. Tom replies 'because…. I don't know'. Gail joins the group and space is made for her. At the dough table Hanna and Alice dominate the talk. Hannah is talking about trick or treating and tells a whole story about going up the drive'. (Fieldnotes, Woodlands, 9.11.11)

The salt dough, as a heterotopic material, shapes but does not fully control the articulations and enactments taking place (Foucault, 1994a). It is a real object which mediates between the authentic lives authored by participants (Derrida and Wolfreys, 1998) within and outside of the pre-school. At the professional level, it provides opportunity for Alice to ask the question about flour and Tom to engage with the mathematical (and Piagetian) concept of mass, touching on physical development, creativity, understanding the world and mathematics within the heterotopic documentations of the EYFS.

The veil between the fictive and the actual is thin. Hannah's pot making father is conjured from the adult world outside. Halloween, with its complex cultural messages about identity, morality, fear, excitement, gender, fantasy and reality, is retold, relived, shared and reproduced. At the level of practice, close to the mirror, where object and reflection almost meet, there is very little discontinuity. The scenes are coherent, conversant with the heterotopic norms of an English pre-school. Step back so that reflections of the professional and political come into view, then contested regions come in to focus. There are the tensions around play, which Ofsted would have us believe can be balanced (Ofsted, 2015)

against the antipathetic notions of learning, work and leisure. This is an adult initiated activity, but the children do lead the direction which it takes in relation to the conversation, and therefore, for Vygotskii (Vygotskii, 1962), the learning for at least some of the participants. On the other hand, the question about the flour hangs in the air, unanswered, a haunting by silence, like Gordon's silent mothers of the missing in Argentina in connection with which she says 'A disappearance is real only when it is apparitional because the ghost of the apparition is the principal form by which something lost or invisible or seemingly not there makes itself known or apparent to us.' (Gordon, 2008:63). What is lost in the moment but made visible in the reflection cast by the field notes is the message that Tom is not able (at least in the time allotted to him) to answer the question about the flour. Missing, or ghosted, is the opportunity to respond to his interest in size and mass.

The children are free to come and go, taking what they wish from the activity. In many ways, it challenges dichotomies between science and art; creativity and skills. It might be argued that it has all the benefits that a hobby gives in the non-heterotopic world outside. Hobbies or leisure activities) are not themselves a feature of heterotopias since Foucault classes them as a norm of modern society when he suggests that old people's homes (and I have suggested this also applies to nursery settings) fall somewhere between heterotopias of crisis and heterotopias of deviation (Foucault, 1994a). In other words, outside of the norms of the heterotopia, a hobby is part of the accepted dichotomy between work and play. Within the heterotopia, the pot making is a pleasurable activity which provides a focus over which the actors can relax, come together and chat, although it is not strictly speaking play, which is a largely deviant activity for adults. Conversely, for Hannah it is a job, an area of expertise, which belongs to her through her father. The analysis now moves onto a more substantial consideration of the role of fantasy within the ethnographic visits and fieldnotes.

Role Play Areas

'Children seem concerned that the equipment has come from 'their classroom' and spend some time discussing what belongs to whom (particularly Sammy Squirrel and Cuddly Lion). Nathan seems particularly concerned that I have taken equipment, for example toy money, from his classroom which may be needed'. (Fieldnotes, St Egbert's, 26.5.2011)

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Fantasy weaves in and out of the children's relationships with objects, not only in the obvious scenarios such as the creation of the *Night Garden*. Sammy Squirrel and Cuddly Lion are awarded the status of Nursery class members. Perhaps their removal from the safety of the Nursery classroom puts them in danger. Perhaps they are an outlet for Nathan's own discomfort at being in a new space with a strange adult. There is no suggestion that they are real children but they are used to support social and emotional development, particularly in understanding feelings. Under the *positive relationship, what adults could do* strand of *Development Matters* (Moylett and Stewart, 2012) a gradual build-up of *understanding the feelings of others* is suggested; at 16-26 months 'help young children to understand the feelings of others by labelling emotions such as happiness and sadness' (Moylett and Stewart, 2012:8); at 22-36 months 'continue to talk about feelings such as happiness, sadness or feeling cross' (Moylett and Stewart, 2012:9). The use of the word cross rather than angry is interesting. It seems to denote an acceptable level of frustration, not enough to lead to violent behaviour but sufficient to warrant recognition of a natural human reaction that should be brought under control through recognition and inner strength. It is a nice a-political word. We get cross about the small irritations of daily life, things which are not important. Caring about equality and social justice tend to provoke more than feeling a little cross. By 30-50 months, lonely, scared and worried are added to the list of emotions to be rationalised. Happiness is the only positive feeling mentioned, perhaps other emotions are not a threat to the 'heterotopia of illusion' and so become lost/forgotten/unnoticed/unmentioned. Perhaps all emotions need to be disciplined as deviations within narrow imaginings of what education should be like. The stuffed animals are a substitute for direct criticism of behaviours displayed by individual children. They are soft and cuddly, selected to evoke empathy, care, understanding, collaboration. The early years' heterotopia is a collective, a mutually supportive society (all be it an imposed rather than a negotiated mutuality), which banishes the competitive nature of individuality found elsewhere in the education system and the world outside. In their exploration of cultural objects significant to the enactment of early years' provision, Jones et al (2012) describe 'brown dog'. Brown dog is a transition object welcomed into the setting to support a young child to settle in to the Nursery. Brown dog is a proper toy; a representation for adults of childhood innocence and therefore a mediator between the child and the practitioners. Sammy Squirrel and Cuddly Lion take this a step further. They do not belong to an individual

but to the Nursery, their transitional worth is not as a rite of passage from home to Nursery but from Nursery into school. They are the purveyors of social and emotional readiness and as such play a role in structuring the language and expression of feelings, the feelings that are acceptable or unacceptable to the institution, for practitioners as well as for children.

Similarly, the toy money almost takes on the value of real money. It belongs to the Nursery and should not be left lying around, it might be needed. Toy money within early education takes on a dual role, firstly as a representation within role play of something which is used by adults in the world outside and secondly as a means of teaching addition, subtraction and the technical operation of pounds and pennies as an exchange mechanism. It is, however, a far-removed reflection of monetary systems. Unlike 'golden time', it cannot be earned and then swapped for something more desirable. Money, at least its capacity to separate the rich from the poor and thus to bestow power on one group over another, is an additional taboo of early years' heterotopias. In this philosophy, all children are born equal and their parents' differing capacities to buy books, toys and other paraphernalia of childhood must be hung on the coat pegs as children enter. If some parents fail to buy suitably educational toys then this can be compensated for by their provision and disciplining of their use in Nursery, thereby ensuring that every child is educated into adult conceptualisations of a normalised childhood (Jones et al., 2012:52)and subsequently a normalised pupilhood.

As practitioners, we continue to set up role play areas because they are an established element of early years' pedagogy. Interesting interactions can and do take place within them but may equally occur without them, and outside the regulations and disciplining of the institutional heterotopia. Johnson (2013), in the paper mentioned in the literature review, translates from a book which reproduces Foucault's original radio broadcast on heterotopia (Foucault, 2010) Johnson writes:

'…it's Thursday afternoons on their parent's bed where they discover the ocean, as they can swim between the covers, and the bed is also the sky, or they can bounce on the springs; it's the forest as they can hide there; or still, it's night as the can become ghosts between the sheets and, finally, it's the delight, as their parents come home, as they may be scolded.' (Johnson, 2013:798).

The bed becomes a heterotopic space in a more positive sense. A space 'of, and for, the imagination' (Johnson, 2013:798). What it becomes is controlled and produced by the children, as a group, no need for an adult to observe, to individualise, to explain or to normalise (Foucault, 1977). The reality and the fictions of oceans, swimming, bouncing, forests, skies, night-times and ghosts are all explored as similar concepts were explored by children at St Egberts in their night garden, fireman and pirate ship play discussed above. This is perhaps the intellectual follow up to the opportunity to look at the table or the floor by standing on a chair and the sky by lying on the grass which was discussed in the section on carpets in the previous chapter. There is also an element of risk taking since there is the chance of a scolding if the parents return too soon. It might also be considered an intrusion into the space of adults (in this case parental) intimacy which is taboo in relation to children and to professional practices in the workplace. Maybe this is another positive aspect of Kris's identity as a learner (or a co-constructor of knowledge) when he dares to stay in with a researcher as co-learner when the other children go out into the yard.

Role play appears as one of the areas of creativity to be assessed at the end of the EYFS, although it is not a simple matter to agree on exactly what should be judged in such an open-ended activity. Role play is, after all, a form of dramatic art which might be measured against aesthetic appeal or maybe realism, radicalism, ability to improvise, longevity (as in the case of Shakespeare) or cultural significance. In practice (EYFS practice at least) it tends to be narrowed down to an assessment of the language which individual children have been heard (or supported) to use in the role play area. Mime is not generally a valued genre in early years' heterotopias. Role play areas continue to appear popular with the children, but in the Reception classes they are often spaces which are closed for use until times in which children are discharged into continuous provision; the times at which they have the widest configuration of spaces available to them. This has the effect of demarcating 'work' from 'play'. In a few schools visited, it is still called 'golden time'. The term jars slightly because it seems to come from an era prior to the introduction of the EYFS and emphasises the difficulties of escaping a dichotomy between learning as a transfer of knowledge and the underpinning pedagogical philosophies of 'learning through play'. Golden time evokes a disciplining of the structure of the day in which freedom to choose must be earned by completing tasks which are more highly prized by adults or by the supposed values of formal

education. It presents itself as a time when children are paid for their conformity during 'lessons' and can disappear into Rousseau's beautiful shimmering light of Romantic childhood. It may also structure anticipation (and therefore disciplining) of who holds the right to enter the role play area at these times. As two children pointed out to me when I asked whether I could come into their café for a cup of tea *'you can't you're are too big!'*. The tone of voice used expressed some amazement at the idea that I, as an adult, should have made such a request. However, in this case I was also physically too big to enter since the door way created was strictly child sized. As an early years' teacher consultant, my instinct would be to query this, to generate professional concern around it maybe, as a lost learning opportunity. In examining the data as a researcher, I am inclined to trouble it more deeply in connection to freedom and control, power and its operation within social situations, heterotopic spaces. To question whether it is adults or children who should set the parameters of fantasy play; whether their purpose is to promote language and other disciplines of learning and development advocated by the EYFS or whether this merely narrows the meanings which children may attribute to them (or other spaces) as oceans and skies, forests or hiding places (Johnson, 2013)

It appears that within the milieu of fantasy play, the pre-schools replicate heterotopic spaces of illusion, compensation and discipline. These are the 'perfected' heterotopias in which we endeavour to create spaces as close to our utopian vision as it is possible to achieve. Heterotopias of illusion tend to filter out external realities which might be messy or imperfect in comparison to our hallucinations of what childhood, what teaching and what learning might or ought to look like. In any case, they tend to denounce unpalatable realities in the outside world such as violence (as entertainment as well as in life); sex; dirt; lack of hygiene; bodily functions; foul language and general vulgarities, but also sexism, racism and other forms of inequality. Perhaps they are also places which, when we try to look at them, to reflect upon them, we see only the illusion because seeing it otherwise would shatter our dreams and our model of the world. I think that they could also be likened to Foucault's 'heterotopias of time' in which category he places libraries and museums. Places in which we try to hold on to all the theories of the past, to Pestalozzi, Rousseau, Locke, Froebel, Montessori and all the others, while continuing to pile on new theories from Froebel to Piaget, Vygotskii, Bruner and Bronfenbrenner. Where we give into the 'desire to contain all

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times, all ages, all forms, all tastes, in one place' (Foucault, 1994a:182). It is a space which is protected from the perceived (and sometimes very real) ravages, upsets and injustices of compulsory education. Reception classes conform to the opposite pole as heterotopias of compensation (Foucault, 1994, p. 184). These have been explored in relation to outside spaces but it is worth reiterating that heterotopias of compensation attempt to perfect the space through organisation, through micro-management that disciplines both time and space. In pedagogical terms, they build on the premise that only professionals, within the walls of the school building can provide certain types of knowledge, that this knowledge is unavailable to children outside because it must be delivered in an order and requires a degree of technical skill and knowledge to be imparted. In this way it might be said to lead to a neoliberal drive for professionalization (Osgood, 2009, Jones et al., 2016) and as commodification of goods and services, creating specialist skills that can be traded, so that teachers, who do not produce 'goods' as such, are able to contribute to the economy by buying the goods of others (Althusser, 2008, Payne, 1997a). Phonics for the teaching of reading and writing in its current format in English schools fits neatly into this category. Phonic learning has been divided into 'phases' which must be taught and attained in order. Within each phase there are number of aspects to be covered (seven in the case of phase 1). The teaching must take place for a designated amount of time each day. Many schools teach it at the same time each day for all classes, including Reception. At age six children must take a test designed specifically to measure phonic (not reading or writing) ability. So, the pre-schools struggle to incorporate elements of specific, measurable learning to demonstrate children's readiness for school, while Reception classes toil to preserve the play based freedoms associated with early childhood education and care. The next section plays with the notion of moral panics (Cohen, 2002, Goode and Ben-Yehuda, 1994) created by practitioners in relation to some children, which could be said to surface from the disciplining regimes of truth discussed above.

Andrew and Tom: Subjects of Concern

'Andrew is interested in the mark making. His speech is difficult to understand but he gives me directions which I attempt (badly) to follow. I draw a spiral. Later Andrew traces around

this with a pencil. His fine motor skills appear well practised'. (Field notes, St Egberts, 24.11.11)

This cohort of children has generated concern amongst the Nursery practitioners. The Nursery Manager, Jackie, has told me that they are 'more immature' than last years' children. Andrew's behaviours and interactions are one of the locations around which practitioner anxieties have accumulated. There is unease about his language and communication skills and his performance of independence within an educational setting. Independence is another haunting of Montessori's practice/method. For Montessori the period from birth to three years of age is the stage of 'the absorbent mind' (Montessori, 1949). This is a period of learning through experiences of the senses, touching, feeling and sensation. Between the approximate ages of three and six years, the things that children do become part of the conscious mind. Learning becomes purposeful as opposed to incidental (O'Donnell, 2013:42). Children in Montessori nurseries select freely from the materials, but only those on offer, tasks are not set by an adult, and children take as long and as often as they wish (or need in Montessori's evaluation) to use each set of materials. To satisfy the child's conscious quest for knowledge the materials are designed as problems to be solved without assistance from an adult (or expert). This finds echoes in the Piagetian framing of 'the child' learning through internalisation of interactions with the physical world which is at variance with Vygotskiian interpretations of child development in which it is interactions between novice and a more expert other interceded by language which are emphasised. In addition, it gives space to imagination (by adult or child) as valuable only in terms of scientific invention or progress and treats fantasy as a morally suspect element of human understanding. The role of the adult is to imbue calm and encourage children to solve any interpersonal as well as intellectual difficulties independently. As recurring themes, replicated in other settings, these aspects of disquiet in early years' education and care will be picked up within some of the other research themes. The observations that practitioners have made are not unfounded. Andrew does not conform to the expected ages and stages model for a three-year-old in Nursery. This is determined by practitioners matching their observations of the child against the broadly age related statements in *Development Matters* (Moylett and Stewart, 2012), which supposedly builds up a picture of children's 'progress' between birth and five years of age. Ultimately their Reception teacher makes a

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judgement of attainment at the end of reception (when some children will be five, nearly six years old and others only four) against 'the early learning goals' which appear in the EYFS statutory framework document for England (DfE, 2014:10-12). This judgement, which categorises each child as 'emerging, expected or exceeding' is shared with parents and the next teacher. Perhaps Andrew's non-conformity to these pre-determined outcomes stems from his interest in objects rather than other children (or adults).

Andrew is a magnet for the panics around children's language; he is described as 'one of several children in Nursery who have very poor speech'. He is likely to be labelled as 'emerging' in this prime area of EYFS learning and development (DfE, 2014) and will carry this construction of his identity with him into Reception. It is not so much that he does not engage with the learning on offer, mark making is perceived as an important pre-curser to writing, but that he has not engaged in them in the 'correct order'. He needs to demonstrate his competence in 'speaking and listening' before his election of mark making can be endorsed. There is an echo of recalling the influence of Vygotskii's work on the relative complexities of spoken and written language discussed in the literature review. Perhaps he is also less skilled in interpreting the implied meanings of the emplacement of objects in an education setting than some of the other children, such as Kris and Hannah.

'Tom starts to tessellate the triangles. I point out that there is a triangle shaped space left. Tom goes to a drawer and finds some smaller triangles. He sticks at this task until a completed hexagon is formed. A1 comments that this is a breakthrough. A1 takes a photo and talks to Tom giving praise. Tom talks about his friends'. (Fieldnotes, Woodlands, 22.5.2012)

Like Andrew at St Egbert's, Tom is a magnet for professional concern, perhaps because he does not fully obey narrow constructions of behaviour expected of children within a Nursery. When he is asked about the ingredients for salt dough, he is more interested in its mass. When he is praised for the shape task he has already moved on to thinking about his friends. Maybe, at four years of age, he does not understand (or resists), the complex norms of the heterotopia. When he is outside sweeping, and participating in role play practitioners would rather he was mark making with the chalk. When (six months later) he shows an interest in a visitor's intention to write, he would prefer he remained engaged in playing with Alex (see full extracts in appendix 6). He does not speak at the right times or answer

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practitioner questions correctly, either during the play dough activity or with the shapes. The finished product of the hexagon merits a photograph in the enactment of the EYFS. It is an achievement, performed using didactic materials, which can be captured, recorded, shared and used as evidence of progress. Tom does not wish to celebrate; he has moved on to discussing his friends.

There are two more instances of negotiation and misunderstanding between Tom and practitioners recorded within the field notes for two visits during May 2012. The first revolves around a toy tractor and the second involves plastic fish.

'Sam wants Tom to go to the water but Tom says 'No I'm playing with the tractors, come and play with the tractors.' Sam sits and blocks the space where Tom was going to push the tractor. Tom frowns and starts to verbalise his displeasure but A3 intervenes. She wants the boys to 'play nicely' and to negotiate sharing the toy vehicles. By the time Tom understands what was meant Sam has moved away'. (Fieldnotes, Woodlands 22.5.2012)

The practitioner intervention conforms to the advice that 'any correction of hers will be directed more towards preventing rough or disorderly use of the material than towards any *error* which the child may make…' (Montessori, 2014:30)The tractor, however, holds a nebulous position in the children's house, being a model rather than the real object. As Marion O'Donnell explains, (2007:62) Montessori advocated imagination in relation to visual art and science but saw fantasy, of all kinds, as a pathway towards unruly physical and intellectual activity associated with savagery. In the second extract, below, the intervening practitioner skilfully guides the talk away from the fantasy of the fish wanting to play in the sand, to the scientific concept of wet sand adhering to a solid. As can be seen in the plan (figure 3), at the professional level the fish have been put out as part of a number activity. On this occasion, Tom completes the ritual by providing a 'correct' response to the question. Furthermore, the opportunity is taken for Tom to clean up the fish, the modern equivalent of 'polishing the brasses' (Montessori, 2014: 15) in *The Children's House*.

'Tom goes over to the sand and starts to bury the fish. He says to Alice that they are sandy. Anne asks 'Why is that?' Tom says 'because they want to play in the sand' Alice asks 'How does the sand stick?' and after a pause Tom says 'because they are wet'. Tom says 'Will you

clean them?' A2 says 'I will get you a tissue and you can clean them.' (Fieldnotes, Woodlands 29.5.2012)

Montessori is a haunting, which fuses with other theoretical visitations of developmental psychology, particularly in respect to normality of mind and body (O'Donnell, 2007:61). However, the framing of a child as 'abnormal' or sometimes even 'different' is unspeakable in relation to professional values, although not in the case of political discourses which frequently frame certain parents, and by extension their children, as deficient and in need of 'early intervention' (Allen, 2011). In this sense, the pre-school is a 'crisis heterotopia' in which the younger children can be hidden until they conform to the physical and behavioural attributes of pupil-hood. Even so, when there is no medically identified explanation for difference, genuine concern is produced. In Tom's case, this is demonstrated by a conversation with a member of the pre-school team the following month:

2[A1 talking about Tom] 'We do have some concerns about Tom.... intellectual concerns...well not intellectual... you know what I mean but he does well on some activities.' (Fieldnotes, Woodlands 11.6.2012)

Just as the perfect pre-school setting is a utopian figment of the imagination, so too are the Montessorian child and the 'expected or exceeding' child of the EYFS. It is not possible to put into words the trace elements, blended together over the year, which have constructed Tom as the site of adult disquiet. All that can be reached for is the failure to concoct a formula by which Tom demonstrates that he knows the names of colours.

Concluding Remarks

The chapter has recounted and discussed instances from participant observations in which adults (practitioners and researcher) and children have interacted with and commented upon objects, materials and artefacts commonly encountered in early years' settings. In the sections on the walk and on role play, consideration has been given to the way in which emplacement of objects in spaces might shape, discipline or enable enactments and articulations. Other sections have troubled ways in which images of individual children are produced, through their own interactions with objects and materials supplied, but also by the enactments and articulations of adults as the suppliers of the artefacts and the audience to their use.

There are many instances in the extracts in which my professional expectations are challenged or rejected by children. All the children, whether they are already able to fit themselves to the expectations of the setting, like Kris and Hannah, or find it more difficult, like Andrew and Tom, draw in and transform learning from their lives inside and outside of the setting. Recognising this within the context of the field work has been part of the interrogation of educational discourses which formed the first aim of the research articulated in the introduction. Fir cones become brushes; pom-poms become peas; boxes are made into a pirate ship; stickle bricks translate to fire service hoses, a climbing frame is a house, a hospital and a party venue and a set of environmental learning materials are transformed into *[In]The Night Garden* (Campbell and Kirby, 2007). In the Pre-school observations, the threads of fantasy play often extend over days or even weeks. They are woven into the routines of the day, dropped and picked up again by individuals and groups. In the Reception classes, fantasy play is less visible. Frequently, it is constrained by competing requirements of 'adult focus' or timetabled activities, including phonics, maths and writing which limit not only time but also the possible groupings of children (and adults) available to create the play together. All the above are key findings which emerged from the data analysis. They suggest that, in order to investigate implicit and explicit pedagogies and to properly interrogate the interactions which take place in different ECEC settings, the idea of engaging with complexity must first be embraced. Highlighted is the value of fiction and of fantasy, to both adults and children, in co-constructing knowledge and practices in early years' settings. There are also interesting findings about the similarities and differences between manifestations of the principles and hauntings of heterotopia in schools and in alternative venues in which early years' education and care take place. This is an area which would bear further investigation in future projects and is also considered further in the next chapter.

The final analysis chapter will consider ways in which written materials, specifically the EYQL reports, might form another layer of disciplining which narrows the corridors through which alternative enactments and articulations of early years' pedagogy might enter Nursery and Reception spaces.

Chapter 7: Reports

This chapter sets out to deconstruct and play with the textuality of Early Years' Teacher Consultant (EYTC) reports (Derrida and Wolfreys, 1998, Derrida, 2010, MacLure, 2003) on visits to three participating settings. They are all primary schools visited between 2013 and 2015 as part of the EYTC role. Research data comes primarily from the official reports relating to the half day appointments and some reflective notes in my research diary. Only one of the schools participating in the study has on-site Nursery provision. The chapter is organised under headings which appear within (and structure) the reports themselves. The full contents of the main body of the reports, in deconstructed form, can be found under the same headings in appendices 7 to 11. The headings are: Leadership and Management; Outcomes for Children; Safeguarding and Welfare and Learning and Development. These are discussed in the same order that they appear within the main body of the reports. Observation appears at the beginning of the reports but is discussed at the end of this chapter since it is integral to Foucault's theories of disciplinary power (Foucault, 1995, Foucault, 1999). In the reports, the observations could be interpreted as another element of disciplining. The implication is that an observation of practice will always be carried out and will inform the discussions which follow. There is an unavoidable power regime operating in which the judgements of the observer take precedence over those of the observed. In practice the observations often consisted of a walk around the EYFS learning areas with the teacher or co-ordinator. This means that the comments, which can be seen in appendix 7, often prioritise the environment over interactions. For Foucault (1995) it is hierarchical observation, normalizing judgement and the examination which together constitute institutional discipline. This discipline is a system by which the instruments of the state, schools, prisons, hospitals and other institutions set up a machinery of control over the conduct of individuals through 'an apparatus of observation, recording and training' (Foucault, 1995:173). The purpose of observation within the methodological positioning of the research has been to trouble the operation of hierarchies of power and their relationship to other technologies of truth. This prioritises an engagement with ethical and human justice issues which may be hidden within the professional and academic practices of observation, examination and judgement. The EYQL reports are a notable element in an Early Years' Education and Care (ECEC) system which observes and reports on the

behaviours of adults and children, training them to meet the requirements of emerging, expected or exceeding (STA, 2013) in the case of children and inadequate, good or outstanding in the case of teachers, schools and early years' settings (Perryman, 2006a). These are requirements which are entrenched within EYFS documentation, for example the *EYFS Profile Handbooks* which are issued each year in relation to end of *Foundation Stage* judgements on children, and data submissions to the Department for Education and in Ofsted guidance documents such as *Ofsted Subsidiary Guidance* which sets out what is to be expected (of inspectors and schools or settings) during an inspection.

The geographical locations and architecture of the three schools are markedly different from one another. The geography of the reports both informs and constrains what is written into them (and what is left out). The term geography has been chosen to emphasize the reports as heterotopic artefacts of ECEC spaces since the concept of heterotopias has generated research across a range of disciplines including social and cultural geography (Johnson, 2013). As academic disciplines concerned with human interactions in physical spaces both areas of study draw on theories from sociology, psychology and anthropology. There are similar methodological and ethical tensions underpinning the research, as discussed in the methodology chapter in relation to anthropology. I am arguing that in a world of complexity and overlaps early years' research and early years' practice can learn from these other epistemological fields and can contribute to them. The act of deconstructing the reports questions disturbs and reinterprets not only their content but also their structure; the meaning associated with how and why they are put together in a certain way (Prior, 2003).

There are four main headings under which to make comments as detailed in the paragraph above. The juxtaposing of terms within the titles, and the possible meanings attributable to them, will be established as the chapter proceeds. Not all sections are completed on every visit. They are all discussed and commented upon during the annual EYQL visit. Some schools/settings receive only this annual visit. The schools in the study all have (by request or not) several visits during the study period, linked to concerns over practice or Ofsted judgements. Leadership and management refers to everyone from the governors, through Head Teachers to Foundation Stage Leads, Nursery Managers, Early Years' Professional (EYPs/EYTs), Teachers, Teaching Assistants and Nursery Practitioners. Outcomes for

children denotes primarily the data collected and submitted to the Local Authority during children's time in Foundation Stage, but particularly the statistics taken from Early Years Foundation Stage Profiles which is collated in the Summer term for children coming to the end of their time in the EYFS. Comments under safeguarding and welfare concern themselves with other documents which form part of the regulation of child protection and health and safety, which are not the primary focus of this study. Learning and development is possibly the most flexible section with potential for recording pedagogical discussion between practitioners and the EYTC.

Reports and Heterotopia

In this chapter, the reports are the heterotopia, although this is a heterotopia of discourse rather than of physical space, although like the objects described earlier, they have a physical form. Like Foucault's mirror image, described in the previous chapter, the reports are both a real object and a distorted reflection of what happened, what was said, what was looked at, decreed, sanctioned, ordained, rejected or deemed to be missing during the EYTC visits which became the research. They are also an architectural feature in the construction of the early years' heterotopic spaces conceptualised in the discussion of 'enabling environments'. They allow only for 'a factual account' of what took place, for an assumed unanimity of understanding and righteousness. They use a professional language in which terms take on meanings that they would not have in the world outside the heterotopia, or indeed in a different heterotopia; or they are words loaded with unarticulated meanings which summon the essences of the hauntings already encountered and others yet to be summoned. Enabling environments was the term singled out in the chapter on physical spaces. There was also the walk and a brush with free-flow, which refers to children's 'freedom' to move between the indoor and outside space in ECEC settings, but might be more associated with plumbing and the free flow of water in another context, or the free flow of ideas or goods and services. It is these lexes which 'fill the void' and both give and disguise the possible meanings of the emplacements of individuals and objects in early years' institutions. In *Different Spaces* Foucault speculates that 'we live inside an ensemble of relations that define emplacements that are irreducible to each other and absolutely nonsuperposable' (Foucault, 2000:178). It is the taken for granted professional terminologies, built up over many years, but constantly growing and changing, which create

illusions of superposibility. The supposition is that a term once applied 'professionally' can exist entirely separately from its meaning in another time or place. This is the labyrinth to be navigated in the analysis of the EYTC reports.

This will be an uncomfortable chapter in which, as an author, I must 'direct my eyes toward myself and reconstitute myself there where I am' by the way of the virtual point of the reports (Foucault, 2000:179); which no longer belong to me (since they have long ago been sent out to other professionals, catalogued and filed within the Local Authority record keeping systems). There are links to the thorny issue of authorship and to language as both productive and disabling (MacLure, 2003).

Juxtaposition, Power and Discourse

Short sections from individual reports have been selected for scrutiny. Fuller versions appear in Appendix 2. Words or phrases which seem to merit attention in relation to hauntings of pedagogical discourses and enactments are highlighted in the extracts and then discussed in more depth. Of interest are the tensions or juxtapositions which speak of or to power. There are connections to be made with Foucault's technologies of power and of the self, drawing on Foucault (Rabinow, 1997) and Gordon (2008) as well as other post-structural influences. The section addressing leadership and management highlights Foucault's notion of normalising judgements; 'Outcomes for Children' scrutinizes the disciplinary powers of marking schemes and next steps; the sections on 'Safeguarding and Welfare' considers the absence of the word care within the report extracts; 'Learning and Development' plays with the words which convey pedagogical (and social) tensions, including 'challenge', 'model' and 'free flow'. The final section on observation touches on issues around fiction, culture and gender in research involving early years' pedagogy.

The analysis below deconstructs the reports into their main headings of leadership and management; outcomes for children; safeguarding and welfare; learning and development and finally observation of practice. An example of a report pro-forma can be found in appendix 2. The contents of each section are representative of topics, phrases and words which frequently occur under the headings in EYQL reports wherever, whenever and by whomever they may be written. Key words and concepts have been selected as worthy of

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further discussion in relation to technologies of power and other regimes of truth which may be operating beneath the surface of the text.

The first extract from the section of the reports entitled 'leadership and management' highlights the invisibility of people implicated within the report's text and goes on to discuss the normalising judgements which may be evoked. The second extract from 'outcomes for children' draws out references to assessment and marking (or judging) children against criteria within and outside of the EYFS. The third extract from the 'safeguarding and welfare' section of the reports seems to suggest an imperative to keep children safe from objects such as mobile phones and cameras. It also promotes the importance of writing policies and procedures (first aid, risk assessment, food hygiene and storage of medication) and the reading of other documents produced by organisations outside of the setting such as the local safeguarding children board. The relevance of these matters to work with young children is not contested but leads to a discussion of the absence of other articulations of caring which may be excluded from discourses around educating young children. In the penultimate section from an extract about 'learning and development' I return to key theoretical ideas around the disciplining of practices in early years' education and care. The final part of the chapter draws on a longer than usual observation of practice which was carried out as part of a quality liaison visit but is more akin to the participant observations undertaken in the pre-schools than the brief comments on the environment which appear in most of the reports. It was selected because it provides an opportunity for deeper analysis of the interactions between the children, the teacher and the spaces represented in the EYQL reporting system.

The terms to which I am drawn as a researcher in the section addressed to leaders and managers include: continuous improvement, performance management, training, progress, and guidance, plan appropriately, track and Ofsted. Continuous improvement and performance management might be argued to sit more comfortably within a study of neo-liberal approaches to business management than one concerned with early childhood pedagogy. Together with training, progress, guidance, appropriate planning and tracking they conjure a language of disciplining regimes of truth which are juxtaposed onto other (more socially just) orientations of educational or pedagogical discourses. Ofsted, the practice of inspection and the documentation and articulations it generates, are a

prominent mechanism by which these competing articulations are imposed on individual institutions and the people within them.

Leadership and Management

The *Leadership and Management* section of the reports is the least stable in relation to who might be involved in the discussion. Sometimes it Head Teachers, Deputy Heads or a Foundation Stage Leader with or without other staff present. At other times, it is the class teacher who is considered to be leading ancillary staff or it may be a combination of all or some of those mentioned. The example below is taken from a visit report written for Ashton Primary School in 2013, which can be found in appendix 9.

'Talked about strategies for continuous improvement in EYFS. The Deputy Head Teacher is supporting this through performance management and would benefit from attending Early Years specific training alongside members of the team whenever possible. The clear lines of responsibility and strong ethos of teamwork in identifying and implementing changes has created a firm basis on which to progress learning and development of YR children. Shared key paragraphs from Ofsted subsidiary guidance version 3 pp7-11 and emphasised the importance of identifying the percentages of children below secure and exceeding age related expectations on entry to YR to plan appropriately for individuals and groups of children, track their progress appropriately and share information with parents and other professionals including Y1 staff. Highlighted Getting It Right First Time as a useful document for development of leadership of EYFS (July 2013 ref 130117)'. (EYQL report, Ashton First School, 8.10.13)

This report is populated by invisible (nameless and silent) people. The Head Teacher, the Deputy and the Early Years' Teacher Consultant(s) who write the reports and deliver the 'Early Years' specific training'. The Reception class teachers and Teaching Assistants; the entire community of staff, children and parents of the unvisited nursery; the individuals and groups of Reception children are all shadowy figures fuelling the machinery of leadership and management. The basic design of the machine, to borrow once more the analogy used by Foucault (1995:173), emanates from the past, from the histories of elementary schooling and Nursery education. The documents mentioned, *Ofsted Subsidiary Guidance* (Ofsted,

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2013b); *Getting it Right First Time* (Ofsted, 2013a) and the report itself, legitimise the blue print and ensure that it is regularly modernised. The former Ofsted document purports to be a guide for inspectors but is used by schools to prepare for inspections, the pages mentioned contain direction relating to inspection of the early years' provision. The latter claims to 'describe features of strong leadership and the ways in which leaders develop and sustain high quality provision' (Ofsted, 2013a) by drawing on Ofsted reports, visits, focus groups, and research. None of the research on which this is based is external or independent since it is either carried out or commissioned by Ofsted. Perhaps the machine is akin to the thermodynamic system described by Foucault (Foucault, 1994a:175) in which heat and energy levels are calculated in order to ensure efficiency in driving the engine. Performance management, specific training and economical sharing of information drive forward continuous improvement in learning and development using a calculation which makes it possible to reduce everything and everyone to a percentage figure.

In considering social hauntings, Gordon (2008:63) declares that 'the ghost is primarily a symptom of what is missing'. There is clearly much missing in the account given by the reports: the names of individuals; the conversations and negotiations which led to an agreement of what could be recorded; the visits to classrooms; the opinions, hopes, interests, passions and experiences of the children and the practitioners. There is a loss in the quasi-factual style of what has been written, not of life as such, but of the dynamism of interactions between adults and young children and of alternative ways of organising and articulating early years' pedagogy. What is present is a desire to be seen to be doing things correctly, perhaps for genuinely 'good' reasons but what is forced out, expelled, ignored or silenced is any concern for social justice. Hand in hand with this is the silencing of difference and of the social and historical contexts, the minutia of every day unfairness, of the lived experiences of adults and children. This in turn disciplines the possibilities for seeing and doing things differently. Engaging with principles of social justice is inherently difficult (as are encounters with her sister concepts such as democracy, freedom and power). Leadership is a term which is often used alongside management with the intention of distributing power and agency but as soon as this is generalised and left alone, instead of being disturbed, discussed and challenged at the level of practice, it loses the power to transform pedagogy or allow its enactment in innovative ways.

Normalising Judgements

In *The Means of Correct Training* (1977 pp170-194) Foucault identifies hierarchical observation, normalising judgement and the examination as prime components of disciplinary power. The EYTC reports are haunted by rationalisations of these instruments as manifested in ECEC discourses. In the extract above, the terms continuous improvement; performance management; early years' specific training; progressing learning and development, all speak of a leadership which drives forward normalised practices and then manages the enactments and articulations permitted to be spoken about by those awarded the status of a leader or a manager to other practitioners, other parents and other professionals (Foucault, 1999).

The term continuous improvement, like the term quality, is a device within the language of evaluation (Moss and Pence, 1994, Moss, 2016, Dahlberg et al., 2007, Jones et al., 2016). It could be said to be a heterotopic term since it refers to something which is real, in the sense that readers of the report will award it meaning and attempt to act upon it, and utterly unreal (Foucault, 1994a). It is unreal because it juxtaposes the word continuous (something which never ends), with improvement which could be said to be something attainable, or at the very least measurable. It is also unreal because the meanings are transitory and reflective of different places, times and beliefs which have become entangled with current discourses, enactments and interpretations. There is, however, no mention of how the improvement might be measured, how much improvement is required, or, maybe more importantly what good, if any, is expected to come from the improvement. It is a haunted term, in Gordon's (2008) sense in that it generates unanswered questions about who determines what constitutes an improvement, how much improvement is desirable and who, if anyone, will benefit. It is haunted by notions of the early years' specialist as the capable and active subject striving for improvements which can be articulated as social good (McNay, 1992, Foucault, 1994b, Osgood, 2009) and the controlling hand (Gordon, 2008) of Ofsted. The way in which Gordon uses the phrase 'her shape and his hand' (2008:1) to explore the invisibility of power will be troubled further within the section entitled 'learning and development'. In relation to continuous improvement, Ofsted, and the entire structure of a quality framework which sits below might be said to discipline practitioners away from a collective approach to making things better. It shines a very bright light on individual

settings, creating an invisible bar of good or outstanding in spaces in which satisfactory, though by definition perfectly adequate, is not good enough (Ofsted, 2012) and must be improved, while an outstanding judgment requires continuous maintenance. Practitioners, at every level, become locked into a narrative which forces them to conform to the requirements of externally agreed notions of good and outstanding (Perryman, 2006a) in order to keep their jobs and thereby their position within a capitalist society (Althusser, 2008).

There is an expectation that performance will be externally 'managed' and that staff will be observed by others with more (or at the very least different) powers from within and from outside the school. The report is a part of this disciplining process, which is 'a specific technique of a power that regards individuals both as objects and as instruments of its exercise' (Foucault, 1995:170). The invisible actors previously discussed as being simultaneously present and absent from the report are drawn in, willingly or not, to participate in and sustain the machinery of early years' leadership and management. It is recognised as a 'performance', something that is acted out under the disciplining gaze of others, that only has meaning within the heterotopic space of a Reception class which, like all reception classes, is crammed into the ghost filled spaces between heterotopias of ECEC and those of primary schools, which were explored in the previous two chapters (Foucault, 1994a). The tensions between early years' preferred pedagogical approaches and those of the school, and their attendant power discourses, might be disturbed by the suggestion that the Deputy Head Teacher attend early years' specific events alongside the early years' practitioners. There is a faint nod towards the practitioners as experts, fully initiated into the heterotopic value systems of early years' pedagogical spaces and the possibility that their performances of teaching might be different from those higher up the school. The term 'higher up the school' itself denotes a structure in which younger children are relegated to the lower tiers. This is immediately followed by reference to age-related measurement (Sutherland, 1992, Huitt and Hummel, 2003) and appropriate planning. The latter, in common with 'continuous improvement' may have many different, context influenced, interpretations but when juxtaposed with age related expectations it overwhelmingly calls forth the hauntings of development psychology (Piaget, 1959, Inhelder et al., 1987, Vygotskii, 1962, Bruner, 1996, Bruner, 2006) and a western paradigm as

opposed to an outward looking appreciation of other cultural possibilities of early years'
pedagogical enactments (Burman, 2008a, Burman, 2008b). These tensions between the
desire for a caring, innovative, socially just enactment of ECEC and the disciplining
generated by regimes of observation, normalisation and examination (Foucault, 1995, Mac
Naughton, 2005) will be further troubled in the next section on the 'outcomes for children'
section of the EYQL reports.

Outcomes for Children

The extract selected to represent 'outcomes for children' is short. The details of formative
and summative assessment are often included in some depth in this part of the report. For
the purposes of the research into heterotopia and hauntings in early years' education and
care, the concepts of interest are: marking schemes, proud clouds, feedback, next steps,
home-school links and objectives.

'Discussed YR in relation to the school marking scheme. LS provided an example of a proud
cloud which could be adapted to involve children in regular feedback on their progress, set
next steps and promote strong home-school links. There could be an opportunity once a
week to review with children individually what they have done well and set an objective for
the following school week'. (EYQL report, The Fields Primary School, May 2014)

The extract juxtaposes marking schemes; a means of judging, comparing and measuring
against a norm, with proud clouds; an attempt to value difference between the interests
and achievements of young children in their Foundations Stage setting and in the world
outside. Next steps and set objectives are part of the language (or maybe a pre-cursor to the
discourses) of marking 'work'. Home school links is itself a haunted (maybe even a
heterotopic) concept. It is the in-between space where the parent meets the professional,
the mother (or father) meets the teacher or practitioner, the domestic or private space
becomes entangled with the public but heterotopic space of early years' education and
care. This is a contested space since many practitioners are also parents, and parents may or
may not gain recognition from practitioners, as experts in their own family life and their
children's learning (Flewitt, 2005, Sylva et al., 2013). As previously discussed, the role of
practitioner is one of selling a service (comprising particular forms of knowledge) and as

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both education and care become more commodified the role of the parent shifts between co-educator/carer and customer. The proud clouds, discussed below, might be said to be a representation of this contested space between the values of home and those of Early Childhood Care and Education (ECEC) institutions.

Marking Schemes, Next Steps and Proud Clouds

Tensions over 'marking schemes' tend to emanate from Head Teachers or other senior leaders within schools. This is a part of the discourse (and the training) which will make early years' children 'ready' for school. However hard we, as practitioners, try to make it fit, it is rather at variance with competing discourses which favour the EYFS as a unique stage of 'learning and development'. Perhaps in this data, the reference to the use of the 'proud cloud' is an attempt to draw the two positions closer together. A proud cloud is an outline of a cloud shape in which an adult (practitioner or parent) can write a comment for/about something the child has been seen to achieve. As a technology of power, the comments bear an entanglement of possible meanings and subversions. Sometimes the wording used is that of the adult (who may be identifying as parent or professional) and sometimes a quote from the child themselves. The source of the pride is wide ranging (although not infinite) since if written by a parent they will be read by professionals and if authored by a practitioner will be viewed by the parent and other professionals. In other words, there is an unspoken assumption around what should and should not be written, and other conclusions may be drawn if nothing at all is written. Derrida's rupturing of technologies of the sign (Payne, 1993a) and MacLure's framing of language as productive and disabling (MacLure, 2003) reverberate in what is written by whom and why. Sometimes the writing on the proud cloud is about skills learned outside of school such as riding a two-wheeled bike or going to bed on time. At others, it is more school oriented: learning spellings, reading words, sitting nicely on the carpet or helping a friend. Either way there are suppositions about what merits sufficient pride to fill the proud cloud and whether the feeling is attached to the adult or the child. It is not a boastful or sinful pride but a pride in fitting with the norms and expectations of the value systems of this heterotopia. Foucault's disciplinary power, which individualises by observing, normalising and examining, hovers threateningly over the more socially just pedagogy intended by the proud cloud. There is an intrusion by sanctioned links between home and school. There is an individualisation of children into what they have done well

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each week, but it is the professional in collusion with the EYFS who will decide on what their 'next steps' will be, or that next steps need to be contrived at all. Concepts such as the possibility of handing over power or giving voice to others (parents, children or practitioners) can be a seduction that sets up false expectations of a more just society as a direct outcome. Foucault (1995, Foucault, 1994a) and Gordon (2008) teach that the workings of power are never stable, predictable or obvious. Sometimes it works through silence and imagery, as in the case of the Argentine mothers walking around the Plaza de mayo, outside the presidential palace and other state buildings wearing white shawls with the names of their disappeared children embroidered on them (Gordon, 2008). In the participant observation, it often operates through the children's self-motivated absorption in activities such as the *Night Garden* analysed earlier. Sometimes it quietly reinforces the children's possession or lack of social capital as with Hannah and Kris or with Alex, Tom and Andrew. What the research clarifies, and therefore makes researchable, in early ECEC settings is that 'Haunting recognition is a special way of knowing what has happened or is happening' (Gordon, 2008:63). This has led me not towards answers but to the asking of more complex questions than those originally framed around pedagogical interactions such as 'How can we know differently in order to think, speak and act with compassion and social justice at the heart of our pedagogical interactions?'

Safeguarding and Welfare and the Disciplining of Care

The key terms taken from the safeguarding and welfare extract have been introduced at the beginning of the chapter. They are: key requirements, safety, risk, keeping children safe and documentation. The significance(s) of these terms is discussed under two heading, the disciplining of care' and 'the absence of care', in order reflect the simultaneous risk aversion and prioritising of safeguarding and welfare whilst other aspects of caring for young children are silenced. Similar extracts from other EYQL reports can be found in appendix 10.

'Revisited key requirements including paediatric first aid; safeguarding; storage of medication; mobile phone, camera and e-safety; risk assessment (which should be carried out daily and visible within the classroom) and food hygiene. Referred to document Keeping Children Safe in Education which can be downloaded from https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/keeping-children-safe-in-education The SCB

website is also an important source of up to date information, advice and guidance' (EYQL report, Heath Primary School, October 2015)

As structuralist texts, the safeguarding and welfare sections of the reports are prominent in their success in redirecting matters of the body towards professional domains outside of the early years' heterotopic space of the Reception class unit. Apart from the juxtaposition of safeguarding and welfare in the title all possibility of alternative pedagogical positions is eradicated. This section is haunted (and a haunting) in the ways discussed by Gordon (2008) as a haunting by absence. The discourse is about requirements. The word 'requirements' is a symbol of non-negotiability and unquestionability, which is reinforced by the statement that they are key requirements. Turning the key would open the door to a forbidden and, therefore, a frightening room of unspeakable violations of the innocence of childhood. The key to this door, which is never turned, is placed on the table at each quality liaison visit so, in the heterotopic reflection cast by the words in the report, the door is revisited and passed by as it has been on previous visits.

The implication of the title is that adults, particularly those leading practice, must be vigilant in guarding children from the ever-present threat of physical and sexual abuse prevalent outside the heterotopias of school and pre-school. Like the state, they are providers of welfare for the vulnerable and this both others children, highlighting their weakness and incapacity as compared with adults, and socially constructs their vulnerability (Brotherton and Cronin, 2013). Safeguarding is itself an historically situated term which has emerged from the constructions of the abused child and the protected child. Parten (2014) points to a re-emergence of official concern with child protection and the framing of policy and practice directed towards safeguarding not only children but childhood (Parten, 2014:2). This draws on Foucault's theories around power and discourse discussed in the literature review (Foucault, 1999). The reports assemble safeguarding and welfare as a part of learning and development, outcomes for children and leadership and management. They construct a configuration which presents these different concepts as opposed but also implied by one another (Foucault, 1994a:175). Safeguarding and welfare is a further emplacement within the decoupage du temps (Foucault, 1994a:181) of early years' education and care spaces. The terms of reference in the report are to the official document (DfE, 2016) and to other information and guidance available from the official website. In relation to a report about

pedagogical enactments of early years' pedagogy, the silent scream, the concept silenced in and by the report, is that of care. This is not to suggest that care is not given or received in the setting(s) but that the report chooses to ignore this aspect of early years' work and its value base. It does this by privileging learning, development and outcomes associated with learning and development in the other sections of the report. It renames care as safeguarding and welfare, thereby strengthening its positioning as a technology of production (Althusser, 2008, Payne, 1997a) and an incitement to discourse (Foucault, 1999). It professionalises care but permits it to be spoken of only by identified (trained) professionals, in the right places at the right times and in relation to the crises of child abuse, accidents or poor health. In relation to hauntings of early years' pedagogy and practice, this is worthy of further discussion.

The Absence of Care

Not all the sections of the report are completed at every visit, this is left to the discretion of the Early Years' Teacher Consultant (EYTC). In the reports included in the research data *Leadership and Management* contains comments on fifteen occasions; *Outcomes for Children* attracts comments on nineteen of the reports and *Learning and Development* on fourteen reports. Only six of the reports have anything written under *Safeguarding and Welfare.* The comments tend to be short, a summary of a factual conversation referring to statutory requirements set out in other documents as in the record below:

'LS provided relevant updates and signposted the SSCB website for further information and guidance http://www.staffsscb.org.uk/Professionals/Professionals.aspx' (EYQL report, The Fields Primary School, 25.9.14)

Where this section of a report refers to something specific it focuses on objects and ways in which they might be manipulated by adults to guard children from any sort of risk, as in the paving stones referred to in a report at Heath Primary School:

'Flagstones in courtyard area are to be levelled over the summer holiday' (EYQL report, Heath Primary School, 11.7.14)

The issue of mutual care and respect occasionally creeps into other sections of the report, heavily disguised as *Learning and Development* or as in the example below *Outcomes for Children.*

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'Learning Journeys are being developed to better reflect each child's achievements. Suggested that a separate classroom journal could be kept for children, parents and staff to celebrate interesting group or class projects and events. 2Simple is to be introduced as a support tool for staff'. (EYQL report, The Fields Primary School, 2.2.15).

It is not that staff are not caring, or that they do not promote and support children's ability to care for themselves and for one another, it is just that this is not the primary language of the EYQL reports.

As an academic discipline, early childhood studies are caught in an unstable web of competing paradigms. Pulled between education and social care, psychology and sociology, theory and practice. Care is tacked onto education, at the back of the EYFS (DfE, 2014) documentation and at the end of the term 'early years' education and care'. Child-care is the highly feminised, poorly paid and lowly qualified relative of education. Its concern is with the women's work of touching, cleansing and purifying other bodies. Childhood education, on the other hand, speaks of rationality defined in masculine terms (McNay, 1992) and disciplined in all the ways already discussed in relation to technologies of power (Foucault, 1995, Ball, 2013) and technologies of the self (Foucault, 1994b). This is the language spoken by the reports which conceals and there for devalues or dismisses the every-day acts of compassion when help is given with personal care or comfort given when another is distressed. These are acts which are routinely performed by adults in relation to the children, but also by children amongst themselves. Care becomes a sort of haunting of education, which hangs around in the spaces created to compensate for the crisis or the deviation (Foucault, 1994a:179) of being a young child or an adult working with young children. Since gender itself might be considered a heterotopia, a state of being which is real and at the same time utterly unreal (Foucault, 1994a:184), perhaps being a woman is always a crisis (since femininity continues to be measured against male values and found wanting) and being a man in early years' work is always a deviation (from the norm of masculinity or those created by an all-female workforce). The smothering of the term care in favour of 'safeguarding and welfare' in the report hints at feminist critique of concepts of universal reason, summarised by McNay (1992:91) as arising from a historical and hierarchical separation of mind from nature.

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As an alternative to ethics based on abstract moral laws, feminism has argued for responsive social justice which pays attention to the other, respects the act of care giving, prevents harm and maintains relationships (McNay, 1992:92). Feminist ethicists have turned to post-modern philosophers including Foucault, Derrida and Deleuze (Gilson, 2011, Jones et al., 2012) to deconstruct the disciplining effects of historical constructs of moral order and offer alternative ways of speaking and enacting practices within social institutions such as early childhood. However, an added complexity from within early years' pedagogy seems to be a discernible tension between theorisation and discourses of practice. Writing about educational theory, MacLure (2003:133) problematises questions around women's feelings of exclusion from 'Theory' and from the post-modern space. The heterotopic space of a university at least provides a channel, even if it is perceived as a narrow one, for the expression and discussion of feminist understandings of early childhood education and care. Within the heterotopic spaces of early childhood practice, feminism and its contingent opportunities to question and to theorise are the faintest of hauntings. It is not that practitioners (male and female) never hold or express feminist (or socially just) values or opinions. It is more that these are silenced (or at least are not spoken aloud) at professional forums. On a more practical level, practitioners are not awarded the time or the resources (such as access to journals or academic libraries), unless they have paid and enrolled for a university course.

Care, as a heterotopic term worthy of investigation by academia, could also be classed as a haunting of university education. It could be said to be incompatible with Western philosophies, Enlightenment theories, scientific paradigms (particularly that of psychology), even feminist projects of resistance which are juxtaposed within the 'decoupage du temps' (Foucault, 1994a) of the university. Yet its presence continues to be felt through the relatively recent, money generating, departments of Health and Social Care and Early Years' Education and Care; presenting opportunities for further fields and topics of research by and for post-modern and feminist writers (and practitioners). The discussion of 'Safeguarding and Welfare' and of the absence of 'care' has been a brief aside, prompted by the presence of this section within the EYQL reports. The next section returns to troubling Foucault's theories of discipline through observation, normalising judgement and the examination

(Foucault, 1995) as they appear under the heading *Learning and Development* in the reports.

Learning and Development

The juxtaposition of learning with development (Dahlberg et al., 2007, Dahlberg et al., 1999, Burman, 2008a) has been one of the starting points from which the thesis began and to which it has returned in the literature review and the analyses of heterotopic spaces, objects, materials and artefacts. The following extract from the part of the reports presented as *Learning and Development* picks up on the complexity and instability of the language(s) which haunt early years' pedagogical articulations. Ways in which terms of control collide with others which hint of freedom so that if something is modelled it must also be valued. The way in which writing; the wider curriculum (*The World* and *Creative Development*) (DfE, 2014); the inside and the outside; free-flow; sharing; judging; demonstrating; interests; challenges and independence become entangled, juxtaposed and configured (Foucault, 1994a) into a story of children and practitioners told by the report (Derrida and Wolfreys, 1998, Payne, 1993a). The key terms pulled out from this longer extract are: model, value, focus, free flow, share, routines, judge, group, interests, challenges and independence. They are discussed below under the headings: terminologies of control; challenge system; modelling and free flow.

> 'Discussed opportunities to model and value writing within the wider curriculum. This might include children writing and displaying labels, opportunities for writing in wet sand and encouragement to use a variety of media for writing inside and outside, for example writing with chalk on walls and pavements. School have requested this as a focused support visit after half term.
>
> Talked about the extension of free flow to maximise the learning environment now that a new road track has been painted on the shared nursery/YR outside area
>
> Agreed that it would be beneficial to staff and children to share the indoor and outdoor spaces as appropriate

Suggested that it would be beneficial to spend the early weeks establishing routines in consultation with the Y1/2 teachers. This will also provide opportunities to judge children's starting points and group them accordingly

Agreed that planning in Y1/YR is strong and should continue to reflect children's interests and to demonstrate challenges during continuous provision and/or independent learning activities' (EYQL report, Ashton First School 8.10.13)

Terminologies of Control

The extract might be said to be infiltrated by policing terminology; first each individual child is put under surveillance, the intelligence gathered is then 'interrogated' and a tracking system (quite often an electronic tracking system) is applied to marshal further evidence and reach one of the three available judgements; emerging, expected or exceeding. Exceeding the normalized is the ultimate purification. It is a purification in the way that it tells parents that their child is better than the average and teachers that they are doing a good job for the children who are most able, or worthy, of sanctification apiece with the values of education and pupilhood. The lattice of hierarchical observation, normalising judgement and examination is applied and acceded by and to adults (as well as children) through systems of leadership, management and quality (Dahlberg et al., 1999, Dahlberg et al., 2007). Ofsted reports, teaching standards, appraisal systems, observations of teaching and EYQL reports all play a part, not so much in their intent or application by individuals, as in the 'professional' language in which they are couched and the realities they produce. When the report is written, these matters have already been discussed (between the report's unnamed author and the equally anonymous practitioners) and recorded under the sections deconstructed above. Leadership and management; outcomes for children; safeguarding and welfare all haunt the learning and development in the world constructed by the report. Perhaps there is an assumption that the written word of the report tells a more legitimate truth than the spoken, ephemeral words of conversation. This tallies with Derrida's proposition about an assumption that the oral traditions, casual conversations and friendly debates, are always at a distance from any supposed clarity of consciousness (Payne, 1993a).

Judging and challenging young children might be frowned upon in another context and open to expressions of concern or dissent which are closed by their 'writenness' within the report. The language employed disputes the terminology of nature and nurturing of young children drawn from Rousseau (2009). Neither does it rest comfortably with Froebel's (2003) gifts to foster the body, the mind and the spirit, although a challenge might be conceptualised as some sort of epistemological gift to be passed from adult to child. I think that what the report is attempting to do is to mesh together the multi-layered juxtapositions (the decoupage du temps) of the EYFS and its discourses. There is a concern with values, writing should be valued and there is an implication that this might be taken in the widest sense of writing as a form of creativity and freedom of expression. The opportunity for children to move freely (or free flow), to have their interests considered and be provided with the opportunity to succeed (at least within the definitions of educational success) is also heightened. At the same time the bullet pointing, the phrasing and the assumption that this is the way that things must be done in a Reception classroom, turns away from complexity, closing the way to dissent or alternative pedagogical possibilities. The absences, what is not articulated in the report, raises complex issues around the value (and valuing) of play and the adult's role in children's play already discussed in chapter 3 within the section entitled *Discipline and Power*. It also links back to the notion of fantasy as something separate from, and more damaging than, imagination. Imagination is permitted if it can be linked to scientific progress but fantasy holds no measurable/quantifiable knowledge or social outcomes as defined by the Montessori method (O'Donnell, 2013).

Challenge Systems

There are also terms used which destabilise the top down power discourses but continue to discipline enactments of practice from within. I am thinking, again, of the employment of 'challenge systems'. Challenge within an educational context has often been associated with unruly behaviour by pupils, children or adolescents challenging authority figures or alternatively challenges by adults to established practices. Under the latter might be placed real books replacing (or supplementing) reading schemes; home corners or role play areas (and Thursday afternoons on their parent's bed) (Johnson, 2013); progressive (Lowe, 2007, Howlett, 2013) or traditional education, with all its metadiscourses of public versus private; grammar versus comprehensive; nursery school, pre-school, reception class or kindergarten.

Challenges and challenge systems, in the context of the report, refers to tasks put into the 'free choice' (play or continuous provision) activities which children are strongly encouraged to complete to gain some sort of intrinsic (satisfaction) or extrinsic (praise, star award or sticker) reward. Intervention, outside of an educational context, implies some sort of physical (or at the very least determined verbal) confrontation which diverts others from a course of action. In its heterotopic sense, it is a positive identification (from a line up) of any threat of deviation from the norm of what is 'expected'. It must be corrected, not overtly punished but dealt with never-the-less. It is the duty of early years practitioners to carry this through 'early' so as to avoid the possibility of failing pupils, delinquent adolescents and non-conformist adults (James and Prout, 1997, Cohen, 2002).

Modelling

The recurring 'inside and outside' has been considered in the previous chapter as one of the most potent hauntings of early years' pedagogical practices. Some others which emerge will be touched on more briefly as worthy contenders for future research. In the first line of the extract 'model' has been put together with 'value' in relation to writing: 'Discussed opportunities to model and value writing within the wider curriculum'. Pedagogically modelling denotes a demonstration by the adult (expert) which the child (learner) can copy. As a heterotopic term, borrowed from outside of education but operating in a very different way within the heterotopia (Foucault, 1994) it retains (or is haunted by) a multitude of connotations. A model shows something off, usually articles of clothing or jewellery. The body becomes an object subordinate to the articles on show. The female model should be tall and unrealistically thin, the male model tanned and muscular. Montessori's early years teacher (or directress) must be '.........attractive, preferably young and beautiful, charmingly dressed, scented with cleanliness, happy and graciously dignified' all of which helped nurture the spirit of the child' (O'Donnell, 2013). In the report, modelling has been put together with valuing because of a discomfiture with the idea that writing is a purely technical skill rather than an intellectual or creative one. There is an underlying juxtaposition of handwriting with communication which deepens the abstruse connections between the signifiers, spoken words and written words; words and pictures; mark making and writing. This is just as serious (and ethically tenuous) subject matter as the

objectification of the female (and more recently male) body in western societies. A similar proposition could, and has (indirectly within writing on politics and philosophy of education) been applied to 'speaking and listening' (Hoyles, 1977, Trudgill, 1975a). In the Early Years' Foundation Stage, and Vygotskii (1962), speaking and listening are cast as the precursors to reading and writing. In the heterotopic landscape of the early years, it is possible to speak incorrectly, even if you are understood and the correctness of language can be measured, primarily against a notion of maturity which enables an age score to be given to a child's use of language. It is also a cultural (and often an aesthetic) judgement in relation to a standard which is based on white middle class values. The child may be emerging towards, match precisely or exceed the norm for their chronological age. More important to this chapter on the discourses of early years' heterotopias, the speaking and listening being modelled and assessed is allegedly apolitical and ahistorical, classless, sexless, non-racist and value free, although it is usually speaking and listening to English. Teresa de Lauretis' (1987:3) work advises that the construction of gender happens every day and everywhere. Like reality, it does not exist only because we represent it in a certain way but also because of its endurance as a 'potential trauma' outside of discourse, which has the power to rupture or destabilize the accepted norms of behaviour and a stable representation of identity. As suggested in the section on Safeguarding and Welfare, the 'heterotopicity' of gender (as real and yet unreal) is compounded within discourses of early years. There are many practitioners who could not (and probably would not wish to) conform to the model of the directress. It is debatable whether a male practitioner could ever aspire to such an identity. Even so, Montessori and her ideal practitioner endure as an historical haunting of early years' spaces. Perhaps it is one of the reasons why male practitioners are deviants or female practitioners who do not display traditional female traits of submissiveness are labelled as 'inadequate'. This is paradoxical since male practitioners are deviant for their caring qualities and females if they show an unhealthy interest in theory or intellectualise their work with young children. Maybe what is challenged is the dichotomies between motherhood and professionalism, care and politics. It is one of the presences worthy of engagement in struggles to recognise adults and children as capable actors who are active within technologies of the self and therefore can (and do) influence the constant reinvention of early years' spaces discussed in previous chapters, at least within local contexts (McNay, 1992, Foucault, 1994b, Payne, 1993b)

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Free Flow

In the first *Learning and Development* extract from a visit Ashton First School's Reception class free flow is put together with continuous provision; adult focus with child initiated; assessment with planning (in an endless cycle); continuous provision with play; wider areas (of learning) with prime and specific areas. The inherent tensions are between playing and activities akin to amusement defined by being other than work (which is a word never mentioned, an absent haunting word). In the extract below, also from Ashton First School, but this time the Out of School Club, which is held in the Nursery space, there is no mention of free flow but the choice of activities and playful interactions between Out of School participants is given precedence of the learning potential of the activities and objects:

'Observed a mixed age range of children participating in the after-school club. A good variety of activities to suit all age groups ensured that all children were engaged and there was a friendly, relaxed atmosphere with plenty of peer to peer and adult-child interaction' (EYQL report, Ashton First School, 20.3.15)

Free flow is the ability to go inside or outside at will, within the confines of the heterotopic space already explored. Continuous provision which, despite its name, tends to happen at specific times of day in Reception classes, awards permission to interact with ratified objects/activities/people, which form part of the 'good variety' referred to above. I use the word ratified because some activities are frowned upon, these may include being too noisy (particularly in quiet areas); running about indoors; throwing things other than balls and the like; 'flitting' from place to place or not finishing what has been started and failing to complete 'challenges'. People are also included because it is often the case that not all children are accessing the continuous provision at the same time, and even when adults are not otherwise occupied anxieties tend to be generated over the roles of adult and child participants. Should the adults be observing, assessing or playing? Should they be engaged in adult focused activities which they have previously planned or be ready to step in to 'extend learning' or police/arbitrate in disputes? Is their primary job to educate or to care and are the two mutually exclusive? There may be no definitive answers to these questions

and 'a balancing act' may be an impossibility even if it is desirable, but this is even more reason to engage with the complexity, to speak to the ghosts and seek out the hauntings. Interestingly the one time, in the reports, that this disquiet is alleviated is during the out of school club, which is a different heterotopia in the same physical space since it is held in the nursery. It is here, with a mixture of ages and out of official school hours, that there is 'a friendly, relaxed atmosphere with plenty of peer to peer and adult-child interaction'. The assumption is that this is a good thing in an out of school club but, in this context, it is less likely to be challenged as a threat to academic progress than if the same values were applied to a report pertaining to 'classroom' practice. In the out of school club, there is no need for a distinction between adult-focused and child-initiated, which could be argued to be updated idioms for instructional/traditional/transmission/taught knowledge as opposed to child centeredness, which has fallen out of favour because of its associations with progressive education (Chung and Walsh, 2000).

Observation

Differing intentions and competing ontologies and epistemologies of observation in early childhood praxis and in research are discussed in the methodology chapter. In relation to the EYQL reports, observation might be considered a rather unstable concept since the title of the section under which it is recorded changes over time and the way it is interpreted also differs between (and maybe within) reports. In 2013, the report template asks which rooms were visited and which rooms were not visited, followed by a space headed 'progress since previous visit'. In 2014, the progress was changed to 'progress and impact' and by 2015 there was an additional box headed 'observation of practice' in addition to the section which invited comments on progress and impact. Perhaps there is a hint of Foucault's heterotopic mirror as a place which is 'a kind of mixed, intermediate experience' (Foucault, 1994a:179). From one angle the reports appear to impose an increasing level of discipline and control (Foucault, 1995). Progress, although it is an Enlightenment term which imposes a never ending forward trajectory as an unquestionable good, is not as strong a term as impact. Impact is loud and violent, knocking out the unacceptable, shining a light on discursive practices of modernism through observation, normalising and examination (Foucault, 1995) which identifies and casts out 'difference' (Derrida, 2010, Payne, 1993a). Even so, the visits to the rooms, the outcomes of which are told in the section on progress

and impact, tended to look at the physical environment and rely on what practitioners said about their own practices. The incitement to 'observe practice' could be characterised as an additional, top down, disciplining of practice but its power, as with all regimes of truth in Foucault's theories, is not predictably enabling or disabling. The section is not always completed, there is not a requirement that it should be filled in at every (or any) visit. Usually it is very short (since much else needs to be completed and written up in the half day time slot), often it continues as a record of presence in the space and discussion between practitioner and Early Years' Consultant, taking it wherever these unstable identities may lead. The extract below is an exception in that it was a whole morning's observation of the teacher (other adults were also present) and the Reception children requested by the Head of the school but shared and discussed with the teacher without senior leaders becoming involved. This had been requested by the head of school (Deputy Head Teacher within the consortium with the local Middle School). Early years' (the Nursery and Reception) provision had been deemed good in the previous Ofsted inspection but the First and Middle schools were in special measures and Lisa was the first permanent teacher since that rupture in the life of the school had occurred. Lisa had worked hard the previous term to ensure that learning journeys had sufficient observations and other evidence. Reception children were given additional tasks to provide them with the opportunity to demonstrate that they were expected to meet or exceed the end of Foundation Stage learning goals. The leaders and managers needed this observation, normalization and examination of the children (Foucault, 1995) in order to populate their data about pupil progress.

 Whatever the hopes and desires of the school leaders, their request for the observation and agreement that it could be part of the research opens the way to a deeper troubling of what was seen and recorded. Selected for attention is the juxtaposition of Diwali and fireworks (in the mono-cultural first school); matters around which children were heard; the physical positioning of boys and girls within the space and the privileging of behaviour management over other present (and potentially more affirmative) aspects of early years' pedagogy. The complete observation, extracted from the report, can be found in appendix 7, p.257

'Record of Discussion: Full morning observation and feedback. Teaching in YR is consistently good. Discussed involvement of boys and how this might be better supported by all staff.

Observation Notes:

Morning observation 9am start.

Class YR/Y1

Present: YR Teacher (Lisa); TA and a (male) student teacher.

The morning begins with a recall session on celebrations. Nice links and modelling back to fireworks at Diwali……..

 [We move into the hall to practice for a class assembly on fireworks]. Children were asked to feel their chests after running around. One little boy said his was 'bumping' but he wasn't heard…..

The physical positioning of children in relation to the adults in the hall was interesting. The boys tended to migrate to the back. They were joining in but often their contributions were missed, whereas several girls moved as close to you (Lisa) as possible. A lot of teacher comments, praise and condemnation goes into behaviour management………..' (EYQL report, Ashton First School, 10.11.15)

Rama, Sita and Other Stories

At first glance, the beginning of the observation (included in the appendix 7, page?), in which children are recalling what they have previously been told about the festival of Diwali, has nothing to do with gender or violence. It ticks a few boxes in relation *to Speaking and Listening* and *Understanding the World* (DfE, 2014). Any hint of religious or indeed cultural significance is hidden beneath the interlinked topics of celebrations and fireworks, applauded by the report. Diwali is an icon, or some might argue a token, of the openness of early years' pedagogy to culture and the wider world. It is easy for children (and practitioners) who have heritages in which Diwali is not celebrated, to understand, since it shares many key features with other religions, particularly Christianity. It has special lights, food, decorations, and is a time when families get together. Best of all it has an accessible story which follows the accepted format of Western fairy tales. Here it is as told on the early years' website Activity Village (Activity-Village, 2000-2016)

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> Once upon a time there was a great warrior, Prince Rama, who had a beautiful wife named Sita. There was also a terrible demon king, Ravana. He had twenty arms and ten heads, and was feared throughout the land. He wanted to make Sita his wife, and one day he kidnapped her and took her away in his chariot. Clever Sita left a trail of her jewellery for Rama to follow. Rama followed the trail of glittering jewellery until he met the monkey king, Hanuman, who became his friend and agreed to help find Sita. Messages were sent to all the monkeys in the world, and through them to all the bears, who set out to find Sita. After a very long search, Hanuman found Sita imprisoned on an island. Rama's army of monkeys and bears couldn't reach the island, so they began to build a bridge. Soon all the animals of the world, large and small, came to help. When the bridge was built, they rushed across it and fought a mighty battle. When Rama killed the evil Ravana with a magic arrow, the whole world rejoiced. Rama and Sita began their long journey back to their land, and everybody lit oil lamps to guide them on their way and welcome them back. Ever since, people light lamps at Diwali to remember that light triumphs over dark and good triumphs over evil.

Deconstructed through the lens of feminist critique, like many fairy tales and religious stories, it is crowded with sexual bias. The prince is a great warrior who compounds his success and position as hero with a beautiful wife. Sita, as a possession, can be stolen. Not only is she violently kidnapped (a crime outside of the heterotopia of early years and the land of children's stories, which often involves rape and sometimes forced marriage) (Werner, 2009), but she has no agency except to leave a trail of jewellery and hope to be rescued by her husband. She is awarded the consolation prize of cleverness, which either explains or excuses her passivity as a character. The question of identity is a one-dimensional affair in sundry stories passed as suitable for use with young children. The dilemma of the story, like many of the objects which we either choose to admit or exclude from early years' heterotopias, is not the content itself but our failure to notice, and therefore challenge, the messages it carries. Messages about power, agency and what is valued. A messy pile of notes and images which actively construct gender through representation.

Girls, Boys, Space and Language

The report does make some, in retrospect, rather feeble, attempts to notice gender difference. Perhaps it is the narrative style permitted by the observation which makes this possible. The question of why boys' legitimate responses go unnoticed by the teacher is maybe one worthy of further research. The report seems to suggest that it is the adults rather than girls who dominate the speaking. The phenomenon of boys' gravitation to the back of the hall and the girls clustering around the young, female teacher is worthy of speculation. Were the boys more comfortable and the girls fearful in the large space or

were the girls more easily able to identify with the teacher whilst the boys experienced distance? These are the sorts of potential research questions rarely asked by early years' researchers because they are not seen as important enough to either professional or academic discourses and enactments. The report itself is disciplined by the official pre-occupations of phonics teaching, learning to dress and undress and behaviour management. At the time and in the context of the observation and the authorship of the report, the identity of Early Years' Teacher Consultant overrides that of participant researcher (or of woman/feminist/former teacher). The combined forces of heterotopic (in this case school hall) space and discourses of early childhood education and care bear down on the constructions of adults; of teacher, teaching assistant (who is invisible within the text of the report), student and observer; as much if not more than on the children.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter has sought to deepen the analysis and discussion of field work with a deconstruction of written materials which contributed to the shaping of the research and provided material created from within an identity (that of Early Years' Quality Liaison Consultant) which is very different from that of participant observer employed in the previous chapters. MacLure (2003) speaks about the 'fear' of writing and the assumption that meanings 'exist *separately* from the writing, and that they exist before the writing' (MacLure, 2003:107). The reports use every literary device available to make what is written appear factual. They are punctilious down to the bullet pointing. It is not an easy matter to reduce a whole morning of observation, professional dialogue and conversation down to several bullet points. They conscientiously cast out any sign of human emotion, particularly disagreement, lack of consensus or resistance, confrontation, struggle, opposition or conflict. Perhaps there is an assumption that any sort of conflict should be banished as an affront to the innocence of young children and, by association, work with under-fives. Perhaps the irrationality of emotion is undesirable and/or not an image to be presented to Ofsted. At the time that they were written, this conformity of language within the reports felt like a protection of private, sometimes non-conforming dialogues with practitioners and head teachers but, on closer scrutiny, they appear to be a part of the regimes of power and control to which I felt myself, and others to be unequal. At the time, I was unable to articulate my concerns and fearful of the consequences of doing so, particularly in writing.

Opportunities are discussed; things are 'talked about' and agreed. Suggestions and observations are made to be 'helpful'. 'Time is spent' on (real) things and support is given. Lisa is permitted to feel a certain amount of 'keenness' because it is a positive state of being which will lead to a discursively verifiable course of action. The actors (the subjects of the text, who would be the characters were this a fiction) are predominantly passive or at the very least inseparable from the institution. It is 'the school' rather than a person, that requests focused support and 'the after-school club' that provides a variety of activities. Due to the conventions of empirical research writing, fictional first names are used but, in the reports themselves, initials are employed to anonymise and depersonalise. Most prominently absent is the author. All the discussing, talking, agreeing, suggesting, observing, time spent and support given, is with (or by) a mythical, omnipotent being, a controlling hand, which exists inside and outside the text as the 'Early Years' Quality Liaison Consultant', although they are never named as such.

Foucault's theory of heterotopias has been extremely useful in unpacking some of the tensions, power plays and disciplining within early years' education and care settings. Where it falls short, or at least does not explicitly venture, is into systemic inequalities, the sites of socio-political resistances such as feminism, anti-racism, disability rights and other specific taboos of normalisation important to social justice in care and education. Foucault is far from neglected by feminist writers but their interest since the 1980s has been in *The History of Sexuality* (Foucault and Hurley, 1984) and *Technologies of the Self* (Foucault, 1993, McNay, 1992), where relations between power, the body and sexuality in Foucault's work produce interesting spaces for feminist deliberations. In the acknowledgement of subjectivity as a construct of language as 'an open-ended, contradictory and culturally specific amalgam of different subject positions' (McNay, 1992:2), this research crosses paths with a feminist paradigm. The early years' workforce is overwhelmingly female but its cultural, ethnic, educational and political make up, and that of the children and families it serves, is as diverse as any other area of life. On the other hand, its construction as a space of femininity within the historically rationalist domains of science and education opens it up to feminist critiques of rationality as an essentially masculine construct. Foucault's theory of heterotopias, as well as his theories of sexuality, 'excludes, though it does not preclude, the

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consideration of gender' (de-Lauretis, 1987:3). These are the themes which have started to open through the analysis of the EYQL reports undertaken in this final discussion chapter.

Conclusion

The methodology began with the instability of beginnings as places which are neither secure nor random (Bennington and Derrida, 1993b:20). The same could be said of endings, which after all are only gateways to something or somewhere else; place that can only be known through the imagination until it is experienced and becomes, for an instant, the present. The research has been concerned with the hauntings of early years' pedagogical articulations and enactments. The new knowledges generated in relation to early years' education and care in England are connected primarily with methodological approaches and to pedagogical questions which might form the basis for future research. There has been a concern with early years' education and care settings as social spaces; laden with qualities and haunted by the fantasies of children and practitioners (Foucault, 1994a:177). A second interest has been with the hidden meanings and animated qualities of pedagogical and heterotopic objects and a third with the ability of language to work in the interest of technologies of power, the self, the sign and production (Foucault, 1995, Foucault, 1994b, Althusser, 2008, Payne, 1993a) but also to meddle with these disciplining regimes of truth. In other words, there has been an engagement with the complexity of lived experiences in early years' education and care settings. At the centre of the theorisation of what has been witnessed sits an engagement with Foucault's notion of heterotopic spaces (Foucault, 1994a) and Gordon's presentation of social hauntings and sociological imagination (Gordon, 2008). They have changed my way of thinking about the philosophical, political and pedagogical possibilities of work with young children. They have also helped me to better articulate the nagging concerns that I have felt to be of importance in my own involvement in the enactments and discourses of early years' education and care. This being the case it is only right that conclusions should be drawn from the engagement with these works before going on to highlight the emergence of themes which I would consider important to, or worthy of, further research in the field of early childhood. The conclusion is therefore split into three sections. The first considers the potential contribution of heterotopic research to the field of early childhood education and care. The second section sums up the contribution made by Gordon's (2008) meditations on social haunting and the meddlesome fictive to the research. The third section contains concluding remarks on the things which inspired the research and on what has been critiqued and what effects this might potentially have for future research

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and ways of seeing or writing about early years. The concluding words dwell on the importance of research to early years' education and care as an academic field as well as a praxis. The methodological approach taken sustains the notion that knowledge and understanding in the practices of early years' education and care is a collegiate endeavour. Children and practitioners are at the heart of creating, articulating and enacting the knowledges central to their institutions and research can and should support them. This is the basis of the contribution that the study has made to an academic understanding of early childhood education and care settings as a group of heterotopic spaces. The originality of this contribution will also be revisited as part of the concluding remarks.

Heterotopic Research

The extent to which each of the original research questions has been addressed is discussed below. The questions are expressed as aims rather than direct demands for quantifiable knowledge. This allows for the recognition of complexity and multiple-meanings sought in the methodology. The stated aims were:

- to interrogate how educational discourses may affect the decisions made by teachers and practitioners when designing and delivering learning for young children so that these interactions can be better understood by research participants including the practitioners and myself
- to investigate implicit and explicit pedagogies evident in settings delivering EYFS and Key Stage 1 (KS1) curricula to children between 3 and 6 years in England and to analyse the differing discourses on which these 'acts of teaching' may be based so as to articulate, implement and evaluate alternative teaching strategies which could be used in our interactions with young children
- to interrogate how practitioners and children in non-maintained settings and in Nursery, Reception and KS1 classrooms in schools enact particular pedagogical interactions in order to evaluate the possible effects of practitioner enquiry on curriculum design and delivery

Discourse has emerged as an unstable phenomenon which operates alongside regimes of power, the self, the sign and production so that the discourses emanating from within the heterotopic space continually entangle or juxtapose themselves with dominant social

concerns from the worlds of politics, social policy and academia. Practitioners are perfectly capable of identifying and asking questions about their own pedagogical enactments as is demonstrated in the initial attempt to develop PAR at Woodlands. The questions suggested by practitioners and the rationale behind them can be seen in appendix 4.

It would be unrealistic to expect individual practitioners to undertake the depth of research which has been supported by the PhD process in this thesis but it is possible to imagine partnerships, time and resources to support PAR (Baumfield et al., 2008) and other types of research within early years' settings. It is hoped that the research in its final written format will be accessible to the wider community of early years' practitioners, teachers and researchers. Further than this is for the reader to take it forward in any way they may wish. The participant observations and school visits certainly initiated many pedagogical conversations from which I learnt much from the children and the practitioners about their power to articulate and enact practice in creative and innovative ways. The evaluations of interactions were of the moment and often constrained by disciplining regimes of dominant discourses such as those of development, assessment and others connected to the spaces, the artefacts and the documenting of practice in individual settings.

In relation to the third aim, the differing perspectives brought to Early Years' Education and Care (ECEC), which was inspired by *Different Spaces* (Foucault, 1994) and by *Ghostly Matters* (2008), have opened the way to new methodological paradigms for interrogating enactments of ECEC, and possibly for studying pedagogical enactments in other contexts. These new perspectives have related to early years' spaces and the ways in which they are often infiltrated by hidden influences of history and geography, of church and of state. This lead onto the consideration of emplacement of objects, materials and artefacts within early years' spaces and the instability of their meanings within pedagogy and practice. Finally, attention has been paid to written materials as an added layer of disciplining in interpretations of what are, and what could be, worthwhile enactments of early years' pedagogy.

It is the pre-schools which have taken centre stage in the participant observations and maintained nursery and reception classes in the documentary analyses, but Key Stage One children and practitioners make their presences felt, particularly within the enactments explored at St Egbert's. Key Stage One, its disciplining enactments and discourses emerge as

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a strong and troubling haunting of Early Years' discourses; perhaps this is inevitable in a system which frames the early years as birth to five but leans heavily on the discourses of development psychology which constructs early learning as a phase from birth to eight years and early education as primarily three to eight. It is practitioner engagement with these problematics of lived practice, their capacity to speak to the complexities rather than passively accepting them, which contains hope and possibility for small scale, contextualised enquiry which impacts positively on curriculum design and delivery.

One of the imaginings that Foucault includes in his discussion of heterotopias is of a branch of 'the academy' which might be called 'heterotopology' (Foucault, 1994a:179). In the language of post-structuralism this is not a science because science is itself a situated praxis made up of historical, sociological and political webs worthy of troubling under a post-modern or post-structuralist gaze (Burman, 2008a, Burman, 2008b, Ball, 2013, Dahlberg et al., 1999, Moss, 2016). Instead heterotopological research, in Foucault's words, 'would have the object, in a given society, of studying analysing, 'reading'…..these other places, a kind of contestation, both mythical and real of the space in which we live.' (Foucault, 1994a:179). One of the critiques of such an approach might be that it describes and deconstructs without offering any alternatives. To this, I would answer that what it allows for is seeing a familiar landscape differently, in other words 'making the familiar strange' (Mannay, 2010, Coffey, 1999, Spencer, 2001). It recognises that social practices, including those relating to education and to care are always localised and contextual even if they appear to have many elements in common with one another. At the level of practice, some sort of systematic troubling of the accepted and the taken for granted ways of seeing and doing seems to me to be an important way in which alternative possibilities might be opened to children and to practitioners.

Perhaps the idea of heterotopic research allows more easily for a position which recognises that that the notion of right and wrong in relation to ECEC pedagogy is meaningless. The realisation that such dichotomies are hollow (and maybe destructive rather than constructive of early years' pedagogical enactment) shifts the ground so that the languages and performances of social justice come into focus. The praxis of early years' education and care relies heavily on observation. Children are observed to check their progress against developmental norms. Practitioners, settings and schools are observed and measured

against something labelled as 'quality' (Dahlberg et al., 2007, Perryman, 2006b). Observations of practice (including child observations) tend to focus on what is missing from the presumed 'correct' way. The child recorded as 'emerging' (DfE, 2015) at the end of their year in Reception is judged to be lacking something that other children already have, however much this is couched in language suggesting that they may still gain these desirable facets at a some future time or place. Other ways of thinking and talking about early learning are made spectral, become not merely taboo but unthinkable and therefore invisible. The incitement towards a discourse of development, a scientific paradigm of modernism in which there is always a simple (or at the very least a correct) solution to any complex human dilemma, draws in and is almost irresistible to researchers, practitioners and children alike (Foucault, 1999). Researchers, practitioners and even children are complicit in maintaining these disciplining structures, even though this may sometimes (or often) be uncomfortable. This is particularly evident within the troubling of the languages and disciplining effects of the Early Years' Quality Liaison reports in chapter 7. The presentation of concepts such as *challenges* and *modelling* from the powerful position of Early Years' Teacher Consultant are very different from the ideal of practitioner/researcher dialogue in which there is an opportunity to trouble such terminology against an acknowledgment of unstable and shifting professional identities. The 'something to be done' (Gordon, 2008) is always just out of reach; slightly outside of periphery vision; or seemingly in the hands of others. Like the baby who is just learning to crawl and propels herself backwards, away from an object of desire instead of toward it, work with young children can feel like a constant stumbling towards a utopia which appears (like any mirage) both utterly real and yet unreal, and therefore unobtainable. Viewing early years' settings as heterotopias, spaces which have a real relationship with the outside world but are both an illusion denouncing real spaces and different, better organised (more idealistic) spaces than the real world (Foucault, 1994a:184), has enabled me to grapple with, and better articulate ethical and aesthetic experiences which tie me to an enduring but unstable, and often uncomfortable identity, as an early years' teacher even though I now work in a university. One of the things I have learnt is that my other identities as researcher, feminist, theorist, mother, carer and so forth should neither be hidden nor taken for granted when engaging with professional or social discourses. Like everyone else, I am constantly pulled into the

emplacements, webs, trees and lattices (Foucault, 1994a:176) of modernist thought, articulation and enactment but also alert to its enticements and entrapments.

An added attraction of the theoretical frame presented by the notion of heterotopias is its turning away from the modernist obsessions with internal space towards 'the space outside [*du dehors*]' (Foucault, 1994a:177). This seems to me to be a more equitable route towards an early years' care and education which serves children, practitioners, parents and society better than the individualising and normalising discourses of development psychology. A 'good' early years setting (whatever that might mean) is not the product (to borrow a Marxist term) (Althusser, 2008) of individual leaders or managers, nor even of brilliant teachers, but of a collegiate effort involving dialogue, negotiation and engagement with theory as well as with practice. There has been, in recent a years, a political discourse around attracting 'the brightest and the best' into teaching (Stuart, 2012, DfE and NCTL, 2016) of which the Early Years' Teacher Status (EYTS) is part, albeit a less visible, component than secondary subject teaching. The government interpretation has focused on high classifications at degree level and the 'core subjects' of English, maths and science. Regarding early years' settings as heterotopias opens the way for consideration of 'the best' being not only those with high qualifications but also others. Others, with a wide range of interests and expertise, who continue to be excited by history and by literature and other art forms and what these fields of human knowledge say about our own lives. Perhaps Marcuse's explanation of art as something separate from political praxis, which nevertheless has an indirect effect on human beings (Kearney, 2004), could be applied also to pedagogy. I am thinking of the ways in which literary story-telling, whether encountered as a researcher, a practitioner, a student, a child and all or none of these, has added richness to the meanings and articulations made by the research; the meddlesome fictive (Gordon 2008) encountered in *The Red Tent* (Diamant, 2002), *Hard Times* (Dickens, 1854), *Beloved* (Morrison, 2004), *Peter Pan* (Rose, 1984, Birkin, 2003) and other works which have (or have not quite) found their way into this theoretical research. Paying attention to the openings and closings that make early years' settings isolated but at the same penetrable (Foucault, 1994a:183) has, to some extent, revealed exclusions which narrow the experiences offered to young children by a system which purports to provide a social good to all. I am thinking in this instance of the exclusion of older church goers from the pre-school within their shared

building; of outside spaces, which contain children within a tiny artificial outside area, unless an experience such as forest schools is paid for or specially planned. Also of the way in which some children become magnets for adult concern and are, therefore, subject to well-meant but potentially harmful interventions because they are identified so early on as 'failing' in some way. These are the seemingly mundane instances that show power relations to be ever present but rarely clear, to be 'invisible, fantastic, dull or routine' (Gordon, 2008:3).

Nursery education as a universal service in Britain has always been a fragile concept, the result of struggles by individual campaigners such as Montessori and McMillan (Giardiello, 2014) or groups of unnamed parents and practitioners, as in the pre-school playgroups association (Pre-school Learning Alliance, 2011) and Woodlands pre-school. It would be naïve to think that conflicts over what should be given to whom and in what form, at the heart of which lie issues of gender, class, race and other inequalities, have ceased to exist, even though they may operate in different ways from the past (Foucault, 1994a:180). That heterotopias are sites of political and social power struggles is evident in Foucault's (1994a:179) classification of them as spaces of either crisis or of deviation. There were elements of crisis in the participant observations, notably in the practice of graduation for toddlers and panics over certain children which are discussed as part of the chapter on objects, artefacts and materials. Even more prominent, insidious but made visible by the ethnography, is the tendency to create early years' spaces of compensation. This culture of compensation demonstrates that government policy, and what it determines as important to ECEC pedagogical practices, is consistently inadequate in its articulation of childhood experiences in many (or possibly most) families. Compensations for too few children or too many, for lack of accessible outside space, or the right sort of outside space. Compensation for not yet being a pupil, not having the skill to read to oneself or understanding the disciplining rules of knowledge exchange in a traditional classroom. Compensation for early years' pedagogy being accepted as relevant to children from birth to six or seven in many European countries and only until five in England. Even the lunch time walk from the Methodist church to the school is a by-product of not being located on the school site. What is concerning about this is that it diminishes other articulations of what learning (and teaching) in pre-school (another compensatory term) might be. It excludes 'Thursday

afternoon on their parents bed' (Johnson, 2013) and other such fantastical adventures, from provinces of learning through play, through fantasy or through the imagination in early years' institutions. These are things deserving of attention by practitioners and researchers. They are worthy of being shared and taken seriously.

Haunting and the Meddlesome Fictive

Gordon (2008) writes that she was inspired to write about haunting because, although as a sociologist she was well rehearsed in radical traditions of thought, action, research and enactment, she was increasingly troubled by the 'taken-for-grantedness' of the way these things played out as an answer more often than as a question (Gordon, 2008:193). I have started from the position of an early years' teacher/researcher with similar concerns over early years' pedagogical articulations and enactments encountered within my professional life. As an undergraduate, I was well schooled in theoretical perspectives from development psychology but also given access to other strands of thought relating to education, from sociology, other branches of psychology and philosophies of education. Occasionally, I would brush against theory in my professional life as an early years' educator working for a local authority but was troubled by its articulation as method rather than theoretical or philosophical perspective. The name Vygotskii would come up at conferences (although the anglicised spelling, Vygotsky, was adopted) and the presumed relevancies to early years' practice were filtered through the Americanised interpretations of Bruner (Bruner, 1996, Vygotskii, 1962). My 'stammering and inchoate suspicions and disappointments' (Gordon, 2008:194) centred around the absence of theory in professional conversations about Montessori, Steiner, Highscope, Forest Schools and the shifting discourses around the EYFS in England. There was also a suspicion that the adopted languages used within the relatively new academic field of early childhood education and care were insufficient or somehow lacking in sufficient power to express the complexities of lived experiences in early years' classrooms and other settings. I was troubled that concepts important to me as an early years' educator, for example feminism, social justice, equality and diversity, were often excluded or met with stony silences which hummed with incomprehension, rejection or impatience. In writing about haunting and the meddlesome fictive, Gordon has set me on the path to appreciating, and going some way to articulating 'the complexities of power and personhood......and with our own affective involvement in these matters and in the

knowledge we create about them' (Gordon, 2008:193) in early childhood education and care spaces. She has taught me many things about the difficulties and the potential of research, of theory and of academic writing (MacLure, 2003) in shaping articulations and enactments at least at a local level. Most of all she has enabled me to appreciate and to articulate the interactions of fact, fiction and desire (Gordon, 2008:195) in classroom life and how this shapes all human beings, young and old, and influences the public knowledge created in the spaces we designate for early years' education and care.

The research has focused on technologies of power (Foucault, 1995) and of the self (Foucault, 1994b, McNay, 1992) rather than starting from Gordon's positioning, critiquing Marxist theory and language. However technologies of production (Althusser, 2008, Payne, 1997a) and of the sign (Payne, 1993a, Payne, 1993b, Bennington and Derrida, 1993b, Derrida and Wolfreys, 1998) have crept in as additional hauntings. These may prove to be paradigms to be further drawn upon in future research projects.

In the search for an ending to the conclusion, which is only the beginning of my journey as a researcher and university academic and teacher, there is only the emergence of other potential areas for research and the importance of research to the field of early years' education and care to be discussed. Perhaps it should be for others, readers of this research and current or future practitioners, to pick up the gauntlet and identify for themselves what stands out as central and the focal point(s) for further research. Issues emerging from the ethnography which have surprised and intrigued me include the ongoing entanglement of early years' education with religion; the power of panoptic observation, normalisation and examination (Foucault, 1995, Perryman, 2006b) to discipline articulations and enactments of practice; the power of heterotopic spaces and objects to steer discourse and the silences as well as the articulations they create; the way in which theories and persons from the past, such as Froebel, Montessori, Rousseau, Locke; Froebel and Isaacs are haunting presences in early years' settings even when their names are never mentioned. Foucault's enigmatic talk on heterotopias has been taken up by writers and researchers in a spectrum of academic fields (Johnson, 2013). Perhaps this is what makes it particularly useful in problematising the myriad of influences on interactions and practices in a discipline such as early years' education and care. I hope that it will allow others to reassess the taken for granted articulations and enactments of pedagogy as it has with my own assumptions,

concerns, discomforts and ways of seeing and articulating them. I have added to the paradigm of heterotopia as a research tool by tuning into the notion of social haunting (Gordon, 2008) in order to better identify and articulate the less obvious, the hushed, lost or sometimes missing elements that make work with young children a matter of social justice as well as educating and caring for the next generation.

Shifting Paradigms

At the start of the thesis, the paradigm which I felt to be dominant in early years' education and care and therefore of most interest to a critical research position, was that of developmental psychology (Burman, 2008a, Burman, 2008b, Dahlberg et al., 2007, Dahlberg et al., 1999). My position on this, as with many of the positions I took at the start of the project, has shifted, not radically but it is different all the same. Firstly, much of what I understood to be the messages of developmental psychology came from the constant interpretation and reinterpretation of Piaget, Vygotskii and, to a lesser extent, Bronfenbrenner, rather than what they really wrote or researched. There may still be things that can be learned from them but this requires a return to original publications and a weighing up of the historical and social contexts in which they were written. Secondly, that a diverse body of research, from inside and outside the sector, from psychology, social and political sciences, philosophy, linguistics, history and geography and critiques of their application to practice is what is most likely to secure a healthy, robust and socially sensitive praxis for the future. This research, in my view, should come from academics and from practitioners and from continuing efforts to ensure that academics and practitioners can research together, however difficult this might seem. The possibilities for its realisation do not reside in one place but rely on active reaching out for connections between students, practitioners, academics, parents and others concerned with or for ECEC. Key to this, in my view, is a recognition and celebration of the instability of all of these identities, of *la difference* (Payne, 1993b, Derrida and Wolfreys, 1998) as a productive enterprise in academia, teacher education and pedagogical practices.

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The gratification in coming across heterotopia (Foucault, 1994a), as a theory relevant to the pedagogical articulation and enactment of work with young children, is its potential to offer different and more nuanced interpretations of practice. It has enabled me to de-centre notions of child centred learning and recast my gaze onto the emplacements of spaces, material objects and texts. In doing this, the disciplining of what might or might or might not evolve into socially just pedagogical acts has come into sharper focus. However, some aspects of Foucault's notion of heterotopia and heterotopology have been challenged in relation to its limitations in actively producing alternative enactments which might embrace the interweaving of the real and the unreal; what we learn through fantasy and fiction as well as through our experiences of the physical world. It is the conceiving of the hauntings of heterotopia and those of 'the sociological imagination' (Gordon, 2008) together, which have enabled me to consider the emergence of new possibilities for movement, away from individualistic notions of 'teaching' young children, to a more collectivist interpretation of what it might be to be a learner, whether adult or child, in the context of early years' education and care spaces in England. Notably, in this quest for greater insight into the complexities of socially just early years' pedagogies, Gordon's arguments have permitted an emphasis on the serious nature of social haunting, of silences and absences, both past and present. The new knowledge, the elements of originality, within the thesis has been generated through the playfulness of interweaving the two sets of arguments into a serious (re)examination of the complexity of work with young children.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Fieldwork visits

Appendix 2: Example of an EYQL report pro-forma

Appendix 3: Research consent form pro-forma

Appendix 4: Action research questions from Woodlands Pre-School

Appendix 5: Training materials used at Dahlias' Pre-School Playgroup

Appendix 6: Extended filed note extracts

Appendix 7: EYQL reports observations of practice

Appendix 8: EYQL reports leadership and management

Appendix 9: EYQL reports outcomes for children

Appendix 10: EYQL reports safeguarding and welfare

Appendix 11: EYQL reports learning and development

Appendix 1: Fieldwork visits

Table detailing research visits to Dahlias Pre-school, Woodlands Pre-school and St Egberts Primary School

Setting	Date of visit	Purpose of visit	Documents
A	29/09/2010	Participant observation. Nature walk and activities on return to church hall	Ethnographic notes
A	30/6/2011	Observation and follow up discussion at new environment on school site	Ethnographic notes Session plan (adults)
B	05/05/2011	Observation in YR and follow up dialogue with teacher	Ethnographic notes
B	26/05/2011	Participant observation in newly set up PSRN area. Researcher with YN and YR children	Ethnographic notes Plan of learning area
B	06/06/2011	Participant observation in YN	Ethnographic notes Photographs
B	23/06/2011	Participant observation in YN	Ethnographic notes
B	30/06/2011	Participant observation of one child in YN	Child observation sheet
B	24/11/2011	Participant observation YN indoor and outdoor learning environments	Ethnographic notes
C	28/09/2011	Action research planning meeting	Ethnographic notes Planning and product sheets
C	11/11/2011	Participant observation	Ethnographic notes
C	22/05/2012	Participant observation	Ethnographic notes Photographs
C	29/05/2012	Participant observation	Ethnographic notes
C	11/12/2012	Participant observation	Ethnographic notes

Table detailing Quality Liaison and Support visits to Ashton First School, The Fields Primary School and The Heath Primary School

Setting	Date of visit	Type of visit
D	8/10/13	QL
D	4/3/14	Support in YN
D	20/3/14	Support with assessment
D	29/4/14	Support in YR
D	4/9/14	Support YR/1
D	12/9/14	QL
D	23/10/14	Support
D	5/11/14	Support for SLT
D	26/3/15	Support
D	29/9/15	Support
D	10/11/15	Support (2-hour observation)
E	17/10/13	QL
E	11/7/14	Support
E	7/10/14	QL
E	20/1/15	Support
E	2/3/15	Support
E	30/4/15	Support with assessment
E	25/6/15	Support
E	15/10/15	QL
F	15/10/13	QL
F	19/3/13	Support
F	13/5/14	Support
F	7/6/14	Support
F	25/9/14	QL
F	2/2/15	Support
F	4/3/15	Support (2-hour observation)
F	8/5/15	Support with assessment
F	4/3/15	Support (2-hour observation)
F	8/5/15	Support with assessment

Appendix 2: Example of an Early Years' Quality Liaison Pro-forma

Name of Setting: DfE/EY No:	Quality Liaison Consultant: Email: Contact Number:	
Headteacher/Manager: Name: Address Contact Number:	Report delivered to: Email:	
	Management Structure:	Last Ofsted Date: Outcome:

Current Support level	

To meet the Early Years Foundation Stage it is your responsibility to be self-reflective and identify the needs of your provision.

The setting has identified the following areas of need:

Type of visit: Date: Duration of visit: EY Consultant:
Person visited:
Which rooms were visited: Which rooms were not visited:
Observation of practice:
Progress and impact since previous visit:
Record of discussion: May include Leadership and Management, Outcomes for Children, Safeguarding and Welfare Learning and Development, and Business

Key actions agreed at end of visit	By whom
1	
2.	
3.	
Agreed level of support and reason:.	

Appendix 3: Consent Forms

Agreement to Participate in Research

The pre-school staff have consented to participate in research which will contribute to a PhD thesis through Manchester Metropolitan University. The data will consist of participant observations of practice as agreed with staff prior to visits. Photographs of the setting and activities may be taken and used under the existing policies on the use of images. All staff involved are welcome to see the research materials and can withdraw from participating at any point.

Participant identities will be kept confidential. The names of organisations and individuals will be disguised in the publishes research.

Name: …………………………………………………………………..

Position: …………………………………………………………….

Representing: …………………………………………………………….

Thank you for agreeing to take part in the research project

Linda Shaw

Consent to collect research data during Quality Liaison Visit

Senior leaders and participating staff are aware of the research being carried out which will contribute to a PhD thesis through Manchester Metropolitan University. The data will take the form of observation notes and documents relevant to the Early Years' Quality Liaison process. Photographs of foundation stage activities may be taken and used under the existing school policies on the use of images.

The research is unconnected to the quality liaison process and will have no bearing on the support given to the school or the content of reports. Staff are welcome to see the research materials at any time and can withdraw consent for the use of any research activity in which they have been involved.

Participant identities will be kept confidential. The names of organisations and individuals will be disguised in the publishes research.

Name: …………………………………………………………………………………………

Position: ………………………………………………………………………………………..

On behalf of :……………………………………………………………………….School

Thank you for agreeing to take part in the research project

Linda Shaw

Appendix 4: Initiation of action research at Woodlands Pre-School

Questions Developed from Action Research Discussion at Woodlands Pre-School on 28th September 2011

We think that boys at nursery have a less well developed pincer grip than girls.

Do boys between the ages of 0 and 4 years have a less well developed pincer grip than girls of the same age?

Boys don't access the mark making activities or other fine motor activities which we provide.

Which boys access the fine motor activities which we currently provide and how often?

Boys are less willing to write or mark make.

Over a defined period how often and in what circumstances do specific boys elect to write or mark make?

We don't use the outside area to its full potential in relation to the development of children's, particularly boys', fine and gross motor skills.

Which activities outside specifically encourage the use of a) gross motor skills and b) fine motor skills? How are they used by the children and is there a relationship between use and gender?

Boys gross motor skills need development.

Question to be developed

Dahlia's Session 1: - Early Years' Pedagogy:

1. Discuss Montessori, Steiner, Reggio and High Scope and complete grid on ideas of child as learner/aspects of environment /role of the adult/Personal Reflection.
2. Look at links to developmental psychology: Piaget, Vygtosky and Brunner.
3. Think of an activity for a group of children: Analyse in terms of skills, attitudes, language and concepts. Reanalyse in terms of areas of learning.

	Ideas about the child as a learner	Aspects of the environment	Role of adults	Reflections
Montessori				
Steiner				
Reggio Emilia				
High Scope				

Session 2: Observation or Assessment for Learning in Pre-School Practice?

Aims

1. To discuss differences between observation and assessment activity and the contexts in which each may be undertaken in pre-school practice
2. To explore different types of observation technique and why or when each may be most useful
3. To list areas for development in the observation/planning/reviewing cycle at DCS
4. To consider equipment which could be purchased to support staff and children to maximise learning and enjoyment in the new environment

Time	Activity	Resources
1-1:10	Introductions/icebreaker (find out something you didn't know about your partner that you can share with the group. Introduce partner – history of work with children, time at D**** and the unexpected item) Share Aims of the session	Fiddles Flip Chart
1:10-1:20	Same partner come up with a definition of observation and a definition of assessment	Flip chart
1:20-2pm	Experienced/less experienced partnerships. Each pair has an example of a type of observation. Discuss when it might be used and why. Discuss the limitations and complete relevant section of handout. Each pair to feedback	Handout – Types of observation Examples of observations from Hobart/Frankel Examples and instructions forms from EEL
2-2:15	Tutor input on EEL observations and Tickell recommendations	Tickell Ashleyx 6 Child observation + instructions x 2. Adult engagement observation + instructions
2:15-3:pm	Tutor introduction to activity. Observation as part of observe/plan/review and reflect cycle. Importance of the environment and planning of new setting which has been started in partnership with nursery class. In small groups of experienced/less experienced partnerships complete Physical Environment Observation Proforma (EEL).	EEL Physical Environment Observation Proforma
3:00-3:30	Selection of possible new equipment/resources	Catalogues

Appendix 6: Extended fieldnote extracts

3/4/2011

This is the first entry of immediate reflection on the research which I am involved in developing. That is not to say that there has not been reflection previously (i.e. over the last nine months) but this is reflected in early attempts at writing the proposal and also in the notes relating to MRes/Ed Doc weekends and on work activities which may not be directly relevant to the focus of the research but inevitably impact upon it, particularly in terms of my own changing understandings. I will therefore take a scrap book approach to recording the research journey in which pieces of writing for different purposes within the broad scope of the research are pasted into the research journal provided by MMU. On this weekend my thinking has moved on particularly in terms of the dichotomies of absolutes identified by Derrida which has made me reflect on possible positive/negative pairings relevant to my own research, particularly:

- Care/education
- Teaching/learning
- Pedagogy/practice
- EY professional/teacher (margin note – this is an interesting one)
- Professional/teacher
- Professional/practitioner
- Child/adult
- Boy/girl
- Researcher/subject
- Good practice/bad practice (is this better framed as effective v less effective?)
- Child led/child centred (*this is crossed out in the notes*) /adult focus/led

I have framed the final one in terms of current EY discourse but it could equally be framed as child centred/didactic methods. *(This entry followed a conversation with colleagues in the early years' advisory team in which I asked them if they thought in terms of child centred practice and the response was that they would say child led as child centred had negative connotations linked to lack of adult intervention or support)*

D****** 30/09/2010

Issues at D*****: Success story in terms of financial and community development but now the time to focus on quality of provision for children. J tends to dominate and increase in confidence because of real success as chair but Nat has expertise in terms of learning and development. Not always forceful in putting this forward. Role of K – EYP is as yet unclear, I haven't really met her yet.

First morning with children at D*****: I had suggested a walk with children as the church wanted to use the hall that morning. This had been conveyed to staff but not sure if there had been any discussion about learning potential. Staff took carrier bags and children enjoyed collecting items - and particularly enjoyed putting them into the carrier bag. Child L. experimented with picking up and throwing stones. Seemed to know that she should throw away from the path and other people. All children showed real joy in the freedom of running, rolling and jumping when we came to the recreation field area. Boys and girls were equally active physically (enjoying physicality?) Swinging children round Jo copied the sound wheee.

Concerns:

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1. Staff seemed to have no understanding of science (understanding the world) learning going on when children explored natural items on return. Only I really concentrated and joined in with the children's explorations. The staff stood back. There were two students and there was very little modelling of best practice.
2. Expectations of 2-3 year olds sitting for registration and to look at symbols of shapes in order to name colours.
3. The very fact that shape and colour is 'the topic' Actions: take in box activity next week. Ask Nat if I could try this with children. Feel I need permission to try to draw staff as well as children into the activity without them feeling they are being told how to do things better. Perhaps if they could allow to feel children's excitement and wonder at new experiences - we'll see.

Suggested quietly to Nat that we (including staff could sort through equipment and make joint decisions on quality before move - selling off anything in decent condition which is not entirely appropriate for preschool.

*I did go in the following week and took in some 'exploration boxes' as an activity for children to explore. I stayed for the complete morning session working alongside staff and children. This was prior to any agreement about how the 'PAR' might work at D******** and which staff would be involved. I did not therefore, take notes.*

27th June 2011

Nat has asked me to support a staff meeting (some committee members were also present) at the new setting, which is operational but not yet fully equipped. Discussed what activities would most suit the current needs and decided to deliver a short session on observation with the idea that staff will take some time to reflect on children's interests before purchasing new items. I arrived at around 11:30 About half an hour before children were collected. Plenty of staff as several had arrived early for the meeting. I was therefore given a tour of the new building by N (with other staff also commenting and chatting). The building is a mobile type unit positioned at the far end of the school playground. It has its own (fenced off) outdoor area leading onto a large room, currently in use for the pre-school children. This leads onto a central area with kitchen and toilets and then a smaller room at the far end. This is temporarily being used as storage space but in future may be used for younger children, meetings, community groups, training etc. Although the services have moved from the church there are only a few weeks until the summer holidays, so a feeling that this is a planning phase and preparation for a new start in September. I spend some time outside with staff and children. There is a concrete area suitable for wheeled toys. Staff proudly show me the new storage sheds which allow easy access to outside equipment. The children are currently playing on the sloped grass area. Coloured ribbons have been hung from a tree which has a bench built around the trunk. Some children and an adult sit here with a book. Other children are running/playing/chatting in a wild grassy patch. A couple are holding onto the railings of the perimeter fence, watching and talking about the arrival of parents to the school. Once all the children have been collected other part time staff/parent helpers'/committee members start to arrive. Tea, coffee and snacks are served and the meeting starts with general items of business before the 'training session' is handed over for me to lead.

St Egberts Primary

5.5.2011

Cl (teaching deputy head) and J (YN leader/manager just coming to the end of her top up in EYCE) have continued to work on the 'Buddying' action plan which includes as the main features creation of a shared area between KS1 and the nursery class room for joint access to materials for PSRN. I had said on a previous occasion that I could be used as a spare or extra member of staff and they have asked that I 'supervise' in that area while they observe the children for the purpose of creating a narrative on the children's use of the area. We discussed the available access routes and children's freedom to access, how many children should use it at any one time. We also discussed the following (interesting and important) issues.

The Ofsted report which noted that the school has made quick progress to become satisfactory. J was disappointed that EYFS was judged no better than satisfactory and we discussed the differences in process between the experience of Ofsted in the PVI sector and schools. This led to a conversation about the Ofsted comment that nursery staff do not always 'maximise opportunities for children's learning.' We discussed the possible perspectives of other staff who are level 2 and level 3 qualified and also of parents.

The action plan includes activity which will draw parents into EYFS philosophy and their children's learning. I was asking how and why they/we wanted to do this. Cl and J commented that there were a couple of parents who were more demanding of their children demonstrating basic technical skills than other parents. Both these parents were themselves teachers. Staff seemed troubled by tensions between this approach and dominant EY discourse of free choice learning through play but also about the observable effects on these children's self-esteem and demonstration (or lack of it) of independent learning.

Cl told a story about a little girl and a pen lid. Staff said that they had a general concern over children's language skills but this was demonstrated particularly in relation to one child's ability to cope with questions. She had made a model about which she could fluently talk and answer questions but when a T.A. asked, 'why has this pen not got a lid?' – addressed to the whole class the child responded 'because some-one has put it in the wrong place. This was problematized by staff and led to the beginning of a conversation about what constitutes a genuine question and to what extent the staff and children create and need to interpret a 'special language of school'. I wondered whether children were in fact skilled communicators but with limited experience of context. J felt strongly that 'they have to learn….'. I have come across this phrase with other nursery staff particularly the member of staff at W.E who is level 3 qualified. She used exactly the same phrase about a boy in relation to behaviour and social skills at nursery.

This moved on to a conversation about phonics. C was describing advice (C possibly interpreted it as instructions) from the EYTCC about the need for children to know the sound and the name of each letter of the alphabet but that this was a difficult EYFSP target for many children to achieve. I suggested that the link between phonics and reading has been over emphasised in policy. C seemed relieved and to open up at this, recounting a story about older boys she had worked with at her previous school and how she had explored with them writing as a tool for creative expression rather than a difficult technical skill to be mastered.

Notes at the bottom of the page (to self):

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26.5.11 – E.M.

Arrived at E.M first before break (10am). New PRSN area has been set up with plants at back. Various resources (including coloured pencils and pompom) had been put out on the table. Cl. Commented that they may move the tables to enable children to work on the floor 'which they like'. This will be the first time that children have accessed the area which is to be available to YN and YR *from the YR/1/2 class) only. Also put out were 'look, listen and note' sheets and a list of targets to be highlighted for YN. I had been thinking about whether or not to take in a note book in light of recent reading on ethnographic filed work but suggested to Cl that I do try taking detailed notes which can then be transferred to the assessment paperwork later if wanted. Also available (as previously agreed) were photos of YR children so they can monitor their own access 'entering and leaving' of the new area. YN will also use these when ready.

At break *Charlotte* (Y2) spots me looking into one of the environment trays (grass and frogs). I ask what I should call the grass. She starts to investigate all three trays. She un-buries a long green caterpillar. 'We had these in our classroom. I used to always play… Charlotte shows. *Joseph 'What are you doing?'*

At break time a complex social interaction takes place in the PSRN area with children of all ages coming and going firstly using the environment trays, comparing the weight of rocks and how many big ones they could pick up. An older girl counts out loud the frogs in the (artificial) grass tray. One younger child imitates. Children move on to 'linking elephants' and older child reminisces about when they were in her classroom. A Y6 girl asks if younger children want to help her find a whistle but they didn't, which she accepts. 'no??' in a teacher sort of voice.

The Y5/6 teacher comes in from the yard asking what the linking elephants are and wanting them to be put away (they have moved from the table to the corridor floor, with a group of approximately 8 children of various ages). One says: 'They're linking elephants. It's a maths area'. The older children are all girls while the younger ones are mainly boys. Whilst the first girl had wanted to engage with me the others conversed mainly amongst themselves (or to themselves in the case of younger children), until Joseph joined and stood close to me with the elephants telling me about the big ones. What is his intention in this engagement? None of the children at this point makes any comment about my writing, although one tells me their name. One asks my name and Joseph asks 'do you know my name?' which I answer incorrectly and am corrected. Joseph is reluctant to return to the classroom but does so when I say perhaps he will be able to come out later. Charlotte is even more reluctant and uses the tactic of telling me she has lost her coat which we quickly find but I have to go into the classroom to persuade her in.

Later Joseph, having been to the toilet, tells me that there are no paper towels in the boys although he doesn't need one 'yet'. 'Oh dear, I didn't put the lid in (talking about the tray of stones'. 'This is

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the heaviest. I can hold two.' Joseph spends 5-10 minutes telling me and himself about the contents of the trays; 'the frogs are similar. Some have red eyes.' He shows me that the caterpillar is stretchy. I say 'I hope it doesn't pull apart' Joseph says 'no it is stretchy'. Having moved methodically from one tray to another he wants to replace the lid but can't find one. I say that I don't know where he put it but it may be on top of the red tray. This turns out to be the case.

Note at top of page 'When/how/why do children pick up messages about play time and work time and what are the implications for learning and development – who from?

Teachers send out 2 children from each class (YR arrive first). We sit around for some time and the children discuss what is on the table but don't touch anything. Nursery children also join and at *Jackie's* behest, when I comment on stickers, tell me about shape work. Alison felt she should help Joseph to find his name although he was quite capable. Children seem concerned that the equipment has come from 'their classroom' and spend some time discussing what belongs to who (particularly Sammy Squirrel and Cuddly Lion). Nathan in particular seems concerned that I have taken equipment, for example toy money, from his classroom which may be needed. Nathan tries to initiate a shop but children are reluctant to touch the equipment or take on roles. I offer to be the shopkeeper and although this does not develop into full role play it breaks the ice. The pom-poms become peas. Alison (YR) sorts them by colour and when I call a pink one a pom-pom (on a receipt I have written) I am corrected.

The children move to the floor to link the elephants. This is achieved quite quickly in terms of the elephants running out and a short amount of time is spent discussing who has the longest chain of elephants. The children have placed a distance between them as a group and myself as an adult and all question/comparisons/responses are between the children. Phil goes into nursery to ask for more elephants but there are only compare bears. Which Jackie tells them do not link together. The bears do not become part of the elephant play as Joseph wants to see what happens if the throws them along the corridor. Adults come and go and as this is a walk way I feel unsure whether I should allow the elephant throwing to continue. I suggest we should put a barrier so that the elephants do not go into the classrooms and Joseph tries to shut the classroom door. I suggest we build a barrier with bricks or something but this idea is rejected, possibly because part of the challenge (danger?) is getting them thought the classroom doors. When Joseph wants to throw the elephants up high I suggest seeing if we can get them in the pot (which I try and fail to do) and which children do not take up at the time (but do later) and then that we play the throwing game with the soft pom-poms. This idea was taken up and pom-poms were spread over the floor. The throwing and making a mess came to a natural end after about 15 minutes and one by one children (led by Joseph I think) went back to exploring the environmental trays. The stones were manually reweighed and children (boys leading but girls also joining in tested their own strength holding first one then two then three. However, when children became interested in dropping the stones, listening to the noise they made, this was quickly stopped by a KS2 class teacher who said she was worried the plastic tray would split. Children went on to make a 'table top night garden. Total involvement by all 4 and a total lack of interest in answering my questions. Jackie later told me that Sally (a YN child who had previously refused to communicate with adults- went back and told her in great detail about how they had made the Midnight Garden) Children's interaction within the PSRN area were different, possibly more formal, that at break time. There was a feeling from adults passing through and from the children themselves that this was a 'lesson' period. The adult who seemed more uncomfortable about the children's use of the area than anyone was a lunchtime supervisor. Even though it was only 11:30 she thought they must be in the area getting ready for dinner, or going to the toilet and directed them to do that.

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Joseph, in between exploring the trays, explores the name cards. 'This is me! Do you know my name?' (me) 'Yes it's Joseph – you told me earlier' He goes through each picture asking me if I know who it is. I can't see the written names from where I am sitting and he names each photo for me (and himself?) Later he wants to find his bulb and reading the beginning of a name thinks Jodie's is his because it starts Jo but corrects himself when there following letters do not correspond.

Alison, who appeared the most worried at the beginning about doing something wrong or not acting on instructions was a leader within the throwing game but also seemed to combine it with wanting to put items in and take them out of plastic dishes and other containers (schema – revisited?)

Sally – when making the night garden, carefully places 1 frog on each rock (1-1 correspondence?).

Adults entered and left the area throughout the activities. Almost all directed instructions to the children and there was a feeling of discomfort and disruption at these times. Is this to do with adults need to control play which sometimes feels unstructured? Particularly the throwing in which I felt I had to discourage although had it been outside with different equipment I would probably have <u>encouraged</u> it.

How is the balance between control and exploratory play understood by adults with different roles with the school?

How much time should be allowed for children to explore before they settle to an activity?

Who should control the learning and why?

6/6/2011 – EM

10 am arrival. Cath out so worked with nursery. Three boys immediately shoot me with stickle bricks. I know from previous experience and their helmets (mainly fire helmets but also a police helmet used as a fire hat) that I am being squirted with water. Jackie asks if they would like to go with me into the PSRN area. Children take it that they will be showing me what to do. Jackie directs them towards the environmental trays and has mentioned counting. Martin counts securely to 10 (fruit pictures on the wall taken from 'The Hungry Caterpillar' book) but then jumps to 14. We recount together. Initial interest is in the frogs. One is the baddy because he has red eyes (he is also brown rather than green). Children access the trays one at a time.

Later K asks if we can make something. I ask what we will use and junk modelling is agreed on but it is snack/toast time. Children appear to be attached to this routine, it has been mentioned earlier, so we agree to model afterwards and take the materials out ready. Junk modelling lasted for most of the time between snack and lunch. Children decided quickly that they would make a pirate ship. Available materials: 1 cardboard tube, plastic milk bottles, cardboard boxes of various sizes. Children incorporate large sugar paper sheets and later coloured paper strips from long rolls. The activity, which was directed entirely by the group of boys, involved KUS, PD, PSED and PSRN (Shape space and measure) in addition to CLLD. All wanted to be involved in the bigger project although they took particular tasks upon themselves. Negotiation occurred about when and where things should be added; who was leading the project at any one time and how self and others should contribute. The finished product appeared to have far less meaning to the children than the process, although there seemed to be a finished product in their minds in which cabins went inside the bigger ship and the sea was made from paper strips. This gave purpose to the process. One child verbalised the purpose as being about their learning 'we're learning about pirates'. Did the increased amount of space contribute to this? Possibly not use of the area as envisaged by adults. It is easy as an adult to slip

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into concern about glue sticks and carpet. The nursery room is quite limited in terms of messy play flooring with well over half the space carpeted and a relatively small outside area.

Phil was vaguely interested in reinstating the idea of the shop from my previous visit a couple of weeks ago when he finds the money tray and brought the cuddly toys out. *Would a role play shop set up more attractively engage children more fully into the area as PSRN (maybe not – the activities accomplished have been largely outside what might be envisaged) Do staff want the area to remain a PSRN focus space in the long term?*

23/6/2011

When I come into nursery there are no firemen. The boys are building with giant lego and parking cars inside their buildings. They proceed to tell me about this.

I pop into YR. Cath is out doing SATS. There are 2 adults and all children are occupied. A group of boys is very keen to tell me about the video they have just seen and are starting to write about. Other children are occupied either in role play or with an adult and do not acknowledge my presence.

On return into nursery the boys who were junk modelling last week are keen to draw me into conversation. (NB children's occupation of space). It is snack time but will I wait a minute to make things with them? We could go 'out there' again. I have a conversation with Martin and another boy about a mobile phone. There is a genuine exchange about whether it is working. Martin says it needs charging.

Snack: 2 tables one with 6 boys and the other with 2 boys and 2 girls. The boys are keen to show me a 100square stuck in a cupboard. One child is secure in recognition of the numbers up to 100. He does not need to count. He says he can go to 1000 but we don't test this.

Jackie is looking at a story about an echo. A child asks 'what is an echo?'. Jackie tries to explain using knocking on the table as a demonstration of noise and suggests they should go and look for where they could make and echo.

During the modelling, last week, the boys appeared to have a well-established social group. They wanted to build the ship together, even though at times they worked using separate boxes they always wanted to add these to the bigger project. This meant negotiation between themselves and different children taking on a leadership role at different times. I appeared to be seen as an additional resource available to hold tape to be cut and parts to be stuck, although I did make technical suggestions about snipping tubes and types of tape to use on occasions.

The big table of boys monopolises adult attention during snack. The other 4 children create their own social interaction. Started by one girl experimenting with sticking out her tongue they examine one another's tongues. When Jackie needs to go out after snack Mandy (TA/assistant) says 'Could you sit on the carpet for Mandy for just a few minutes?' She is by the books. The boys take this as a signal to get books and take them in front of the white board. The boys get a book each but Alison joins them wanting to share a book and Gail also joins this sub group. The children are all involved and are praised by Kate for 'good sitting'. She is some way away cleaning up.

Later I am taking notes in the mark making area. K comes over. At first he operates a programmable toy getting it to push a pencil and inviting comment. He then tells me that he made the Lego building with the animals but 'the boys messed it up. Other boys go out to play but Kieran says he isn't going out – he doesn't feel well. We discuss the cloudy sky and play with the post box, reading plastic

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letters and writing a reply to bear. He also fetches a treasure map he has made and we mark and I write where the treasure is, *NB Kieran is interested in writing, reading and mark making but staff rarely utilise this through play. It appears at times that value is placed on doing the right things at the right times and behaving appropriately rather than children's learning.* Kieran also seems to like to lead and control his environment. He frequently asks me to join in with things and tells me how things need to be done.

One of the activities provided, which the children are encouraged to do as part of a topic and future display is painting fish. K is insistent that I help. He instructs me to put on an apron and says that I am allowed to help by painting a fish. He keeps bringing me back onto task 'I thought you were helping!'

Other children are interested in painting the other materials as fish. Phil systematically tests prints made with his finger against marks made with a brush. This is taken forward by a group into printing with sponges and fruit.

Following the session staff ask me about the best way to carry out observations of individual children and after some discussion I offer to carry out a time sample observation on a single child as a demonstration as one possible alternative to look and note which is the main system in use. We also discuss the nursery environment and I wonder whether a larger messy area would support mark making.

24/11/11

7 children: 6 boys and 1 girl with 2 adults (Jackie and Kate) plus me.

I sit with children during snack. Gina is the first to want to communicate and asks me lots of questions using my name to attract my attention. Gina wants me to go outside with her after snack. She appears to plan in her mind what we should do. She asks 'what shall we play?' When I ask what she usually plays outside she decides on running (space and equipment are limited). We run up and down several times and boys join in. Earlier I commented to Andrew that he is running round and round the table with a toy car. Outside he tries running round and round me. Gina decides that we should go inside and after looking around that I should be the mummy and she should be the dog so we enter into this for a while. Later Gina is leading imaginative role play with a group of boys. She appears the most articulate and is skilled at conveying characters and narrative which the boys enter into, primarily following her directions. When Gina has suggested playing shops I write a list (given by Gina) of the things the shop will sell. Andrew is interested in the mark making. His speech is difficult to understand but he gives me directions which I attempt (badly) to follow. I draw a spiral. Later Andrew traces round this with a pencil. His fine motor skills appear well practiced. While I was writing the list he drew around a wooden W.

Andrew wants the till He says 'till' and brings it over. I attempt to engage Andrew in imaginative play with the till but he's not interested in this. He is interested in the numbers that appear on a small screen when you press the buttons. He starts by producing rows of the same number and likes me to say the numbers when he has produced them. He makes some sounds but not the free flow self-narrative that many children use to direct their own play, however the numbers, sounds and articulations that I make appear meaningful to him. Jackie says that he is one of several children in nursery who have very poor speech. She says that she has heard from Mum that Dad dotes on him and does everything for him and that she is trying to make him more independent at nursery.

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Jackie also commented to K that the children were very interested in dinosaurs and that they should do a topic after Christmas.

Children sit down for singing and the Christmas story. All are fully absorbed while I get a chance to write up notes. Straight afterwards Colin comes up to me and sings a long song, playing the triangle. Jackie and I have a brief conversation about this cohort. She feels that they are very different from last year's. More immature and the relationship between speech and what they know is not always as she has experienced with other children. Laurence comes over and wants to see what is behind the cupboard. Jackie is concerned that he is one of 5 siblings who have 'attachment issues'. Laurence is interested in a plastic fan and in a toy tape measure. He appears interested in how these things work and is competent at pressing the correct button to release the measuring tape and in winding it in again. After a while Andrew wants my attention again. His verbalisations have become more confident and he indicates that we should go out using the word 'outside'. Outside we jump because it is cold. Andrew starts to go round and round me again with a toy wheelbarrow and I sing round and round the garden like a teddy bear. This develops firstly into him running away and then chasing me with the wheelbarrow. This is the first time in the morning that I have seen him laugh.

Woodlands

3rd November 2011 - W nursery

4 children attending today (with 3 adults and me). Two children are playing with a plastic 'fairytale castle G and B. G appears to be leading the play and is very verbal. When B takes the figure she says 'We have to share.' B seems to need time to collect his thoughts but does then verbalise as part of the pretend play story. G goes over to an adult and the other two children. B continues to verbalise play to himself then takes plastic duplo figures over to the duplo table continuing to make animal and human figures move about and to verbalise sound effects, talk to the figures and story tell.

Two children are at the 'malleable area table' with A2. G2 engages in conversation with A2 about making pots - Dad is a potter.

All three adult gather at the table where salt dough is being made. B2 comments about the size of different completed salt dough masses. Ashley asks a direct question about why they need flour today. B2 replies 'because….. I don't know'

G1 joins the group and space is made for her. A2 joins B1 at the Duplo table. He has commented that it is very dark in the castle. She joins his game but asks him to count how many duplo figures are in the castle. How are they going to get back in? (asserting control?). B1 willingly counts them (smiling). A2 Shall I put them back in or will you? B1 'I will put the in.' Once they are replaced A2 asks 'How many are in there' after a pause B1 says 9. A2' 'How many did we count?' Recounts taking them out then leaves the activity. B1 continues to build with duplo for a few minutes and resumes dialogue to himself. He looks over at the adults who are in the stock cupboard. Adie asks if he wants the push chair put out. He doesn't but pushes it back and forwards. A2 comments how quiet it is with only 4 children. Conner goes back over to the duplo and fixes a couple of pieces together and then joins some numbers together (again looking over at the adults). Another child asks him to join the dough making but he says 'no thanks'. He seems to be seeking notice from adults in his play with the numbers. I smile from across the room as he picks 0 and says 'zero', looking through it. We maintain eye contact and I am tempted to go over to join hips play but am not sure whether this is really what he wants.

At the dough table G2 and A2 dominate the talk. G2 is talking about trick and treating and tells a whole story about going up the drive. G1 is drawn into the conversation after a direct question from Ashley. The talk is about witch costumes, good and bad witches. This leads to talk about other dressing up clothes.

B2 does not verbalise. He continues to focus on the task with the flour and dough. He gazes at the girl opposite for some time but still does not speak. Conner draws A2 into conversation and into his game with the duplo to which he has returned. G1 re-joins him and they pick up the pretend play dialogue but when Ashley renters the room and joins G2 at the number table she joins them for a minute. When A2 joins B1 at the duplo table G1 immediately re-joins them (Does A2 really have a role in the play?) A2 asks G1 if she has done a shape picture and asks to be shown. They both come to the shape table where I am sitting and A2 encourages G1 to draw a new picture. She also does one herself. They talk about colours and that the adult's picture looks like a flower.

Aside A2 comments to me that they had parents evening last night and parents asked if children were writing yet 'it's crazy when they are only 3' she comments.

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G1 and A2 continue with the colouring activity but do not engage with me despite my close physical proximity and the fact that I am writing. A2 passes colours to G1 without being asked although she asks if more colours are wanted.

Conner is still at the duplo table and comments that 'the house is even darker now' which draws A2 over to him and he volunteers information about the story he is creating. B2 has joining Conner and is quiet although observing when A2 and Conner are talking (A2 mainly repeats the statements made by Conner). Once A2 leaves Conner and B2 do start to converse. Initially making separate models but quickly joining together to play on a joint project. B2 becomes far more verbal with his peers although Conner still appears to lead the play. B2 then starts to verbalise what he is doing and eventually instructs Conner 'Get mine out'. They enjoy dropping figures into the castle/house with sound effects such as whoosh and laughing. Gail (G1) joins but when she tries to add a figure Conner says 'no we don't need it' Gail proceeds to make her own model.

Ashley 'Can you think of a way of making a it stronger so that it doesn't fall apart?'

Alice tells me that B2 is the brother of a girl from the last cohort. She asks me what I think about G2s speech. I think she is very chatty. Alice is worried that the speech is difficult to understand. The initial sounds of words are not articulated. She also wonders if she is allowed to tell me about it. G2 goes over to 'the safety' of Alice and peers at me from around Addie but drawn by Alice does tell us about a museum trip to London.

It is G2s parents who have asked about her writing and the comment is made that she is only just 3. Ashley comments that she doesn't like to interfere in the play because with so few children everything would become adult led but also she says that she feels guilty not joining the children. She then joins all four at the Duplo. When snack is announced (the other two adults have been out making snack for some time) all four children rush to the door. All clearly perform snack routine getting names and putting them into a pot, then fetching their own drinks and a variety of food (toast, fruit, carrots). Then sitting together Alice comments that Conner has made his food symmetrical. I comment that I am lucky to have a cup of tea and ask what the children are drinking. No one answers until I ask if they are drinking beer. Which appears to break the tension and they tell me milk and water. Ashley comments that sound of the week is C and they have crunchy carrots. Children enjoy playing with the sounds and trying other alliterations then they talk about shapes (boats) they have made by biting their toast triangles.

A2 has taken out a soft novelty torch B2 asks 'how did you get that out?' He asks persistently until he gets an answer but in the process calls A2 by her first name she say 'what do you me here?' and B2 says Miss…… *Interesting in terms of image of teacher as separate from social relationships outside nursery.*

Outside: All four children play with hoops which are the first things taken out of the shed but Conner plays with the 'musical clothes horse'.

Ella: 'can I have a go at it?' Conner 'yes you can have these' A2 'Can Ella have one? Conner drops the spoon, laughs and leaves.

Groupings: C hoop and large tyres with A1

B2 and G2 roll hoop to one another

A1 to G1 Do you do brushing at home? No answer. B2 'I can do it' finds a worm 'A worm!' A2'I think we'll leave the worm to wiggle away.' G1 'another worm. I've broken it' to B2 'I've stood on the

wiggly worm. Both children appear to enjoy the physicality of brushing with only brief interludes of conversation A2 to B2'Can you do it with both hands?'

B1 and G2 with Adult balancing on large tyres. Shout across to A2 to look A2 goes over and praises.

Sweepers have become intent on cleaning all bits from the concrete area.

A2 - 'why do you think the ground is wet?' no answer

A2 to G1 'Be careful with the broom in there' (she has gone into the play house)

B2 'I've swept all the mud' A2 'You've swept all the mud, that's good''

B2 and G1 turn the brooms into hobby horses.

NB A2 communicates with children in 3 ways

1. *Questions - which are often unanswered or given the response I don't know*
2. *Instructions*
3. *Repeating child's words (often with comment or praise added)*

Episode of negotiation when B1 wants to have a broom. B1 to B2 'Look this is like a horse' Asks B2 first. Who says 'ask her' B2 drops the broom but grabs it up when in danger of B1 picking it up. G2 eventually hands over her broom without being asked to do so.

A1 and A2 engage in conversation about what A1 has drawn on the chalk-board. A1 is cast into the role of child and responds as such. A1 has said to me that she would like children to be able to draw on the concrete area but this is not permitted by the church. (*in a way adults and children are visitors on premises of pack away settings.*

G1 and G2 go on wheeled toys. B1 and B2 are playing the play house. There is lots of banging, chatting, opening and closing of the door. B2 'I need to go out to work. He marches round and the other shed becomes work. 'I need to go home from work now. Goodbye work.' B1 now 'home Hello B2 Hello. A2 interrupts the play 'Would you like chalk now to draw on the chalk-board?

My reaction is interesting. I feel that the boys are engaging in constructive imaginative play,which current discourse worries about boys not engaging with and I feel irritated by A2 redirecting this. I would like to ask her reasons for intervention but can't think of a way to do this without sounding critical. I hope to discuss this in the next research meeting but worry that this will be with A1 and A3 thus excluding A2s own explanations

W 22.5.12

Ten Children

See plan in notebook 4: playdough, ice, hospital role play, scissors/pens/paper, plastic shapes/felt pens/sugar paper. Floor space duplo, farm set, book area, stepping stones and stilts.

Child T(B1) is playing with B2 but is interested when I come in with a pad and pen. 7 children are at the focus activity which is water, ice and foam. T first seems to cast around for something for me to do but then says to Ashley that I need a chair. We agree that I should kneel by the shape table (logic-blocks). There are only a few of the logic blocks out T starts to tessalate the triangles. I point out that there is a triangle shaped space left. Tom goes to a drawer and finds some smaller triangles. He sticks at this task until a completed hexagonal is formed. A1 comments that this is a breakthrough. A1 takes a photo and talks to T giving praise. T talks about his friends.

10:40 2G and 2B at the farm. B2 'baby pig, baby pig' G3 (S) is building on her own with the duplo. Hears her name and looks up and then incorporates a zebra into the 'crane' she is building

Mark making on the shape table evidenced by scribbles. E has written her name. All three staff (and I) are writing observations. B4 falls on the stepping stones. He is not hurt but seems unsure of how to respond when adult 2 asks if he is OK. Possibly hurt pride? He goes into the (role play) hospital with two of the girls but leaves to run around the space. There is some slight immaturity in his physical control but he seems to be drawn to physical play. He starts to swing on one stilt with a back and forth movement but Olivia takes it from him in order to walk on the 2 stilts. He wanders around a bit and comes to stand by the ice table, where a group of 5 children are playing and conversing. He fiddles with a toy spanner Ashleyr, close to adult 2. He then twice drops the spAshleyr and picks it up again. A2 asks what he wants to do. He loses his footing due to standing and making a kicking action with one leg and falls. On this occasion he cries, gaining a cuddle and A2s attention. He stops crying when Olivia comes over to talk to A2. A2 and B4 (James) go to the farm together. A2 takes tractors out of a carrier bag. The play is initiated by A2 but James acquiesces and hooks a up a trailer and plays with the tractors. A1 and A2 are talking. B (Sam) taps A2 to show and comment on a small orange vehicle.

Tom has been at the ice with two other boys negotiating over who should lead and who should follow in the play. He asks Sam if he wants the screwdriver while Tom plays with the torch. B4 says 'NO' and without malice Tom goes over to play with the tractors. Tom 'tractor, tractor, tractor' B4 wants Tom to go to the water but Tom says 'no I'm playing with the tractors, come and play with the tractors'. B4 sits and blocks the space where Tom was going to push the tractor. Tom frowns and starts to verbalise his displeasure but A3 intervened *(too quickly?)* which Tom respects. By the time he understands what was meant B4 has moved away.

5 children are dressed up and playing on the stepping stones. The dressing up has been initiated by Olivia who has invited everyone to her baby's party. Music for snack time breaks up the party.

Meeting with Alice: Agreed that the purpose is general staff/team development. Aidie would eventually like to (buy in some training?) Look at Bespoke with Nicola Burke (music).

Following meeting walked down to the school and stayed until the children were picked up by parents after lunch. Eight of the ten children were staying for lunch and were picked up from the school today. The children walked in pairs with Anna at the front of the line, Alice in the middle and me at the back. It has been wet so children put on wellington boots and could to walk through puddles. They talked to one another about splashing and other noises rain makes. Part way to the school we had to stop because the dust cart was blocking the pavement. Tom talked to me about the size of the truck and how fast it might be able to go and the mechanism for lifting the bins. Other adults and children talked about which day of the week their bins are emptied and the different places that we live. Children start their dinners before the older children finish for lunch time. Some have brought pack lunches. Children having a school dinner collect trays and line up at the hatch to select a dinner, a pudding and a drink. This is a rehearsal for when they get into reception. The serving staff are particularly attentive to these very young children. Once everyone is seated the staff and myself focus on helping with putting straws into drinks, discussing what is in lunch boxes or what children have chosen for a hot lunch and generally encouraging 'healthy choices', eating savouries before sweet items and table mAshleyrs.

Tuesday 29th May 2012

Arrival 10:10: See plan in notebook 4 for activities. Only 2 adults. There is no cover this week. The climbing frame is being used for role play.

On arrival the atmosphere is quiet and calm. All children are occupied at self-selected activities (5 boys and 5 girls)

2 girls and 1 boy are in the reading area. Ola is holding a book and telling the story. G2 and B1 are the audience. Later G1 is in the area alone. She talks to and feeds the separator figures (linked wooden figures used as temporary screens to create areas). B2 has joined the playdough. Olivia returns to the playdough but this time negotiates with the others over what she needs to take. She returns to the original space and continues the one sided talk and imaginary play. (*Vygotskian and Bruner interpretations versus pedagogical possibilities?*)

Ashley spends time with individual children one boy and one girl on separate occasions, but she is also nursing a baby doll. Ashley tells me that the children are painting the queen (there is a cut out, mounted photograph of the queen). A2 writes children's names on their paintings and on a separate piece of paper what they have said about their painting. Ashley tells me that she would usually listen to the children and remember what they say but Aide would always record what the child says. I ask about 'modelling' the sentences on the pictures and A2 says they will go underneath when displayed. We move on to talk about friendships between the boys in the group. Ashley says it is nice that Alex has asked Tom to play with him in the water as Tom used always to play with Ben but now that Ralph has joined the pre-school Ben and Ralph often play together and Tom is excluded. I ask further about this and Ashley says that Tom tends to be on the periphery of activities.

Alex and Tom are dropping fish from a height into the water (arm length above their heads). The snack music has played and only 4 boys remain in the main room. Alex and Tom are getting a bit 'silly'? (They may be aware of being watched and talked about). Alex is laughing because Tom is putting the fish in his mouth. Ashley goes over to talk to them about their play. She does not give any objection to their behaviour. Tom goes over to the sand and starts to bury the fish. He says to Ashley that they are sandy. Ashley asks 'why is that?' Tom says 'because they want to play in the sand' Ashley asks 'How does the sand stick?' and after a pause Tom says 'because they are wet'. Tom says 'will you clean them?' Ashley says 'I will get you a tissue and you can clean them'.

G1 takes a baby doll over to G2 who is playing with cars and says 'you can hold my baby.' They pass the doll (which is wrapped in a shawl) with care as if it is a real baby. G2 (Sally) has put on the does not participate in this. She is doing a lacing card. Other chi and clown wig she wore last week. I comment on it and we play 'where is Sally?' as she puts the wig on and off. Sally says she is a pirate. I ask if she has a sword - she says no. I ask about her ship and she says she has sailed then goes to put on a builder's hard hat with ear phones. She then starts to lead role play inside the climbing frame, conveying to the group boys and girls that it is a pirate ship. The group have initially been pretending to be babies crawling together. The large group in the role play fluctuates. Children appear to want to add their own imaginative aspects which involve coming and going. The pirate ship changes to a hospital and a house (this is how Ben uses it). Only Olivia does not participate. She is doing a lacing card and other children join and converse with her. There is lots of talk from inside and outside the role play climbing frame. (*NB ECAT*). I am watching and listening. Ashley asks me if the children are all right.

The session is brought to a close and Alice calls all children over to a sitting area where it is conveyed that they will go outside next. They are asked what they need to do next and Zac volunteers 'tidy

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up'. For a few minutes each child finds a different place to tidy. Olivia concentrates on the Duplo and focuses on this task until it is finished, although most children have lost interest and jump about with their friends. Ellen does to the very final tidying on the instruction of Ashley. The group look at hatching butterflies, two children at a time - from sitting, which promotes conversation with A3 but also controls the going outside to play.

Olivia comes back in and announces loudly that she needs a wee. She seems a bit apprehensive but is encouraged to go to the toilet independently. She is concerned about the door being shut. A3 gives her a bit of help with hand washing and going back out.

B5 (Seth) has played alone for most of the morning at a variety of activities. A2 has played with the cars with him and when she moves away and talks to me he taps her and says he wants his Mum but is happy when she returns to their play with the ambulance. Outside he plays alone on a scooter, moving carefully up and down the path and around the tarmac area.

Monday 11th June 2012 W

Went in today rather than tomorrow (Tuesday) as I am in Birmingham tomorrow. When I arrived A3 told me that it was only her and a 'supply friend' because Alice is ill and Ashley wanted to come in but has no car. There are fewer children as usual as the school is closed today. See floor plan in notebook 4.

A1 said apologetically that she had been miserable at the previous meeting (I thought she was just apprehensive about her role and responsibilities with the 4 afternoon children. Used the morning to take photos rather than observe. A1 was chatty and we talked about how we may use the photos. Spoke about different perspectives through media and that I might use a voice recorder next visit to better hear and deconstruct children's dialogue. Also give cameras to children to try to gain their perspective. A1 said they have used voice recorders and that the children liked it and found it interesting. The atmosphere is very calm. Three boys are all pushing a doll in a push chair. B1 is holding onto the pushchair and chatting to the other two. The cover is frequently replaced onto the doll in a caring way. Olivia joins the play and the children go on a picnic with bricks as food. G2 brings a glass of squash from the role-play equipment to A1 and A1 asks if there is one fo me which I accept. A1 comments that it is hard to know when to intervene in play. Children are all fully engaged (3 boys and 1 girl at the picnic and one girl in the foam). Two other girls are at the mark making with adult 2. Earlier Tom has hit B1 with the push chair, the reason is unclear, and A1 has intervened. At child level she asks 'why am I not happy?, Why don't we hit?, What are you going to do?. Tom turns to B1 and says sorry. The play continues without further friction.

A1 talking about Tom 'We do have some concerns about Tom..intellectual concerns...well not intellectual… you know what I mean but he does well on some activities. Tom is experimenting with triangular bricks. I comment that he seems quite mathematically minded and is a good problem solver (this is the child who tessellated the triangles). A1 agrees but says 'we have been trying to teach him colours for two years but doesn't get it but he really concentrates on some activities.

The Heaths (LS and HT)

Previous concern over Ofsted and need to be formal in YR. Inconsistencies of Ofsted report - EY Good. HTs perception that children do not make better (or worse) progress than other year groups. Neglect of the outside learning environment. L hadn't even shown me the garden area. Different perceptions of how/why it should be used. Link back to Rousseau and romantic versions of childhood.

Parents 'focus on the wrong things' Middle class involved parents. Some are teachers. Only concerned that their children are happy. Discussed their concerns about friendships rather than results of Ofsted judgements. Two Dads from America appear (to Chris) to have more grasp of the system than these English MC parents and lone parents from the local estate who may not even have registered that the school was being inspected. Appears here to be a (bleeding) between the personal and professional which is uncomfortable (maybe) for this male head who has his own children at a neighbouring primary school.

Appendix 7: EYQL Reports Observations of Practice

Observations of Practice:

'A lot of thought has been given to wall displays which provide a good balance of children's work, interactive reflections of the learning which is taking place and resource such as phonics charts. There is a substantial role play area and an attractive reading area in progress. Four groups have teacher initiated tasks to complete. There is plenty of adult support and child/adult interaction at these activities. Four children are accessing continuous provision but there is no adult allocated to this and the outside environment is not available to children during this session. The children are grouped by ability but not all of the work is appropriate in terms of the objectives set. Scrutinising, challenging and adding to existing cohort data will support planning for individuals and small groups'. **(The Fields Primary School, 2.2.15)**

'Observation of maths lesson (record of observation left with LD). The session was started with a whole class activity in which children had a solid shape, a flat shape or a picture of a shape with the name printed on it. The objective was to identify whether shapes were 3D or 2D and to name them. Behaviour during this activity was good but not all children were able to participate or complete the task. Following the carpet session two groups continued the work on shape as separate adult led assignments, the lower ability identifying and writing the names of 2D shapes with the TA and the other group matching pictures of shapes in the environment to pictures of 3D shapes on mats directed by the teacher. This group was too big for each child to have their own mat. One child in the 2D shape appeared confused by the fact that he had a solid shape to hold on the carpet but then had to go to an activity where he was expected to write the names of 2D shapes.

Children accessing continuous provision during the lesson had a range of well thought out learning activities These included writing numbers in pink glitter which was accessed only by girls during the observation, but those children who selected the activity were able to form the numbers correctly. The role play area set up as a polar exploration base was well used by the boys and provided them with opportunities to speak, listen, read and write.

The outdoor learning environment was not available until later in the session when the TA was no longer engaged with her focus group of children. The opportunity to go out with the TA was then opened up to the class. The entire group working with the TA went out as this had been promised as a reward for completing the shape activity.

Following time spent tidying up prior to snack children had a story while they ate which was skilfully read by the class teacher'. **(The Fields Primary School, 4.3.15)**

The classroom is well organised with stimulating displays and appropriate materials such as number lines to support children's learning. The outdoor learning space was ready for use but not accessed during this visit due to some special events which children accessed and enjoyed with other classes. This made the morning rather disjointed and it may have been better to abandon the PE lesson. Changing for physical activity should be viewed as part of PSED as well as physical development and staff could have talked to the children about the importance of appropriate clothing. Thought needs to be given to the best way to utilise staff and helpers. The discussion following the karate was very appropriate but more would have been gained in terms of speaking and listening and participation of all the children had they sat in small circles rather than straight lines with and adult facilitator for each group. There were four adults in the room. There is still too much time spent sitting in the carpet area, for example snack took up a substantial amount of time when children had only just come back from sitting in assembly. **(The Fields Primary School, 25.9.14)**

The indoor learning environment is well plAshleyd with opportunities for role play, construction, manipulative play, reading and writing, although the quiet room is weaker in terms of organisation for a clear purpose. Continuous provision was not observed during this session. The maths session was well structured and children clearly enjoyed the activities. A small group of less able children worked with a classroom assistant. It would be valuable to think about noise levels of other activities when withdrawing children for targeted work. The routine of whole class, adult led followed by a jolly job is working well. Phonics teaching is not yet sufficiently visible in displays, reading materials or resources to prompt literacy. The activity during which children were writing their full names was unnecessarily difficult at this point in the year as some children have very long and difficult family names and there were too many children in the group for the adult to check correct letter formation. Suggested creation of a phonics wall which builds as children cover more phonic sounds and blends. **(Heath Primary School, 7.10.14)**

Children enjoyed the maths lesson for which they had been split into ability groups. Both groups enjoyed the flower song introducing/reinforcing the concept of one more. There was wide coverage of mathematical concepts including addition, measure, and positional language and counting for the lower ability group. Focus of the more advanced group was on ordering by height of pre-prepared cut out flowers. Children had the opportunity to carry out the activities independently during continuous provision.

The classroom environment is well plAshleyd and stimulating. Opportunities for speaking, listening, reading, writing, maths and understanding the world were available through role play in the 'Frozen' role play area, which was particularly popular. Learning both indoors and outside had been plAshleyd into the session. Thought needs to be given to the extent to which children take responsibility for their learning both in terms of moving between activities and their contributions to Learning Journey documentation. **(Heath Primary School 20.01.15)**

- The environment is well organised with appropriate displays and a range of activities. Continued thought is being put into the best use of the space and routines in light of the need to have a mixed YR/Y1 class this year.

- AS expressed concern about staffing and safety of the outside area when unsupervised. LS suggested that the area between the gate and covered area could be prohibited in the morning. It may also be necessary to cone off the top area so that children can have free flow access to the covered area only at identified times of the day

- The observation highlighted the need to implement clear and consistent routines with these very young children, particularly in light of the job share and mix of YR with the less mature children from the Y1 cohort. Time needs to be taken this half term to implement strategies which will support children to monitor and reflect on their learning enabling them to fully participate in the school marking scheme as they progress. Examples discussed include a challenge system for literacy and mathematics, free flow snack, self-registration and activity monitoring **(Ashton First School, 12.9.14)**

Noted: Children were able to recall the previous session on celebrations. LS made links and modelled teaching points from fireworks and Diwali. A clear objective relating to nouns and verbs was displayed but this was not met during the lesson. Good learning routines, including closing eyes to imagine and talking partners are in place and children respond well to these strategies. 'Health and Self Care' was brought into the PD session in the hall in terms of children talking about their raised heart beat but they left shoes and jumpers on for this session. The firework rhyme inspired children in their counting and application of number. It would have been good to bring the children closer together and to have individuals physically acting as the fireworks. This would allow you to extend the counting beyond 1O as well as providing opportunities to ask open questions such as 'How many fireworks shall we have today?' Advised: YR could have moved into a smaller group for more focused phonics teaching with the TA. This would bring differentiation in line with assessment judgements. The session on the carpet was too long for some of the younger children Make sure that RWI strategies are linked back to letters and sounds to ensure that all aspects are covered Ensure that the talking partner activities are given sufficient time for children to speak and listen to one another. Adults should convey that they value this. Consider using talking partners at times outside of just the phonics sessions. This would have worked well when the children felt their hearts beating. Children's behaviour is consistently good, they listen to adults and are familiar and comfortable with routines. Think about extending children's learning including opportunities for children to be heard. Ensure aims/objectives and next steps for each group are clear to all of the adults as well as children. Try not to over plan too many teaching points, this will allow more scope for following children's interests and initiatives. **(Ashton First School, 10.11.15)**

Children in the YR/Y1 class had been split between two rooms by year group. Y1 were completing a writing activity supported by the teacher and a TA. The small numbers of YR children were in the other room with a TA who was carrying out a reading activity with an individual whilst overseeing the rest of the group who had elected to play with the train track. The outside area was not available due to organisation of staff. **(Ashton First School, 23.10.14)**

Classroom has been well organised and resourced with appropriate displays of phonics and other teaching aids, including good use of the interactive white board. Children changed for PE with growing independence and help given where needed. LS took the opportunity to talk to children about heart rate and appropriate clothing for physical activity All children readily participated in the skeleton dance. **(Ashton First School, 29.9.15)**

Appendix 8: EYQL Reports Leadership and Management

There is potential for a strong, proactive team in EYFS. LD is taking an active leadership role while the staff team becomes established. Recommended 'Getting it Right First Time' http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/17967/ as a useful document to be read and discussed. This illustrates ways in which early years' settings have moved practice forward to become outstanding. **(The Fields Primary School, 2.2.15)**

- TA support has been changed around in terms of morning and afternoon which more clearly recognises strengths within the team. Continue to ensure that adult time is plAshleyd so as to support and continuously review children's learning and development throughout the day. Suggested that the class is split into two groups at carpet times rather than whole class in order to promote involvement in the learning and tailor learning objectives to development
- Spent time talking about planning and children's routines. F shared a weekly planning format from her visit to Oxen Primary School. Agreed that this is good tool to implement immediately as it clearly shows learning objects, activities which provide cross curricular opportunities with ways in which the activity will be reinforced within continuous provision recorded in italics. Advised that an additional column should be added in order to set 3 levels of challenge in writing and mathematics each week. This could be extended into other areas of learning once the format is embedded. **(The Fields Primary School, 13.5.14)**

HT is currently leading on improvements to EYFS through careful action planning and monitoring of practice

Shared Getting it Right First Time document and relevant sections of the Inspection Handbook **(The Fields Primary School, 25.9.14)**

Shared materials including Staffordshire EY Quality Audit tool **(The Fields Primary School, 19.11.13)**

DHT has been working with YR staff in order to inform staff monitoring and progress in EYFS when she takes up post as Acting Head after Easter. The AHT at B. First School is an

experienced EYFS leader and may be a useful source of support **(Heath Primary School, 4.6.14)**

Due to current staffing and team reorganisation CL takes an active lead on performance management in EYFS. RC is responsible for developing the phonics curriculum. LH and RC jointly manage the day to day running of the YR unit.

Visited the possibility of a sub group of the governors taking a more active role in development of EYFS provision **(Heath Primary school, 7.1014)**

- Discussed changes in staff team for next term and how this will contribute to continued improvement in provision of the EYFS
- Explored ways in which relationship with the [private nursery on site] might be further developed in order to contribute to baseline data collection and continuity for children and parents **(Heath Primary School, 11.7.15)**

LS and HT discussed arrangements for next term and advantages of appointing a EYFS lead to report into SLT **(Heath Primary School 20.1.15)**

- LS, DS, DE and CL gave careful consideration to the most appropriate composition of classes and staffing in light of the low number of YR children this academic year. The statutory ratio for EYFS is 1:13. A maximum of 26 children with a teacher and at least one TA would best support learning in the YR/Y1 class
- There are 8 pupils eligible for pupil premium in the YR/Y1 cohort. It was agreed that additional TA support would be provided for this group of children **(Ashton First School, 12.9.14)**

- DHT is supporting the EYFS team develop assessment and tracking processes which meet EYFS best practices and contribute to the federation data collection and analysis **(Ashton First School, 20.3.14)**

Discussed support and monitoring within EYFS. DHT is committed to extending his own professional development by undertaking observed teaching in YN and YR. **(Ashton First School, 20.3.15)**

- Discussed staffing including deployment of TAs and support for NQT in Y1/2 **(Ashton First School, 4.9.14)**

There is still a need to appoint teaching staff in the YR/Y1 class on a more permanent basis.

The SLT concurs that organisation of the learning environment and groupings are the best arrangement for children and parents in light of the numbers this year. Decisions about curriculum coverage should be led by staff working in the EYFS unit.

The school is also planning to appoint an additional TA for the afternoon when there are 31 children in the YR/Y1 cohort

It may be appropriate to request some commissioned support to ensure continuation of good practice in EYFS **(Ashton First School, 23.10.14)**

The role of Early Years' Co-ordinator is part of the YR teacher's job spec. CT is reporting back to SLT through DHT. As part of this role CT is developing an Early Years' Action Plan. Some of the actions will be retrospective reflecting the progress made last term. Suggested that new actions should tie in with the action points agreed at EY QL/support visits. Thought needs to be given to realistic time scales, progress markers and involvement of other team members (TAs, nursery staff and SLT). JT is sending pro-forma to support this. Agreed that embedding the positive relationship with nursery through phase meetings, joint moderation and training will be key to outcomes for children. It might be useful for Ct and Nursery Lead Practitioners to visit the nursery at SMC. **(Ashton First School, 29.9.15)**

Discussed creation of clear lines of responsibility and support for EYFS as a discreet stage of children's learning and development. A governor action committee has been set up and key roles are being finalised
⍰ Reviewed the current action plan which should be complete by the end of the Autumn Term. Next steps towards the creation of outstanding provision for children from entry to nursery to transition to Y1 can then be evaluated and recorded
⍰ Stressed the need for at least one member of staff in each part of the provision (including the Out of School Club) to hold a full and relevant L3 qualification. Also suggested that a member of the nursery team might work towards Early Years' Teacher Status (EYT) – formally EYP which would allow a 1:13 ratio. See Statutory Framework for the Early Years Foundation Stage paragraphs 3.32 and 3.33
⍰ Highlighted Getting it Right First Time as a useful document for development of leadership of EYFS **(Ashton First School, 8.10.13)**

Appendix 9: EYQL Reports Outcomes for Children

All agreed that the existing data for this cohort is not currently robust. LT has attended half day moderation training. There is urgent need to ensure that staff members have a clear picture of each child's best fit within the EYFS development bands for each area of learning. The prime areas would be a good starting point. This will enable identification of individuals working below age related expectation, allow consideration of whether they are slightly or significantly below and inform appropriate interventions. It will also support provision already made for children likely to exceed some or all of the early learning goals at the end of the academic year and ensure that most or all pupils achieve a Good Level of Development (GLD).

Learning Journeys are being developed to better reflect each child's achievements. Suggested that a separate classroom journal could be kept for children, parents and staff to celebrate interesting group or class projects and events. 2Simple is to be introduced as a support tool for staff.

Advised that consideration should be given to the Early Years part of the SEF in light of the separate Ofsted judgement which will be awarded as part of the next inspection. See Ofsted Inspection Handbook pp 63-77

Discussed new baseline requirements from September 2016. There will be a showcase event for head teachers at The Kingston Centre on 27th March 2015 (further information attached to email) **(The Fields Primary School, 2.2.15)**

- There are now a good range of plAshleyd activities with clear learning outcomes displayed to which adults and children can refer. This system now needs refinement in order to differentiate between individuals and groups with different starting points, skills and experiences. A system should be embedded which enables teachers, with the support of TAs, to monitor which children have accessed challenge activities and the extent to which they have achieved the intended learning outcomes
- Consideration should be given to which activities will have a very focused outcome (for example handwriting/correct letter formation) and which will be more open ended giving children opportunity to solve problems creatively and demonstrate characteristics of effective learning
- Children will benefit from clear modelling of teaching points which are then emphasised as opportunities for exploration and practice within continuous provision
- Audit reading materials to ensure a good balance of fiction and non-fiction **(The Fields Primary School, 7.7.2014)**

Ran through preparations for formal moderation.

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Discussed evidence from learning journeys and balance between assessment judgements from teacher led and child initiated learning. These are now more rigorous and LT is able to justify decisions in line with band descriptors and ELGs.

Looked at the exceeding statements and discussed features which distinguish exceeding from expected in specific ELGs including writing

Shared potential opportunities for moving children forward prior to final submission of data and transition to Y1.

Talked about developing moderation and transition practices to be more inclusive of local pre-school settings. LT and LD are visiting children in the September cohort as a good starting point for making further links. **(The Fields Primary School, 8.5.15)**

- CT said that children have made good progress in writing this year and that this will be reflected in the evidence to be moderated. Phonics teaching has had a clear impact on children's ability to build and segment words when writing, attention is still needed to address poor letter formation. Read, Write, Ink has proved successful in some schools in giving a structured approach which rigorously links phonics and writing skills. It would be beneficial to consider phonics and literacy together so that children do not stop needlessly for separate carpet time input.
- Discussed YR in relation to the school marking scheme. LS provided an example of a proud cloud which could be adapted to involve children in regular feedback on their progress, set next steps and promote strong home school links. There could be an opportunity once a week to review with children individually what they have done well and set an objective for the following school week. This supports children in their acquisition of the language and attitudes they require to understand more complex book marking as they progress through the school. Stressed that most much of the learning in YR will focus on the process which children go through in order to gain, practice and embed skills, knowledge and characteristics of effective learning. Stamps indicating particular achievements for example in relation to positive attitudes, good writing, good thinking and so on are appropriate for use in books or on achievement charts. (The Fields Primary School, 13.5.14)

Discussed the 2013 EYFSP data which reflects the Ofsted findings that children leave EYFS with levels of development above the national average but that too few exceed expectations. Literacy, particularly writing, was the weakest area. This will be addressed as part of the whole school focus on reading and writing

Stressed the importance of accurate base line data and its use for ensuring that children's different starting points inform the teaching and next steps for individuals and small groups. Highlighted that children secure within an age band will be entering the next band

Progress monitoring takes place half termly so a sound tracking system is essential. Agreed moderation with the Y1 teacher, subject leaders and cross school moderation are important components in supporting accurate judgements **(The Fields Primary School, 25.9.14)**

Considered current development of individual children within the cohort and looked at the preceding band, next steps and early learning goal in order to support planning, teaching and assessment

⯈ Provided examples of different types of observation and started to identify uses and limitations. Recommended 'A Practical Guide to Child Observation and Assessment' by Christine Hobart and Jill Frankel (Nelson Thornes, 2001) ISBN 0-7487-4500-9 **(The Fields Primary School, 19.11.13)**

Staff member are struggling with some technical aspects of 2Simple but are receiving support from the company. Suggested that they might also contact Sally Wilson who is one of the ITC leads within the Early Years' Teacher Consultant team.

Discussed the distinctions between data and profiling, the purposes of different types of data and how data analysis and profiling might be used to maximise impact on children's learning and development. Learning Journeys have been identified as a strength in YR in the past but there is currently a lack of consistency in the quality of products and annotations included.

Talked about children's contributions to their learning journeys including their articulations of what they have enjoyed and what should be included to reflect their achievements. This is a starting point for children's understanding of the marking policies further up the school.

Agreed that it may be helpful for the team to focus on Characteristics of Effective Learning as a focus for day to day observations. All observations should be purposeful with a clear context included in the text. The team should agree on a system which allows all staff to contribute to the assessment process but recognises that more complex observations and assessment decisions are the responsibility of the class teachers. **(Heath Primary School, 4.6.14)**

Scrutinised EYFSP data for 2013-14 cohort. 64.5% of children achieved a 'Good Level of Development' (GLD), which above national and county scores. Over fifty percent of the cohort was five during the Autumn term so progress needs to be carefully monitored against starting points identified by the baseline assessments. There were eleven children who did not reach GLD. CL had identified writing as an area for focus this year.

Highlighted pages 66 to 68 of the Schools Inspection handbook which details expectations in relation to data. Also pages 73 to 77 which also refer to individual grading for EYFS from September 2014

Referred to 'Ready to Read' (Ref: 140130) **(Heath Primary School, 7.10.14)**

- Initial data analysis indicates that 64.5% of children achieved a Good Level of Development (GLD) in 2014. This is slightly lower than 2013 but the overall Average Point Score has risen from 2.12 to 2.70 indicating an increase in the number of children exceeding in some areas.
- Agreed that writing is likely to be a focus next year. Also highlighted the need to identify children with the potential to exceed ELGs by the end of YR, from data collected during their first half term in school. EYFSP data will be explored more fully at the QL visit booked for October when LH will be back and RC will have joined the team
- Looked at Moderation Report which confirms that judgements are secure **(Heath Primary School, 11.7.14)**

2 Simple has been introduced in order to support efficient collation of Learning Journeys. The team need opportunity to review how records of children's progress are kept and used. Suggested that this is a focus for the next support visit.

Highlighted the introduction of EYFS tool within the SIMS system which supports data collection and analysis. Advised that the baseline, tracking of the rate of progress and prediction of the likely point scores by the end of the year taken from the former are the primary indicators of GLD from the summative assessments at the end of the year. The school is likely to receive a moderation visit for EYFSP. **(Heath Primary School, 20.1.15)**

Lack of consistency in staffing the two form entry reception class this year has had a significant impact on outcomes for this cohort of children. It is vital that this is discussed as part of the transition to Y1 and an action plan put in place to ensure accelerated progress and appropriate interventions in KS1.

We scrutinised EYFSP data and identified a trend of lower than expected language development for a significant proportion of this cohort. Advised that realistic routines and strategies for ensuring children become secure at 40-60 months, particularly in the prime areas of learning, need to be in place from the start of the year. Baseline data should be used to identify the specific age band into which each child meets a 'best fit' This will inform the grouping and specific next steps for the class, small groups and individuals.

Discussed long standing research evidence indicating the need for children of this age to take responsibility for their learning in school by articulating their choices and achievements for example the Perry Pre-school longitudinal study. Where children's development is slightly or significantly below age related expectations planning needs to take into account early interventions and possible impacts on other children, including the progress of those identified as exceeding.

Suggested that a more positive professional connection is developed with Little Learners Pre-School, which is has an Ofsted rating of Good. Joint moderation and a reciprocal professional relationship would give staff a more reliable picture of each child as they move

through EYFS. LS will discuss the possibility of facilitation through Little Learner's QL. **(Heath Primary School, 25.6.14)**

Talked through the moderation process stressing the importance of best fit judgements. Interim judgements should be recorded on a single sheet in preparation for the formal moderation visit. This should detail whether each child is 1 (emerging), 2(expected) or 3 (exceeding) in each of the 17 early learning goals.

Referred to 2015 exemplification materials as the key documents which will inform summative judgements at the end of EYFS.

The date for submission of data is Tuesday 16th June 2015

Discussed transition processes and the possibility of inviting the nursery to participate in moderation meetings through the year **(Heath Primary School, 30.4.15)**

- Scrutinised EYFSP data which shows that the percentage of children reaching a GLD by the end of EYFS is higher than National and higher than Staffordshire for 2014

- The school has secure tracking systems which operate from nursery through to the transition to Y1. Agreed that it would be helpful to extend this, including moderation meetings, to include Y1 staff.

- DS expressed an interest in Think2 software. Product details can be found at www.2simple.com. For more information on purchasing contact David Clark on 01889 869504 or ltsales@entrust-ed.co.uk.

- Highlighted the necessity for secure baseline date as children enter YN and YR **(Ashton First School, 12.9.14)**

- Shared the underlying principles of Early Years Outcomes document and Development Matters non-statutory guidance
- Agreed on actions for YN and YR staff to continue to work together to streamline learning journeys, tracking and observation systems in order to support transitions into YN and on into YR and Y1 **(Ashton First School, 20.3.14)**

DHT has is designing tracking systems which take account of age related expectations from entry to YN through to Y4

Spoke about Learning journeys as a tool for promoting young children's involvement in planning and evaluation of their own learning. This sets the foundations for marking schemes as children progress through the school

Spent time looking through children's learning journeys and agreed that they represent the progress made by the YR cohort this year. Noted that context tends to be missing from observations. Emphasised the importance of assessing child initiated learning since this gives a truer picture of young children's attainment than adult focus activities. Assessment

materials should include holistic observations, clear next steps and comments on Characteristics of Effective Learning. LS will put aside time to collate the information gathered on post-it notes in order to gain a fuller picture of curriculum coverage in order to inform planning and assessment in the summer term.

Discussed the process and requirements of moderation. CT attended moderation training (agreement trialling cluster) last night at P First School. The school will need to download the 2015 Assessment Handbook, ARA and 2015 exemplification materials from http://www.aaia.org.uk/aol/statutory/early-years-foundation-stage-profile-england **(Ashton First School, 201.3.15)**

- Discussed evidence to support teacher judgements on children's progress towards the early learning goals including those emerging and those exceeding
- Learning journeys and data systems were initiated by previous teacher. AS and CC have worked with the assessment co-ordinator to ensure that data has continued to be developed and analysed. Suggested that this liaison is continued in completion of profile data.
- Agreed that children's files need to be reorganised so that evidence is easy to access during moderation **(Ashton First School, 29.4.14)**

- Agreed that it is not beneficial for children to spend the morning in one class and then move to a different class in the afternoons (**Ashton First School, 4.9.14**)

CT has started baseline assessments using Early Excellence. This will enable analysis of children likely to exceed ELG statements by the end of EYFS and ensure a good level of challenge throughout the year. Focus on Characteristics of Effective Learning will also inform how children might be grouped for activities other than phonics. Verified Lauren's assessment decision regarding a young child with good concentration within continuous provision activities. Discussed how adults might capitalise on this by taking specific learning outcomes and expectations to these activities, for example building an expectation that children write something about their models. Early Years' Outcomes and Development Matters remain useful documents for checking that baseline assessment decisions, as well as formative assessments and tracking, are line with age related expectations for the child's chronological age. This is so that learning can be plAshleyd to check progress towards meeting or exceeding ELG statements by the end of the year.

Scrutinised data from ERA relating to Y1 transitions. Highlighted the gap between boys and girls which will be an area for consideration with the new cohort. Suggested that the two summer- born children who were emerging at the end of last year, should be grouped with more advanced YR children (using baseline and tracking data). **(Ashton First School, 29.9.15)**

• Interrogated EYFSP data and agreed the need to extend children's experiences and attainment in writing in EYFS. On entry data has been collected and a clear system for tracking progress is in place. Considered strategies for moving children from expected to exceeding
☐ Shared key paragraphs from Ofsted subsidiary guidance version 3 pp7-11 (110166)
(Ashton First School, 8.10.13)

Appendix 10: EYQL Reports Safeguarding and Welfare

LS provided relevant updates and signposted the SSCB website for further information and guidance http://www.staffsscb.org.uk/Professionals/Professionals.aspx **(The Fields Primary School, 25.9.14)**

Revisited key requirements including paediatric first aid; safeguarding; storage of medication; mobile phone, camera and e-safety; risk assessment (which should be carried out daily and visible within the classroom) and food hygiene. Referred to document Keeping Children Safe in Education which can be downloaded from https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/keeping-children-safe-in-education The SSCB website is also an important source of up to date information, advice and guidance **(Heath Primary School, 7.10.14)**

Flagstones in courtyard area are to be levelled over the summer holiday (**Heath Primary School, 11.7.14)**

Ran through most up to date guidance on safeguarding and welfare. Staff training, policies and procedures regularly reviewed and amended **(Ashton First School, 12.9.14)**

Please refer to the Welfare Requirements within the Statutory Guidance for the Early Years' Foundation Stage. Ensure that all members of staff are familiar with the SSCB website. YN staff would be a good source of support **(Ashton First School, 20.3.15)**

All staff are aware of their responsibilities as set out in EYFS statutory guidance, advised that this needs to form part of induction for new staff
☐ Procedures for monitoring the use of mobile devices in the setting will form part of the school safeguarding policy. Guidance can be found at https://specialist.entrust-ed.co.uk/Early%20Years/A%20Mobile%
☐ Signposted staff to SSCB website and Revised Working Together to Safeguard Children (available as a download) **(Ashton First School, 8.10.13)**

Appendix 11: EYQL Reports Learning and Development

Discussed challenges within continuous provision. Examples of challenge systems include jolly jobs, bronze, silver and gold challenges or a class challenge and a super star challenge in key curriculum areas. Planning should reflect the value of adult modelling and participation in child initiated learning. This requires shared understandings of each child's next steps and should include consideration of the Characteristics of Effective Learning.

Good provision is made for children to write in a range of contexts. It would be worth moving the writing area so that it is in easy reach of phonics displays and other resources which support early writing. **(The Fields Primary School, 2.2.15)**

Mathematics- Research into children's development of mathematical concepts demonstrates that understanding begins with a wide range of opportunities to explore, manipulate and talk about real objects. Mathematical language in relation to shape should include terms such as straight and curved edges, faces and corners (this will lead to terminology relating to angles further up the school). Exploration of solid shapes, for example cutting or dismantling different shapes and sizes of box leads naturally to discovery and naming of 2D shapes and opens the way for interesting work on nets for higher ability groups. In YR all children should have plenty of opportunity to find shapes within different environments (indoors and outside) and to sort objects explaining the criteria they have selected to differentiate their sets. They could also test the properties of solid shapes – do they slide or roll and why is this? 'Learning Through Landscapes' has some good starting materials and ideas available free on line.

Language and Literacy – There was a certain amount of confusion in the observed lesson over whether the teaching was about maths or literacy. Written words such as cylinder will have little meaning to children until they a reach a level of phonic understanding in which they become aware that c as well as s may represent the sound sss. Thought needs to be given to the extent to which reading and writing will link into what specific groups are doing in phonics. The document Ready to Read which can be downloaded from http://www.ofsted.gov.uk/sites/default/files/documents/surveys-and-good-practice/r/Ready may be useful for opening up discussion about this area of learning. I would also recommend spending time discussing the 2015 EYFSP exemplification materials as a guide to the type of activities which will provide opportunity for children to be assessed and attain or exceed age related expectations in each are of learning by the end of their year in Reception

Continuous Provision - LS and LD explored the need to plan challenges within continuous provision which relate to the assessment and tracking of individuals and groups. It would be beneficial to revisit deployment of adults at different times during the day. The role play area has the potential to be outstanding if children 's use of it was extended by and with adult input which poses questions such as What is the purpose of your expedition? How long will you be away from base camp? Can you write a list of what you will need to take?

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How many will go on the expedition and who will stay at base camp in case of an emergency? Could you leave instructions for the person at base camp? Do you need to display an emergency procedure? **(The Fields Primary School, 4.3.15)**

- We discussed the routines and teaching observed during the morning. The environment and planning is much improved and this now needs to be maintained whilst moving on to further develop continuity of learning for all children. Suggested that children are always split into smaller groups for carpet sessions so that teaching and modelling can be tailored to ability groupings and children's individual needs.
- Agreed that the phonics session would be better first thing in the morning. Highlighted Read, Write, Ink as a system which provides clear structure for children to practice phonics, reading and writing on a daily basis.
- Advised that a review of daily routines should be undertaken prior to the new intake starting in September. It would be beneficial to consider whether time spent sitting in larger groups is productive in terms of teaching and learning. Self-registration and free flow snack would allow more time for focused teaching and learning with fewer disruptions to children's involvement **(The Fields Primary School, 7.7.14)**

- CT showed me the outdoor learning space which is now better equipped but was not being used during the visit. Agreed that chalk boards and a white board for mark making would be good editions to be fixed onto walls and or fences. Ensure that planning includes opportunities for children to pursue their learning in the indoor and outdoor environments and that there is ample opportunity for children to take their learning outside every day.
- Within the current timetabling children sit down for a language input at the beginning of the morning, phonics at the end of the morning and a maths focus in the afternoon. Proposed that this should continue for the remainder of this academic year in order to ensure continuity for the cohort but is reviewed for the September intake. **(The Fields Primary School, 13.5.14)**

Advised that a three-tier challenge system in which all children are expected to complete level 1 and then encouraged to move onto levels 2 and 3 during the week has proved successful in other schools. Suggested that this is introduced as alternate weekly maths and literacy challenges. The objectives should be displayed for children and adults on a challenge table so that children get used to accessing the activities independently and are helped to reflect and articulate their achievements

There should always be one adult interacting with continuous provision activities when they are made available. This will allow for more flexible use of free flow to the outdoor area as well as ensuring that child initiated learning is focused, challenging and meets the needs of individuals. Snack time would be better as part of continuous provision even if this is trialled by directing key worker groups to the snack table as a starting point (**The Fields Primary School, 25.9.14)**

Evaluated routines of the day and identified possible changes which could promote early learning and provide a more coherent educational experience **(The Fields Primary School, 25.9.14)**

Discussed the imperative to teach handwriting and writing as separate skills. Ensuring that children have ample opportunity to develop and practice fine and gross motor skills, are starting to learn, apply and talk about correct letter formation and have a comfortable pencil grip will contribute to the development of handwriting skills. Articulating clear links between role play, communication and language learning, phonics teaching, reading and the wider areas (Understanding the World and Expressive Arts and Design) in EYFS are important elements in children learning to write.

Mentioned the use of ipad apps and 2simple, which the school is looking into purchasing, as useful tools in supporting basic skills in EYFS as well as the problem solving and technology elements of the curriculum

Talked about Oxford Reading Tree as a good central scheme for supporting children and parents to engage with reading. Agreed that more thought needs to be applied to exactly how it is used and can be dovetailed into phonics teaching, the wider reading curriculum and the skills demonstrated by individual children. (**Heath Primary School, 7.10.14**)

- Suggested that children are split into 4 key worker groups in order to maximise the contributions of TA and teaching staff and ensure that all children have equal access to adult support throughout each week
- Spent time reviewing the outside learning environment(s) which will be important to the successful expansion of the EYFS provision. There is a pressing need to tidy up and re-plan how the two areas will be used. Advised that free flow should be available as much as possible but that this should be carefully organised so that activities are purposeful and challenging to all children. For example different groups could have access to alternate use of the courtyard or garden areas on different days of the week. The garden area will need adult supervision but for the courtyard it would be sufficient to position an adult focus activity close to the door. Children should be provided with systems which allow them to self-monitor their use of indoor and outdoor tasks/learning opportunities. Thought should be given to provision of all areas of the EYFS inside and outdoors in ways which are balanced and stimulating and take account of the interests and preferences of all the children as far as is practical
- Talked about 'Jolly Jobs' and how this might be extended to include a bronze, silver and gold level of challenge. This fits well with the school marking and reward systems. Stressed the importance of extending expectations of children as they progress through YR and into Y1. This should be reflected in long and medium term planning **(Heath Primary School, 11.7.14)**

Briefly conversed about flexibility in planning to include children's interests and fascinations. RC is hoping to set up an area for small world play. Agreed that it would be useful to observe which children access the different areas and when in order to enhance staff's knowledge of children's patterns of behaviour during continuous provision, which will feed into the data analysis and next steps.

Jolly Jobs is popular with the staff and children. It would be beneficial to continue to develop this challenge system with a view to children taking more responsibility for their learning. Suggested that children might be expected to collect labels for the activities they are going to undertake and stick them under the appropriate group on the jolly job board. This will continue the journey towards a well organised space which is carefully plAshleyd to inspire and challenge young children's learning and development. **(Heath Primary School, 20.1.15)**

- Suggested that it would be beneficial to spend the early weeks establishing routines in consultation with the Y1/2 teachers. This will also provide opportunities to judge children's starting points and group them accordingly

- Agreed that planning in Y1/YR is strong and should continue to reflect children's interests and to demonstrate challenges during continuous provision and/or independent learning activities

- Discussed the imperative to ensure that children have plenty of opportunity for speaking and listening as a basis for writing development. Mathematical development should also be integrated into daily activities, free flow and continuous provision **(Ashton First School, 12.9.14)**

CT expressed her keenness to develop the continuous provision in a way which best suits the learning of YR and Y1 children. Explored possibilities for ensuring that adult focused teaching, including phonics and maths, is carried through into child initiated activities. Talked about challenge systems, planning, organisation and roles of the adults in the room.

It would be helpful if DHT and CT could look through previous QL reports for 2014 in order to review action points within the context of their new roles. **(Ashton First School, 20.3.15)**

- Briefly discussed curriculum management in the YR/Y1 class
- Considered options for use of the spacious EYFS area which will also be used by a substantial number of Y1 children **(Ashton First School, 4.9.14)**

Spent time on the assessment/planning cycle. Good school systems are in place for phonics and literacy coverage. It is important that equal weighting is given to teaching and learning through continuous provision and play throughout EYFS. Highlighted Ofsted document Teaching and Play in the Early Years' a Balancing Act? July 2015, No. 150085. There is no need for topic work separate from the literacy focus. Long, medium and short term planning should ensure full coverage of areas of learning based on assessment data for individuals

and groups. Wider areas, such as role play, creative development and understanding the world will always provide plAshleyd and unplAshleyd opportunities for prime and specific areas of learning.

Gave support with planning for intervention groups. This relies on early identification of children who may require additional support with specific skills. Adults can then facilitate meeting individual needs during all activities including continuous provision and daily routines. **(Ashton First School, 29.9.15)**

Discussed opportunities to model and value writing within the wider curriculum. This might include children writing and displaying labels, opportunities for writing in wet sand and encouragement to use a variety of media for writing inside and outside, for example writing with chalk on walls and pavements. School have requested this as a focused support visit after half term.
☐ Talked about the extension of free flow in order to maximise the learning environment now that a new road track has been painted on the shared nursery/YR outside area
☐ Agreed that it would be beneficial to staff and children to share the indoor and outdoor spaces at appropriate times. This can be introduced as part of the ongoing expansion of EYFS in the school **(Ashton First School, 8.10.13)**